

Yaderny Kontrol

Dedicated to the 1995 NPT Conference



*Opening of the Review and Extension Conference of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,
United Nations Headquarters, New York.*

*Seated on the podium from left to right: UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali; President of the
Conference, Ambassador Jayantha Dhanapala (Sri Lanka); Secretary-General of the Conference, Prvoslav
Davinic.*

17 April 1995

In five months, in April 2026, the Eleventh NPT Review Conference will open. The challenges ahead are considerable – but there are also proven paths to success, if we draw on the lessons of the past

In 1995, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) was extended indefinitely – a decision that became a milestone in the history of international security. Behind it lay intense diplomatic debates, compromises, serious pressure, expectations, and hopes – and politics, high-level politics at that.

This issue of Yaderny Kontrol takes us back to those events: to the positions of states, the diplomatic battles, the forecasts, and the expectations of that time.

Today, thirty years later, it is important not only to recall how the NPT was extended, but also to reflect on what that decision has brought us – and what prospects the non-proliferation regime faces in today's changing realities.



HOT TOPIC

from *Yaderny Kontrol* № 0, 1994

Dr. Roland Timerbaev (1927 – 2019)

Ambassador Extraordinary and

Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation

THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS: FOR RUSSIA AND THE WHOLE WORLD IT MUST BE PRESERVED FOR THE LONG TERM

Less than six months before the fateful 1995 Conference, one of the architects of the NPT, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Roland Timerbaev, warned that the Treaty might not only fail to be extended, but could even lose its legitimacy. Amid growing pressure from the Non-Aligned countries, political maneuvering by the Pentagon, and an evident lack of progress under Article VI, the fate of the NPT was hanging by a thread.

"A considerable number of non-nuclear-weapon states – including some that are prepared to support the indefinite extension of the Treaty – find it difficult, on principled grounds, to accept the prospect of perpetuating the inequality institutionalized by the Treaty itself."

A leading diplomat and PIR Center expert painted an alarming picture: unless the nuclear-weapon states came to the negotiating table and began moving toward "zero level," the nonproliferation system could suffer a fatal breakdown.

We invite our readers to revisit Roland Timerbaev's article, first published in the debut 1994 issue of *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control), to understand what signals were already sounding louder than diplomatic smiles – and why he insisted that "for Russia and the world, the NPT must be preserved – for the long term."

Read more
(In Russian)

HOT TOPIC

Moscow. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. October 24, 2025

Sergey Ryabkov

**Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
Russian Federation**

NONPROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS A FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITY FOR RUSSIA

On October 24, 2025, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Sergey Ryabkov, met with students of the "International Security" Master's program and graduates of the Dual Degree International Master's program "Global Security, Nuclear policy, and WMD Nonproliferation."

Sergey Ryabkov emphasized the importance of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) as a primary tool for maintaining global security. He spoke about the upcoming 11th Review Conference of the NPT in 2026, highlighting the challenges in negotiations and the ongoing contradictions between states.

"The fulfillment of nonproliferation commitments by NPT States Parties is essential for international peace and security. The key element for verifying compliance is the IAEA safeguards system. Russia advocates for the preservation and enhancement of the Agency's verification mechanism. We consistently emphasize that it should remain objective, depoliticized, technically sound, understandable to states, and not exceed the legal obligations of countries and the IAEA Secretariat under the safeguards agreements."

[Read more](#)

HOT TOPIC

from *Yaderny Kontrol* № 5, 1995

Lyudmila Balandina

**Correspondent and editor of the first
issues of the journal *Yaderny Kontrol***

POSITIONS OF THE FIFTEEN STATES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION ON THE EVE OF THE NPT REVIEW AND EXTENSION CONFERENCE

As you read this issue, nearly thirty years have passed since the indefinite extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). In 1995, the States Parties took a historic decision to make the Treaty permanent – thereby strengthening the foundations of global security. Since then, the NPT has remained the cornerstone of the nonproliferation regime, despite crises of trust and the slowdown in nuclear disarmament. However, permanence does not mean resilience by default – the regime requires constant effort and sustained political will. Today, decades later, the fate of the NPT is once again the subject of intense debate, amid growing instability, deepening contradictions, and the return of the nuclear factor to the center of world politics.

Spring 1995. The world stands on the threshold of a momentous decision. In New York, the Conference on the Extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) is in full swing, while the countries of the former Soviet Union are shaping their positions – positions on which the future of global security may well depend.

“Only the indefinite nature of the Treaty can

ensure the effectiveness of the nonproliferation regime and strengthen security and stability throughout the world.”

In the May 1995 issue of *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control, №5), Lyudmila Balandina provided a detailed analysis of the positions of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and other states of the former Soviet Union on the eve of the key conference on the NPT's extension.

Read more
(In Russian)

Experts on the NPT Indefinite Extension

How important is the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995?

“
The decision at the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference to extend the Treaty indefinitely was critical to the long-term health and stability of the global nonproliferation regime. The negotiators of the NPT in the 1960s didn't want to make the Treaty permanent from the outset... [\[read full comment\]](#)
”

Robert Einhorn
Senior Research Fellow at
Brookings Institution, PIR Center
Advisory Board Member



“
The decision on indefinite extension removes some of the anxiety, nervousness of the nuclear-weapon states, and the need to keep thinking about NPT extension during the review process. Taking the extension issue off the agenda allows us to focus more than before on the NPT review process and the implementation by all parties of the Principles and Objectives for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament... [\[read full comment\]](#)
”

Timerbaev, Roland M. (1927–2019)

Ambassador Extraordinary and
Plenipotentiary of the Russian
Federation, PIR Center
President (1994–1998),
Chairman of the PIR Center
Executive Board (1999–2010),
PIR Center Advisory Board
Member (2010–2019)



“
The NPT indefinite extension was a very important step that confirmed its uniqueness for international security. It eliminated the need to decide every five years whether to keep the treaty or not. It gave us confidence that there is no more proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world... [\[read full comment\]](#)
”

Alexey G. Arbatov
Head of Center for
International Security IMEMO
RAS, academician of RAS



HOT TOPIC

from *Yaderny Kontrol* № 6, 1995

Dr. Vladimir Orlov

Founding Director of PIR Center

THE NPT WAS EXTENDED INDEFINITELY. WHO GAINED THE MOST?

Just a couple of weeks before the fateful session in New York, diplomats were whispering in the corridors that the indefinite extension of the NPT was a utopian dream. But on May 11, 1995, Conference President Jayantha Dhanapala executed a deft "tactical gambit" – and the UN General Assembly Hall erupted in applause. Was it a triumph of diplomacy, or the formalization of a divided world – the 'nuclear five' and everyone else? Why did Moscow and Washington applaud together, while the Non-Aligned Movement suddenly fell silent?

"The entire hall of the UN General Assembly, filled with representatives of 174 states, falls silent for a brief moment in surprise – and then bursts into applause. Thus, the division of the world into five nuclear-weapon states and the rest of the non-nuclear world is, in effect, cemented forever. The non-participation of the DPRK and the belated objections from Libya,

Iraq, Syria, and Malaysia will, of course, be recorded in the proceedings – but the official outcome is a universal agreement that the NPT shall remain in force indefinitely."

Dr. Vladimir Orlov, Editor-in-Chief of *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control), analyzes who truly emerged as the winner in this political chess game, what concessions remained behind the scenes, and why Tel Aviv was "literally setting celebratory tables" while remaining outside the Treaty.

Read the full story of the behind-the-scenes negotiations, the subtle compromises, and the long-term bets placed on that May afternoon – in the June 1995 issue of *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control №6).

Read more
(In Russian)

HOT TOPIC

from the column in *Kommersant* newspaper, May 11, 2025

Dr. Vladimir Orlov

Founding Director of PIR Center

THE NPT'S SECRET FORMULA FOR SUCCESS

The gavel of the Chairman, the seasoned Sri Lankan diplomat Jayantha Dhanapala, struck the podium: "So decided." I remember that historic moment as if it were yesterday – though it happened three decades ago, on May 11, 1995. It was a clear, sunny day in New York, with a light breeze coming off the East River. The UN General Assembly Hall was packed to capacity – not a single seat left empty. The future of the cornerstone of the entire architecture of international security – the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) – was at stake. One hundred seventy-one delegations of States Parties awaited the decision (out of a total of 179 at the time, meaning an overwhelming majority had come to New York).

team – without loud slogans, but with cold determination? And why, without that decision, our world might have turned out entirely differently? Dr. Vladimir Orlov takes us back to the day when the NPT became eternal – and diplomacy, truly great.

Read more
(In Russian)

What happened behind the scenes? Why was the delegation of the DPRK "accidentally" absent from the hall? How did Russia and the United States find themselves playing on the same diplomatic

Experts on the NPT Indefinite Extension



Dastan S. Eleukenov
Chairman of the Board at
Kazakhstan Agency for
International Development
(KazAID), PIR Center Advisory
Board Member

“
I was fortunate to witness the historic 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference at the UN Headquarters in New York, thanks to the support of the Monterey Institute of International Studies' Center for Nonproliferation Studies... [\[read full comment\]](#)
”



Zhan Kosherbaev
Senior Lecturer at the
Department of International
Relations and World Economy,
Faculty of International Relations,
Al-Farabi Kazakh National
University

“
The indefinite extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1995 holds immense international significance, as it confirmed a global consensus on the importance of nuclear non-proliferation as a permanent regime for security and stability. The Treaty became a cornerstone of global security architecture, strengthened international law, and eliminated the risks of a “legal vacuum”... [\[read full comment\]](#)
”



Vladimir P. Kuchinov
Associate Professor of the
Department of International
Relations of the Institute of
International Relations, National
Research Nuclear University MEPhI

“
The indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995 certainly had a stabilizing effect on the Treaty, strengthening its resilience against the risk of mechanical non-extension. To a certain extent, it also helped to consolidate the NPT States Parties around the nonproliferation agenda... [\[read full comment\]](#)
”

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

from *Yaderny Kontrol* № 6, 1995

«NOW WE ARE TO MAKE THE WHOLE WORLD NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE»

Ambassador Jayantha Dhanapala, President of the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference, gave an exclusive interview to *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control) editor Dr. Vladimir Orlov on May 11, 1995 – the very day the decision was made to extend the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons indefinitely

In his interview with *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control), Conference President Jayantha Dhanapala offers an in-depth account of the challenges and achievements of the negotiation process – of the compromises reached and the key decisions adopted without a single vote being cast.

“The Conference demonstrated that the international community is capable of uniting and responding with dignity to global challenges.”

This interview provides an insider's view of the diplomatic marathon that helped strengthen the global nonproliferation regime and set a course toward a world free of nuclear weapons.

Jayantha Dhanapala (1938–2023). Born on 30 December 1938 in Kandy, Sri Lanka, where he also received his early education. He continued his studies in the United States and later studied Chinese in London. Dhanapala served in the diplomatic service for nearly thirty years. Before his appointment as Sri Lanka's Ambassador to the United States, he spent five years as Director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) in Geneva. The Preparatory Committee for the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference nominated him as President – his candidacy was proposed by the Non-Aligned Group. Poland, on behalf of the Eastern European Group, withdrew its own candidate in support of Ambassador Dhanapala and in the interest of consensus. The Western Group likewise readily endorsed his nomination. On 17 April 1995, Jayantha Dhanapala was unanimously elected President of the NPT Review and Extension Conference.

Read more
(In Russian)

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

from *Yaderny Kontrol* № 6, 1995

«RUSSIA RAILED AGAINST THE SPLIT OF THE CONFERENCE INTO A CAMP OF WINNERS AND LOSERS»

Sergey I. Kislyak, Deputy Head of the Russian Federation's delegation to the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference and the chief coordinator of the Russian team during the negotiations, gave an exclusive interview to *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control) on May 12, 1995, at the United Nations Headquarters in New York

"We successfully accomplished a task consisting of five elements: first, the Treaty has been extended; second, it has been extended indefinitely; third, it has been extended indefinitely without a vote, by consensus; fourth, the mechanism for the further implementation of the Treaty's provisions has been strengthened; and fifth, all the final documents of the Conference are fully consistent with Russia's national interests."

In the spring of 1995, the international community witnessed a landmark event in the field of nuclear governance: the Conference on the Extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) concluded with an unprecedented consensus. Russia played

a leading role, preventing the participants from splitting into opposing camps and securing support for the key provisions of the Treaty.

The interview sheds light on the complex negotiations, diplomatic challenges, and mechanisms that helped strengthen the international nonproliferation regime and make it a cornerstone of global security.

Read more
(In Russian)

Experts on the NPT Indefinite Extension

“*I had the opportunity to participate as a member of the Russian delegation both in the 1995 Conference itself, and in its preparatory process, and steps to implement its decisions. Among the most significant were the subsequent Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, the establishment of Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones (NWFZ), the abandonment of military nuclear programs by a wide range of states, and others... [\[read full comment\]](#)*”

Victor L. Vasiliev

Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)



“*The indefinite extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in 1995 holds immense and enduring significance. States agreed that the core principles enshrined in the Treaty remain relevant, irrespective of temporal constraints, and are essential for maintaining global stability and enhancing security. This indefinite extension ensures the Treaty's continued existence... [\[read full comment\]](#)*”

Igor S. Vishnevetskiy

Independent Expert, Deputy Director of the Department for Nonproliferation and Arms Control of the Russian Foreign Ministry (2021 – 2023)



“*The parties to the NPT made a vital contribution to international security when they collectively decided the indefinite extension of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The decision confirmed that the principles of the NPT were strong and fair, and made to last and that all Nations benefited from it, as they continue to do to this day. France and Russia, along with all other Parties, were undoubtedly key... [\[read full comment\]](#)*”

Zacharie Gross

Minister Plenipotentiary, Counselor, Embassy of the French Republic to Russia



EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

from *Yaderny Kontrol* № 4, 1995

«RUSSIA WILL DO ITS UTMOST TO EXTEND THE NPT INDEFINITELY»

An interview between *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control) Editor Dr. Vladimir Orlov and the Deputy Secretary of the Security Council of the Russian Federation

Valery Manilov. Colonel-General. Graduate of the Lenin Military-Political Academy and the General Staff Academy. Served in the Ministry of Defense. From 1989 to 1992, headed the Information Directorate of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR. In 1992, became Chief of the Information Service of the Joint Armed Forces of the CIS. Since 1993, Deputy Secretary of the Security Council of the Russian Federation.

In an exclusive interview, Deputy Secretary of the Security Council of the Russian Federation Valery Manilov explains how Russia prepared for a pivotal moment and why the indefinite extension of the Treaty was, for the country, a matter of principle.

“The discussion of this issue at the Security Council meeting on March 6 was prompted by the urgency of the matter and the need for its prompt resolution in the run-up to

the NPT Extension Conference. It was essential to identify the measures and mechanisms that each State Party – including Russia – must implement to ensure the Treaty’s realization. The meeting was scheduled in advance, and the NPT issue was part of its planned agenda: the President had instructed the Security Council to address it as early as February.”

Read the full interview in the April 1995 issue of *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control № 4) to learn how Russia’s strategy took shape and what risks were assessed in the lead-up to this historic decision.

Read more
(In Russian)

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

Interview № 12, May 30, 2025

“THE ADOPTION OF AN AGREED DOCUMENT ON STRENGTHENING THE NPT REVIEW PROCESS IS EXTREMELY PROBLEMATIC UNDER THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES.”

PIR Center conducted an expert analysis of the key themes discussed during the third session of the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom) for the 2026 NPT Review Conference, with the participation of Alexandra Zubenko, PIR Center Consultant

The discussion addressed both the most contentious and the potentially productive areas of the PrepCom’s work

– In your view, on which issues related to strengthening the NPT Review process was it possible to reach consensus at the recent PrepCom?

– I believe that during the recent session of the Preparatory Committee (PrepCom), there was an opportunity to agree on text concerning reporting and transparency – the most contentious elements within the “basket” of issues related to strengthening the NPT Review process.

For the first time, the obligation for all States Parties to submit national reports was established by the 2010 Review Conference. However, specific reporting formats were never formally adopted, even though the five nuclear-weapon states agreed on general principles of reporting at the 2013 PrepCom. Nevertheless, since then, reporting has not always been implemented – even by some of the nuclear-weapon states themselves.

Read more
(In Russian)

Experts on the NPT Indefinite Extension



Ildar A. Akhtamzyan
Associate Professor,
Department of International
Relations and Russian Foreign
Policy, MGIMO University

“In 1995, the problem appeared much more serious than it seems now. Careful analysis of the document showed that gathering a relatively small group of opponents would have been enough to sink any proposal. The treaty article specified three extension options: indefinite, for a fixed period, and for additional fixed periods. Choosing the second option, a fixed-term extension, would have been a death sentence for the treaty... [\[read full comment\]](#)”



Andrey I. Belousov
Minister Plenipotentiary,
Deputy Permanent
Representative of the Russian
Mission the UN Office and other
International Organizations in
Geneva

“First of all, it should be said that the 1995 NPT Review Conference took place against the backdrop of a fundamental restructuring of the entire system of international relations caused by the end of the bloc confrontation and the emergence of new independent states on the political map of the world in the post-Soviet space. The metamorphoses that took place at that time touched all spheres of interstate interaction... [\[read full comment\]](#)”



Alexander V. Bulychev
Head of the Nuclear Security and
Nonproliferation Office,
Department for Nonproliferation
and Arms Control, Russian
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

“The unconditional and indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995 was a diplomatic miracle, and its significance cannot be overstated. Negotiating such a treaty with the same scope of commitments and verifications would be impossible now... [\[read full comment\]](#)”

PIR POST

seminar at MGIMO, May 15, 2025

From Arden House to MGIMO: Generational Continuity in Reflecting on the Future of the NPT

Three decades have passed since the international community made the historic decision in 1995 to extend the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) indefinitely. Yet behind that decision stood not only intergovernmental negotiations, but also an immense intellectual effort – a vibrant dialogue among experts, diplomats, and analysts.

One of the key milestones on the road to the Treaty's extension was the seminar held at Arden House, New York (11-12 March 1995), organized by the Program for Promoting Nuclear Nonproliferation. At that time, more than forty diplomats from around the world – including prominent nonproliferation expert Roland Timerbaev – gathered to discuss the challenges facing the upcoming NPT Conference. Arden House became a space for open exchange, a venue where the participants “synchronized their watches” ahead of a turning point in the history of the nuclear regime.

[Read more](#)
(In Russian)

Thirty years later, on May 15, 2025, a new generation of experts and diplomats shared their views in Moscow during an expert seminar organized by the PIR Center and MGIMO University under the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The discussion focused on the outcomes of the Preparatory Committee meeting for the 2026 NPT Review Conference and on the significance of the 30th anniversary of the Treaty's indefinite extension. Among the speakers were Dr. Vladimir Orlov, Director and Founder of PIR Center and a participant in the key events of the 1990s, as well as representatives of the United Nations and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

[Watch full video \(In Russian\)](#)

Experts on the NPT Indefinite Extension

The indefinite extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) is an outstanding international legal act, a turning point for the entire world. It guarantees the inviolability of the Treaty's foundations and, as a result, ensures global strategic stability and predictability for the long term... [\[read full comment\]](#)

Mikhail N. Lysenko
Ambassador Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary (retired),
Associate Professor of
International Law
Department at MGIMO
University



When the NPT was extended indefinitely in 1995, the supporters of this decision believed the major challenge had been overcome, and that the nonproliferation regime would persist without end. Thirty years later, two parallel trends are witnessed: a steady erosion of nuclear-weapon states' readiness to compromise with each other... [\[read full comment\]](#)

Adlan R. Margoev
Research Fellow at the
Institute for International
Studies and Lecturer at the
Department of Oriental
Studies, MGIMO University



The indefinite extension of the NPT at the 1995 Review Conference was an important diplomatic achievement. It was controversial, then and now, because indefinite extension reduced the potential leverage of non-nuclear weapon states to press the nuclear weapon states on their Article VI obligation to work toward nuclear disarmament. But time has proven the wisdom of the decision... [\[read full comment\]](#)

Jeffrey Knopf
Professor and Chair of the
Nonproliferation and Terrorism
Studies program at the
Middlebury Institute of
International Studies (MIIS)



ANALYSES

from *Yaderny Kontrol* № 27, 1997

Review of the Official Positions of the States Before and During the 1995 Conference

For the first time under one cover – a unique table analyzing the positions of more than 100 countries on the 1995 decision to extend the NPT. Who supported the indefinite extension? Who expressed doubts or set conditions? What issues did states place at the forefront – from negative security assurances to compliance with Article VI?

The editorial team of *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control) attached special importance to the work of the Preparatory Committee for the NPT Extension Conference and published a series of materials devoted to this topic. To fully understand the positions of the States Parties, it was important not only to highlight the general stances of different groups toward the NPT, but also to show the distinctions that became particularly pronounced during the 1995 Extension Conference. Our table represented the first

attempt to consolidate and systematize national positions on the NPT – especially on Article X, attitudes toward which served as a litmus test for the future of the nonproliferation regime.

The “Data Bank” containing this table of national positions on the NPT’s extension was first published in *Yaderny Kontrol*, (Nuclear Control № 27), March 1997.

[Read more](#)

ANALYSES

from *Yaderny Kontrol* № 6, 1995

Gennady Evstafiev (1938 – 2013)

Member of the Russian Delegation to the 1995 NPT

Review and Extension Conference

THE DISCUSSION ON THE FUTURE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAS ONLY STARTED

"The NPT referendum in New York was impressive. It demonstrated that there is both the intention and the ability to continue advancing together along the path of strengthening the international nuclear nonproliferation regime. The majority of States Parties recognize the threat of nuclear proliferation and are willing to voluntarily abandon any notions of developing nuclear weapons."

1995. The world stands at a crossroads of nuclear security. In New York, the crucial Conference on the Extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is taking place, and its outcome will determine the future of the international nuclear weapons control regime. In this exclusive analysis, member

of the Russian delegation, Gennady Evstafiev, reveals how the historic consensus was achieved and how the division among states was avoided.

"All nuclear-armed states, including China, demonstrated a willingness to make concessions, while Russia and the United States exerted maximum effort to ensure the success of the conference."

Read the full analysis in *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control № 6), June 1995, to understand how nonproliferation policy was shaped and the challenges faced by the international community.

[Read more](#)
(In Russian)

Experts on the NPT Indefinite Extension



Tariq Rauf

Former Head of Verification and Security Policy Coordination, Office reporting to Director General, Alternate Head of the IAEA Delegation to NPT Conferences

“On May 11, 1995, 178 States parties to the NPT agreed without a vote to extend the Treaty indefinitely, in accordance with the Article X.2. The refrain promoted by the Canadian delegation, of which I was a member, was of “permanence with accountability”. That is by making the NPT of permanent or indefinite duration... [\[read full comment\]](#)”



Daria A. Selezneva

IMEMO Junior Research Fellow

“The 1995 Review and Extension Conference of the NPT marked an important milestone in the history of the Treaty, demonstrating the resilience of the nonproliferation regime and the commitment of its Parties to the objectives of the NPT. The Conference reinforced the Treaty’s legitimacy by adopting the decision... [\[read full comment\]](#)”



Li Sikui

Professor at the Institute of Regional and Country Studies, University of International Business and Economics (Beijing, China)

“The indefinite extension of NPT in 1995 was of great significance for maintaining international security and stability. First and foremost, we avoided the need for periodic extensions of the Treaty helped strengthen the non-proliferation regime. In addition, the decision to extend the Treaty reaffirmed the importance of its three pillars: nonproliferation, disarmament and peaceful use of nuclear energy under IAEA safeguards... [\[read full comment\]](#)”

ANALYSES

from *Yaderny Kontrol* № 9, 1995

Dr. Roland Timerbaev (1927 – 2019)

Ambassador Extraordinary and

Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation

THE NPT WAS EXTENDED INDEFINITELY. WHAT IS NEXT?

On May 11, the participants of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) gathered in New York and adopted by consensus the decision to extend the Treaty indefinitely. This decision sparked a wave of enthusiasm among nuclear-armed states, their allies, and supporters, who had long and persistently campaigned for such an outcome. As Roland Timerbaev noted at the time:

"In agreeing to the indefinite extension, the non-nuclear states demanded strict oversight of the nuclear states' compliance with their obligations."

Some countries of the Non-Aligned Movement (Indonesia, Nigeria, Malaysia, Iran, and others) proposed at the conference to extend the NPT for

successive 25-year periods, with the understanding that if, at the end of each such period, the majority of participants did not make an alternative decision, the Treaty would be automatically extended.

The article provides a detailed analysis of the key conditions for extension – from the ban on nuclear testing and the reduction of arsenals to security assurances for non-nuclear states and the call for the universalization of the Treaty in the Middle East region.

Read the full analysis of the international situation and the prospects for nuclear disarmament in *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control № 9), September 1995.

Read more
(In Russian)

ANALYSES

from the dissertation by Dr. Vladimir Orlov, 1997

Dr. Vladimir Orlov

Founding Director of PIR Center

PROSPECTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL NONPROLIFERATION REGIME

The prevention of the spread of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, became one of the key issues in international relations in the 1990s.

The significant reduction of nuclear arsenals by the United States and the Soviet Union, and later by Russia, increasingly raises the question of the threat posed by the emergence of a "third force" that, in this context, could create nuclear weapons and threaten international stability.

The existence of three "unofficial" nuclear states (Israel, India, Pakistan), as well as the ambitions of several countries to join the ranks of nuclear-armed states, makes this threat a real concern.

The collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in nuclear weapons being deployed on the territory of four states (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan). It was only through prolonged negotiations that the status of the Russian Federation as the sole successor to the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal was confirmed and given practical substance.

"The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which entered into force in 1970 and has since served as the universal foundational legal document on nonproliferation, was repeatedly tested during the 1980s and early 1990s."

Read more
(In Russian)

Experts on the NPT Indefinite Extension

“*In my opinion, the main result of the indefinite extension in 1995 was that we still have a nuclear nonproliferation regime. Yes, the regime is under the pressure; yes, new nuclear powers have emerged; yes, things are not going well with nuclear disarmament, nuclear-weapon-free zones, and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, and yes, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons... [\[read full comment\]](#)*”

Dmitry V. Stefanovich
Research Fellow of the Sector
of Military Economy and
Innovations of the Center for
International Security at
IMEMO RAS



“*Let me give you a candid opinion based on facts. The indefinite extension of the NPT relieved all the pressures on the USA, Russia, the UK, as well as on France and China to seriously negotiate on disarmament. It also created permanent nuclear realities which encouraged India and Pakistan to go nuclear. Additionally, the indefinite extension created permanent asymmetries in nuclear nonproliferation... [\[read full comment\]](#)*”

Nabil Fahmi
Dean Emeritus of the School of
Global Affairs and Public Policy
of the American University in
Cairo, Foreign Minister of
Egypt (2013-2014)



“*The indefinite extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in 1995 marked a cornerstone moment in global nuclear governance. It reinforced the international community's enduring commitment to preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, promoting nuclear disarmament, and enabling access to peaceful uses of nuclear energy... [\[read full comment\]](#)*”

Hamad Alkaabi
Ambassador of the UAE to the
Federal Republic of Austria



Read the full list of comments on our website

ANALYSES

PIR Center Occasional Paper № 11, 1999

Dr. Vladimir Orlov

Founding Director of PIR Center

1995 CONFERENCE: FEATURES, OUTCOMES, LESSONS

In 1995, the global community faced a momentous choice – a decision on the future of one of the key international security documents: the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

The Conference on its extension became not just a diplomatic forum, but an arena where the interests of nuclear and non-nuclear states, the North and the South, proponents of compromise and uncompromising idealists collided.

Vladimir Orlov's work is a detailed reconstruction of the events during those weeks in New York, when the fate of the global nonproliferation regime was being decided. The author reveals the drama

of the negotiations, the hidden mechanisms of diplomatic pressure, and the political lessons that remain relevant for Russia and the world today.

"The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which entered into force in 1970 and has since served as the universal foundational legal document on nonproliferation, was repeatedly tested for durability during the 1980s and early 1990s. Several of its articles were violated, calling into question the effectiveness of some contemporary methods for combating the spread of nuclear weapons, including those applied by the UN Security Council (UNSC) and the IAEA."

Read more
(In Russian)

ANALYSES

Security Index Occasional Paper Series (in Russian) № 11, 1999

Dr. Vladimir Orlov; Sergey Semenov

Founding Director of PIR Center;

PIR Center Research Fellow PIR Center

NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE: THE LIMITS OF THE POSSIBLE

The NPT Review Conference, originally scheduled for 2020 and finally held in 2022 after a series of COVID-related delays, is now seen as both a significant milestone and a missed opportunity. In August 2022, delegations of NPT States Parties spent four weeks attempting to strengthen the foundations of the nonproliferation regime, rebuild trust, and outline a way forward. But what, in the end, remains in history: a step toward updating the Treaty, cautious stagnation, or the first cracks in its legitimacy? The years since have shown that the answers to these questions will determine not only the fate of the NPT itself but also the stability of the entire global security system.

Today, as new crises and technological challenges undermine established control mechanisms, the outcomes of the 2022 conference seem less like a conclusion and more like the beginning of a long journey – one with troubling, yet still reversible, consequences.

"The successes of the NPT, however, should not lead to complacency. The international security environment is further complicated by the emergence of new types of weapons, the unresolved nature of long-standing conflicts, and the reluctance of some states to build international relations based on the principles of equal and indivisible security."

Read more
(In Russian)

Experts on Prospects for the NPT 2026 Review Conference

What do you think are the prospects for the NPT 2026 Review Conference?



Hamad Alkaabi
Ambassador of the UAE to the
Federal Republic of Austria

The prospects for the 2026 NPT Review Conference are shaped by a complex and challenging international environment, marked by deepening geopolitical divisions and growing mistrust between nuclear-weapon and non-nuclear-weapon states. Nonetheless, the United Arab Emirates maintains that the NPT remains indispensable and that its credibility must be preserved through tangible progress... [\[read full comment\]](#)



Alexey G. Arbatov
Head of Center for
International Security IMEMO
RAS, academician of RAS

Unfortunately, there are no grounds for optimism now. A wide range of new circumstances could lead to a third failure to adopt the final document, which is traditionally considered a thermometer of the state of the NPT regime – normal temperature, or feverish, or on the verge of collapse. In this regard, a number of factors now raise serious concerns. Firstly, the threat to the CTBT. It has not entered into force and is effectively... [\[read full comment\]](#)



Ildar A. Akhtamzyan
Associate Professor,
Department of International
Relations and Russian Foreign
Policy, MGIMO University

Regarding specifics for NPT Review Conference 2026, I anticipate the usual clashes of positions: some will insist on Middle Eastern issues, others on Far Eastern matters. While it is difficult to provide expert predictions now, I sincerely hope we can replicate the successes of 1995 and 2010 NPT RevCons when final documents were adopted... [\[read full comment\]](#)

TRAVEL NOTEBOOK

from *Yaderny Kontrol* № 3, 1995

Dr. Roland Timerbaev (1927 – 2019)

Ambassador Extraordinary and

Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation

HOW THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE NPT EXTENSION ARE GOING. REPORT FROM NEW YORK FROM THE 4TH SESSION

**REPORT FROM NEW YORK, JANUARY 31, 1995, ON THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE
PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE**

March 5, 1995, marked the 25th anniversary of the entry into force of the NPT

In March 1995, the world stood on the brink of a pivotal decision – the extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), which had become the cornerstone of global security and stability. Thirty years ago, countries were discussing more than mere bureaucratic formalities – they were shaping the future of the international order, where nuclear weapons should not become a tool of threat to humanity. Roland Timerbaev's report from New York recounts the preparations for the conference, the unresolved issues surrounding nuclear disarmament, and security assurances for non-nuclear states.

His perspective from 1995 helps to understand how historical negotiations and compromises continue to influence the challenges we face today – in an era of new technologies, geopolitical upheavals, and questions about the future of nuclear control.

To better understand the roots of contemporary nuclear policy and the reasons why the fate of one of the most important international treaties was decided at that time, we present this report for your consideration.

Read more
(In Russian)

TRAVEL NOTEBOOK

from *Yaderny Kontrol* № 6, 1995

Dr. Vladimir Orlov

Founding Director of PIR Center

HOW WAS THE NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY EXTENDED?

The official outcomes of the NPT Review and Extension Conference have long been the subject of numerous analytical reviews and expert commentaries.

However, behind the rather succinct wording of the final documents lay a highly tense diplomatic struggle, subtle tactical maneuvers, and heated debates that unfolded in the corridors. It is these behind-the-scenes episodes, which often determined the course of the entire conference, that remain less known to the general public.

"The conference unfolded according to a script that, although partially planned in Washington, Moscow, and London, often turned out to be the result of either political improvisation, carefully honed compromise, or a combination of both. Of course, the

significance of the 'behind-the-scenes phase' is immense, as it largely predetermined what is now considered a 'success' in most capitals. Nevertheless, it would be premature to reveal all the details of the backstage struggles and maneuvers at this point. For now, let us focus on the broader framework, on the 'narrative of the conference' that could be observed with the naked eye."

We invite the reader to revisit the key moments of that spring – not so much through the lens of official chronicle, but through the eyes of eyewitnesses and participants in the events. Read more in the five issues of *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control № 6, № 7, № 8, № 9 and № 10), 1995.

Read more
(In Russian)

Experts on Prospects for the NPT 2026 Review Conference

“
I reckon the 2026 NPT Review Conference will be held on time, and all the necessary procedural decisions will be made there. That alone will be a success... [\[read full comment\]](#)
”

Alexander V. Bulychev
Head of the Nuclear Security and Nonproliferation Office, Department for Nonproliferation and Arms Control, Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs



“
Unfortunately, the current situation is pessimistic. What is needed? Common sense. Back to common sense and reason... [\[read full comment\]](#)
”

Victor L. Vasiliev
Permanent Representative of the Russian Federation to the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)



“
Predicting the outcome of the 2026 NPT Review Conference is challenging. The results will depend on the geopolitical situation and the positions parties bring to the table. If the conference were held this year, reaching any agreement would likely be impossible. The outcome would probably mirror that of the previous review conference, where parties failed to agree on a final document. One can hope that by 2026... [\[read full comment\]](#)
”

Igor S. Vishnevetskiy
Independent Expert, Deputy Director of the Department for Nonproliferation and Arms Control of the Russian Foreign Ministry (2021 – 2023)



OPEN COLLAR

"Open Collar," № 73, December 20, 2024

My mission is to speak the truth to those in power

Dr. Tariq Rauf – educator, independent expert, Former Head of Verification and Security Policy Coordination, Office reporting to Director General, Alternate Head of the IAEA Delegation to NPT Conferences, Member of PIR Center Advisory Board, and a friend of PIR Center since its establishment in 1994.

In this interview from December 20, 2024, you will learn about the life and professional journey of Dr. Tariq Rauf – one of the leading global experts in nuclear nonproliferation. Born in the free and prosperous city of Rawalpindi (Pakistan), he received his education in the United Kingdom during a period of reforms and changes under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher. He began his academic career by analyzing Soviet military operations and later focused on global security issues in Canada, where he played a key role in establishing the Canadian Institute of Peace and Security, which contributed to reducing nuclear tensions in the final years of the Cold War.



"My interest in nonproliferation started after the May 1994 Indian nuclear explosion. Nuclear Issues are a part of International Security and Arms control. So, you asked me about my interest in nonproliferation, but I look at it in a broader sense. Nonproliferation is very much an American and Soviet term. It means other people getting nuclear weapons is wrong, but our nuclear weapons are good, which is still what they say. I look at it in the full context of disarmament and nonproliferation as a part of International Security, not nonproliferation per se."

Read more in the Open Collar interview with Dr. Tariq Rauf.

Open Collar

"Open Collar," № 23, June 15, 2020

My wife says that I'm married first and foremost to nonproliferation. And there is certainly an element of truth to that

Dr. William Potter – Professor at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies, Director of the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies, and PIR Center Advisory Board Member since 2014.

How did a child born in Denmark become one of the leading experts on nuclear nonproliferation? Why does the Director of the Monterey Center say his wife is right in calling him "married to nonproliferation"? And what role do chanterelles, Marina Tsvetaeva, and Cuban detectives play in his life?

An open conversation between Dr. Vladimir Orlov and Foreign Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr. William Potter. They discuss the creation of the Center for Nonproliferation Studies, the formation of a new generation of experts, Russia's role in the scholar's life, and why empathy is more important to him than any political dogma.



"Speaking about the preparation of the 'new generation,' I must tell you: I have seen this generation in action. Some of my students are already retired. When I attend Preparatory Committees or Review Conferences of the NPT, it gives me the greatest personal satisfaction. I look around and see literally dozens of my former students in the delegations of Russia, Ukraine, China, Japan, Malaysia, South Africa, and many others. They are everywhere! In these moments, I feel inspired."

Read more in the Open Collar interview with Dr. William Potter

Experts on Prospects for the NPT 2026 Review Conference



Zacharie Gross

Minister Plenipotentiary,
Counselor, Embassy of the
French Republic to Russia

“My hope for the 2026 NPT review conference is threefold: that it will unambiguously highlight the key contribution of nuclear energy to limiting climate change; that it will be in a position to endorse a robust deal on Iran’s nuclear programme; and that it will offer a meaningful opportunity for dialogue between nuclear weapon states and non-nuclear weapon states on nuclear transparency... [\[read full comment\]](#)”



Dastan S. Eleukenov

Chairman of the Board at
Kazakhstan Agency for
International Development
(KazAID), PIR Center Advisory
Board Member

“In scientific research, there is a saying: “A negative result is still a result”. It means that even failures provide valuable lessons. Of course, the unsuccessful Review Conferences preceding the 2026 NPT Review Conference have created an unfavorable backdrop. However, if states draw lessons from past setbacks and develop fresh approaches in their preparatory work, the prospects for the upcoming conference may inspire cautious optimism... [\[read full comment\]](#)”



Zhan Kosherbayev

Senior Lecturer at the
Department of International
Relations and World
Economy, Faculty of
International Relations, Al-
Farabi Kazakh National
University

“The prospects for the 2026 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference remain uncertain, given current geopolitical tensions and past failures to reach consensus at previous conferences in 2015 and 2022. Disagreements among member states have repeatedly prevented the adoption of final documents, undermining trust in the process... [\[read full comment\]](#)”

NOTHING NEW UNDER THE SUN

"Tales of the Past. Recollections of Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Negotiations and Much More"

"Timerbaev. Selected Works"

What have I worked on and for throughout my long life?

Dr. Roland Timerbaev (September 27, 1927 – August 21, 2019) was one of the world's leading experts in nuclear nonproliferation and nuclear weapons control. He was primarily known to the global expert community as one of the authors of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), the cornerstone of the entire nuclear nonproliferation regime.

Dr. Timerbaev made an invaluable contribution to the life and development of PIR Center, as well as to the education of several generations of diplomats and scholars in the field of nuclear nonproliferation. [The Memorial Gallery of Dr. Timerbaev](#) is dedicated to fully reflecting his life's work, achievements, and aspirations. It includes memories from those who were fortunate enough to work with and befriend him, his numerous publications, and his exceptionally rich biography.

We invite our readers to explore the recollections of veterans from the Review Conferences on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). Dr. Timerbaev shares his impressions of the 1990 meeting in Geneva, where participants from all previous conferences gathered. In an atmosphere of unity, the veterans expressed hope for a bright future.

[Read more](#)
(In Russian)

Next, dive into Dr. Timerbaev's reflections on the impact of nuclear weapons on the development of civilization and the broader nuclear issue. In selected pages, the author shares his concerns about how the nuclear threat divides countries and peoples, as well as his hope that a catastrophe linked to the use of nuclear energy could prompt humanity to reconsider its approach to peace.

[Read more](#)
(In Russian)

Experts on Prospects for the NPT 2026 Review Conference

“Given that no major changes occur in the international situation, the 2026 NPT Review Conference is likely to take place and proceed as usual, resulting in the adoption of nominal final document... [\[read full comment\]](#)”

Vladimir P. Kuchinov
Associate Professor of the
Department of International
Relations of the Institute of
International Relations, National
Research Nuclear University
MEPhI



“Any Review Conference is dominated by topical international issues, primarily crisis issues, relevant for the time of its organization. Thus, the prospects and effectiveness of the RC-2026 will largely depend on the degree of settlement or, on the contrary, the intensity of the current conflict situations – around Ukraine, the Middle East, India, and Pakistan. What else? I hope the list, at least, will not expand... [\[read full comment\]](#)”

Mikhail N. Lysenko
Ambassador Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary (retired),
Associate Professor of
International Law
Department at MGIMO
University



“Any Review Conference is dominated by burning international issues, primarily crisis ones, relevant for the time of their conducting. Thus, the prospects and effectiveness of the NPT 2026 Review Conference will largely depend on the degree of settlement or, on the contrary, the intensity of the current conflict situations – around Ukraine, the Middle East, India and Pakistan. What else? I hope the list, at least, will not expand... [\[read full comment\]](#)”

Adlan R. Margoev
Research Fellow at the
Institute for International
Studies and Lecturer at the
Department of Oriental
Studies, MGIMO University



PIR LIBRARY BOOK SERIES

PIR Library Book, 2001 and 2002

The Paradox of Stability: How Diplomats Saved the Treaty

1995 Conference: A Turning Point for
the Non-Proliferation Regime

**"Nuclear Nonproliferation Issues in
Russia-U.S. Relations: History,
Opportunities, and Prospects of the
Further Cooperation." Orlov V.,
Timerbaev R., Khlopkov A. (2001)**

Russian-American relations on nonproliferation and nuclear weapons control in the early 1990s were tested for resilience: both powers simultaneously reduced their arsenals, sought a balance between national security and global commitments, and, crucially, learned to work as allies. The synchronization of the negotiation tracks on Strategic Arms Reduction (START) and the NPT made it possible to preserve the nonproliferation regime in its current form.

[Read more](#)
(In Russian)

On the Brink of Change: The
International Nuclear Non-
Proliferation Regime in the 1990s

**"Nuclear Nonproliferation:
Textbook." Volume I. Akhtamzyan I.,
Evstafiev D., Orlov V. [and others].
Edited by Dr. Vladimir Orlov (2002)**

After the end of the Cold War, the world faced new challenges: the collapse of the Soviet Union, the nuclear ambitions of "third parties," and the threat of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction technologies. The mid-1990s became a critical moment for the international nonproliferation regime. What efforts did the international community undertake to preserve the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons? Were the major powers able to reach an agreement on the future of global security – or was the balance hanging by a thread?

[Read more](#)
(In Russian)

PIR Library Book Series

from the PIR Center Encyclopedia, 2009

Encyclopedia "Nuclear Nonproliferation." Timerbaev R. (2009).

To truly understand the significance of the NPT as the cornerstone of the modern nonproliferation regime, it is essential to look at the history of its development, the internal logic of its provisions, and the diplomatic compromises upon which it is based. One of the most thorough and balanced analyses of the Treaty is presented in the article by Dr. Timerbaev – a participant in the NPT negotiations for the USSR, a diplomat, and an expert who dedicated decades to issues of strategic stability. His encyclopedic review traces how the Treaty became the result of a complex interaction between great powers, international institutions, and countries of the "global South" concerned with the spread of nuclear weapons.

"The NPT is an international treaty aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to additional states. The idea of such a treaty emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when the widespread development of nuclear energy began, and several countries started seriously planning and then implementing their own military nuclear programs. The proposal to develop such a treaty was put forward by Ireland in the UN in 1958, and in 1961, the UN General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the Geneva Disarmament Committee of 18 states to prepare a draft treaty."

[Read more](#)
(In Russian)

PIR Library Book Series

from *Yaderny Kontrol* № 4, 1995

NPT at a Crossroads: Diplomacy, Contradictions, Decisions

"Russia-U.S. Nuclear Nonproliferation Dialogue: Lessons Learned and Road Ahead." Selezneva D. Edited by Vladimir Orlov, Sergey Semenov (2021)

The 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference, as the name suggests, had a dual mandate: to review the provisions of the Treaty and to decide on its extension.

It culminated in the adoption of the so-called "package agreement," which was also referred to as "indefinite extension plus" or "permanence with accountability."

[Read more](#)

The 30th Anniversary of the Indefinite Extension of the NPT (1995-2025)

What was really behind the indefinite extension of the NPT in 1995? Why was the decision made without a vote, and who benefited the most from it? The behind-the-scenes negotiations, compromises, and hidden conflicts that still influence the global nuclear order.

We invite you to read the article by Dr. Roland Timerbaev (1927-2019), Chairman of PIR Center Council (1999-2010), George Bunn (1925-2013), Professor at the Center for International Security and Arms Control at Stanford University, and James Leonard (1920-2020), Director of the Washington Nonproliferation Center. "Nuclear Disarmament: Did the Five Nuclear States Take Sufficient Obligations Under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons?" This article was first published in *Yaderny Kontrol* (Nuclear Control № 4), 1995.

[Read more](#)
[\(In Russian\)](#)

Experts on Prospects for the NPT 2026 Review Conference



Tariq Rauf

Former Head of Verification and Security Policy Coordination, Office reporting to Director General, Alternate Head of the IAEA Delegation to NPT Conferences

“Instead of working to bridge differences and building consensus on important substantive matters concerning the Treaty, since 2015 States parties instead have chosen to “fix” the review process and even advance what plainly are silly suggestions. At the last review conference in 2022 and in the subsequent three years, States parties have been behaving much like the orchestra rearranging deck chairs... [\[read full comment\]](#)”



Daria A. Selezneva

IMEMO Junior Research Fellow

“Many of the issues that played a key role in reaching a compromise in 1995 remain far from being resolved today. The lack of tangible progress in nuclear disarmament, the deadlock in establishing a weapons of mass destruction free zone in the Middle East, the unresolved issue of NPT universality and the continued failure to bring the CTBT into force continue to fuel dissatisfaction among non-nuclear weapon states... [\[read full comment\]](#)”



Li Sikui

Professor at the Institute of Regional and Country Studies, University of International Business and Economics (Beijing, China)

“The NPT Review Conference 2026 is critically important for maintaining global security, with several key factors influencing its outcome. First, the escalation of geopolitical confrontation, particularly, in the context of the Ukraine crisis and heightened tensions between Russia and the West, is expected to significantly complicate disarmament dialogue. Second, there is a risk that nonnuclear weapon states will block... [\[read full comment\]](#)”

Experts on Prospects for the NPT 2026 Review Conference

“*The prospects are still difficult to predict, especially against the backdrop of changes in the U.S. foreign policy. What we can be sure of is continued pressure from non-nuclear-weapon states on nuclear-weapon states due to the deadlock in nuclear disarmament and the general nuclear arms control crisis. One would hope for more active coordination within the Nuclear P5 and willingness to put nuclear nonproliferation issues... [\[read full comment\]](#)*”

Dmitry V. Stefanovich
Research Fellow of the Sector of Military Economy and Innovations of the Center for International Security at IMEMO RAS



“*When answering this question, I would first like to emphasize that we should not have overly high expectations for next year's 11th NPT Review Conference. In my opinion, we must start with a balanced assessment of the situation surrounding the Treaty and the balance of forces within the «NPT community»... [\[read full comment\]](#)*”

Andrey I. Belousov
Minister Plenipotentiary, Deputy Permanent Representative of the Russian Mission the UN Office and other International Organizations in Geneva



Read the full list of comments on our website

PIR Center's Publications on 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference and the NPT Indefinite Extension

YADERNY KONTROL



Editor-in-Chief: Dr. Vladimir **Orlov**

Editor, design and DTP: Mr. Yuriy **Shakhov**

The editor would like to express sincere gratitude to Herman **Selyavin**, Victoria **Monakhova**, Li Ming, Ruslan **Belozersky**, Eseniia **Kosulina**, Anastasia **Nikulina**, Sofia **Kosolapova**, Vasily **Pridein**, Anastasia **Mirskaya**, Daria **Morozova**, Sofia **Dandyl**, Yaroslav **Yelesin**, Alexey **Grigoriev**, Sanzhar **Mukataev** – students of the Master's program in International Security (Class of 2024), whose efforts made it possible to collect numerous expert commentaries for this issue and prepare a section dedicated to the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference and the NPT Indefinite Extension on the website.

The editor extends special thanks to Mr. Sviatoslav **Arov** for his patience and comprehensive assistance in preparing this issue.

Yaderny Kontrol (Nuclear Control) — PIR Center E-Bulletin. № 4 (543). November, 2025 // Ed. by Yuriy Shakhov // M.: PIR Center, 2025. — 39 p.

PIR CENTER

Founded 31 years ago, in April 1994, by Dr. Vladimir Orlov, PIR Center is a leading Russian nongovernmental organization dealing with international security, with the emphasis on nuclear nonproliferation and nuclear policy. PIR Center's portfolio currently consists of 27 projects combining research and consultancy, education and training, publishing and outreach, and networking and partnerships. Most recent addition to this portfolio (since April 2024) is an ambitious Security Index Yearbook (Global Edition). With its vibrant 1200+ member-strong alumni community residing in 72 countries of the world, with its internationally renowned Summer Schools on Global Security, with its two MA Programs, and with its online training platform Nonproliferation.World, PIR Center is in the forefront of educating new generation of security and nonproliferation experts. As an independent think-tank, PIR Center is engaged in various formats of policy discussions on the most urgent topics of global and regional security agenda. PIR Center's status has been recognized by the United Nations with its consultative ECOSOC status (since 2010) and by the Russian Government, which has granted PIR Center a privileged status of a socially oriented NGO (SONKO) (since 2020)

PIR CENTER'S LIST OF ACTIVE PROJECTS 2025-2026

You may find the full list of the PIR Center's active projects 2025-2026 here: <https://pircenter.org/en/pir-centers-list-of-active-projects-2025-2026/>

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PIR Center: <https://pircenter.org/en/>

