

UNODA Occasional Papers, No. 41, December 2023

Celebrating 45 years of the Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters

**Creative, inclusive, and cooperative
diplomacy at work**

Suzanne Oosterwijk, Editor



**United
Nations**

OFFICE FOR DISARMAMENT AFFAIRS
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GUIDE TO THE USER

The United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA) publishes the UNODA Occasional Papers series to feature papers that deal with topical issues in the field of arms limitation, disarmament and international security, as well as statements made at meetings, symposiums, seminars, workshops or lectures. They are intended primarily for those concerned with these matters in Government, civil society and the academic community.

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About the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters and this Occasional Paper

The Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters (ABDM) was established in 1978 pursuant to paragraph 124 of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, and received its current mandate pursuant to General Assembly decision 54/418 of 1 December 1999.

The Board's primary function is to advise the United Nations Secretary-General on matters within the area of arms limitation and disarmament, including on studies and research under the auspices of the United Nations or institutions within the United Nations system. In addition, its members serve as Trustees of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR).

The Secretary-General chooses the members of the Board from all regions of the world for their knowledge and experience in the field of disarmament and international security. There are 15 members of the Board. The Director of UNIDIR is an ex officio member.

The Advisory Board holds two sessions each year, alternating between New York and Geneva, and adopts its agenda based on requests from the Secretary-General for advice on specific disarmament issues.

The chairperson of the Board rotates on a yearly basis (or by discussion topic) and is responsible for submitting a private report on each session to the Secretary-General. Pursuant to General Assembly resolution 38/183 O of 20 December 1983 (A/RES/38/183), the Secretary-General reports annually to the General Assembly on the activities of the Advisory Board.

This publication celebrates 45 years of cooperative diplomacy through the ABDM. In it, current and former members share their reflections on the Board's past achievements, its evolution and strengths, and how to push for progress on life-saving disarmament topics during a trying time for international peace and security.

Foreword

In 1978, the General Assembly established the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters (ABDM). Then, as now, its main objective was “to advise the Secretary-General on matters within the area of arms limitation and disarmament.”

Implicit in the ABDM’s origins was a belief by the United Nations General Assembly that the Secretary-General should draw on independent voices to offer innovative insights and foresight that could enable disarmament and non-proliferation actions. It was an important nod to the value of analysis, dialogue and diplomacy. Forty-five years later, the need for each of these has only grown stronger.

Regrettably, we are living in an especially difficult geo-political moment, where trust and confidence between and among states has decreased along with security cooperation. Valued treaties and agreements that comprise the global disarmament, arms control, and non-proliferation architecture are being eroded or abandoned. Global military spending is at a record high of US\$2.24 trillion. We have seen shockingly inflammatory rhetoric about the potential use of weapons of mass destruction that should have been confined to the dustbin of history. And small arms and conventional weapons continue to fuel conflict, with devastating consequences for civilian

populations. And as the most recent ABDM report underscored, these developments divert sorely needed resources from priorities that must urgently be addressed — climate action, social and economic justice, and gender equality.

Now, as much as ever, the work of the Advisory Board matters. Its members offer the United Nations Secretary-General their best advice and recommendations on pressing peace and security concerns as they relate to disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation. The members’ relative independence, alongside the Board’s current diversity, are among its key strengths. Their ability also to signal opportunities for partnership with civil society stakeholders and to inform and empower citizens, particularly young people, to work for positive change on peace and security matters feels especially consequential at the moment.

The work of disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control is a global project in which we each have a significant stake and shared responsibility. To generate momentum, a transformative mindset, fresh ideas and actionable steps are needed. The ABDM can lead by example, advancing the United Nations Charter’s promise to the peoples of this world for a safer, more equal, and sustainable future.

To this end, this Occasional Paper is meant to provide inspiration. The contributions of current and former ABDM members from around the world showcase past achievements and offer new ideas for the Board, which I trust will stimulate innovative approaches for the decades to come.

It is my hope and expectation that the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters

will continue to do its part by offering the Secretary-General constructive and practical recommendations that help reposition disarmament and arms control back at the heart of the international peace and security agenda.

Let's work together for peace.

Ambassador Elissa Golberg (Canada),
Chair of the Advisory Board on
Disarmament Matters

Authors



Dr. Kate Dewes (New Zealand) has co-directed the Christchurch Disarmament & Security Centre (DSC) with her husband Robert Green since 1998. She was on the International Steering Committee for the World Court Project; a member of the Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control; a part-time lecturer in Peace Studies at the University of Canterbury for 20 years; the Expert of New Zealand on the Group of Governmental Experts to Prepare a United Nations Study on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education (2000–2002); and a member of the Secretary-General’s Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters (2008–2013).

Dr. Togzhan Kassenova (Kazakhstan/United States) is an expert on nuclear politics and financial crime prevention. She is the author of the award-winning “Atomic Steppe: How Kazakhstan Gave Up the Bomb” (Stanford University Press, 2022). Dr. Kassenova served on the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters between 2011 and 2015.



Ambassador Leena Al-Hadid (Jordan) is the Ambassador of Jordan to France and the Permanent Delegate of Jordan to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). She previously served as Secretary General of the Jordanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as Jordan’s Permanent Representative to the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the United Nations in Vienna, and as a chairperson of the International Atomic Energy Agency’s Board of Governors. She served on the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters from 2020 to 2023.



Ambassador Nobuyasu Abe (ret.) (Japan) was the Commissioner of the Japan Atomic Energy Commission from 2014 to 2017. He is a former United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs (2003–2006) and former Director-General for Arms Control and Science Affairs (1997–1999) of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He served as Director of the Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation — currently called the Center for Disarmament, Science and Technology (CDAST) — at the Japan Institute of International Affairs (2008–2014). Ambassador Abe served on the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters from 2008 to 2012.



Ambassador Olga Pellicer (Mexico) served in the Mexican foreign service as an Ambassador in Greece, Austria, and international organizations in Vienna and as Alternate Ambassador to the United Nations in New York. She also was General Director of the Instituto Matías Romero, the diplomatic academy of the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As a scholar, she has been professor at El Colegio de México and is now a professor at the National Autonomous Technological Institute (ITAM). Ms. Pellicer served on the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters from 2008 to 2014.

Professor Eghosa Osaghae (Nigeria) is the Director-General of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), Nigeria's foreign policy and international affairs think tank. Previously, he was a tenured Professor of Political Science at the University Ibadan. He joined the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters in January 2022.



Ambassador (ret.) Carlo Trezza (Italy) coordinates the Italian European Leadership Network group. He chaired the Missile Technology Control Regime, the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva and was Italy's Ambassador for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation. Ambassador Trezza served on the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters from 2008 to 2013.

**“Disarmament is
my favorite word
in English”**

– the role of the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters in
keeping dialogue going and for pushing forward in search of
cooperation towards a better world

Olga Pellicer

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“Disarmament is my favorite word in English”

– the role of the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters in keeping dialogue going and for pushing forward in search of cooperation towards a better world

Olga Pellicer

The United Nations is now needed more than ever before. But unfortunately, it is not functioning as we all had hoped and envisioned that it would. This dysfunction is on clear display in the Security Council, but it also applies to our disarmament machinery.

I became a university professor after a long and rewarding career as a diplomat for my country, Mexico. Oftentimes I would have students examine the deadlock in the Conference on Disarmament (CD) – giving them a concrete case study of how paralysis can grip a multilateral organ. It is a shame that it has gotten to this point, really, and it was not always like this. That body has done very important things in the area of disarmament. For example, the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty established a global norm against nuclear weapons testing and was a powerful demonstration of what could be achieved by the Conference. The negotiation and adoption of the Chemical Weapons Convention was another major success. But it has been long been unable to fulfil its role as the sole negotiating body for multilateral disarmament.

The intrinsic link between the Conference on Disarmament and the Advisory Board

on Disarmament Matters was the most challenging aspect of my tenure on the Board, which spanned the years between 2008 and 2014. At that time, quite a number of Board members were simultaneously serving as the representatives for their countries in the Conference on Disarmament, which was engulfed by paralysis. The environment did not allow for any advancements, the stalemate on a prohibition on fissile material being a case in point. And the gridlock in the CD spilled over into the functioning of the Board. I remember vividly taking on the honourable role as the Chair of the Board in 2011, resolving to speak to each and every president of the CD to get a better understanding of their points of view. In my mind, if I were to understand their positions, it would have led me in the direction of diplomatic solutions, of compromise. Those conversations were immensely frustrating because the issues they put forward were trivial! The grievances centred around procedural decisions, such as whom to elect as president and what items to feature on the agenda. Those were not real problems, yet they sucked up all the air in the room and led to endless conversations without reaching a concrete outcome.



Desmond Bowen (right), Chairman of the Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters, during the Board's meeting taking place in Geneva on 26-28 June. At left is Angela Kane, UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs. Geneva, 2013.

It is a great development that the Board has evolved from those days. Looking at its composition in 2023, I am happy to see that the practice of appointing CD ambassadors as Board members has mostly been abandoned. This de-coupling allows for much greater freedom of expression and enables Board members to truly draw from their personal experiences and perspectives. Positively, there are also many more women serving on the Board – I am excited that it has not only reached parity, there is now a majority of women Board members.

Now, I do believe that the Board could do with more disarmament champions.

My country Mexico has long been a staunch advocate for disarmament, arms control

Now, I do believe that the Board could do with more disarmament champions.

and non-proliferation. Together with other countries like Ireland, Canada, Norway, New Zealand and Costa Rica, we have played historic roles in moving the needle on live-saving initiatives, including the Arms Trade Treaty, the Mine Ban Treaty and the Convention on Cluster Munitions. Those treaties and agreements are the kind of “disarmament that saves lives” that the present Secretary-General has advocated for. Indeed, the impacts of small arms and light weapons and other types of conventional weapons are felt acutely in many parts of the world. They are widely used in armed conflict and, certainly in the southern hemisphere, illicit arms trafficking is a great enabler of violence, crime and drug trafficking. Feeding those peace and security challenges into the work of the Board is necessary as such issues are directly relevant to safeguarding the lives of many people.

So, I would like to see the Board dedicate a discussion cycle to the global arms trade.

More specifically, I would read with great interest its analysis and recommendations about ways to strengthen the conceptual link between the arms trade and trafficking and pervasive drug trade by cartels, who are often able to strengthen their role in the drug economy because of weapons coming from elsewhere, as well as concrete preventative actions countries can take.

Another area I feel passionate about is societal mobilization. All too often, politicians and decision-makers will not move unless a groundswell from citizens lifts them up to do the right thing. I believe fervently that we can move mountains in that way. The Advisory Board has a role to play here. I would like to see enhanced public engagement by its members to truly promote and raise awareness with the general public, and young people especially. In keeping with the times, they should do so by utilizing social media channels to share the work that it is doing. The Board's reports to the General Assembly are important and it is vital that States carefully consider the findings contained therein during meetings of the First Committee on disarmament and international security. But it is equally important, if not more so, to inform, educate and empower global citizens, particularly young people, so that they can strengthen their own viewpoints and speak up about vital disarmament and peace and security matters.

I am an optimistic person by nature, but the state of the world does keep me up at night. The raging armed conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East are devastating, with civilians paying the highest price. These wars must end – the human costs are simply too high. And the threat of the use of nuclear weapons is always looming, even more so in recent

years. The mere fact that these weapons exist keeps us perpetually trapped in a potential doomsday scenario. Additionally, the multilateral system is under great strain, and we are perceiving a shift in power distribution and increasing tensions between two rivals – the United States and China. What worries me the most is the profound lack of dialogue at a time when countries need to speak to each other to prevent the worst possible outcomes. I hope that the Advisory Board will continue to do its part in keeping dialogue going and for pushing forward, in search of cooperation towards a better world.

I have once said that “disarmament” is my favorite word in English.

Disarmament is about preventing major catastrophes in times of conflict, decreasing tensions, creating space for dialogue and building trust and confidence.

It needs to become a favourite word for all of us. There is no equitable peace, no security, and no development without it.



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“The task is to find a way to move nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation forward”

– the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters in a changing international context

Nobuyasu Abe



NON-PROLIFERATION

“The task is to find a way to move nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation forward”

– the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters in a changing international context

Nobuyasu Abe

It is a privilege to have been part of the disarmament community throughout my career, working for the noble cause of a nuclear-weapon-free world. It allowed me to meet and work with wonderfully smart, capable and determined people. I myself have always endeavoured to make a positive contribution for a better and safer world in all the positions I have held, both as an ambassador representing my country, Japan, home to the Hibakusha – the survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki

– and as the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs in the early 2000s.

And, I had the honour to serve on the ABDM for five years, from 2008 to 2012.

My most memorable moment?

It might sound surprising, but a recollection that has withstood the test of time was a leisurely stroll through a nice and quiet residential area, after a joint dinner. After a long day of deliberations at Les Palais, it was



The forty-second session of the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters was held today at UN Headquarters. Left to right at the table: Hannelore Hoppe, Deputy to the Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs; Nobuyasu Abe, Under-Secretary-General for Disarmament Affairs; Secretary-General Kofi Annan; Harald Müller (Germany), Chairman of the Board; Xiaoyu Wang, Secretary of the Board; and Christophe Carle, Deputy Director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research. New York, 2004.

a moment of reflection, of being together with calm ease.

That calm ease stands in stark contrast with the tumultuous times we are living through now.

During my time on the Board, President Barack Obama of the United States delivered his Prague speech, advocating a world without nuclear weapons. The Russian Federation and the United States had concluded negotiations for the New START Treaty, and the 2010 Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) had navigated towards a successful outcome. We were hopeful. There were possibilities. There was dialogue and ideas for the way forward. Since then, many of these hard-won gains have been systematically challenged, and in some cases – reversed.

It is no overstatement to say that the situation around world has deteriorated tremendously. Several arms control agreements have been abandoned and the New START Treaty is at risk of expiring soon without a succeeding arrangement. The war in Ukraine continues with the implicit and explicit threat of the potential use of nuclear weapons. Needless to say, the Advisory Board faces a far greater challenge than only what to recommend to the Secretary-General; it must put its collective resolve and thinking behind trying to identify practical ways to reverse these trends. We must find ways to restart dialogue and to, once again, put our trust into the

proven tools of disarmament to limit potential for further escalation.

I believe that political will is the answer to most of today's disarmament woes.

When I was appointed a Board member, I was an ambassador at the time. That meant that I was used to discussing issues related to disarmament and arms control

from a national position and perspective. Serving on the Board in my personal capacity, however, gave me a precious opportunity to speak frankly about delicate disarmament issues outside official meeting rooms. Precisely because we find ourselves in a very difficult moment for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, the Advisory Board provides a valuable

opportunity for the members from different political camps to meet with each other and have open conversations. The Secretary-General should continue to select members who are able to make efforts to find common ground among different views, who are independent in their thinking and actions, and who can offer creative solutions.

I truly believe that it is a vital task for the Board to move nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation forward.

It takes all of us in the disarmament community to overcome obstacles and join forces for a world free of nuclear weapons.

We must keep pushing for progress. Together.

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Creative and cooperative diplomacy at work

**– the forward-leaning drive of the Advisory Board on
Disarmament Matters**

Eghosa Osaghae

Diplomacy



Creative and cooperative diplomacy at work

– the forward-leaning drive of the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters

Eghosa Osaghae

As I reflect on my time on the ABDM, which I joined in January 2022, two words immediately spring to mind: diplomacy and collegiality.

Those two principles were the key forces at work in producing a robust report on global military spending — the discussion topic during my initial years serving on the Board. Military spending figures had been steadily increasing in the past decades, reaching an all-time high of US\$2.24 trillion in 2022, and we were tasked by the Secretary-General to recommend actions that could revive a longstanding objective, anchored in article 26 of the United Nations Charter, of achieving the least diversion of resources towards arms; and to encourage States to reimagine security, not only in military terms, but for the benefit of economic, environmental and social development.

Specifically, the Secretary-General asked the Board to reflect on three main questions, namely:

- What opportunities exist to reinforce transparency, confidence-building and practical dialogue as alternatives to stockpiling weapons

- How to build effective and durable cooperation-based security architectures
- How to facilitate new and transformative thinking on military spending.

At the outset of our work, we were keenly aware of the intricacy of the topic, not least because past work in this area had yielded limited results. In order to provide fresh yet practical new ideas, we began by undertaking a thorough analysis of the various drivers of military expenditures, informed by knowledgeable outside experts and practitioners. By gaining a fuller picture of those twenty-first century drivers and implications of military spending, we aimed to arrive at a set of initiatives that would contribute to a shift in thinking about contemporary global peace and security which could enable greater resources to be allocated for the socio-economic and environmental needs of people and the planet — consistent with shared global goals such as the attainment of the 2030 Agenda — and less for competitive arms spending.

While this was never an easy task, the period in which we conducted our work was especially turbulent. Our discussions became

considerably more complicated — and our debates more heated — by ideological differences on the war in Ukraine, while several other conflicts and wars continued to rage around the world. That development, I think, further eroded, and in some cases reversed, some of the modest gains on disarmament matters in the last few years. Moreover, levels and threats of insecurity — whether related to food, energy, climate change, terrorism or other issues — have increased all over the world and further complicated the arena of disarmament. This backdrop underlined all the more the necessity of new thinking and approaches beyond old wisdom strictly focused on military and nuclear matters.

That vision tied us together as a Board. While we had different notions about how

to get there, we all firmly rallied behind the unequivocal belief that there must be respect for international law; a recommitment to the treaties, agreements and instruments that make up the contemporary international peace and security architecture, including the United Nations Charter; and a rededication to fulfilling the ultimate vision of cooperation by States in the interests of all peoples and the planet.

Dialogue and diplomatic action were seen as invaluable both to improving the broader security climate and to slowing the current upward cycle of military expenditures. In that vein, we ourselves engaged in the cooperative negotiations we espoused in the hope that the microcosm of the Board could offer an example for cooperative disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation diplomacy.



The Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters for 2022 – 2023. From left to right (back row): Mr. Zia Mian, Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno, Ms. Marina Kaljurand, Ms. Margot Wallström, Ms. Mary Kaldor, Mr. Robin Geiss (ex-officio), Mr. Anton Khlopkov, H.E. Ms. Leena al-Hadid. Front row from left to right: H.E. Ms. Nabeela AIMullah, H.E. Ms. Elissa Golberg, H.E. Ms. Shorna-Kay Richards, ODA Director Thomas Markram.

As a Professor of Political Studies, it has been especially rewarding to witness and participate in the type of practical diplomatic ingenuity that is required to bring minds, ideas, positions and solutions together — for the shared purpose of providing actionable advice to the Secretary-General and to the disarmament community at large. We all owed a great debt to the Board’s Chair, Ambassador Elissa Golberg of Canada, who successfully managed the discussions in a transparent, equitable and cooperative manner.

While the United Nations might be mockingly referred to by some as a mere “talking shop”, those conversations have the potential to bear practical fruit when they result in concrete solutions and ways forward. Precisely there, at the intersection between diplomacy and creativity, is where the value of the Advisory Board lies. It has the potential to be agenda-setting, norm-building, and solution-finding, thereby informing the next steps of the Secretary-General.

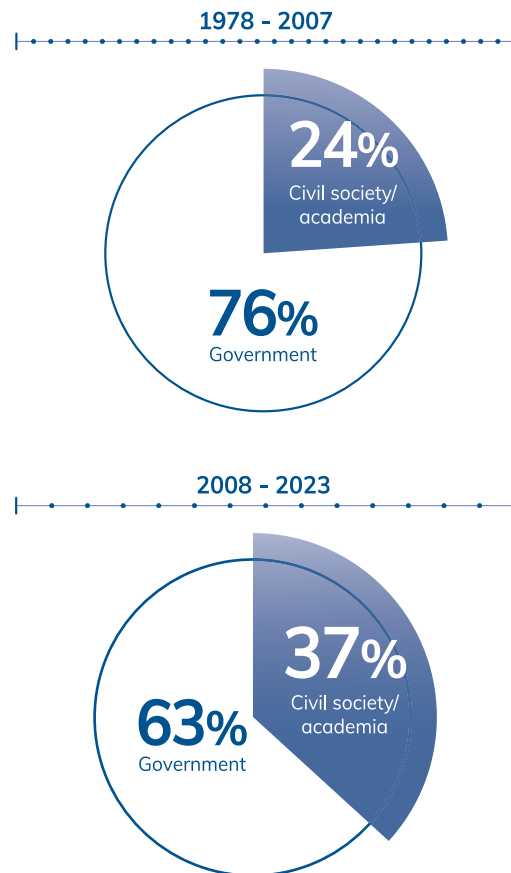
From my perspective, one such forward-facing pathway lies in forging closer ties between the

United Nations and regional organizations and platforms, particularly in the area of military spending. Where they exist, such forums are valuable venues for States to discuss, evaluate and assess their military budgets. Since each region is faced with a unique security environment and challenges, taking such an approach may allow countries to voice and address regional concerns, in turn contributing to an improved security climate and shifts in security approaches.

This tailored and regional approach was one of the pathways I sought to promote in our conversations. I was able to do so because of my expertise and background as a scholar from Nigeria who has engaged in practical research about governance, state politics and globalization. My experiences and background shape how I perceive the world. The same applies to the other Board members, who all bring their unique viewpoints and understanding. Diversity within the Board’s membership — balancing scholars, diplomats, and practical disarmament experts — will continue to be key in the next 45 years to come.

A varied body of experts: The professional backgrounds of ABDM members since 1979

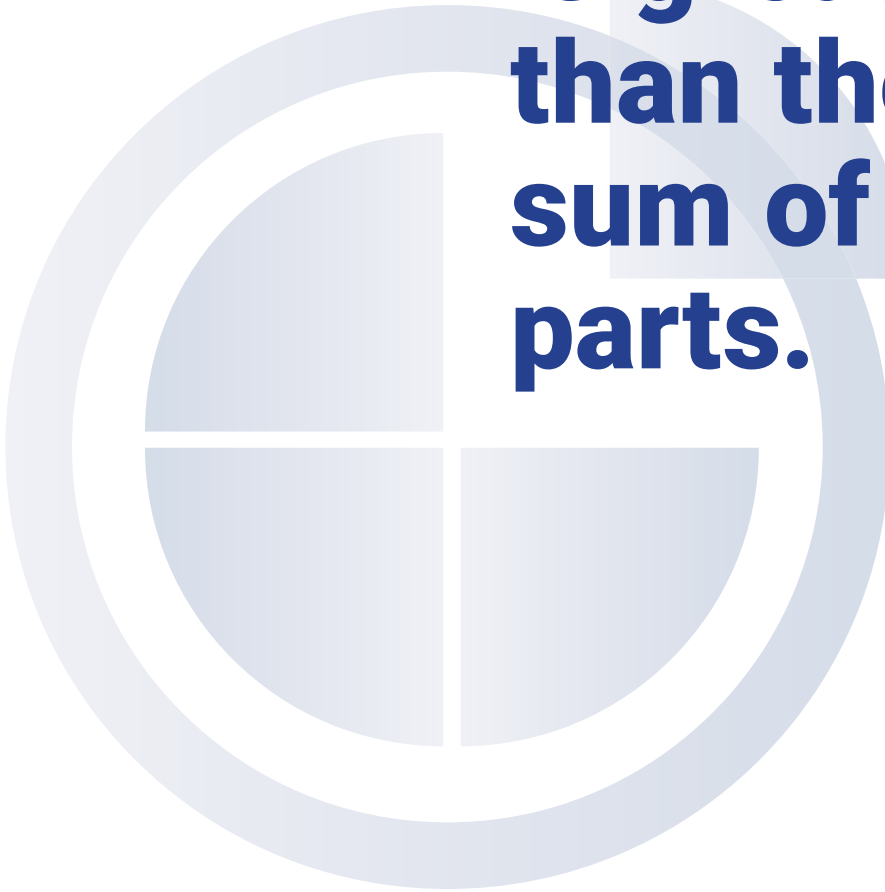
Precisely there, at the intersection between diplomacy and creativity, is where the value of the Advisory Board lies.



The whole, then, really is greater than the sum of its parts.

Fully unlocking the potential of the Advisory Board, I believe, also requires deliberate efforts to broaden the disarmament discourse. For example, in the area of nuclear disarmament, we should not get bogged down in narrow discussions about the interest of the so-called major powers or be taken hostage by the narrative that nuclear weapons provide safety. Instead, we should open the conversation up to foster cooperative approaches to fundamental and cross-cutting peace and conflict issues, such as the weaponization of food and energy and the mitigation of state fragility. Only then will we be able to truly deliver on the promise of safety, security and prosperity for all peoples.

**The whole,
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The Advisory Board as an instigator for change

– from supporting disarmament education to promoting youth voices and global awareness about the dangers of nuclear weapons

Kate Dewes



**CHANGE
CHANGE
CHANGE**

DISARMAMENT
EDUCATION
YOUTH VOICES

The Advisory Board as an instigator for change

– from supporting disarmament education to promoting youth voices and global awareness about the dangers of nuclear weapons

Kate Dewes

In February 2011, then-Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon opened the fifty-fifth meeting of the Board by acknowledging that my city of Christchurch, in New Zealand, had suffered a devastating earthquake overnight and asking me to convey his heartfelt condolences to our citizens. All members took the opportunity to share their sympathies. In my emotional response, I challenged us all to think about what the horrific health and environmental effects would have been if a nuclear weapon had been used, or if a nuclear power plant had been attacked or damaged by a tsunami following a large quake. Seventeen days later, a quake-induced tsunami severely damaged the Fukushima nuclear power plant in Japan. What I take away from these events is that we simply cannot risk continuing to co-exist with nuclear weapons. For all our sakes, our future, our planet, we must eliminate them. It takes but one miscalculation or accident for catastrophic consequences to be unleashed. Nuclear power plants are also vulnerable and can provide fissile material for nuclear weapons.

Raising awareness about the dangers of nuclear weapons and educating the public about the tools and instruments that exist

to guide us towards a world free of nuclear weapons is crucial. For example, in 2013, the General Assembly declared 26 September the International Day for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons, which is commemorated annually with a high-level meeting. Such initiatives gained international media attention and helped build momentum for the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), which was negotiated and adopted at the United Nations in 2017.

Such developments fill me with hope.

The good news is that in addition to the adoption of the TPNW, the past two decades saw the successful negotiation of the Arms Trade Treaty (2013) and the entry into force of nuclear-weapon-free-zone treaties in Africa and Central Asia. The bad news is that military spending is rampant and certain States are still using cluster munitions while threatening to use nuclear weapons and target nuclear power plants as a weapon of war. Then there are the dangers posed by the potential weaponization of new technologies like artificial intelligence.

As a body that provides up-to-date analysis and ideas for action by the Secretary-General

and Member States, the Advisory Board has a primary role to help address these issues. For example, future Boards could be asked to look into ways to ensure compliance with and greater universality of the TPNW. They also could investigate whether the time might be ripe for a new special session of the General Assembly on disarmament; such a session could identify practical ways to reform the disarmament machinery, including the Conference on Disarmament and the Disarmament Commission, “in order to optimize their respective roles, including to build consensus progressively on evolving disarmament priorities and review and make recommendations on developments in science and technology and their potential impact on disarmament and international security”, as the Secretary-General outlines in his [New Agenda for Peace](#). The Board could also meaningfully contribute to thinking about bigger, overarching topics, such as legal alternatives to war and use of the International Court of Justice in resolving disputes and upholding compliance with international law. In addition, by encouraging States to include youth, parliamentarians and civil society organizations in their delegations at disarmament treaty negotiations and

In that connection, the Advisory Board itself is a positive example of diversity.

meetings, the Board can help modernize and democratize the United Nations.

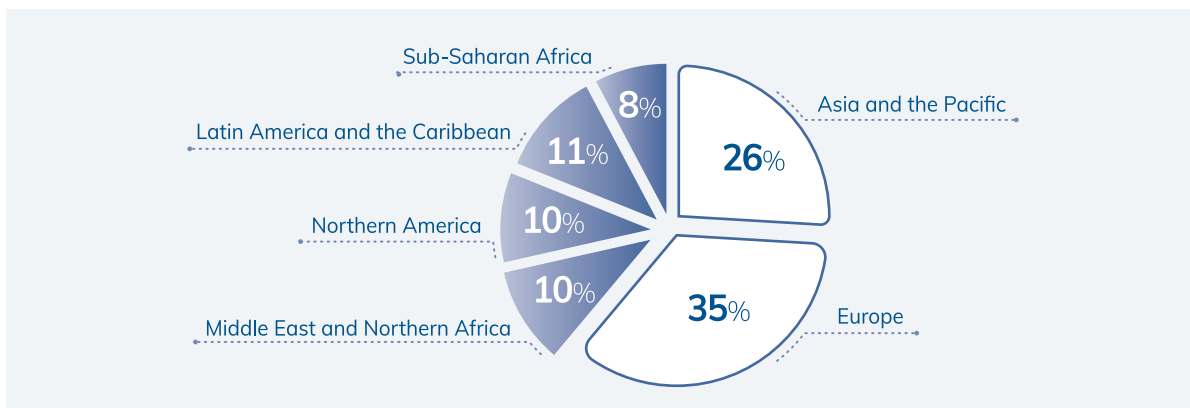
In that connection, the Advisory Board itself is a positive example of diversity.

It is very encouraging to note that in recent years the membership of the Board has improved dramatically in terms of representation of women, academia and non-governmental organizations. The membership list contains fewer former ambassadors and more academics with qualifications and experience in disarmament, peace and conflict resolution. For me, the most rewarding part of my experience on the Board involved working collaboratively with various women academic colleagues and a few diplomats from smaller States with expertise in disarmament matters.

Still, there is room for improvement.

More regional balance is needed to include members from small States such as the South Pacific islands. Youth and students should also be represented with support from past Board members — perhaps there could be some sort of mentoring programme? This would certainly provide new ideas and energy in deliberations to support the Secretary-General.

Geographical diversity on the ABDM



Moreover, it is high time for indigenous peoples, who have been inordinately affected by nuclear tests on their lands and in their seas, to be represented at meetings of the Board as members and briefers. Their voices need to be heard across disarmament forums, not least so that fair remediation is negotiated for them as outlined in articles VI and VII of the TPNW.

I also see scope for more meaningful outputs by the ABDM, especially around disarmament education.

The 2002 United Nations Study on Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Education (A/57/124) has been regularly included on the Board's agenda and continues to be referred to in the Board's reports to the General Assembly. For example, the Board reported in 2017 that the Study "remains relevant and comprehensive in its coverage" and recommended that it be reissued with a new foreword and distributed to all relevant United Nations gatherings.

Serving on the Group of Governmental Experts that produced the Study from 2000 to 2002 helped me to better understand United Nations processes and enabled me to ensure that the Study was reviewed and placed on the agenda for further action by States. Still, regular reporting of disarmament education activities by States continues to be poor except where academics and non-governmental organizations work closely with governments to prepare the documentation. In New Zealand, the Government established a fund to support community groups and educators in implementing many of the Study's 34

recommendations. I would like to see the Advisory Board continue to raise the need for disarmament education and identify similarly practical ways that States can support implementation of its recommendations.

As one of the younger non-governmental Board members, it was daunting to work closely with ambassadors and diplomats from nuclear weapon and allied States who often dominated the discussion from their country's viewpoint despite being appointed in their personal capacities. At times, forward movement was thwarted by entrenched political positions already represented within the UN system which prevented creative,

positive movement for change. The reports to the Secretary-General sometimes reflected the dominant personalities and was the lowest common denominator of what was often presented in the papers and discussion by the wider group.

Yet we did make progress.

My first "food for thought" paper for the Board, prepared in February 2008, encouraged the Secretary-General to

build on the so-called Hoover Plan and speak out strongly for nuclear disarmament. I distributed copies of a Model Nuclear Weapons Convention and books critical of nuclear deterrence to all our members. During Disarmament Week that October, the Secretary-General released his Five Point Plan calling on States to commence negotiations on a nuclear weapons convention, and he circulated the draft treaty to help guide such negotiations. In February 2009, the Secretary-General took forward another suggestion to establish a group of "Friends of the Plan" and push for a dedicated United Nations

I also see scope for more meaningful outputs by the ABDM, especially around disarmament education.

Disarmament Decade and Disarmament Day. At the next meeting of the General Assembly, 29 August was announced as the new International Day against Nuclear Tests. In 2010, Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon became the first Secretary-General to visit Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the former nuclear test site at Semipalatinsk. In February 2010, he wrote to the Head of every Senate or Parliament of all States promoting his Five Point Plan and called on parliamentarians to support peace and bring disarmament treaties into force.

That brings me to the added value of the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters. It can truly provide a useful mechanism for the Secretary-General to hear a wider range of viewpoints and explore new avenues for action in a formal process. I will continue to follow the work of the Board with great interest and support its important mission.

I know there will always be conflict. But I feel that the Board can show the way of resolving conflict without guns or bombs.

I feel a lot of hope, actually. I'm a great optimist.

**I feel that the
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conflict
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or bombs.**



Navigating the shifting international security environment

Carlo Trezza

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY



Navigating the shifting international security environment

Carlo Trezza

I was a member of the ABDM from 2008 to 2013 during the period in which Ban Ki-moon was the Secretary-General of the United Nations. I had the distinct honour of chairing the Board in the year 2010.

The international situation then was totally different from the current one.

We were living in the euphoria of the end of the cold war and nurtured high hopes of making real progress in the field of disarmament, particularly in the realm of nuclear disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation. Hope had not yet been lost that the Conference on Disarmament (CD) would eventually resume negotiations, that it would be possible to begin negotiating an agreement on banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons and that the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty would enter into force. The positive general political climate at the United Nations made it possible for the 2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) to result in a consensual working programme.

That optimism also reverberated in the ABDM.

One of the initial topics we discussed when I was onboarded was how to follow up on the so-called “Hoover Plan”, which had resulted from a conference held in 2006 to reconsider the vision of the Reykjavik summit held two decades earlier. The leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union had discussed eliminating all nuclear weapons during the 1986 meeting, but they were unable to reach agreement. The Hoover conference resulted in an op-ed published in *The Wall Street Journal* in January 2007, in which four eminent American Democratic and Republican “horsemen of the nuclear apocalypse”¹ called upon the United States to lead the world to “a solid consensus for reversing reliance on nuclear weapons globally”. Similar initiatives were launched in other countries, including my native Italy.

My tenure on the Board included exploring the implications of that initiative, which linked a vision of a world free of nuclear weapons with urgent steps designed to reduce nuclear dangers, in connection with multilateral efforts towards nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. As an outcome of

¹ George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger and Sam Nunn.

our discussions, members of the Board recommended that the Secretary-General continue strengthening his personal role in generating political will in the field of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. We also recommended that he should seize the momentum created by the Hoover Plan and encourage wider discussions regarding its objectives, with the United Nations possibly acting as a multilateral forum for such discussions.

The approach taken by the Secretary-General to disarmament and to the Advisory Board is another vital measure of the ABDM's success.

During my tenure, the chief of the United Nations was very active and outspoken in the disarmament field. He made it a point to interact with his Board members and keep a finger on the pulse of its deliberations. I look back with warm fondness on a lunch event for Board members which, as Chair, I had organized in honour of Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. There, we had the opportunity to informally discuss a broad variety of issues regarding the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation. Insofar as such meetings still occur today, I believe they serve a very useful purpose, enabling the Board to provide meaningful and

The approach taken by the Secretary-General to disarmament and to the Advisory Board is another vital measure of the ABDM's success.

impactful advice for the Secretary-General to take forward.

A concrete example of constructive synergy between the Advisory Board and the United Nations system emerged from one of the outcomes of the High-Level Meeting on Revitalizing the Work of the Conference on Disarmament and Taking Forward Multilateral Disarmament Negotiations, convened by Secretary-

General Ban Ki-moon in 2010. Numerous foreign ministers participated in person and the meeting led to, amongst other things, a request that the Advisory Board provide the Secretary-General with appropriate recommendations to get out of the impasse at the CD. The assessment of the High-Level Meeting included the possible establishment of a panel of eminent persons to look at the functioning of the Conference. As a Board, we worked hard towards this goal and, in our advice, stressed that a political solution was required to break the body's enduring stalemate. The lack of political will, rather than the technical difficulties being encountered, was seen as the principal problem faced by the Conference. Regrettably, that analysis still holds true today.




Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (second from left) meets with his Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters (ABDM). On his right is Angela Kane, UN High Representative for Disarmament Affairs. New York, 2014.

Another area that the Advisory Board prioritized was disarmament education – a concept that was indeed included in the 2010 NPT action plan. We also encouraged the Secretary-General to hold conferences in the academic world, a suggestion he implemented on several occasions. Personally, I see a vital role for the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (ODA) to continue to strengthen and expand on its disarmament education and outreach activities, targeting both the disarmament community and the general public. When it still existed, I was an avid reader of the daily Disarmament Digest – a compilation of news articles related to disarmament that ODA provided. While that product was discontinued, I was pleased to learn of its revamped and modernized successor Disarmament in Review, which now reaches the inboxes of those who want to keep track of relevant developments in the disarmament field twice weekly.

In today's fraught environment, I believe that the number one priority is to prevent the use or threat of nuclear weapons in current and future conflicts.

Reiterating the adage that “a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought”, as well as affirming the inadmissibility of using nuclear weapons, are crucial steps forward, albeit the first timid ones. It would be more impactful if all nuclear-weapon States committed themselves to the concept of “no first use”, which some countries with nuclear weapons have already done.

If all others followed, a nuclear war would not take place.



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“Do not listen to the noise around”

**– promoting greater diversity and inclusivity for the Advisory
Board on Disarmament Matters**

Leena Al-Hadid



“Do not listen to the noise around”

– promoting greater diversity and inclusivity for the Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters

Leena Al-Hadid

In its 45-year existence, the membership of the ABDM has become increasingly diverse. In my time as a member from 2020 to 2023, it continued to move closer to gender parity — there are now eight women and seven men on the Board.

I myself am a living testimony of the significance of the evolution of its membership, being the first woman from the Middle East — the part of the world I call home — to serve on this distinguished body.

Positively, there have been advances made globally and in my region towards gender equality since the adoption of Security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security, with the inclusion of women in traditionally male-dominated roles such as diplomacy, the military and arms control. However, women’s representation remains low, particularly so in the Middle East region, where concerted effort is needed to remove social and cultural expectations and allow

more women to participate in international security positions.

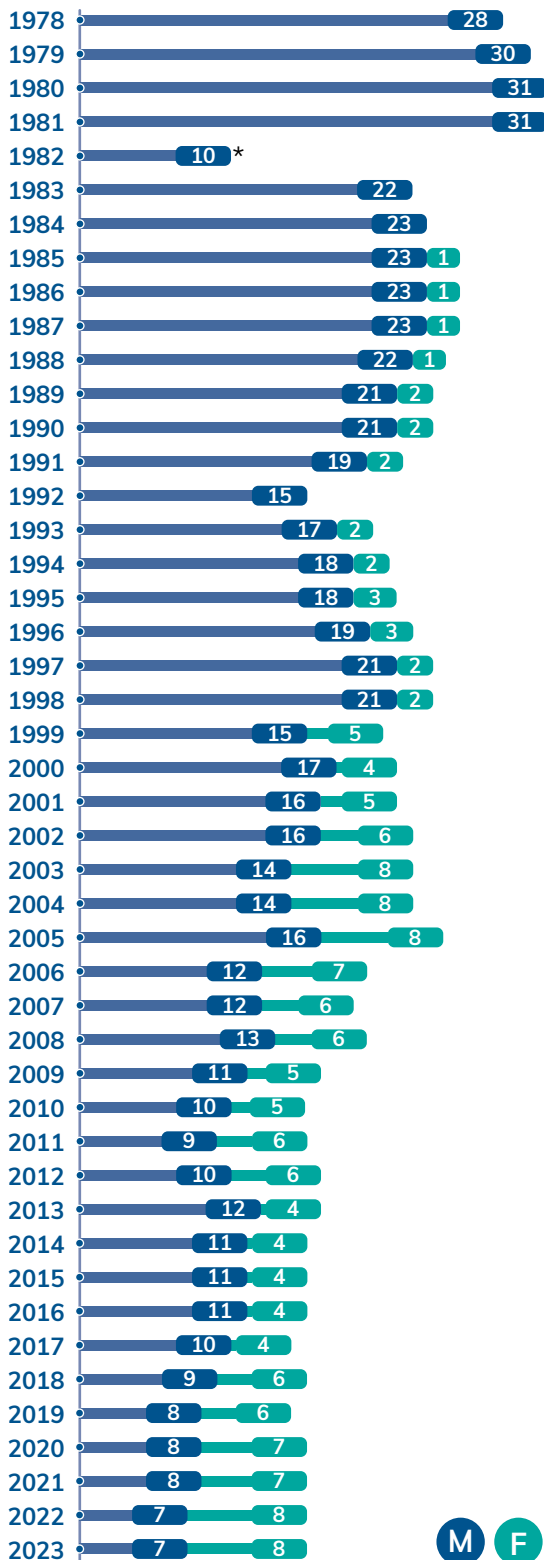
It fills me with a great sense of optimism and promise to have stepped over that threshold by being appointed by the Secretary-General to join the Board, paving the way for many more experienced, capable and insightful women from this part of the world to advance global peace and security. Women must persevere, stay focused and avoid listening to the noise around us — we have the right to be part of the discussions that impact our lives.

Beyond the conviction that working towards gender parity on the ABDM is the “right thing to do”, I am certain that greater diversity in terms of age, gender, geographical origin and substantive know-how benefits our collective thinking and decision-making.

There is so much untapped talent out there waiting to be discovered. Moreover, diversity and inclusivity promote a greater

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Marking progress to parity: Gender representation on the ABDM by year



* There was no ABDM session in 1982.

sense of ownership and the understanding that disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation efforts indeed concern all of us. This belief shaped my time as a member of the Board, where I took every opportunity to contribute to global efforts in the field of disarmament, engage in substantive discussions and debates, and help shape policy recommendations based on my past professional experiences and the region I come from.

I would also like to see greater cross-generational engagement in the deliberations of the Board.

Crucially, involvement in disarmament issues by today's young people — the largest generation in history, with 1.8 billion members — holds great potential to shape a more peaceful and secure future. Clearly identifying their role, especially in the context of armed conflict and their impact on younger generations, will bring sorely needed perspectives and approaches that could lead to more comprehensive and lasting solutions to ending wars and promoting arms control.

Anniversaries award us with the opportunity to look back on past achievements as well as hurdles. They show us how far we have come and how much work remains to be done. Celebratory milestones, such as the ABDM's forty-fifth anniversary, also allow us to reflect on times we found ourselves in the midst of unprecedented events. The COVID-19 pandemic was one such event, inflicting immense suffering and despair as it disrupted supply chains around the world and tested the resilience of global health care systems. Of course, the pandemic also greatly impacted the work of the Board. On a practical level, it required us to adapt to new online meeting spaces and protocols. Yet even as restrictions on travel and physical gatherings pushed us onto virtual meeting platforms, we tried as

much as possible to continue to play a crucial role in developing policy recommendations to address challenges in the context of the pandemic.

Although the pandemic has subsided and we have resumed in-person working practices, the world is still reeling from its far-reaching impacts. Those reverberations are compounded by other crises, such as a rise in armed conflict and natural disasters fueled by climate change. The pandemic underlined that some problems are too big to be handled by any one State or actor. The same holds true for global peace and security — only through collective disarmament efforts can we stop arms races, build trust, prevent and end crises and armed conflict, and protect people from harm.

That is the lesson the Advisory Board must carry over into its next chapter.

I wish for the ABDM to continue to play its vital role in raising awareness about disarmament issues and advocating for their importance at national and international levels through open and constructive discussions. The goal must remain to challenge conventional thinking. To do so, future Boards need to be diverse, inclusive and nimble, allowing for a continuous evaluation of advancements in new and emerging fields and identifying where gaps in multilateral disarmament exist.

We can expect that the international security environment and the disarmament arena will continue to change.

The rapid advancement of emerging technologies, such as artificial intelligence, cyber capabilities and autonomous weapons systems, raises serious concerns

about potential impacts on international security. On the Board, the development and potential use of such advanced tools are increasingly the subject of discussions centred around ensuring responsible innovation and preventing unintended negative consequences. In addition, as the link between climate change and security has gained increased recognition, I believe it merits a closer look through a disarmament lens. For example, how can military spending levels be balanced against other means of protecting people's security, including through solving the climate crisis, inequality, and poverty reduction?

It is the Board's duty to consistently offer its perspectives on the efficacy of the status quo and existing initiatives and suggest requisite modifications or enhancements, and to point to new governance approaches on issues where those not yet exist. By analyzing trends, emerging challenges, and identifying best practices, we can generate actionable recommendations that can be considered by Member States, relevant international organizations, and other stakeholders.

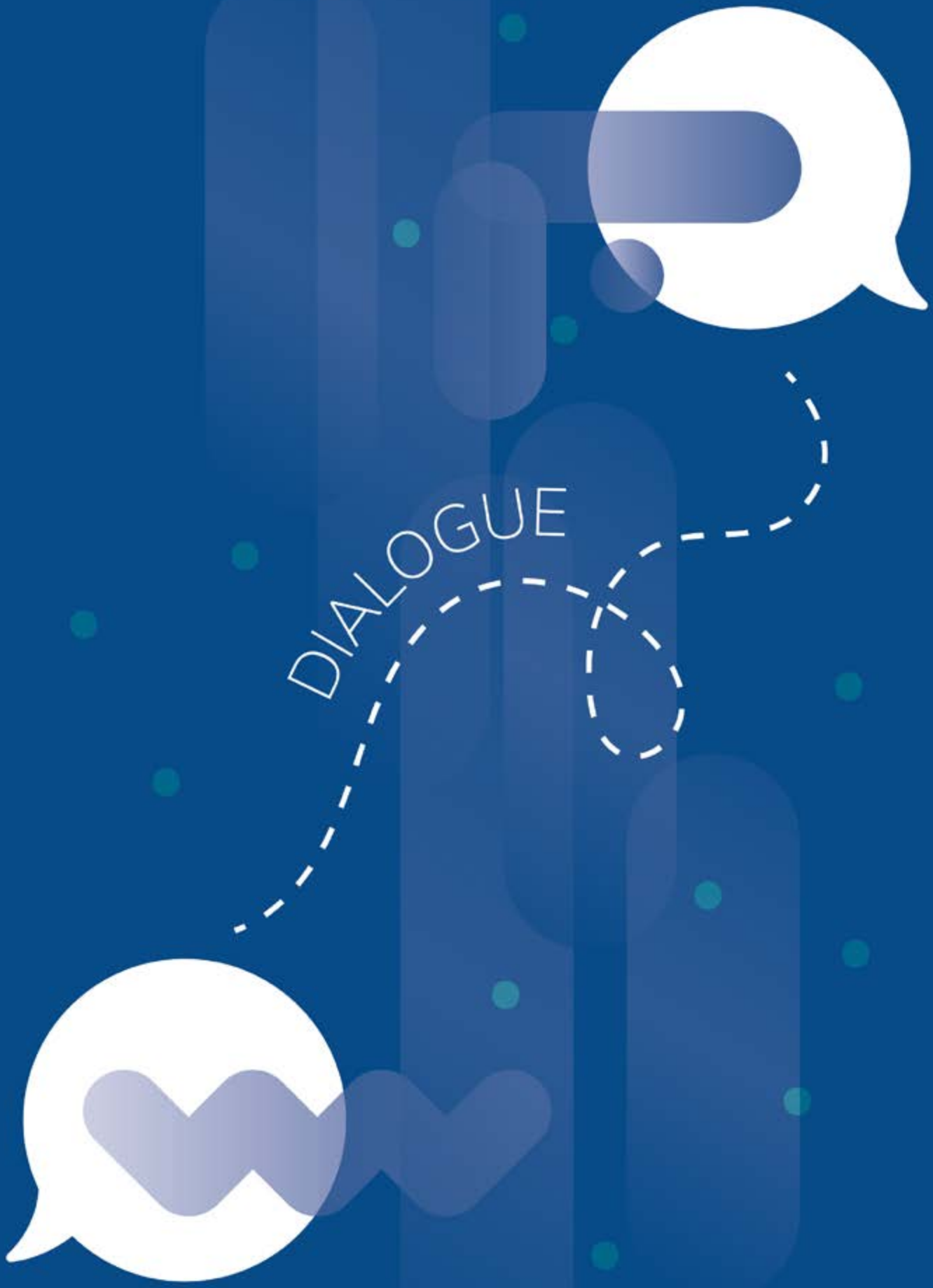
As I am writing this chapter, the world is holding its breath at the escalation of tension in the Middle East and the endless cycle of violence using advanced technology, with its direct negative effect on the near futures of youth and women. This painful realization strengthens my conviction that there is a clear need for the Advisory Board to continue its fundamental role of tackling complex issues — for all our sakes.

The goal must remain to challenge conventional thinking.

A valuable platform for dialogue amidst multilateral deadlocks

Togzhan Kassenova

DIALOGUE



A valuable platform for dialogue amidst multilateral deadlocks

Togzhan Kassenova

The ABDM fulfils a unique role in the disarmament machinery.

It offers a valuable platform for meaningful dialogue on pressing disarmament issues, which is especially vital when the appetite for such conversation among countries and in multilateral forums is rapidly diminishing. The members of the Board, who serve in their personal capacity, should use this incredible opportunity to express their viewpoints more freely and hold more informal exchanges, not bound by national or regional positions. Such engagement is highly useful, particularly on the topic of nuclear weapons and nuclear disarmament, as it allows members to abandon talking points and entrenched positions and, instead, embrace bold and practical recommendations to benefit the Secretary-General and the entire United Nations community.

As a scholar, I considered it my responsibility to contribute in a substantive way to food-for-thought papers that we used as a basis for deliberations. To give a few examples:

my work in the export control field allowed me to provide an analysis of conventional arms regulation and the future of the United Nations architecture. Likewise, the experience of Kazakhstan and my own research on the impact of nuclear tests in various parts of the world informed my food-for-thought paper on the humanitarian consequences of nuclear use. And my scholarly work on the Central Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone provided the basis for a paper on the relations between the nuclear-weapon-free zones and their role in advancing regional and global security.

Diversity is the Board's greatest strength.

Bringing in experts with deep technical expertise in the specific topics on the agenda, either as members or as invited speakers, elevates the overall substantive capacity of the Board. But it is equally vital that members strive towards the "highest common denominator" rather than the lowest. If I were to give a word of advice to new members, it would be not to shy away from offering courageous and creative proposals. In my

The ABDM fulfils a unique role in the disarmament machinery.

time, forward-leaning recommendations would sometimes fall victim to ideological and political differences. The Board should resist such dynamics and keep the greater good as its North Star.

The Advisory Board does not only fulfil a special role in the disarmament landscape but also in my family's history.

My father, Dr. Oumiserik Kassenov, in the 1990s became the first person from Kazakhstan to serve on the Board, doing so until his untimely passing in 1998. It was especially significant for someone from my country to join the ABDM at that time, given that in 1991, the Government of Kazakhstan had shut down the Semipalatinsk test site, where the Soviet Union conducted several hundred nuclear weapons tests. In 1993, after thoughtful deliberations, Kazakhstan joined the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) as a non-nuclear-weapon State. My father was part of a small circle of advisors to Kazakhstan's leadership on nuclear decisions.

More than a decade after my father's tenure, I became the second person from Kazakhstan to join the Advisory Board, and at age 33, I was the youngest member in its history. It was an immense honour and privilege to be invited to share my knowledge and experience, for two reasons. First, I tremendously valued the opportunity to serve alongside experts and diplomats from around the world. Throughout my career, I have become convinced that personal connections are, in many ways, at the core of how successful we are at achieving peace and security. While we are all, of course, working on substantive issues and seeking progress in disarmament and arms control, those personal bonds reinforce our shared humanity — no matter our background, convictions, history or place of origin. They help us to

assess the bigger picture, connect to shared values and goals, and forge agreement and compromise. Secondly, on a personal level, it meant a lot to follow in my father's footsteps and continue his service to the United Nations and the international community.

One of my most memorable moments was meeting former Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon.

It was very fulfilling to talk to him about his visit to Kazakhstan — to the former Soviet nuclear testing site in Semipalatinsk. I have since gone on to explore how and why Kazakhstan gave up the world's fourth largest nuclear arsenal, which it had inherited after the collapse of the Soviet Union, in my book, *Atomic Steppe: How Kazakhstan Gave Up the Bomb*. I was compelled to commit this history to paper and share with the world the dramatic ecological and public health effects of decades of nuclear testing and the determination of undaunted diplomats, citizens, and scientists to get rid of the world's most destructive weapons. I am proud that Kazakhstan spearheaded the initiative for the International Day Against Nuclear Tests, which is commemorated annually on 29 August — the day that the Semipalatinsk test site closed for good — to increase awareness and education “about the effects of nuclear weapon test explosions or any other nuclear explosions and the need for their cessation as one of the means of achieving the goal of a nuclear-weapon-free world.”

The Advisory Board, for its part, should never lose sight of the life-saving importance of disarmament work.

This bears particular emphasis in light of the various negative

The Advisory Board, for its part, should never lose sight of the life-saving importance of disarmament work.




Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (seated, second from left) poses for a group photo with his Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters (ABDM). To his left is István Gyarmati, Chair of the Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters. New York, 2015.

changes that I have observed in the international security environment and the disarmament arena since my time as a Board member. The risks of a nuclear weapon being used are the highest since the cold war period, and the overall international security environment — with multiple conflicts going on simultaneously — is deeply concerning. However, there have been several shifts that fill me with careful optimism. For one, the 2017 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) brought a new dynamic to the conversation on nuclear disarmament. Many voices that were previously dismissed are now heard loud and clear. The field itself also looks different; there is much more diversity in all senses, from gender and age to background, region and ethnicity.

I am especially heartened by the new energy of youth who feel strongly about disarmament.

In the next four decades to come, I would like to see the Advisory Board tap into that potential even more and carve out space for the voices of the largest generation of young people in history.

The time has come for the new generation to be given a chance to contribute to disarmament, non-proliferation and arms control.



For one, the 2017 Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) brought a new dynamic to the conversation on nuclear disarmament. Many voices that were previously dismissed are now heard loud and clear.

Annex

**Members of the Secretary-General's Advisory Board on
Disarmament Matters,**

1978-2023

Annex

Members of the Secretary-General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters, 1978-2023

1. Mr. Erich Bielka-Karltreu (1978-1981)
2. Mr. Frank Edmund Boaten (1978-1981)
3. Mr. Constantin Ene (1978-1988)
4. Mr. Alfonso García Robles (1978-1990)
5. Mr. John Garnett (1978-1981)
6. Mr. Enrique Gaviria-Liévano (1978-1981)
7. Mr. A. C. S. Hameed (1978-1988)
8. Mr. John Holmes (1978-1981)
9. Mr. Rikhi Jaipal (1978)
10. Mr. Hussein Khallaf (1978-1981)
11. Mr. Akira Matsui (1978-1986)
12. Mr. Carlos Ortiz de Rozas (1978-1991)
13. Mr. José Luis Perez (1978-1979)
14. Mr. Radha Krishna Ramphul (1978-1981)
15. Mr. Klaus Ritter (1978-1981)
16. Mr. Alexei Roschin (1978)
17. Mr. Alejandro Rovira (1978-1981)
18. Mr. Agha Shahi (1978-1991)
19. Mr. Pierre-Chistian Taittinger (1978-1981)
20. Mr. Oscar Vaernø (1978-1984)
21. Mr. Milous Vejvoda (1978-1981)
22. Mr. Piero Vinci (1978-1981)
23. Mr. Jerome Wiesner (1978)
24. Mr. Eugeniusz Wyzner (1978-1981)
25. Mr. Alexander Yankov (1978-1981)
26. Mr. Abdulla Yaccoub Bishara (1979-1981)
27. Mr. Ignac Golob (1979-1991)
28. Mr. William Jackson, Jr. (1979)
29. Mr. Kasuka Mutukwa (1979-1981)
30. Mr. Vladimir Shustov (1979-1980)
31. Mr. M. A. Vellodi (1979-1981)
32. Mr. Alejandro Yango (1979-1981)
33. Mr. Carlos Lechuga Hevia (1980-1988)
34. Mr. George Seignious, II (1980)
35. Mr. Lai Ya-Li (1980-1981)
36. Mr. Oleg Bykov (1981-1986)
37. Mr. James Dougherty (1981-1988)
38. Mr. Maharajakrishna Rasgotra (1983-1990)
39. Mr. Oluyemi Adeniji (1983-1991)

40. Mr. Hadj Benabdelkader Azzout (1983-1988)
41. Mr. Omran El-Shafei (1983-1991)
42. Mr. Edgar Faure (1983-1987)
43. Mr. Ronald Mason (1983-1991)
44. Mr. William Eteki Mboumoua (1983-1988)
45. Mr. Manfred Mueller (1983-1990)
46. Mr. Friedrich Ruth (1983-1991)
47. Mr. Tadeusz Strulak (1983-1991)
48. Mr. José Tabaraes del Real (1983)
49. Mr. Liang Yufan (1983-1988)
50. Mr. Rolf Björnerstedt (1984-1988)
51. Mr. Bjorn Inge Kristvik (1985-1992)
52. Ms. Amada Segarra (1985-1991)
53. Mr. Ryukichi Imai (1987-1991)
54. Mr. Roland Timerbaev (1987)
55. Mr. Boris Krasulin (1988-1991)
56. Mr. Edgard Pisani (1988-1989)
57. Mr. Qian Jiadong (1989-1991)
58. Mr. Tommy Koh Thong Bee (Koh) (1989-1990)
59. Mr. Joseph Nye, Jr. (1989-1992)
60. Mr. Raúl Roa Kouri (1989-1991)
61. Mr. Nihal Rodrigo (1989-1991)
62. Ms. Maj Britt Theorin (1989-1991)
63. Mr. Léon Bouvier (1990-1992)
64. Mr. Marcos Castrioto de Azambuja (1991-1996)
65. Mr. Muchkund Dubey (1991-1994)
66. Mr. Juraj Kralik (1991-1992)
67. Mr. Ednan Agaev (1992-1995)
68. Mr. A. Bolaji Akinyemi (1992-1994)
69. Mr. Martin Chungong Ayafor (1992-1994)
70. Mr. J. Soedjati Djwandono (1992-1994)
71. Mr. Mitsuro Donowaki (1992-1998)
72. Mr. Josef Holik (1992-1998)
73. Mr. Li Changhe (1992)
74. Mr. John Simpson (1992-1998)
75. Mr. Klaus Törnudd (1992-1996)
76. Mr. François de La Gorce (1993-1996)
77. Mr. Emmanuel A. Erskine (1993-1996)
78. Mr. Curt Gasteyger (1993-1998)
79. Mr. James Leonard (1993-1996)
80. Ms. Peggy Mason (1993-1996)
81. Mr. Rogelio Pfirter (1993-1996)
82. Mr. Mohamed Shaker (1993-1998)
83. Ms. Siti Azizah Abod (1993-1996)
84. Mr. Henny van der Graaf (1993-1998)
85. Mr. Sha Zukang (1994-1999)
86. Mr. André Erdös (1995-1999)
87. Mr. Oumirseric Kasenov (1995-1998)
88. Mr. Natarajan Krishnan (1995-1998)
89. Ms. Wangari Maathai (1995-1999)
90. Mr. Nana Sutresna (1995-1998)
91. Mr. Tshinga Judge Dube (1996-1998)
92. Mr. Yuri Kliukin (1996-1998)
93. Mr. Munir Akram (1997-2000)
94. Mr. Serge Raymond Bale (1997-1998)
95. Mr. Hanan Bar-On (1997-2000)
96. Mr. Ashton Carter (1997)
97. Ms. Thérèse Delpech (1997-1999)

98. Mr. Andelfo García (1997-1998)
99. Mr. Peter Goosen (1997-2000)
100. Mr. Celso Lafer (1997-1998)
101. Mr. Sverre Lodgaard (1997-1999)
102. Mr. William Potter (1998-2003)
103. Mr. Rolf Ekéus (1999-2003)
104. Mr. Nabil Fahmy (1999-2003)
105. Ms. Arundhati Ghose (1999-2002)
106. Mr. Raimundo González (1999-2003)
107. Mr. Miguel Marín Bosch (1999-2002)
108. Mr. Harald Müller (1999-2005)
109. Ms. Rokiatou N'diaye Keita (1999-2001)
110. Ms. Jane Sharp (1999-2003)
111. Mr. Yoshimoto Tanaka (1999-2002)
112. Mr. Nugroho Wisnumurti (1999-2003)
113. Mr. Guennadi Yevstafiev (1999-2000)
114. Mr. Guillermo Enrique González (2000-2001)
115. Mr. Kostyantyn Gryshchenko (2000-2003)
116. Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno (2000)
117. Mr. Hu Xiaodi (2000-2002)
118. Ms. Graça Machel (2000-2001)
119. Mr. Boris Pyadyshev (2000-2004)
120. Mr. Vicente Berasategui (2001-2005)
121. Mr. Pascal Boniface (2001-2005)
122. Mr. Shai Feldman (2001-2003)
123. Ms. Maleeha Lodhi (2001-2005)
124. Mr. Abdul Minty (2001-2002)
125. Ms. Mariama Bayard Gamatié (2002-2004)
126. Mr. Gelson Fonseca, Jr. (2002-2007)
127. Ms. Jill Sinclair (2002-2005)
128. Ms. Kongit Sinegiorgis (2002-2007)
129. Ms. Kuniko Inoguchi (2003-2006)
130. Mr. Liu Jieyi (2003-2005)
131. Ms. U. Joy Ogwu (2003-2007)
132. Ms. Diane Marie Quarless (2003)
133. Mr. Rakesh Sood (2003-2005)
134. Mr. Hasmy Agam (2004-2007)
135. Ms. Elisabet Borsiin Bonnier (2004-2008)
136. Ms. Perla Carvalho Soto (2004-2007)
137. Mr. Michael Clarke (2004-2008)
138. Mr. Jeremy Issacharoff (2004-2008)
139. Mr. Mahmoud Karem (2004-2008)
140. Mr. Ho-Jin Lee (2004-2008)
141. Mr. Stephen G. Rademaker (2004-2008)
142. Mr. Tibor Tóth (2004-2005)
143. Ms. Christiane Isabelle Agboton Johnson (2005-2007)
144. Mr. Anatoly I. Antonov (2005-2009)
145. Mr. Jayant Prasad (2005-2007)
146. Mr. Yan Zhang (2005-2007)
147. Mr. Philippe Carré (2006-2009)
148. Ms. Carolina Hernandez (2006-2010)
149. Mr. Adam Daniel Rotfeld (2006-2011)
150. Mr. Nobuyasu Abe (2008-2012)
151. Ms. Dewi Fortuna Anwar (2008-2012)
152. Mr. Jingye Cheng (2008-2012)
153. Ms. Kate Dewes (2008-2012)
154. Ms. Monica Herz (2008-2012)

155. Mr. Hewa M. G. S. Palihakkara (2008-2012)
156. Ms. Olga Pellicer (2008-2012)
157. Mr. Cheikh Sylla (2008-2012)
158. Mr. Carlo Trezza (2008-2012)
159. Mr. Desmond Bowen (2009-2013)
160. Mr. Donald A. Mahley (2009-2010)
161. Mr. François Rivasseau (2009-2013)
162. Mr. Sergey M. Koshelev (2010-2013)
163. Ms. Togzhan Kassenova (2011-2015)
164. Ms. Marcie Berman Ries (2011-2012)
165. Mr. István Gyarmati (2012-2015)
166. Mr. Vladimir I. Yermakov (2012-2014)
167. Mr. Wael Al-Assad (2013-2017)
168. Ms. Mely Caballero Anthony (2013-2017)
169. Mr. Sung-joo Choi (2013-2017)
170. Ms. Rut Diamint (2013-2016)
171. Mr. Trevor Findlay (2013-2018)
172. Ms. Anita E. Friedt (2013-2017)
173. Mr. Pervez Hoodbhoy (2013-2017)
174. Mr. Eboe Hutchful (2013-2017)
175. Mr. Fred Tanner (2013-2016)
176. Mr. Wu Haitao (2013-2015)
177. Mr. Vicente Garrido Rebolledo (2014-2017)
178. Mr. Camille Grand (2014-2017)
179. Mr. Vladimir Orlov (2015-2018)
180. Mr. Vladimir Drobnjak (2016-2018)
181. Mr. Fu Cong (2016-2020)
182. Ms. Enkhtsetseg Ochir (2016-2019)
183. Ms. Lucia Dammert (2017-2021)
184. Mr. Steffen Kongstad (2017-2020)
185. Ms. Joanne Adamson (2018)
186. Ms. Setsuko Aoki (2018-2019)
187. Ms. Selma Ashipala-Musavyi (2018-2021)
188. Mr. Corentin Brustlein (2018-2021)
189. Mr. Lewis Dunn (2018-2023)
190. Mr. Amandeep Gill (2018-2021)
191. Ms. Merel Noorman (2018-2019)
192. Mr. Abiodun Williams (2018-2021)
193. Mr. Motaz Zahran (2018-2021)
194. Ms. Arminka Helic (2019-2021)
195. Mr. Anton Khlopkov (2019-)
196. Ms. Leena Al-Hadid (2020-2023)
197. Ms. Elissa Golberg (2020-2023)
198. Ms. Marina Kaljurand (2020-2023)
199. Mr. Li Song (2020-2021)
200. Mr. Marty Natalegawa (2020-2023)
201. Ms. Margot Wallström (2020-2023)
202. Ms. Nabeela Abdulla Al-Mulla (2022-)
203. Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno (2022-)
204. Ms. Mary Kaldor (2022-)
205. Mr. Li Chijiang (2022-)
206. Mr. Zia Mian (2022-2023)
207. Ms. Amina Mohamed (2022-2023)
208. Mr. Eghosa Osaghae (2022-)
209. Ms. Shorna-Kay Richards (2022-)