

Preparatory Committee for the 2026 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

14 April 2025

Original: English

Third session

New York, 28 April–9 May 2025

Recommendations from the International Group of Eminent Persons for a World Without Nuclear Weapons*

Working paper submitted by Japan

The Government of Japan has the honour to transmit herewith the recommendations of the International Group of Eminent Persons for a World Without Nuclear Weapons for the 2026 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, entitled “Stepping back from the nuclear precipice: urgent actions in pursuit of a world without nuclear weapons” (see annex I), which was released on 31 March 2025. Members of the International Group (see annex II) participated in their personal capacities, and the recommendations do not represent the positions of any specific organizations or countries.

The International Group, established in 2022, is a forum in which participants from both nuclear and non-nuclear-weapon States, as well as non-Treaty States, aided by the involvement of incumbent and former political leaders around the globe, exchange ideas and thoughts beyond their respective national positions and engage in candid discussions concerning a concrete path towards the realization of a world without nuclear weapons.

The mandate of the International Group is to consider and propose a realistic and practical road map to realize a world without nuclear weapons, while addressing the current severe global security environment, to be put to consideration at the 2026 Review Conference.

The International Group members convened the sixth and last meeting in Tokyo on 30 and 31 March 2025. Based on the deliberations accumulated in previous meetings, they issued the recommendations. The Government of Japan believes that the recommendations could be a meaningful reference for the international community.

* “Message from the International Group of Eminent Persons for a World without Nuclear Weapons to the Preparatory Committee of the 2026 Review Conference” was submitted by Japan in 2023 as a working paper ([NPT/CONF.2026/PC.I/WP.2](https://www.un.org/disarmament/npt/2026/PC/III/WP.2)).



Annex I

Stepping back from the nuclear precipice: urgent actions in pursuit of a world without nuclear weapons

International Group of Eminent Persons for a World without Nuclear Weapons

31 March 2025, Tokyo

The danger of nuclear war looms larger than it has in decades. Rising geopolitical tensions, resurgent nuclear salience and the advent of emerging technologies have brought us closer to the precipice, threatening to plunge the world into a perilous era of unrestrained arms races, with consequences extending beyond nuclear rearmament. Most alarming is the growing risk that an escalating conventional conflict could push us over the edge into nuclear use. It is time for us to face the fact that the consequences could be catastrophic and to take urgent action to prevent nuclear war.

Too often, nuclear weapons are discussed in abstract terms, with insufficient attention given to nuclear dangers. The *hibakusha* have worked to correct this for several decades, highlighting the appalling inhumanity of the 1945 nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Nearly 80 years later, we owe it to the *hibakusha* and to ourselves to acknowledge the devastating impact that escalating war could have using today's weapons in our interconnected world; we must make every effort to avert the danger of such a war and to take measures to safeguard the security of peoples, and thus ensure that Nagasaki is the last place to experience nuclear devastation.

The 2026 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons provides a crucial opportunity for us to come together to take a collective step back from the nuclear precipice. Working for a positive Review Conference outcome is vital following the failure to achieve consensus outcomes in 2015 and 2022. We must use this precious chance to reaffirm the core principles that underpin the Treaty, which remains the strongest international bulwark against nuclear disaster. We must also use it as an opportunity to adopt bold, actionable measures to prevent nuclear war and pursue a world without nuclear weapons.

Core principles

Respecting the following core principles will help us chart a safer course and a path towards a world without nuclear weapons:

1. All States have an obligation to comply with the Charter of the United Nations in its entirety, including by not committing acts of aggression and by renouncing the use of force for the acquisition of territory.
2. All States must comply with applicable international law, including international humanitarian law, at all times.
3. All States bear responsibility to work for a world without nuclear weapons, but the States with the biggest responsibility to lead are the States that possess nuclear weapons.
4. All States must foster a culture of dialogue and cooperation to uphold and reinforce the multilateral non-proliferation regime, with the Non-Proliferation Treaty at its centre. They also should work together to ensure that it is agile in responding to emerging challenges and opportunities, including those related to technological innovation.

5. All States must keep working to move away from dependence on nuclear weapons. Nuclear deterrence has not proven to be, nor should it be, the final form of security.

The core principles set out above are currently being disregarded by some States, with grave and worsening consequences. All States must reassert these principles and demonstrate their adherence to them.

Urgent steps

To address this dangerous situation and underpin our collective efforts to pursue a world without nuclear weapons, States must take urgent steps to: (1) prevent war and hence nuclear use; (2) stop nuclear arms racing and reduce proliferation risks; and (3) ensure a constructive outcome from the 2026 Review Conference.

(1) Prevent nuclear war

Nuclear-armed States have a primary responsibility to prevent nuclear use. We, the International Group of Eminent Persons for a World without Nuclear Weapons, call on them to take the following urgent steps to reduce the risk of nuclear war:

- i. Take measures to avoid direct military confrontation and prioritize nuclear restraint, including by not making explicit and implicit nuclear threats.
- ii. Engage in sustained strategic dialogues to address mutual security concerns and avoid misperception leading to conflict and conflict escalation.
- iii. Prioritize crisis prevention.
- iv. Uphold the moratorium on explosive nuclear testing.
- v. Ensure effective human oversight in all decisions related to nuclear weapons.
- vi. Refrain from cyberattacks against nuclear facilities and command-and-control networks.
- vii. Provide prelaunch notifications on missile and space vehicle launches.

All States that do not possess nuclear weapons can and should help reduce the risk of nuclear war. They must:

- viii. Urge the nuclear-armed States to take the urgent steps outlined above.
- ix. Fully implement the Hague Code of Conduct, including via prelaunch notifications.
- x. Explore, with nuclear-armed States, measures that would reduce nuclear salience and increase confidence in no first use, negative security assurances and other declaratory commitments.

All States must:

- xi. Avoid taking military action that would cause radioactive release.

(2) Stop nuclear arms racing and reduce proliferation risks

Progress towards a world without nuclear weapons is being undermined by renewed nuclear arms racing and proliferation dynamics. All States have a responsibility to address these dynamics, in line with the core principles. We call on States to implement the following steps to reduce nuclear salience and demonstrate a shared commitment to pursue a world without nuclear weapons:

- i. Russia and the United States engage in strategic dialogue and keep the new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty limits while negotiating a follow-on framework for arms control.
- ii. China, France and the United Kingdom engage in discussion on their respective conceptions of minimum deterrence, as a contribution to arms control.
- iii. Nuclear-weapon States reinvigorate the P5 Process to explore new forms of arms control and invite all other nuclear-armed States to participate.
- iv. Nuclear-armed States improve nuclear transparency to reduce mistrust, including by sharing information on nuclear arsenals, doctrines, postures and future development plans.
- v. Nuclear-armed States engage with each other to discuss ways to reduce the risks associated with military use of artificial intelligence, in particular as applied to nuclear command, control and communications, including voluntarily sharing risk assessments and best practices of risk management.
- vi. All States engage in and sustain dialogues on threat perceptions and security concerns.
- vii. All States strengthen measures against the proliferation of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems by any State or non-State actor.
- viii. All States engage in diplomatic efforts to address proliferation concerns in the Middle East.
- ix. All stakeholders engage in diplomatic efforts to address concerns associated with the Iranian nuclear programmes, bearing in mind that the principle of restraint in the use of force to resolve issues must be maintained and that once an agreement is reached, all stakeholders should implement it in good faith.
- x. All stakeholders promote and facilitate engagement on the Korean peninsula aimed at mutual reassurance of non-aggression and the establishment of a multilateral dialogue on regional security, while launching a diplomatic effort to reduce nuclear risks in the region, leading to denuclearization.
- xi. All States work to bridge deterrence and disarmament perspectives, including those of States Parties to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, by engaging widely in discussion in relevant international forums on deterrence assumptions, the consistency of nuclear policies with international humanitarian law, effects of nuclear war and alternative measures to maintain security that can lead to nuclear disarmament.
- xii. All States support and promote initiatives that raise awareness among leaders and publics about nuclear dangers, including the risk of proliferation and the profound consequences of nuclear use.
- xiii. All States encourage visits of leaders, youth and others to Hiroshima and Nagasaki to better comprehend the effects of nuclear use.

(3) Work for a constructive 2026 Review Conference

The nuclear non-proliferation regime must be preserved and strengthened to enhance international peace and security, reduce nuclear dangers and facilitate movement towards a world without nuclear weapons. States must work together to ensure a constructive 2026 Review Conference. We call on States Parties to incorporate the following commitments into the Final Document of the 2026 Review Conference and to work to achieve a consensus outcome:

- i. Commit to achieve a world without nuclear weapons, recalling the first United Nations General Assembly resolution and consensus outcome documents adopted at past Review Conferences of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation, including the 2010 Action Plan.
- ii. Uphold the moratorium on nuclear explosive testing and work harder to achieve entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, and encourage nuclear-weapon States to voluntarily provide unilateral or reciprocal transparency at their nuclear testing sites.
- iii. Agree to a moratorium on producing fissile material for nuclear weapons, and hold high-level meetings to underscore the urgency of concluding a fissile material cut-off treaty.
- iv. Strengthen Non-Proliferation Treaty accountability by submitting more detailed national reports during the 2030 review cycle to help build confidence through increasing the transparency of nuclear arsenals, doctrines and postures, and clarifying steps taken to reduce nuclear weapons stockpiles.
- v. Agree to submit five-year, forward-looking national action plans outlining steps for fulfilling Non-Proliferation Treaty obligations and commitments, including concrete steps and/or measures towards nuclear disarmament, and general and complete disarmament.
- vi. Work to raise awareness of the effects of nuclear war, including by discussing the findings of the study requested in United Nations General Assembly resolution [79/238](#) (entitled “Nuclear war effects and scientific research”), and highlight harms to the environment and public health of peoples and nations not involved in the conflict.
- vii. Encourage all States to invest in nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation education.
- viii. Respect the status of nuclear-weapon-free zones and strengthen them by signing and ratifying the relevant protocols.
- ix. Work together to address gaps in the non-proliferation regime to improve its agility to address challenges and opportunities associated with emerging technologies.

Conclusion

Nuclear dangers are accelerating with alarming speed – demanding not only sober reflection, but bold, coordinated action. The enduring message of the *hibakusha* – and the recent awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Nihon Hidankyo (Japan Confederation of A- and H-Bomb Sufferers Organizations) – remind us of the humanitarian imperative and moral urgency to achieve a world without nuclear weapons. This recognition is not only a tribute to the past but an urgent call to the present. As we approach the 2026 Review Conference, the international community has a pivotal opportunity to step back from the nuclear precipice, reaffirm shared principles, and take concrete, cooperative measures to reduce nuclear dangers, enhance security and revitalize disarmament commitments. It is the earnest hope of all members of the International Group that this document will serve as a constructive contribution towards inspiring renewed commitment, fostering dialogue and guiding collective progress on the long and challenging path to a world free of nuclear weapons.

Annex II**List of members of the International Group of Eminent Persons
for a World without Nuclear Weapons**

Takashi Shiraishi (Chair)	Special Professor Emeritus, Prefectural University of Kumamoto
Nobumasa Akiyama	Professor, School of International and Public Policy, Hitotsubashi University Director, Center for Disarmament, Science and Technology, Japan Institute of International Affairs
Ian Anthony	Scientist, Department of Defence Analysis, Security Policy Section, Swedish Defence Research Agency, FOI
Rose Gottemoeller	Former Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs of the United States
Angela Kane	Former Under-Secretary-General and High Representative for Disarmament Affairs of the United Nations
Dina Kavar	Ambassador of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the United States
Anton Khlopkov	Director, Center for Energy and Security Studies
Raden Mohammad Marty Muliana Natalegawa	Former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia
Tanya Ogilvie-White	Senior Research Adviser, Asia-Pacific Leadership Network for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament
George Perkovich	Japan Chair for a World Without Nuclear Weapons and Senior Fellow, Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Manpreet Sethi	Distinguished Fellow, Centre for Air Power Studies
Nobushige Takamizawa	Visiting Professor, Graduate School of Public Policy, University of Tokyo
Bruno Tertrais	Deputy Director, Foundation for Strategic Research
Tong Zhao	Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Gustavo Zlauvinen	President, tenth Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons
