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A Brazilian as Commander in Chief of
MONUSCU in the Congo: what are the
implications for Brazil?

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Introduction

The Brazilian Maj. Gen. Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz¹ was chosen by the United Nations (UN) Security Council on the 17th of May to take command of MONUSCO² - the UN peacekeeping mission (PKO - the abbreviation for peacekeeping Operation) active in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)³. The Brazilian will replace the Indian General Chander Prakash, who has been more than two years in office⁴. Cruz has a professional record of over 40 years in both administrative roles, having been adviser to the Secretary of Defence Strategic Affairs of the Presidency, as well as field experience as Commanding General of the Brazilian Army Division⁵, having occupied this position since 2012⁶. The

¹ GOVERNO DO BRASIL. Defesa e segurança pública: Exército. Portal Brasil, 2010. Disponível em: <http://www.brasil.gov.br/sobre/o-brasil/defesa-e-seguranca-publica/exercito-brasileiro>. Acesso em: 06 jun. 2013.

² MONUSCO. United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DR Congo. MONUSCO. Disponível em: <http://monusco.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=10662>. Acesso em: 05 jun. 2013.

³ SAE. Assessor da Defesa da Sae é indicado para comandar Força de Paz da ONU no Congo. Secretaria de Assuntos Estratégicos, 17 mai. 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.sae.gov.br/site/?p=16483>. Acesso em: 03 jun. 2013.

STOCHERO, Tahiane. ONU nomeia general do Brasil para comandar missão de paz no Congo. **Globo**, 17 mai. 2013. Disponível em: <http://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2013/05/onunomeia-general-do-brasil-para-comandar-missao-de-paz-no-congo.html>. Acesso em: 25 mai. 2013.

EXAME. ONU nomeia brasileiro como chefe de força de paz no Congo. Reuters, 17 mai. 2013. Disponível em: <http://exame.abril.com.br/brasil/noticias/onu-nomeia-brasileiro-como-chefede-forca-de-paz-no-congo>. Acesso em: 01 jun. 2013.

⁴ AHORA. Brazilian Military Leads UN Mission in Democratic Congo. Ahora. Disponível em: <http://www.ahora.cu/en/sections/world/more-of-world/8530-brazilian-military-leads-unmission-in-democratic-congo>. Acesso em: 05 jun. 2013.

⁵ EXAME. ONU nomeia brasileiro como chefe de força de paz no Congo. Reuters, 17 mai. 2013. Disponível em: <http://exame.abril.com.br/brasil/noticias/onu-nomeia-brasileiro-como-chefede-forca-de-paz-no-congo>. Acesso em: 01 jun. 2013.

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general also has experience in peacekeeping missions, having been commander of MINUSTAH, the UN peacekeeping mission in Haiti, between January 2007 and April 2009⁷.

The aim of this report is to discuss the expectations and impacts for Brazil in relation to the choice of the Brazilian General Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz to lead MONUSCU - considering, however, that this is a working title granted by the UN directly to the General and not a diplomatic claim or position occupied by Brazil. For this purpose, initially there will be a brief account of the current status of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Then, a brief history of Brazil's role in UN peacekeeping operations will be presented, along with data of the participation of other BRICS countries in such campaigns. The last part will be devoted to discuss the impacts and expectations of Brazil with regard to the decision of installing the Brazilian general as General Commander of MONUSCU.

2. An Overview of the conflicts and UN Peacekeeping Missions in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Despite historical roots dating back to the colonial period and later, the struggle for independence, the current crisis in the DRC mainly arises from the many conflicts and wars that occurred in the country and in neighbouring countries during the 1990s and 2000, which makes conflict itself extremely complex - as well as the effort to provide a brief history about it. The DRC was the scene of two great wars, the First Congo War (October 1996 - May 1997) and the Great African War or the Second Congo War (August 1998 - July 2003)⁸, together accounting for over 4 million deaths⁹.

VEJA. Brasileiro é o novo chefe da missão da ONU no Congo. Agência France-Presse, 17 mai.2013. Disponível em: <http://veja.abril.com.br/noticia/internacional/general-brasileiro-enomeado-novo-chefe-da-missao-da-onu-no-congo>. Acesso em: 04 jun. 2013.

⁶ DIÁRIO OFICIAL DA UNIÃO. Diário Oficial da União – República Federativa do Brasil – Imprensa Nacional. Diário Oficial da União, 23 nov. 2012. Disponível em: <http://www.in.gov.br/visualiza/index.jsp?jornal=1000&pagina=1&data=23/11/2012>. Acesso em: 29 jul. 2013.

⁷ SECRETARY-GENERAL APPOINTS LIETENANT GENERAL CARLOS ALBERTO DOS SANTOS CRUZ OF BRAZIL FORCE COMMANDER FOR UM MISSION IN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Nova Iorque, EUA, 17 mai. 2013. UN website, 17 mai. 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2013/sga1407.doc.htm>. Acesso em: 29 mai. 2013.

⁸ ZAPATA, Mollie. A brief history of Congo's wars. The Christian Science Monitor, 29 nov. 2011. Disponível em: <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/Africa-Monitor/2011/1129/A-briefhistory-of-Congo-s-wars>. Acesso em: 25 mai. 2013.

TURNER, T. The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth & Reality. Zed Books Ltd, London, 2007

⁹ STOCHERO, Tahiane. General do Brasil é convidado para comandar missão de paz no Congo. Globo, 24 abr. 2013. Disponível em: <http://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2013/04/general-dobrasil-e-convidado-para-comandar-missao-de-paz-no-congo.html>. Acesso em: 25 mai. 2013.

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The First Congo War had its origins in the Rwandan genocide of 1994, when during the massacres; around two million Rwandans - mostly of Hutu ethnicity - crossed the border to seek refuge in the Kivu provinces of North Kivu and South Kivu in the DRC. Refugee camps served as bases for the strengthening and re-arming of the DFLR (Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda), armed militias exiled in Rwanda after the fall of the Hutu regime in Rwanda and the genocide of 1994. The First Congo War began when the Rwandan refugees in DRC rebels began to commit crimes against the local population, resulting in a reaction to the actions of the DFLR by the AFDLC, the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo. In May 1997, the AFDLC, having already dominated the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo marched to the capital Kinshasa and ousted President Mobutu Sese Seko. Laurent-Désiré Kabila came to be the new president, and the First Congo War came to an end in May 1997¹⁰.

However, eastern Congo, more notably the region of Kivu, remained a region marked by instability. Although Kabila had risen to power with the support of both Uganda and Rwanda, the so-called Second Congo War was to begin shortly afterwards. In 1998, both Uganda and Rwanda combined to invade the eastern DRC, with the aim of deposing Kabila. The rationale was that Kabila was allowing the reunification of Hutu paramilitary militias in his territory. Kabila, in response, called for support from Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe, who came to his aid. Thus, the Second Congo War, boils down to the DRC conflict, under the leadership of Kabila and supported by Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe, against the alliance between Rwanda, Uganda and the rebels in eastern DRC, who aimed to overthrow Kabila. The conflict dragged on until 2002, when Kabila gave in to the rebels, promising them a shared interim government¹¹.

With the end of the Second Congo War in 2002, much of the Democratic Republic of Congo has stabilized, with the exception of the eastern region - which continues to this day marked as a zone of war and instability, with the central government exercising little power and the

TURNER, T. The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth & Reality. Zed Books Ltd, London, 2007

¹⁰ ZAPATA, Mollie. A brief history of Congo's wars. The Christian Science Monitor, 29 nov. 2011. Disponível em: <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/Africa-Monitor/2011/1129/Abrief-history-of-Congo-s-wars>. Acesso em: 25 mai. 2013.

BBC UK. A brief history of Congo's wars. BBC UK, 20 nov. 2012. Disponível em: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-11108589>. Acesso em: 25 mai. 2013.

TURNER, T. The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth & Reality. Zed Books Ltd, London, 2007

¹¹ ZAPATA, Mollie. A brief history of Congo's wars. The Christian Science Monitor, 29 nov. 2011. Disponível em: <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/Africa-Monitor/2011/1129/Abrief-history-of-Congo-s-wars>. Acesso em: 25 mai. 2013.

BBC UK. A brief history of Congo's wars. BBC UK, 20 nov. 2012. Disponível em: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-11108589>. Acesso em: 25 mai. 2013.

TURNER, T. The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth & Reality. Zed Books Ltd, London, 2007

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permanent presence of various rebel paramilitary groups. Such rebel groups - many of which were formed after 2002, consist of the DFLR¹², the LRA¹³, various Mai Mai groups¹⁴ and the M23¹⁵ - are responsible for the violence in the region, mainly in North and South Kivu¹⁶.

In 1999, the UN inaugurated MONUC with the aim of mitigating the consequences of the conflicts that occurred in eastern DRC including the protection of local civilians from the effects of wars and abuses by the groups mentioned. In 2010, MONUC was disbanded and MONUSCO was established, marking the beginning of new phase of UN peacekeeping missions in the DRC making it a mission guided by Chapter VII of the UN Charter and not just in Chapter VI as MONUC was. As the mission developed foundations in Chapter VII, the option of the use of force as a means to re-establish peace in the country¹⁷ became available. Since then, the UN forces have been present in the pacification mission of the DRC¹⁸.

¹² Forças Democráticas para a Libertação de Ruanda (FDLR) foi formado após o Genocídio de Ruanda em 1994, quando a coalizão Hutu no poder perpetrado um massacre na etnia Tutsi. Com a subida do poder da etnia Tutsi em Ruanda após o genocídio, muitos Hutus já refugiados na RDC formaram a FDLR com o intuito de diminuir o poder Tutsi na região. A FDLR se matêm um grupo paramilitar rebelde constante no leste da RDC desde então.

¹³ Exército de Resistência do Senhor (LDR) foi formado na Uganda e agora se encontra no leste da RDC. É um exército rebelde acusada de perpetrar diversos atentados aos Direitos Humanos, dentre elas o emprego de crianças soldados.

¹⁴ Grupos Mai Mai são diversas milícias mobilizadas na região leste da RDC com o intuito de se defender dos demais grupos paramilitares. Apesar de sua intenção, tais grupos acabam por perpetuar outros tipos de abusos sobre a população local, cometendo crimes e cobrando impostos.

¹⁵ Movimento do 23 de Março (M23) ou Exército Revolucionário do Congo é um movimento armado formada por dissidentes do exército da RDC e rebeldes tutsi que aderiram ao movimento pelo pretexto de que o Governo não cumpri sua parte dos acordos. A M23 é atualmente o grupo paramilitar mais forte no leste da RDC, chegando a ocupar a cidade de Goma, capital da província do Kivu do Norte.

¹⁶ KAWAGUTI, Luiz. Brasileiro chega ao Congo para liderar 'tropa de elite'. BBC Brasil, 3 jun. 2013. Disponível em: http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2013/06/130602_general_chegada_ik.shtml. Acesso em: 4 jun. 2013.

UN PEACEKEEPING. UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo. UN Peacekeeping, abr. 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.betterworldcampaign.org/unpeacekeeping/missions/democratic-republic-of-congo.html>.

Acesso em: 05 jun. 2013. BBC UK. A brief history of Congo's wars. BBC UK, 20 nov. 2012. Disponível em: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-11108589>. Acesso em: 25 mai. 2013. STOCHERO, Tahiane. General do Brasil é convidado para comandar missão de paz no Congo.

Globo, 24 abr. 2013. Disponível em: <http://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2013/04/general-dobrasil-e-convidado-para-comandar-missao-de-paz-no-congo.html>. Acesso em: 25 mai. 2013.

¹⁷ CARTA DAS NAÇÕES UNIDAS, São Francisco, EUA, 26 jul. 1945. OAS. Disponível em: <http://www.oas.org/dil/port/1945%20Carta%20das%20Na%C3%A7%C3%B5es%20Unidas.pdf>. Acesso em: 29 mai. 2013.

BIGATÃO, Juliana de Paula. As operações de Manutenção da Paz das Nações Unidas no pós-Guerra Fria: o caso dos conflitos armados intra-estatais. Disponível em: <http://www.arqanalagoa.ufscar.br/abed/Integra/Juliana%20P%20Bigatao%2013-08-07.pdf>. Acesso em: 20 de jun. 2013

¹⁸ UN PEACEKEEPING. UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo. UN Peacekeeping, abr. 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.betterworldcampaign.org/unpeacekeeping/missions/democratic-republicofcongo.html>. Acesso em: 05 jun. 2013. MONUSCO.

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After the renewal of the term of its mandate until March 31st 2014¹⁹ MONUSCO now feature a "intervention brigade," unheard of within UN peacekeeping missions. This brigade will be composed of about 3000 men, including artillery battalions, infantry and Special Forces²⁰. As noted by Andre Michel Essoungou, one of the spokespersons of the UN Department of Peacekeeping, "this is the first time that the United Nations establish a specific brigade, within the context of a quest for greater peace, to use force²¹ "- since now the use of offensive measures to combat armed rebel groups that occupy territories of the DRC is predicted, particularly the aforementioned M23²².

The interventionist brigade, composed of troops from Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique and South Africa, has been training since the end of March and is expected to be operational by the end of July. The city of Goma, the epicentre of the conflict in eastern DRC, will act as the headquarters of the interventionist brigade²³. It is in the context of the inauguration of this new brigade that General Antonio Carlos dos Santos Cruz will assume the leadership of MONUSCO. It is believed that this interventionist brigade marks a new phase of the mission in Congo and general history of UN peacekeeping missions.

Protecting civilians and consolidating peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo. MONUSCO. Disponível em: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/monusco/>. Acesso em: 05 jun.2013.

¹⁹ SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 2098 (2013), Nova Iorque, EUA, 28 mar. 2013. UN. Disponível em: [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2098\(2013\)](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2098(2013)). Acesso em: 29 mai. 2013.

UN PEACEKEEPING. UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo. UN Peacekeeping, abr.2013. Disponível em: <http://www.betterworldcampaign.org/unpeacekeeping/missions/democratic-republic-of-congo.html>. Acesso em: 05 jun. 2013.

²⁰ KAWAGUTI, Luiz. Brasileiro chega ao Congo para liderar 'tropa de elite'. BBC Brasil, 3 jun.2013. Disponível em: http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2013/06/130602_general_chegada_ik.shtml. Acesso em: 4 jun. 2013.

²¹ BOISSONEAULT, Lorraine. A New UN Brigade Will Make Combat Moves in Congo. Pass Blue – Covering the UN, 11 abr. 2013. Disponível em: <http://passblue.com/2013/04/11/a-new-unbrigade-will-make-offensive-moves-in-congo/>. Acesso em: 2 jun. 2013.

KAWAGUTI, Luiz. Brasileiro chega ao Congo para liderar 'tropa de elite'. BBC Brasil, 3 jun. 2013. Disponível em: http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2013/06/130602_general_chegada_ik.shtml. Acesso em: 4 jun. 2013.

²² 'INTERVENTION BRIGADE' AUTHORIZED AS SECURITY COUNCIL GRANTS MANDATE RENWAL FOR UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, Nova Iorque, EUA, 28 mar. 2013. UN. Disponível em: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2013/sc10964.doc.htm>. Acesso em: 29 mai. 2013.

KAWAGUTI, Luiz. Brasileiro chega ao Congo para liderar 'tropa de elite'. BBC Brasil, 3 jun. 2013. Disponível em: http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2013/06/130602_general_chegada_ik.shtml. Acesso em: 4 jun. 2013. KAWAGUTI, Luiz. ONU quer levar ao Congo experiência brasileira no Haiti. BBC Brasil, 25 abr. 2013. Disponível em: http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2013/04/130424_general_rdc_ik.shtml. Acesso em: 4 jun. 2013.

²³ BBC UK. UN combat force to target DR Congo rebels. BBC UK, 28 mar. 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-21972193>. Acesso em: 2 jun. 2013.

3. Brazil's participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations

The context in which the General Cruz was chosen to head the UN mission in Congo was not only dictated by the history of the conflict and general changes in the scope of UN peacekeeping operations, but also because of Brazilian activities within the organization²⁴.

Brazil has an extensive history of involvement in UN peacekeeping operations, being present even in UNSCOB, the Balkans, in 1947 considered the first of these operations²⁵. Since then, Brazil has participated in 42 of 64 operations organized by the UN (2010 data), i.e. 66% of operations²⁶, and has delivered more than twenty-four thousand men²⁷. However, Brazil sent their contingents unevenly to the operations that took part, providing fully formed military units for only five of them²⁸, and exercising positions of coordination and control in only two: UNTAET / UNMISSET in East-Timor between 1999-2006 and MINUSTAH, active in

²⁴ Nota-se que a temática da participação em operações de paz da ONU é importante também para os demais países do BRICS. Considerando dados de 2011, a Índia é o país BRICS que mais contribui com capacetes azuis atualmente (cerca de 8.600 mil, dos quais 80% se concentram no continente africano) e o terceiro maior contribuinte global de recursos humanos para operações de paz, tendo participado de mais de 40 operações. O Brasil, por seu turno, é o segundo país dentre os BRICS no quesito contribuição de recursos humanos, ocupando a décima terceira posição no ranking global. Em seguida vem a África do Sul com a contribuição de cerca de 2.200 homens, ocupando a décima quarta colocação. Já a China contribui com cerca de 2.000 capacetes azuis, sendo o quarto país BRICS que mais contribui e o décimo quinto na estimativa global para as missões de paz. Por último vem a Rússia, com cerca de 250 homens servindo como capacetes azuis, ocupando a quadragésima oitava posição entre os países contribuintes com recursos humanos para operações de paz da ONU. Em suma, em sua totalidade, os países BRICS são responsáveis por 15% do total de pessoal engajado nas operações em curso, sendo a maior parte da contribuição em tropas em detrimento de especialistas e policiais. Por outro lado, China e Rússia são importantes contribuidores com recursos financeiros, ocupando respectivamente a sétima e a décima primeira colocação dos países contribuintes em termos financeiros para as missões de paz. Para maiores informações, ver: BPC. Núcleo de Política Internacional e Agenda Multilateral. Os BRICS e as Operações de Paz. BRICS Policy Center, mai. 2011. Disponível em: <http://www.bricspolicycenter.org/homolog/uploads/trabalhos/484/doc/1272387016.pdf>. Acesso em: 09 jun. 2013.

²⁵ GOVERNO DO BRASIL. O Brasil: Brasil no exterior – Missões de Paz. Portal Brasil, 2010. Disponível em: <http://www.brasil.gov.br/sobre/o-brasil/brasil-no-exterior>. Acesso em: 06 jun. 2013.

²⁶ REZENDE, Lucas. O Engajamento do Brasil nas Operações de Paz da ONU: Um Estudo Comparativo. PUC-Minas, Belo Horizonte, 2010. Disponível em: http://www.academia.edu/2549109/O_Engajamento_do_Brasil_nas_Operacoes_de_Paz_da_ONU_Um_Estud_o_Comparativo. Acesso em: 8 jun. 2013.

²⁷ ONU BR. Brasil na ONU. ONU BR, 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.onu.org.br/conheca-aonu/brasil-na-onu/>. Acesso em: 9 jun. 2013

RELAÇÕES EXTERIORES. Brazilian Presidency of the Security Council. Missão Permanente do Brasil Junto às Nações Unidas, fev 2011. Disponível em: http://www.un.int/brazil/book/conselhoSeguranca_index.html. Acesso em: 10 jun. 2013.

²⁸ UNEF I (Suez); UNAVEM III (Angola), ONUMOZ (Moçambique), UNTAET/UNMISSET (Timor-Leste) e MINUTASH (Haiti).

REZENDE, Lucas. O Engajamento do Brasil nas Operações de Paz da ONU: Um Estudo Comparativo. PUC-Minas, Belo Horizonte, 2010. Disponível em: http://www.academia.edu/2549109/O_Engajamento_do_Brasil_nas_Operacoes_de_Paz_da_ONU_Um_Estud_o_Comparativo. Acesso em: 8 jun. 2013, ONU BR. Brasil na ONU. ONU BR, 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.onu.org.br/conheca-aonu/brasil-na-onu/>. Acesso em: 9 jun. 2013.

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Haiti since 2004²⁹. In addition, Brazilian participations have also been somewhat erratic, with a period of active participation during the governments of JK, Jânio Quadros and João Goulart, while the period of the military regime represented a break in this trend. With the end of the military regime, the Brazilian participation in PKOs began to be revived and, since then, Brazil has maintained a steady and growing participation in these missions³⁰.

According to Eugenio Diniz, of PUC Minas, Brazil presents a profile somewhat consistent in relation to their participations in UN peacekeeping operations and is compatible with the basic principles of its foreign policy, as non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. Firstly, there is a clear preference for PKOs in Latin American and Lusophone countries but such preferences does not thwart Brazilian participation in PKOs in countries that do not fall into this parameter. Furthermore, there is some resistance in Brazil to participating in PKOs based on Chapter VII, those that aim to peace enforcement, have a preference for missions based in Chapter VI³¹.

Researcher Lucas Rezende, in turn, says that in spite of the number and Brazilian contributions to UN peacekeeping operations, "the intensity of her engagement (Brazil) is comparatively low" because "the profile of the Brazilian contribution is of sending more military observers than troops or police to UN PKOs"- taking PKOs in East Timor and Haiti as exceptions³².

Moreover, according to Henrique Paiva, participation and enthusiasm in Brazil with relation to UN peacekeeping missions is directly linked to her bid for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Due to the perception that, with the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s,

²⁹ GOVERNO DO BRASIL. O Brasil: Brasil no exterior – Missões de Paz. Portal Brasil, 2010.

Disponível em: <http://www.brasil.gov.br/sobre/o-brasil/brasil-no-exterior>. Acesso em: 06 jun. 2013. ONU BR. Brasil na ONU. ONU BR, 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.onu.org.br/conheca-aonu/brasil-na-onu/>. Acesso em: 9 jun. 2013.

³⁰ ONU BR. Brasil na ONU. ONU BR, 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.onu.org.br/conheca-aonu/brasil-na-onu/>. Acesso em: 9 jun. 2013

³¹ DINIZ, Eugenio. O Brasil e a MINUSTAH. PUC-Minas, Belo Horizonte. Disponível em: <http://www.cprepmauss.com.br/documentos/obrasileaminustha98283.pdf>. Acesso em: 5 jun.2013.

REZENDE, Lucas. O Engajamento do Brasil nas Operações de Paz da ONU: Um Estudo Comparativo. PUC-Minas, Belo Horizonte, 2010. Disponível em: http://www.academia.edu/2549109/O_Engajamento_do_Brasil_nas_Operacoes_de_Paz_da_ONU_Um_Estud_o_Comparativo. Acesso em: 8 jun. 2013.

³² REZENDE, Lucas. O Engajamento do Brasil nas Operações de Paz da ONU: Um Estudo Comparativo. PUC-Minas, Belo Horizonte, 2010. Disponível em: http://www.academia.edu/2549109/O_Engajamento_do_Brasil_nas_Operacoes_de_Paz_da_ONU_Um_Estud_o_Comparativo. Acesso em: 8 jun. 2013

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4. Expectations of the role of General Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz on MONUSCO and the impacts on Brazil

As already mentioned, one of the justifications for the nomination of the Brazilian general to the position of command in MONUSCO is due to his professional history, especially in relation to his contribution in Haiti, leading the General to return to active duty in the Brazilian army so he could hold the position of Commander in MONUSCO³⁴. During the Cruz's administration of MINUSTAH, the mission achieved successes in recovering slums under the control of armed groups in Port au Prince, the capital of Haiti, including the largest, the Cité Soleil³⁵. The successes achieved by the Cruz's administration would still have the reputation of having been completed in accordance with the UN Charter and without human rights violations - although, as with everything, there are also more critical perspectives on MINUSTAH³⁶.

Despite his history, General Carlos Alberto recognizes that "it is an extremely complex mission (MONUSCO), in a very large country with 70 million inhabitants, rich in natural resources and a history marked by violence.

³³ PAIVA, Henrique. O Brasil e as Operações de Paz. UERJ, Rio de Janeiro. Disponível em: http://www.ppgri.uerj.br/form/Henrique_Paiva.pdf. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2013

³⁴ DIÁRIO OFICIAL DA UNIÃO. Diário Oficial da União – República Federativa do Brasil – Imprensa Nacional. Diário Oficial da União, 5 jun. 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.in.gov.br/visualiza/index.jsp?jornal=2&pagina=1&data=05/06/2013>. Acesso em: 29 jul. 2013.

³⁵ BBC UK. Brazil's Santos Cruz to head UN's DR Congo Mission. BBC UK, 25 abr. 2013. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-22290242>. Acesso em: 2 jun. 2013.

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³⁶ KAWAGUTI, Luiz. ONU quer levar ao Congo experiência brasileira no Haiti. BBC Brasil, 25 abr. 2013. Disponível em: http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2013/04/130424_general_rdc_ik.shtml. Acesso em: 4 jun. 2013.

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The situation is quite different from Haiti. The experience in Haiti will help, but an awareness of problems on the ground is needed"³⁷. The general emphasised further that it is "a very big challenge"³⁸. In an interview with BBC Brazil, Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz argued that the solution to the conflict in the country must be political, not just military"³⁹.

As already noted, Cruz will assume command of MONUSCO in a critical moment of the mission, coinciding with the start of the interventionist brigade operations. The expectation is that the interventionist brigade, under the leadership of the Cruz, will be able to "neutralize and disarm" the armed groups in the DRC, and may use "all necessary means", as guaranteed by Chapter VII of the UN charter"⁴⁰.

In contrast, military analysts have more pessimistic expectations about the success that the interventionist brigade, commanded by Cruz, will have in containing the armed rebel groups in the DRC. The South African military analyst Helmoed Romer Heitman shares this view, stating that "the force (interventionist brigade) is very small and there is some wishful thinking (the success of the operation)," and that it is "a complex mission , (...) a logistical nightmare "⁴¹. Furthermore, there is concern that the use of such a brigade could worsen the

³⁷ STOCHERO, Tahiane. General do Brasil é convidado para comandar missão de paz no Congo. Globo, 24 abr. 2013. Disponível em: <http://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2013/04/general-dobrasil-e-convidado-para-comandar-missao-de-paz-no-congo.html>. Acesso em: 25 mai. 2013.

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³⁸ SAE. General Santos Cruz se despede da SAE e embarca para o Congo neste sábado. Secretaria de Assuntos Estratégicos, 31 mai. 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.sae.gov.br/site/?p=16669>. Acesso em: 03 jun. 2013.

³⁹ KAWAGUTI, Luis. General brasileiro diz que solução no Congo não pode ser só militar. BBC Brasil, 8 ago 2013. Disponível em: http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/videos_e_fotos/2013/08/130808_congo_video_lk.shtml. Acesso em: 25 ago 2013.

⁴⁰ STOCHERO, Tahiane. General do Brasil é convidado para comandar missão de paz no Congo. Globo, 24 abr. 2013. Disponível em: <http://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2013/04/general-dobrasil-e-convidado-para-comandar-missao-de-paz-no-congo.html>. Acesso em: 25 mai. 2013.

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⁴¹ Tradução do inglês: "The overall U.N. mission is not properly conceived. I think the force is too small and there is a certain amount of wishful thinking," & "It's a complex mission. From a tactical point of view this is a logistical nightmare because you don't know who's who in the zoo from one day to the next." VOICE OF AMERICA. Congo Rebels Prepare for Aggressive UN Force. Reuters, 6 mai. 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.voanews.com/content/congo-rebels-prepareto-face-more-aggressive-un-force/1655325.html>. Acesso em: 04 jun. 2013.

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situation, as it is opinionated by the head of the NGO 'International Alert' in DRC⁴². The spokesman of the M23 group, Colonel Vianney Kazarama, in turn, claimed that the UN peacekeepers would not be targets but the group would not hesitate to retaliate if they suffer attacks from these forces. Kazarama also claimed that the UN is losing its impartiality, by positioning itself in favour of the Kabila government⁴³.

With respect to the impact on Brazil of appointing a Brazilian to highest office of the UN mission in the Congo, Defence Minister Celso Amorim said the statement can be seen as "(...) a tribute to the excellent work he (Cruz) carried out during MINUSTAH". Considering that there was no diplomatic plea, on the part of Brazil, for Cruz to ascend to the post, Celso Amorim said that the choice also is "(...) a new sign of international recognition of the work of the Brazilian soldiers⁴⁴". Despite the choice of Cruz it is worth mentioning that Brazil has no troops in MONUSCU, and there are no plans of deploying troops apart from the General himself to the peace mission⁴⁵.

In an interview, General Antonio Carlos dos Santos Cruz said his choice stems from the "prestige of Brazil and the Brazilian government, Brazilian diplomacy (...) (and) the performance of the Brazilian military in UN missions abroad⁴⁶".

On the subject, General Julius Caesar Arruda says the Brazilian army undergoes transformations accompanying the geopolitical activities of Brazil, the Brazilian military is preparing for "war operations and not war". In this sense, the choice of Cruz to occupy the highest command position in MONUSCU can be seen as an example of the growing international presence and influence of the Brazilian military in recent years⁴⁷.

⁴² LANGE, Maria. Democratic Republic of Congo: New Peace Framework Requires Shared Vision. International Alert, 6 mar. 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.internationalalert.org/news/democratic-republic-congo-new-peace-framework-requires-shared-vision>. Acesso em: 5 jun. 2013.

⁴³ VOICE OF AMERICA. Congo Rebels Prepare for Aggressive UN Force. Reuters, 6 mai. 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.voanews.com/content/congo-rebels-prepare-to-face-moreaggressive-un-force/1655325.html>. Acesso em: 04 jun. 2013.

⁴⁴ KAWAGUTI, Luiz. ONU quer levar ao Congo experiência brasileira no Haiti. BBC Brasil, 25 abr.2013. Disponível em:http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/noticias/2013/04/130424_general_rdc_lk.shtml. Acesso em: 4 jun. 2013.

⁴⁵ SOUZA, André de. General brasileiro chefiará forças da ONU no Congo. O Globo, 26 abr. 2013. Disponível em: <http://oglobo.globo.com/mundo/general-brasileiro-chefiara-forcas-da-onu-nocongo-8227946>. Acesso em: 5 jun. 2013.

⁴⁶ SAE. General Santos Cruz se despede da SAE e embarca para o Congo neste sábado. Secretaria de Assuntos Estratégicos, 31 mai. 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.sae.gov.br/site/?p=16669>. Acesso em: 03 jun. 2013.

⁴⁷ MELLO, Katia. Como fazer um(a) general. Valor Econômico, 7 jun. 2013. Disponível em: <http://www.valor.com.br/cultura/3152708/como-fazer-uma-general>. Acesso em: 10 jun. 2013. PAIVA, Henrique. O Brasil e as Operações de Paz. UERJ, Rio de Janeiro. Disponível em: http://www.ppgri.uerj.br/form/Henrique_Paiva.pdf. Acesso em: 6 jun. 2013

5. Final Thoughts

The choice of the Brazilian General Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz to lead the command of the UN peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (currently the largest UN peacekeeping mission) took place in a context of significant change within the very structure of the mission, foreshadowing changes not only within MONUSCO, as well as of UN peacekeeping operations as a whole.

On the other hand, current Brazilian foreign policy guidelines, which aim to increase the country's role within international organizations, also characterize the context of the choice of Cruz for the post. Thus, although the Brazilian authorities did not seek the choice of Cruz to the position, such a development positively meets the main objectives of Brazilian foreign policy.

In this sense, the choice of the Brazilian general to head a mission in a country with a troubled history of conflict like the Congo can mean recognition of Brazil's military capabilities, especially members of the Brazilian armed forces - in addition to confidence in the competence and professional history of General Carlos Alberto dos Santos Cruz.

Despite the fact that General Cruz led MONUSCO acting as a UN official and not as a Brazilian officer, the event would be symbolic as an example of the recognition of the contributions and Brazilian capabilities in managing global issues. And yet, the intention was expressed by the UN in seeking to adapt experiences of the mission in Haiti, led by the Brazilian military for the mission in the DRC.