



Security Council

Seventy-seventh year

9231st meeting

Wednesday, 21 December 2022, 3 p.m.

New York

Provisional

President: Mrs. Kamboj (India)

Members:

Albania	Mr. Hoxha
Brazil	Mr. Costa Filho
China	Mr. Zhang Jun
France	Mrs. Broadhurst Estival
Gabon	Mr. Biang
Ghana	Mr. Agyeman
Ireland	Mr. Mythen
Kenya	Mrs. Toroitich
Mexico	Mr. Elizondo Belden
Norway	Ms. Heimerback
Russian Federation	Mr. Nebenzia
United Arab Emirates	Mrs. Alhefeiti
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Dame Barbara Woodward
United States of America	Mr. Wood

Agenda

The situation in Myanmar

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The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Myanmar

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2022/980, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Albania, Brazil, France, Gabon, Ghana, Ireland, Kenya, Mexico, Norway, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

China, India, Russian Federation

The President: The draft resolution received 12 votes in favour, none against and 3 abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 2669 (2022).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements after the voting.

Dame Barbara Woodward (United Kingdom): Today we have adopted the first Security Council resolution on the situation in Myanmar (resolution 2669 (2022)). It is the result of many weeks of careful consultation with Council members, with members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and with other key regional partners.

In February 2021, the military overturned the results of a democratic election, seized power and plunged Myanmar and its 55 million people into a series of cascading crises — humanitarian, economic and political. The coup has had negative consequences for the region and its stability, including by exacerbating existing challenges facing the Rohingya.

With this adoption, the Council has responded to the calls of ASEAN leaders for United Nations support for their efforts. The resolution calls for the cessation of violence; the immediate and concrete implementation of ASEAN's five-point consensus; respect for the democratic will of the people of Myanmar; respect for human rights and accountability for those who violate them; full and unhindered humanitarian access to those in need; and the immediate release of all those arbitrarily detained, including Aung San Suu Kyi and President Win Myint. The briefing of the Secretary-General in March, mandated under the resolution, will be an important opportunity to assess developments on the ground. We stand ready to take further action as necessary.

Today we have sent a firm message to the military that they should be in no doubt that we expect this resolution to be implemented in full. We have also sent a clear message to the people of Myanmar that we seek progress in line with their rights, their wishes and their interests.

Mrs. Broadhurst Estival (France) (*spoke in French*): France welcomes the Security Council's adoption of a resolution on the situation in Burma (resolution 2669 (2022)). We thank the United Kingdom for all its efforts to arrive at it. Faced with the continuous deterioration of the situation since the coup of 1 February 2021, it was essential that the Council express its concerns and its demands to the junta, in support of the Burmese people.

We of course regret the abstentions on the text, as the seriousness of the situation requires unanimity. But the resolution we just adopted contains four main messages. It calls for an immediate cessation of violence and for de-escalation, as well as for the junta's immediate release of all arbitrarily detained prisoners, and for respect for human rights, including the rights of women and children.

This is also a moment to reiterate our demands for safe and unhindered humanitarian access, given that, as a consequence of the continuing violence, the humanitarian situation continues to deteriorate. The situation of the Rohingyas, which also remains very worrisome, is also taken into account by the Council. In that regard, France reiterates that it is fully engaged — in 2022 we stepped up our support for the efforts of the international community in the form of

additional voluntary contributions to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Finally, France underscores the centrality of the five-point consensus of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as an essential framework for resolving the conflict and our support for the ASEAN Special Envoy and the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, who are working to help resolve the crisis in Burma.

Mr. Zhang Jun (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): China still has concerns about the resolution that was just put to the vote (resolution 2669 (2022)). In terms of the format, we believe that it would be more appropriate for the Council to adopt a presidential statement under the current circumstances. In terms of the content, although it was amended, the tone still lacks balance. Therefore, China had to abstain in the voting. I would like to explain China's position, as follows.

First, there is no quick fix to the Myanmar issue, let alone any external solution. Whether or not it can be properly resolved in the end depends fundamentally, and only, on Myanmar itself. Neither democratic transition nor national reconciliation can be achieved overnight, and both require time, patience and pragmatism. To get out of the current crisis, all parties and factions in Myanmar need to act in the fundamental interests of the country and its people and pursue dialogue and consultation under the constitutional and legal framework to achieve political reconciliation. The large-scale release of prisoners by the authorities in November should be recognized and encouraged. The international community should adhere to the right direction of promoting peace talks and on the premise of respecting Myanmar's sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity and unity, while playing a constructive role in facilitating rational dialogue and bridging differences among all parties in Myanmar.

Secondly, Myanmar is a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) family, and ASEAN has a unique advantage in dealing with Myanmar-related issues. For a period of time, ASEAN countries have provided constructive assistance to Myanmar, from political mediation to humanitarian assistance, demonstrating the collective wisdom and political commitment of a mature regional organization. The international community should continue to listen

to ASEAN's views, respect the ASEAN way, support ASEAN's unity and leadership, create the necessary conditions and allow time and space for ASEAN to build consensus and play its role.

Thirdly, the Security Council must always act with caution. Since last year, the Council has repeatedly considered the situation in Myanmar and has unanimously issued nearly 10 outcome documents. China has always participated in the relevant discussions and consensus of the Council in a responsible manner. At the same time, we have always believed that the standard to measure the Council's work is not the number of meetings convened or the documents produced, but the effectiveness of problem-solving. Blindly using the Council to exert pressure, or even threaten sanctions, will only intensify confrontation and antagonism, complicate the situation and prolong the crisis. The Council has learned hard lessons in dealing with hotspot issues, such as Libya.

China and Myanmar are connected by mountains and rivers, and our policy of friendship towards Myanmar is for all its people. We sincerely hope that Myanmar will enjoy political and social stability, with its people living in peace and prosperity and the country achieving development and revitalization. Since the change in the political situation in Myanmar, China has always maintained an objective and impartial attitude, worked hard to promote peace talks and did our best to help Myanmar respond to the pandemic and improve people's livelihoods. China fully supports ASEAN in adhering to the ASEAN way and constructively implementing the five-point consensus with Myanmar and maintaining the overall unity and leadership position of ASEAN. China expects the Council to stick to the right direction of a political settlement and do more to safeguard the fundamental interests of the people of Myanmar and the prosperity and stability of the region.

Ms. Heimerback (Norway): Norway voted in favour of the text, and we are pleased that resolution 2669 (2022) was adopted.

Norway strongly condemns the military's brutal coup in February 2021, and we will continue to do so until they stop their attacks on civilians and return to democratic rule. They are gravely failing in their duty to protect Myanmar's civilian population. The people of Myanmar deserve our sustained attention and support. We therefore welcome that the Security Council was

able to adopt a resolution today, and we thank the United Kingdom for their sincere efforts on this vital text. We now look forward to seeing closer collaboration between the United Nations and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in the implementation of the five-point consensus.

It is of the utmost importance that we were able to adopt this resolution. Nevertheless, we regret that it took so long to do so and that it was not possible to agree on a more substantial text. The dire situation merits a text that would send an even stronger signal to the actors in Myanmar to abstain from violence and engage constructively towards building a peaceful, reform-oriented and prosperous Myanmar.

To that end, Norway advocated for stronger language, including on the protection of children and education in armed conflict, combating sexual and gender-based violence and ending impunity, as well as language on preventing the flow of arms and financial assets of the military. It is our hope, therefore, that today's resolution will pave the way for the Council's further engagement on Myanmar. It should be followed by other, more substantial, resolutions, including Chapter VII provisions, should the situation warrant it.

Let me conclude by reiterating that, as a long-term partner of Myanmar, Norway will remain engaged in the work of creating a peaceful and prosperous future for the people of Myanmar.

Mrs. Alhfeiti (United Arab Emirates) (*spoke in Arabic*): The United Arab Emirates welcomes the Security Council's adoption of today's resolution on Myanmar (resolution 2669 (2022)). I thank the United Kingdom for its efforts in facilitating the adoption of the text. I also thank the members of the Council for their flexibility during the negotiations.

The United Arab Emirates believes that this resolution sends an important message about the need to address the challenges faced by the Rohingya, the crisis in Rakhine state and the dangers it poses to the situation in the region, at a time when international attention on the Rohingya crisis is waning. Despite the importance of the crisis, however, the language of the resolution is insufficient. We had hoped that the resolution would have included stronger language to really address the scope of the current challenges on the ground. We therefore call for the intensification of diplomatic efforts at the international level to resolve the Rohingya crisis and ensure a response

for their deteriorating humanitarian conditions and create an environment conducive for the voluntary, safe, sustainable and dignified return of refugees and internally displaced persons to a stable homeland. For its part, the United Arab Emirates will continue its humanitarian efforts to provide basic assistance to Rohingya refugees, especially women and children, so as to alleviate their suffering, including through our support for the efforts of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation to address the crisis.

We welcome the fact that the Council has responded to the request made by Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to support the five-point consensus and its implementation. The consensus is the most effective way to end the crisis in Myanmar. We emphasize the centrality of regional efforts to achieve that goal and call on the international community to support those efforts in order to achieve stability and security in the region.

In conclusion, the United Arab Emirates reiterates that it will continue to support the efforts of the United Nations and ASEAN Special Envoys to achieve stability in Myanmar.

Mr. Wood (United States of America): The United States welcomes the Council's adoption of this resolution on Myanmar (resolution 2669 (2022)). The resolution is a strong next step in the Council's efforts to address the Myanmar military regime's egregious behaviour. The resolution comes in response to the regime's brutal repression and violence, which pose a clear threat to international peace and security. The regime's actions continue to contribute to regional instability and refugee flows, impacting neighbouring States while inflicting tremendous suffering on the people of Myanmar.

The resolution notes the need for the regime to respect human rights, immediately release detained prisoners, allow unhindered humanitarian access and protect minority groups. It also expresses concern with attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure, which have killed far too many innocent men, women and children.

The resolution is premised on the important role of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its Special Envoy in addressing the situation in Myanmar, as well as the importance of cooperation between the United Nations Special Envoy and her ASEAN counterpart. It helps answer the call from

our ASEAN partners for greater support from the United Nations and the international community. We look forward to Special Envoy Heyzer's briefing to the Security Council on the situation in Myanmar this spring.

At the same time, this resolution does not go far enough. We should directly address the regime's severe violations of the freedom of religion and belief. We should call directly for the regime to face justice for the crimes it has reportedly committed, such as strikes on a school and a concert that killed scores of civilians. We should not overlook the General Assembly's resolution in support of an arms embargo (General Assembly resolution 75/287). And we should pursue a mechanism to prevent the flow of financial resources to the regime. Those measures are critical to ending the bloodshed.

Given these realities, the United States views the adoption of this resolution as an important start to the conversation within the Security Council on Myanmar. The Council should use this opportunity to seek additional ways to support the implementation of the five-point consensus and to promote accountability for the regime's actions. We look forward to working with all members towards those ends.

I would like to conclude by commending the United Kingdom's careful and inclusive approach to penholding on this resolution, which reflected the will of the Council at every turn and serves as a model for all of us.

Mr. Agyeman (Ghana): Let me begin by thanking the United Kingdom for the pragmatic approach it adopted in guiding the Security Council to finalize the resolution on Myanmar that we just adopted (resolution 2669 (2022)).

By this resolution, the Council has responded to the call by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) on the United Nations and other external partners to support the organization's efforts in the implementation of the five-point consensus. Also, by acting in the manner in which the Council has today, there should be no doubt about the international community's expectation for the military junta in Myanmar to reverse its repressive policies and commence actions that show respect for the rule of law and the fundamental human rights of all the people of Myanmar.

Military regimes, when they occur, are an aberration of the political aspirations of any peoples. But when such unconstitutional regimes are accompanied by downright repressive measures, as they usually are, it is even more worrisome. Not surprisingly, the persistent overruling

of the will of the people of Myanmar by the Tatmadaw military authorities since February 2021 has worsened the plight of this important South-Asian country. We firmly believe that it is only through dialogue that this unsustainable governance situation, which has created insecurity within the country and beyond, with widespread humanitarian consequences, can be resolved.

We therefore encourage the State authorities of Myanmar to embrace the mediation efforts spearheaded by ASEAN, complemented by the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General and other stakeholders, to bring the crisis in the country to an end.

Mr. Mythen (Ireland): I would like to acknowledge the presence of the Permanent Representative of Myanmar and to warmly welcome him to the Chamber today.

Allow me first to thank the United Kingdom for presenting the resolution adopted this afternoon (resolution 2669 (2022)) and for facilitating a measured, sensitive, inclusive and consultative negotiation process.

Ireland welcomes the adoption of resolution 2669 (2022). We have long stated that Security Council action in response to the violence suffered by the Myanmar people since the military coup in 2021 has been inadequate. The Council could have, and should have, done more. At a minimum, we should have met to address their suffering in an open briefing, where they could hear the views of the Council and its members.

In the absence of greater action, the Myanmar military have been relentless in the brutal violence they have used as a tool of control and repression against the civilian population. Given the overwhelming silence of the international community, the impunity they have enjoyed for decades only grows. It is for this reason — to combat the cycle of violence and impunity that the Myanmar military relies upon — that Ireland voted in favour of this resolution. We welcome its important and notable adoption today.

While we strongly support the adoption of this text, it is Ireland's view that it should have gone further. It should have recognized and condemned the continued sale and transfer of weapons to Myanmar and the widespread sexual and gender-based violence and grave violations against children in Myanmar. It should have recognized the importance of accountability mechanisms such as the Independent Investigative

Mechanism for Myanmar. And above all, it should have directly called on the Myanmar military to halt their relentless assault on the people of Myanmar.

However, we recognize the resolution as a pivotal moment in the Council's response to the situation in Myanmar. The resolution acknowledges the need for the United Nations, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the international community to continue to act in support of the people of Myanmar. It further recognizes the actions of the Myanmar military as the trigger to the current crisis in the country. It urges the military to immediately release all arbitrarily detained prisoners, including President Win Myint and State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi. It recognizes the continuing challenges facing the Rohingya people. It demands an end to violence and reiterates the necessity for full, safe and unhindered humanitarian access to all in need.

To conclude, Ireland reiterates the need for the Security Council to maintain a dedicated focus on the situation in Myanmar, to do so in open meetings and to keep at the heart of our work the needs and interests of the Myanmar people.

Ms. Costa Filho (Brazil): We are on the verge of concluding the first year of our tenure here at the Security Council, and we have found that this file has been one of the hardest on which to achieve a reaction from the Council to the ongoing developments in Myanmar. In that light, we are appreciative of the positive engagement of all Council members, which has finally allowed us to speak on the situation in Myanmar. In that respect, we are particularly grateful to the United Kingdom, as the penholder, for the inclusive and transparent manner in which it conducted the process, and in that way allowed us to arrive at the text we just adopted. That is all the more so because Brazil has always stressed the need for the international response to the situation in Myanmar to take the lead from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). And we are therefore particularly grateful for the fact that ASEAN was involved in the process and consulted throughout.

Mr. Hoxha (Albania): Albania voted in favour of resolution 2669 (2022). We welcome its adoption and believe that this milestone text will go a long way to support the basic aspirations of the people of Myanmar, which have been denied by the brutal military coup. It was about time that the Security Council did its part.

This decision shows the ability of the Council to respond to the growing calls for supporting Myanmar in finding a peaceful solution to the deep crisis in the country. With today's result, we have responded to the leaders of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and made the right choice to stand with the people of Myanmar in their quest for freedom and rights. We welcome the focus on the situation of the Rohingya, who must not be forgotten. With this decision, the Council will have the opportunity to remain seized of the developments in the country. We look forward to the report of the Secretary-General in March 2023.

We commend the work and constructive spirit with which the United Kingdom, as penholder, led the negotiations to produce a balanced yet important text. We call on all the relevant parties to support the full implementation of the ASEAN five-point consensus and ensure accountability for crimes committed. We look forward to the full implementation of the resolution as part of the effective and immediate actions required to resolve the political crisis, beginning with the immediate release of political prisoners as part of the restoration of, and respect for, human rights for all — a precondition for achieving peace and stability in the country.

Political dialogue, not repression, is the way to address the huge challenges Myanmar faces. The United Nations has an important part to play in that.

Mr. Elizondo Belden (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): Mexico thanks the United Kingdom as drafter of resolution 2669 (2022). Mexico voted in favour of the resolution on the situation in Myanmar given the fact that, two years after the start of the crisis, it conveys an unequivocal message that reaffirms the need for an immediate cessation of violence, respect for human rights and the need for an inclusive dialogue to resume the process towards democratic transition in the interests of the people of Myanmar.

The resolution calls for ensuring safe humanitarian access free of all obstacles and stresses the need to protect the civilian population, in particular women, children and minorities. It also responds to Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) call on the importance of United Nations support for the implementation of the five-point consensus. Mexico reiterates its support for the efforts of ASEAN, as well as for the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General.

The resolution also stresses the need to create the conditions for the voluntary, safe, dignified and sustainable return to Myanmar of refugees and forcibly displaced persons, particularly the Rohingya. However, we would have liked the resolution to have included references to the importance of preventing the flow of arms.

I conclude by emphasizing the importance of the Council not remaining inert in the face of the situation in Myanmar and continuing to support diplomatic efforts to achieve a peaceful solution.

Mr. Biang (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): Gabon voted in favour of resolution 2669 (2022), adopted today. We thank the United Kingdom for facilitating it. Above all, our vote reflects a message of solidarity with the people of Myanmar and against violence on the civilian population. It is also a call for a resolution of the Rohingya crisis, which has lasted far too long. And it is a message calling for an unhindered humanitarian response commensurate with the suffering of the people of Myanmar, as well as for the implementation of the five-point consensus of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). We will continue to support the quest for a solution based on dialogue, all the while encouraging the prioritization of the regional dynamic and the guiding role of ASEAN.

Mr. Nebenzia (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Russia abstained in the voting on the resolution on Myanmar (resolution 2669 (2022)). It is our principled position that the situation in Myanmar does not pose a threat to international peace and security. This conclusion follows from the contents of the resolution itself, which is mostly focused on human rights aspects. We stand for a division of labour among all United Nations organs in accordance with their respective mandates. In this case, the situation of human rights should be addressed by the Third Committee of the General Assembly, rather than the Security Council. The human rights agenda must not be politicized or turned into an instrument for opposing unwanted Governments.

Moreover, we must say that we are dissatisfied with the work of the authors of the resolution, who apparently never even intended to endorse a well-balanced text accounting for the interests of all Member States in the Council. There were no real negotiations on the text. Our colleagues again and again simply ignored all the concerns regarding the text that other delegations

raised. In particular, they ignored the proposal to include the point about the counterproductiveness of unilateral restrictive measures that have a negative effect on the socioeconomic situation in the country. That approach demonstrates that care for the ordinary people of Myanmar and developing solutions for the normalization of the country are not among the goals of those who drafted the resolution. Their true goal is to promote a political anti-Myanmar agenda by pushing through this politicized document and claiming that “progressive mankind” allegedly looks forward to a Security Council resolution on Myanmar.

The acts and policies of the military authorities may be given varying assessments; however, the Security Council must not play into the hands of those who would benefit from a destabilization of the situation on the ground, undermining the mediation efforts of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and creating division in the Security Council. It is our firm conviction that any Council product, especially a resolution, must aim at strictly the opposite — promoting international peace and security. Judging by what our Western colleagues said today, they have no such task with regard to Myanmar, and they will continue fragmenting the situation in the country and try to drag the Security Council into that disgraceful ploy.

We proceed from the assumption that all political forces in Myanmar need to act in a reserved manner and abstain from steps that may escalate violence and polarize public sentiment. We see that the military indeed have such a goal. Naypyidaw has reaffirmed its commitment to the constitutional provisions that stipulate the duration of the state of emergency. The intention to hold parliamentary elections in 2023 is a stabilizing factor, which renders Myanmar’s political trajectory more predictable. It is sad that the West would try to not notice either of those things. The text drafted by the informal penholders is clear proof of that. At the same time, since the effect of this non-consensual document is going to be rather limited, we decided not to veto it, despite its clearly provocative nature.

Russia will continue promoting political dialogue and normalization in Myanmar and to oppose attempts to interfere in its internal affairs. We support the willingness of ASEAN to facilitate a settlement in and around Myanmar, that is, to address humanitarian problems and provide assistance to the people in need.

We believe that the collective efforts by ASEAN to implement the five-point consensus must be based on close interaction with Naypyidaw.

We remain convinced that the situation in Rakhine state should remain the only aspect of the situation in Myanmar on the Council's agenda. In that regard, promoting anti-Myanmar initiatives in the Security Council is both inappropriate and counter-productive.

The President: I shall now make an explanation of vote in my national capacity.

At the outset, I would like to compliment the delegation of United Kingdom, under Ambassador Barbara Woodward, for having negotiated the text of resolution 2669 (2022) in a transparent and consultative manner by taking into account the views of neighbouring countries, and in particular those of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and keeping their concerns on board.

India shares a nearly 1,700-kilometre-long border with Myanmar and has historical and cultural links with its people. As such, any instability in the country impacts us directly. Resolving the current crisis and the maintenance of peace, stability and prosperity in Myanmar are therefore of direct interest to our national security. The welfare of the people of Myanmar remains our utmost priority and is at the core of all our efforts.

We believe that the complex situation in Myanmar calls for an approach of quiet and patient diplomacy. Any other course will not help in resolving the long-standing issues that have prevented enduring peace, stability,

progress and democratic governance. Under the current circumstances, we are of the considered view that a Security Council resolution may entrench the parties in their inflexible positions, rather than encourage them to pursue an inclusive political dialogue.

We strongly call upon all parties for an immediate cessation of hostilities and to abandon their extreme positions and immediately initiate an inclusive political dialogue for the restoration of democracy. Political leaders should be released and allowed to resume political activities. The United Nations system should assist the parties in dialogue so that the state of emergency comes to an end and the country returns to the democratic path.

It is therefore important to carefully weigh actions by the Council. Quiet and constructive diplomacy is the desirable recourse for seeking constructive and enduring solutions in Myanmar. The consequences of instability will affect neighbouring countries the most, and it is therefore important to consider their views and perspectives seriously.

In view of those concerns and our firm commitment to the democratic process and the well-being of the people in Myanmar, India has decided to abstain in the voting on the resolution.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers.

The meeting rose at 3.40 p.m.