Extent

374 folders, approximately 31,972 pages

Summary

This collection consists of material related to Mobutu Sese Seko, President of Zaire from 1965-1997. It contains memoranda, reports, press materials, correspondence, emails, and cables.

Scope and Content Note

The materials in FOIA 2012-0661-F are a selective body of documents responsive to the topic of the FOIA. Researchers should consult the archivist about related material. This FOIA case contains records related to Mobutu Sese Seko Ngbendu Wa Za Banga, President of Zaire from 1965 to 1997. Mobutu came to power in then-Congo at the age of 35 following a bloodless coup. During the early years of his administration, Mobutu pursued an authenticity campaign to remove much of the European colonial influence from his country. He renamed the nation Zaire in 1971 and made it a crime to give a Zairian child a European name. In the meantime, he consolidated power into an authoritarian regime. Over his 3 decades in power, Mobutu's regime became known for his efforts to increase his own personal wealth at the expense of the Zairian economy. By the 1990s, he had bankrupted the nation and the United States, following the end of the Cold War, had stopped actively supporting him. In the meantime, the conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi sent refugees, and the accompanying ethnic tensions, over the border into Eastern Zaire, further straining the economy and political stability of a very fragile state. In August 1996, under the leadership of Laurent Désiré Kabila, the Eastern Zairian Tutsis, known as the Banyamulenge, and other anti-Mobutu elements formed the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL). In response, Mobutu ordered the departure of all Tutsis on penalty of death in November 1996, thus inaugurating the First Congo War. Adding to the turmoil in Zaire at the time was Mobutu's failing

health. He spent a significant amount of time in Switzerland in 1996 for cancer treatment. By mid-1997, Mobutu was quite frail and Kabila's forces had nearly overtaken the entire country. With South African President Nelson Mandela as facilitator, peace talks between Mobutu and Kabila were attempted in Pointe-Noire, but were not successful. On May 16, 1997, Mobutu fled the country. He eventually went into exile in Morocco, where he died from his cancer on September 7, 1997. Following Mobutu's departure, Kabila renamed the country the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Clinton Administration's interactions with the Mobutu regime primarily focused on attempting to ensure humanitarian aid for Rwandan refugees. As the situation in Zaire became more unstable, the United States continued to pull back its Cold War-era support for Mobutu. In 1993 the Clinton Administration denied Mobutu a visa. As the First Congo War began, the United States, France, Canada, and Belgium worked together to establish a Multinational Force (MNF) for humanitarian work and peacekeeping in Eastern Zaire. Following Mobutu's departure, in response to his financial crimes against his people, the Clinton Administration considered freezing Mobutu's assets, even after his death in September 1997, using the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA). There are three letters in the White House Office of Records Management (WHORM)-Subject File General. In the first one Mobutu Sese Seko Ngbendu Wa Za Banga writes to President Clinton concerning the need for the U.S. to give Zaire the assistance requested in order to complete the process of democratization underway in the country. It is in French with a English translation. Bringing democracy to Zaire is the subject of a letter from Representative Alcee Hastings (Dem.-Fla.) to President Clinton. He sees the removal of the dictator from the scene as a prerequisite to restoring some semblance of normalcy to the African country. In the final letter, John Schelp, a constituent who served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Zaire in the 1980s, implores President Clinton to apply even more pressure on Mobutu to arrange honest elections that will result in true democracy coming to a people in the midst of years of utter chaos. The majority of released and responsive textual records in this FOIA cases are located in the files of the National Security Council's (NSC) African Affairs directorate. These materials consist of memoranda, reports, emails, congressional correspondence, letters from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), discussions with USAID, United Nations materials, and communications with former President Jimmy Carter. The documents address relations with Mobutu, the crises in Zaire and her neighbors, the status of the Rwandan refugees, and the freezing of Mobutu's assets. Furthermore, the African Affairs files contain lengthy

discussions and situation reports of the dispersal of humanitarian aid in Zaire, as well as the eventual political transition in 1997. Further materials that focus on humanitarian aid are also available in the files of the Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs Directorate. The files of Staff Director Nancy Soderberg also include numerous documents on refugee assistance and humanitarian aid. More specific records on transition planning, sanctions, and the involvement of Congress in Zairian issues are located in the files of the Intelligence Programs, Legal Advisor, and Legislative Affairs Directorates. Finally, for detailed materials regarding the humanitarian operations, UN involvement, and a November MNF planning conference in Stuttgart, see the Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs Directorate files of Leonard Hawley, Eric Schwartz, and Jonathan (Matt) Vaccaro. Lastly, for official, final copies of many of the National Security Council memoranda and policy documents on this matter, see the Records Management System numbered documents at the end of the case. The Automated Records Management System (ARMS) emails and Tape Restoration Project emails contain numerous transcripts of White House and State Department press briefings, USIA media reaction reports, interviews, press clippings, and congressional testimony concerning Zaire, Mobutu, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In addition to these, the National Security Council (NSC) emails also contain press materials on these topics. Furthermore, the NSC emails, which date from March 1993 through December 1997, contain discussions between NSC staff regarding Mobutu and, after his exile, freezing his assets. For foreign press materials and released State Department communications regarding Mobutu’s regime, his activites, his exile, and the general political situation in Zaire, see the NSC Cables beginning in January 1993 and continuing through December 1997. While there are a sizable number of press, USAID, and UN materials open in this case, the researcher should note that most of the responsive materials have been withheld for reasons of national security.

Record Type

Textual

System of Arrangement

Records that are responsive to this FOIA request were found in these collection areas—Clinton Presidential Records: WHORM Subject Files, Clinton Presidential Records: White House Staff and Office Files, Clinton Presidential Records: ARMS Emails, Clinton Presidential Records: TRP Emails, and Clinton Presidential Records: NSC Cable, Email, and Records Management Systems. The White House Office of Records Management (WHORM) contains a variety of series created to organize and track documents and correspondence. The WHORM Subject File was compiled by the White House Office of Records Management and is a series of categories designated by a letter/number combination. Staff and Office files were maintained at the folder level by staff members within their individual offices and document all levels of administration activity. WHORM files are processed at the document level; whereas, Staff and Office files are processed at the folder level, that is, individual documents are not selected and removed from a folder for processing. While this method maintains folder integrity, it frequently results in the incidental processing of documents that are not wholly responsive to the subject area. The Automated Records Management System (ARMS) is a database that contains email records of the Executive Office of the President. This system maintained unclassified Presidential email. The ARMS database is comprised of seven sub-series of email records called "buckets." The buckets generally represent a specific White House office. The buckets are titled: NPR for National Performance Review, OPD for Office of Policy Development, POTUS for President of the United States, WHO for White House Office, CEA for Council of Economic Advisers, NSC for National Security Council, and Default for emails not associated with an office. The OPD bucket contains email created or received by an individual with an Office of Policy Development (OPD) White House user account. The WHO bucket contains email created or received by an individual with an Executive Office of the President White House user account not identified as CEA, NPR, or OPD. The CEA bucket contains email created or received by an individual with a Council of Economic Advisors (CEA) White House user account. The NSC bucket contains email created or received by an individual with a National Security Council (NSC) user account. The Default bucket contains email created or received by unknown or un-recognized email accounts. Email found within the Default bucket often includes email created or received by offices or individuals outside the Executive Office of the President. ARMS email are arranged by topic, there-under by bucket, and thereunder chronologically by creation date. The Tape Restoration Project (TRP) is a database consisting of

restored emails from the Automated Records Management System (ARMS) from July 1994 through June of 2000. The TRP is a database that contains email records of the Executive Office of the President. This system maintained unclassified Presidential record email. The TRP database is comprised of the same six sub-series of email as in ARMS. TRP email are arranged by topic, there-under by bucket, & there-under chronologically by date. FOIA 2012-0661-F includes WHORM records from this subject code: CO186 Zaire, Republic of

Access

Collection is open to all researchers. Access to Clinton Presidential Records is governed by the Presidential Records Act (PRA) (44 U.S.C. Chapter 22, as amended) and the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) (5 U.S.C. 552, as amended) and therefore records may be restricted in whole or in part in accordance with legal exemptions.

Copyright

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Provenance

Official records of William Jefferson Clinton’s presidency are housed at the Clinton Presidential Library and administered by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) under the provisions of the Presidential Records Act (PRA).

Processed by

Staff Archivist, 2017. Previously restricted materials are added as they are released.

Last Modified Date

2018-05-03

Container List

The following is a list of documents and folders processed in response to FOIA 2012-0661-F:
Box 1
Clinton Presidential Records: WHORM: Subject File
Category Case Number
CO186 008346
065510
114835
Clinton Presidential Records: White House Staff and Office Files
National Security Council
African Affairs
Ordway, John/Jett, Dennis/Ward, Jennifer/Steinberg, Donald, et al.
Zaire 1993 [1] [OA/ID 503]
Zaire 1993 [2] [OA/ID 503]
Zaire 1993 [3] [OA/ID 503]
Zaire 1993 [4] [OA/ID 503]
Zaire 1993 [5] [OA/ID 503]
Rice, Susan/Prendergast, John/Barks-Ruggles, Erica/Sanders, Robin/Wilson, Ernest J.
Zaire May 1997 [1] [OA/ID 2670]
Zaire May 1997 [2] [OA/ID 2670]
Zaire May 1997 [3] [OA/ID 2670]
Zaire May 1997 [4] [OA/ID 2670]
Box 2
Zaire May 1997 [5] [OA/ID 2670]
National Security Council
African Affairs
Rice/Prendergast/Barks-Ruggles/Sanders/Wilson
Zaire May 1997 [6] [OA/ID 2670]
Zaire May 1997: Meeting on Transition in Zaire, May 12, 1997 [1] [OA/ID 2670]
Zaire May 1997: Meeting on Transition in Zaire, May 12, 1997 [2] [OA/ID 2670]

Zaire May 1997: Transition in Zaire Meeting, May 5, 1997 [[OA/ID 2670]
Zaire May 1997: Zaire/DRC [Democratic Republic of the Congo] Transition Planning [OA/ID 2670]
Rice, Susan/Steinberg, Donald/Deshazer, Macarthur
Zaire 1994 [1] [OA/ID 634]
Zaire 1994 [2] [OA/ID 634]
Zaire 1994 [3] [OA/ID 634]
Rice, Susan/McCormick, Shawn
Zaire, January – July 1996 [1] [OA/ID 1148]
Box 3
Zaire, January – July 1996 [2] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, January – July 1996 [3] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, January – July 1996 [4] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, August – November 1996 [1] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, August – November 1996 [2] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, August – November 1996 [3] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, August – November 1996 [4] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, August – November 1996 [5] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, August – November 1996 [6] [OA/ID 1148]
Box 4
Zaire, November 1996 [1] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, November 1996 [2] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, November 1996 [3] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, November 1996 [4] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, November 1996 [5] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, November 1996 [6] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, November 1996 [7] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, November 1996 [8] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire, November 1996 [9] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire/South Africa Talks [1] [OA/ID 1148]
Zaire/South Africa Talks [2] [OA/ID 1148]
Box 5
Sanders, Robin
Mobutu Assets [1] [OA/ID 2360]
Mobutu Assets [2] [OA/ID 2360]
Mobutu Assets [3] [OA/ID 2360]
Steinberg, Donald/Rice, Susan/Deshazer, Macarthur/McCormick, Shawn

Zaire 1995 [1] [OA/ID 872]
National Security Council
African Affairs
Steinberg/Rice/DeShazer/McCormick
Zaire 1995 [2] [OA/ID 872]
Zaire 1995 [3] [OA/ID 872]
Wilson, Ernest J.
Zaire, December 1996 – January 1997 [1] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, December 1996 – January 1997 [2] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, December 1996 – January 1997 [3] [OA/ID 1438]
Box 6
Zaire, December 1996 – January 1997 [4] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, December 1996 – January 1997 [5] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, December 1996 – January 1997 [6] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, December 1996 – January 1997 [7] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, February 1997 [1] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, February 1997 [2] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, February 1997 [3] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, February 1997 [4] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, February 1997 [5] [OA/ID 1438]
Box 7
Zaire, February 1997 [6] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, March – April 1997 [1] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, March – April 1997 [2] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, March – April 1997 [3] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, March – April 1997 [4] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, March – April 1997 [5] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, March – April 1997 [6] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, March – April 1997 [7] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, March – April 1997 [8] [OA/ID 1438]
Zaire, March – April 1997 [9] [OA/ID 1438]
Box 8
Zaire, March – April 1997 [10] [OA/ID 1438]
Democracy, Human Rights, and Multilateral Affairs
Halperin, Morton
West Bank thru Zaire [subject files]: Zaire [OA/ID 493]
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs

Orr, Robert
Eastern Zaire – Analysis [OA/ID 913]
Eastern Zaire – Documents [1] [OA/ID 913]
Eastern Zaire – Documents [2] [OA/ID 913]
Eastern Zaire – Documents [3] [OA/ID 913]
Eastern Zaire – Situation Reports [1] [OA/ID 913]
Eastern Zaire – Situation Reports [2] [OA/ID 913]
National Security Council
Global Issues and Multilateral Affairs
Rice, Susan
Zaire [OA/ID 277]
Sheehan, Michael
Zaire, 1996 [OA/ID 832]
Intelligence Programs
Mitchell, Don
Zaire, 1997 [1] [OA/ID 3031]
Zaire, 1997 [2] [OA/ID 3031]
Tenet, George/Beers, Rand
Zaire [OA/ID 2484]
Box 9
Legal Advisor
Derosa, Mary
Sudan/Mobutu IEEPA [International Emergency Economic Powers Act] [1] [OA/ID 3496]
Sudan/Mobutu IEEPA [International Emergency Economic Powers Act] [2] [OA/ID 3496]
Sudan/Mobutu IEEPA [International Emergency Economic Powers Act] [3] [OA/ID 3496]
Legislative Affairs
Davis, William
Zaire [1] [OA/ID 961]
Zaire [2] [OA/ID 961]
Zaire [3] [OA/ID 961]
Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs
Hawley, Leonard
East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [1] [OA/ID 1824]

East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [2] [OA/ID 1824]
East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [3] [OA/ID 1824]
East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [4] [OA/ID 1824]
Box 10
East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [5] [OA/ID 1824]
East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [6] [OA/ID 1824]
East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [7] [OA/ID 1824]
East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [8] [OA/ID 1824]
National Security Council
Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs
Hawley, Leonard
East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [9] [OA/ID 1824]
East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [10] [OA/ID 1824]
East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [11] [OA/ID 1824]
East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [12] [OA/ID 1824]
East Zaire – IWG [Interagency Working Group] Papers, Fall 1996 [loose] [13] [OA/ID 1824]
Box 11
Rwanda/East Zaire Delegation/Recommendations [loose] [1] [OA/ID 1825]
Rwanda/East Zaire Delegation/Recommendations [loose] [2] [OA/ID 1825]
Rwanda/East Zaire Delegation/Recommendations [loose] [3] [OA/ID 1825]
Rwanda/East Zaire Delegation/Recommendations [loose] [4] [OA/ID 1825]
Rwanda/East Zaire Delegation/Recommendations [loose] [5] [OA/ID 1825]
Zaire – November 1996 Papers [loose] [1] [OA/ID 1826]
Zaire – November 1996 Papers [loose] [2] [OA/ID 1826]
Zaire – November 1996 Papers [loose] [3] [OA/ID 1826]

Box 12
Zaire 1997/Kabila Takeover [OA/ID 2080]
Schwartz, Eric
Democracy – Zaire [OA/ID 1571]
Zaire [1] [OA/ID 3477]
Zaire [2] [OA/ID 3477]
Zaire, 1996 [1] [OA/ID 1477]
Zaire, 1996 [2] [OA/ID 1477]
Vaccaro, Jonathan
Eastern Zaire [Folder 1] [1] [OA/ID 2212]
Eastern Zaire [Folder 1] [2] [OA/ID 2212]
Eastern Zaire [Folder 1] [3] [OA/ID 2212]
Eastern Zaire [Folder 1] [4] [OA/ID 2212]
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Eastern Zaire [Folder 3] [1] [OA/ID 2212]
Eastern Zaire [Folder 3] [2] [OA/ID 2212]
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National Security Council
Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs
Vaccaro, Jonathan
Eastern Zaire [Folder 3] [4] [OA/ID 2212]
Zaire Observers [OA/ID 2212]
Zaire Observers: Foster to Zaire [OA/ID 2212]
Box 14
Records Management
DC0337 DC Meeting on Zaire, February 13, 1997 [OA/ID 3908]
PC0205 PC Meeting on Eastern Zaire, November 8, 1996 [OA/ID 3903]
PRD-10 U.S. Policy Towards Zaire, February 11, 1993 [OA/ID 4122]
Staff Director
Soderberg, Nancy
[Soderberg Notes from Zaire PC Meeting, November 8, 1996] [OA/ID 1394]
Zaire, 1997 [OA/ID 1399]
Eastern Zaire, November 1996 [OA/ID 1404]

Eastern Zaire – NSC Memos, November 1996 [OA/ID 1404]
Zaire – Statements [OA/ID 1408]
Zaire [OA/ID 1418]
Zaire, PRD-10 [OA/ID 1418]
Box 15
Clinton Presidential Records: Automated Records Management System [Email]
OPD [OA/ID 250000]
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[01/19/1999 – 05/12/1999]
[05/16/1997]
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[01/28/1998] [1]
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WHO [OA/ID 500000]
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[03/08/1993 – 08/30/1996]
Box 16
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[02/26/1997 – 03/17/1997]
[03/17/1997 – 03/21/1997]
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WHO [OA/ID 500000]
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CEA [OA/ID 950000]
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Default [OA/ID 1100000]
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[06/17/1997 – 03/13/1998]
Clinton Presidential Records: NSC Cable, Email, and Records Management System
NSC Cables
Jan 1993-Dec 1994 [OA/ID 505000]
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Box 31
NSC Cables
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[06/03/1996 – 08/30/1996]
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Jan 1997-Dec 1998 [OA/ID 520000]
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[04/21/1997 – 04/30/1997]
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[06/04/1997 – 09/26/1997]
[10/01/1997 – 12/29/1997]
NSC Email

A1 – Record (Jan 93 – Sept 94) [OA/ID 570000]
[Mobutu]
[03/03/1993 – 05/27/1993]
[07/12/1993 – 08/31/1994]
A1 – Non-Record (Apr 94 – Sept 94) [OA/ID 580000]
[Mobutu]
[02/06/1993]
MSMail – Record (Sept 94 – Sept 97) [OA/ID 590000]
[Mobutu]
[09/22/1994 – 05/24/1995]
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MSMail – Record (Sep 94 – Sep 97) [OA/ID 590000]
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Box 35
[07/11/1996 – 07/17/1996]
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Box 36
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[03/24/1997 – 03/25/1997]
Box 37
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[05/10/1997 – 05/13/1997]
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MSMail – Non-Record (Sept 94 – Sept 97) [OA/ID 605000]
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Box 39
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9304886 [OA/ID 152]
[Mobutu]
9400307 [OA/ID 467]
9400714 [OA/ID 2282]
9401214 [OA/ID 3533]
9401930 [OA/ID 470]
Box 41
9402592 [OA/ID 191]
9405113 [OA/ID 477]
9405702 [OA/ID 205]
9406484 [OA/ID 209]

9420332 [OA/ID 2164]
9504608 [OA/ID 589]
9507701 [OA/ID 610]
9602323 [OA/ID 1095]
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9602563 [OA/ID 2332]
9602646 [OA/ID 1097]
9602733 [OA/ID 1098]
9603701 [OA/ID 1104]
9607743 [OA/ID 1131]
9607755 [OA/ID 1131]
9620424 [OA/ID 2179]
9630135 [OA/ID W-009]
9630138 [OA/ID W-003]
9630160 [OA/ID W-011]
9702718 [OA/ID 1615]
9703348 [OA/ID 1620]
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9703852 [OA/ID 1624]
9704611 [OA/ID 3234]
9705226 [OA/ID 1633]
9708235 [OA/ID 1657]
9720469 [OA/ID 3981]