

**FIRST DRAFT, COMMENTS WELCOME**  
**NOT FOR CITATION WITHOUT PERMISSION**

**03 November 2023**

# **Index of UN-Based Multilateralism:**

## **A Pilot Study by the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network**

Jeffrey D. Sachs<sup>1</sup>, Guillaume Lafortune<sup>2</sup> and Eamon Drumm<sup>3</sup> .

### **Abstract**

The UN Charter sets out clear principles to maintain friendly relationships among world nations and to preserve peace and security. In international relations, UN member states hold the primary responsibility for implementing the principles of the UN Charter. This paper presents and describes a new measure of countries' commitment to implementing the principles of the UN Charter. The Index of UN-Based Multilateralism (or Multilateralism Index, for short) uses five indicators that are then aggregated in a composite index. This Index aims to be a tool to help hold countries accountable for implementing the principles of the UN Charter and to provide an independent assessment of countries' efforts to promote multilateralism.

**We welcome comments and suggestions: [info@sdgindex.org](mailto:info@sdgindex.org)**

*The results and opinions presented in this paper are those of the authors alone. They do not reflect the views of the SDSN or any organization, agency, or program of the United Nations. We are grateful for research assistance provided by Juliana Bartels and Olivia Lee Cosio (Columbia University) and Salma Dahir (SDSN).*

---

<sup>1</sup> President, UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN), United States

<sup>2</sup> VP & Head of Paris Office, UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN) and Grenoble Centre for Economic Research (CREG), France

<sup>3</sup> Senior Program Officer, UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN), France

Contents

Introduction..... 3

1. Background and knowledge gap ..... 4

2. Indicators & Data Sources ..... 4

3. Method Summary ..... 13

    4.1 Performance thresholds ..... 13

    4.2 Normalization ..... 13

    4.3 Weighting and aggregation ..... 14

    4.4 Missing data and Imputations ..... 14

5. Results ..... 14

Conclusion and next steps..... 19

Appendix ..... 20

References ..... 21

## Introduction

The Charter of the United Nations adopted in 1945 is the founding document of the United Nations. The Charter sets out clear principles to maintain friendly relationships among world nations and to preserve peace and security. The Charter also introduces the main organs of the UN: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat.

Seventy-eight years after the adoption of the UN Charter, multilateralism in accordance with the UN Charter is under threat. In his speech to the UN General Assembly in September 2023, the UN Secretary-General Guterres reminded the international community about the importance of “being faithful to the Charter of the United Nations”. The UN Secretary-General established a High-Level Advisory Board (HLAB) to make recommendations for more effective multilateralism, notably in the run-up to the Summit of the Future in September 2024.

In international relations, UN member states hold the primary responsibility for implementing the principles of the UN Charter. This paper presents a new measure of countries’ commitment to implementing the principles of the UN Charter. We call this the Index of UN-Based Multilateralism, or Multilateralism Index (MI), for short. The MI uses five indicators which are then aggregated in a composite index. The Multilateralism Index aims to hold countries accountable for implementing the principles of the UN Charter and provides an independent diagnosis of countries’ efforts to promote multilateralism. According to the MI, Barbados is the world’s most multilateral country and the United States of America is the world’s least multilateral country, again in terms of adherence to the UN Charter.

The complete Excel database is available online at: <https://sdgtransformationcenter.org/>.

We welcome comments and suggestions: [info@sdgindex.org](mailto:info@sdgindex.org).

## 1. Background and knowledge gap

The 2015 Declaration, “Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development” (United Nations 2015) which introduced the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) recalls that:

*“Seventy years ago, an earlier generation of world leaders came together to create the United Nations. From the ashes of war and division they fashioned this Organization and the values of peace, dialogue and international cooperation which underpin it. The supreme embodiment of those values is the Charter of the United Nations.”*

The principles established in the UN Charter for global cooperation and peaceful relationships among Nations must be implemented to achieve the SDGs. These principles are crucial to preserve peace and make progress on the key challenges of our time, including issues such as climate change, cybersecurity and financing for sustainable development.

There is to our knowledge no comprehensive assessment of countries’ support for multilateralism under the UN Charter. The SDG Index (and other SDG monitoring reports) track socio-economic and environmental progress, which are of course related to Chapter IX of the UN Charter on “International Economic and Social Cooperation”, but are not designed to evaluate countries’ adherence to the principles of the UN Charter. The 2022 Index of Multilateralism of the International Peace Institute usefully explores the state of multilateralism globally but does not assess country engagement and efforts to implement the principles of the UN Charter (IPI, 2022). Some initiatives track specific aspects of multilateral behavior, including for instance the size of diplomatic representation (Lowy Institute 2021), efforts to promote peace and demilitarization (IEP 2022) or countries’ transboundary impacts (Anholt 2021; SDSN, University of Tokyo, and Yale University 2023).

Our goal is to provide an overall index of countries’ commitments to the principles set out in the UN Charter by looking at the adoption of UN treaties, participation in major UN organizations and efforts to promote peaceful relationships across nations. The Multilateralism Index builds on previous work conducted by the UN Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN) and partners on measuring progress towards the SDGs and policy efforts for sustainable development (Sachs et al, 2023).

## 2. Indicators & Data Sources

We present a variety of proxy indicators to gauge countries’ ratification of UN treaties, their membership in UN institutions, unilateral sanctions they have adopted against other UN Member States, and their efforts to promote global solidarity – including via international financial flows – and peace. In most cases, we aim to capture the latest period (2018–2022) or the latest available data points. The variables related to the ratification of treaties and the adoption of unilateral coercive measures cover 1946–2022 and 1950–2021 respectively. This assessment is based on UN databases and several third-party sources. This initial pilot Index covers 74 countries, which corresponds to the scope of the broader data collection conducted by the SDSN in 2023 to evaluate government efforts and commitments for the SDGs as presented in the Sustainable Development Report 2023 (Sachs et al, 2023). For presentational reasons, the tables and charts cover only OECD, G20, and large economies. The full database and additional material are available online. Table 1 summarizes indicator titles, units and sources.

**Table 1. Indicator selection and data sources**

Indicator	Unit	Source
% UN Treaties Ratified (selected, 1946-2022)	%	UN Treaty Database/SDSN research
ODA grant equivalent as percent of GNI (% , avg. 2018-2022)	%	OECD
Global Peace Index, Militarization and Ongoing Conflict (score, 2022)	Score	Global Peace Index, by the Institute for Economics & Peace
Number of unilateral coercive measures (% , 1950-2021)	# sanctions	Global Sanctions Database, by HTWG, Drexel University & WIFO.
Membership in selected UN institutions (2023)	# instances	UN institutional websites/SDSN research

Source: Authors

**Percentage of UN Treaties ratified:** This indicator (Figure 1) covers all International Conventions and Agreements adopted by the United Nations from 1946–2022, including those adopted before 1946 that were later added to the UN Treaty system. It excludes Protocols, Optional Protocols, and Amendments, as well as Conventions that were later terminated or only applied to a small number of countries. For each of the 150 treaties, we recorded whether Member States had signed or ratified them. Signature of a treaty is not legally binding, whereas ratification (or acceptance, accession, definitive signature, and succession) is legally binding. The indicator for the percentage of UN treaties ratified (all international) shows the percentage of these 150 treaties that each Member State has ratified, whereas the percentage of UN treaties ratified (selective) indicator shows the percentage each country has ratified from a select list of 58 treaties. This shorter list includes only those treaties ratified by more than 50 percent of UN Member States. Austria, Hungary, Italy, Nigeria, Spain, and Sweden have ratified more than 98 percent of all treaties in the selective list. By contrast, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and the United States have ratified less than 75 percent (selective list).

**Unilateral coercive measures (UCMs):** This indicator (Figure 2) reviews the adoption by UN Member States of unilateral sanctions against another UN Member State. Several UN resolutions stress that unilateral coercive measures and practices are “contrary to international law, international humanitarian law, the UN Charter and the norms and principles governing peaceful relations among States, and highlight that on long-term, these measures may result in social problems and raise humanitarian concerns in the States targeted.”<sup>4</sup> In 2014, the Human Rights Council created the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on the negative impact of unilateral coercive measures on the enjoyment of human rights.

Since 1966, the Security Council has established 31 sanctions regimes: in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, the former Yugoslavia (2), Haiti (2), Angola, Liberia (3), Eritrea/Ethiopia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Côte d’Ivoire, Iran, Somalia/Eritrea, Iraq (2), the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, Lebanon, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, Libya (2), Guinea-Bissau, Central African Republic, Yemen, South Sudan and Mali, as well as sanctions on ISIL (Da’esh) and Al-Qaeda, and the Taliban. The famous 1977 United Nations Security Council Resolution 418 unanimously imposed a sanctions regime against Apartheid South Africa.

The data on UCMs presented in this paper come from the Global Sanctions Database (2023), which provides information on sanctions adopted against other countries, including the beginning and final

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-unilateral-coercive-measures>

year of sanction imposition. Here we present sanctions adopted unilaterally from 1950 to 2021 that are still in place as of 2022. For our purposes, a sanction is considered unilateral if it has not been approved by the UN Security Council, even if it is imposed by multiple countries. Percentages represent the share of all sanctions that a country or region has adopted to 2021. For EU member states, for example, this includes EU sanctions as well as sanctions that the country has imposed individually. Sanctions imposed by the European Union after Brexit were allocated as separate sanctions for the UK.

**Membership and participation in selected United Nations organizations:** This indicator (Figure 3) captures membership in 24 United Nations organizations: all 15 specialized agencies, all 6 United Nations funds and programmes, the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). These organizations were selected to represent a broad range of issues related to sustainable development (education, health, finance, trade, telecommunication, and industrial policies), as well as including all of the specialized agencies.

- *UN Specialized Agencies:* the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO); the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD); the International Labour Organization (ILO); the International Monetary Fund (IMF); the International Maritime Organization (IMO); the International Telecommunication Union (ITU); the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO); the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO); the Universal Postal Union (UPU); the World Health Organization (WHO); the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO); the World Meteorological Organization (WMO); and the World Bank Group – including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), and the International Finance Corporation (IFC).
- *UN funds and programmes:* UN Development Programme (UNDP), UN Environment Programme (UNEP), UN Population Fund (UNFPA), UN Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT), UN Children’s Fund (UNICEF), World Food Programme (WFP).

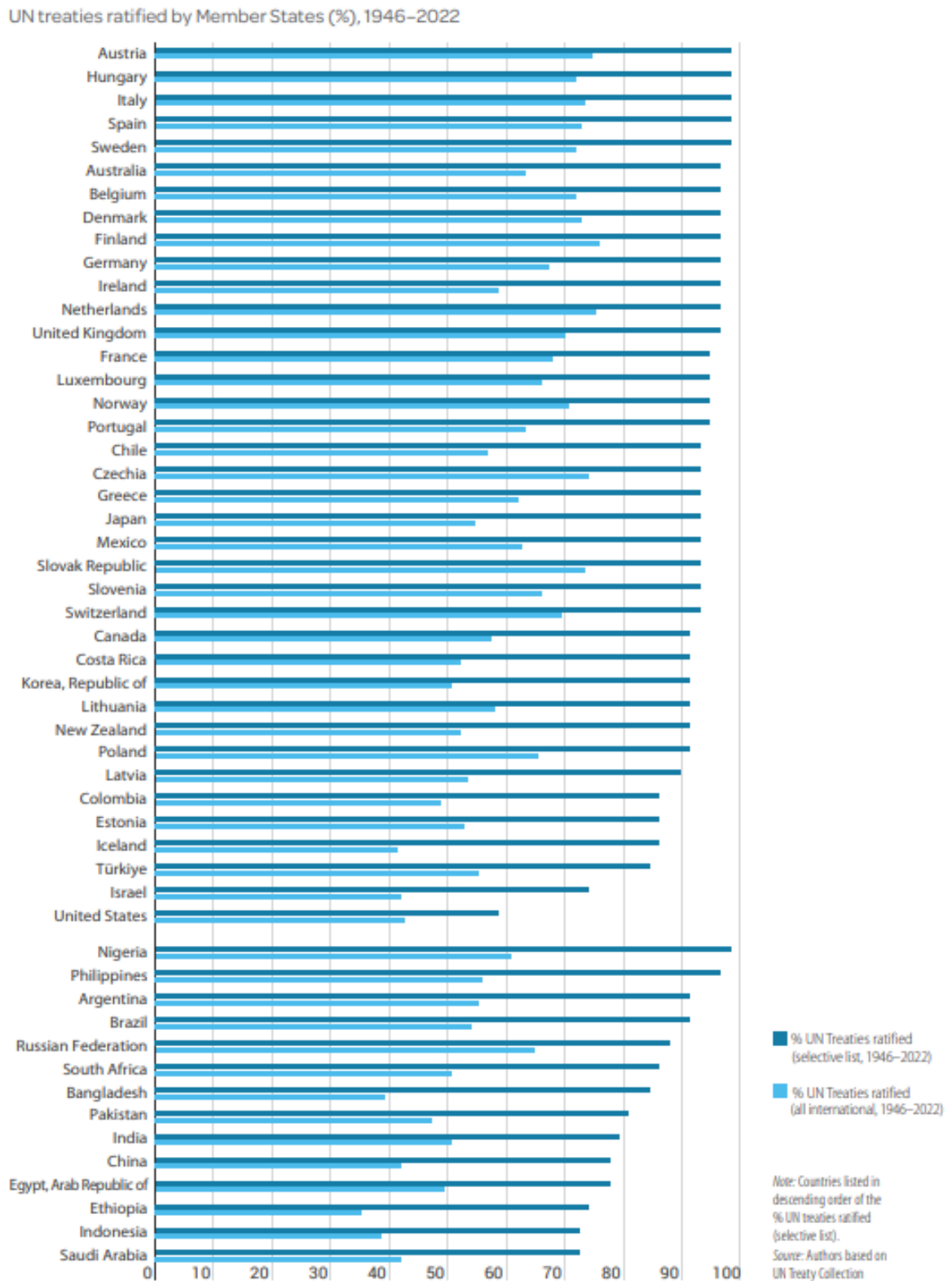
Memberships were verified as of May 2023 via each organization’s website. Several OECD countries are no longer members of UNIDO; the United States and Israel withdrew funding to UNESCO in 2011 and withdrew their membership in 2019.

**Militarization and participation in conflicts:** This indicator (Figure 4) captures countries’ efforts to promote and preserve peace. It identifies countries’ level of military build-up and access to weapons, as well as their participation in ongoing domestic and military conflicts. It builds on data provided in the Global Peace Index 2022 (compiled by the Institute for Economics and Peace). The Ongoing Conflict Score builds on six indicators to investigate the extent to which countries are involved in internal and external conflicts, as well as their role and the duration of their involvement. The Militarization Score reflects countries’ level of military build-up and access to weapons, as well as their level of peacefulness, both domestically and internationally. Comparable data on military expenditure as a percentage of GDP and the number of armed service officers per capita are gauged, as are financial contributions to United Nations peacekeeping missions.

Overall, among G20, OECD and large countries, Czechia, Iceland, Ireland, Malaysia, New Zealand, and Portugal obtain the lowest (best) scores, whereas Israel and the Russian Federation obtain the highest (worst) scores.

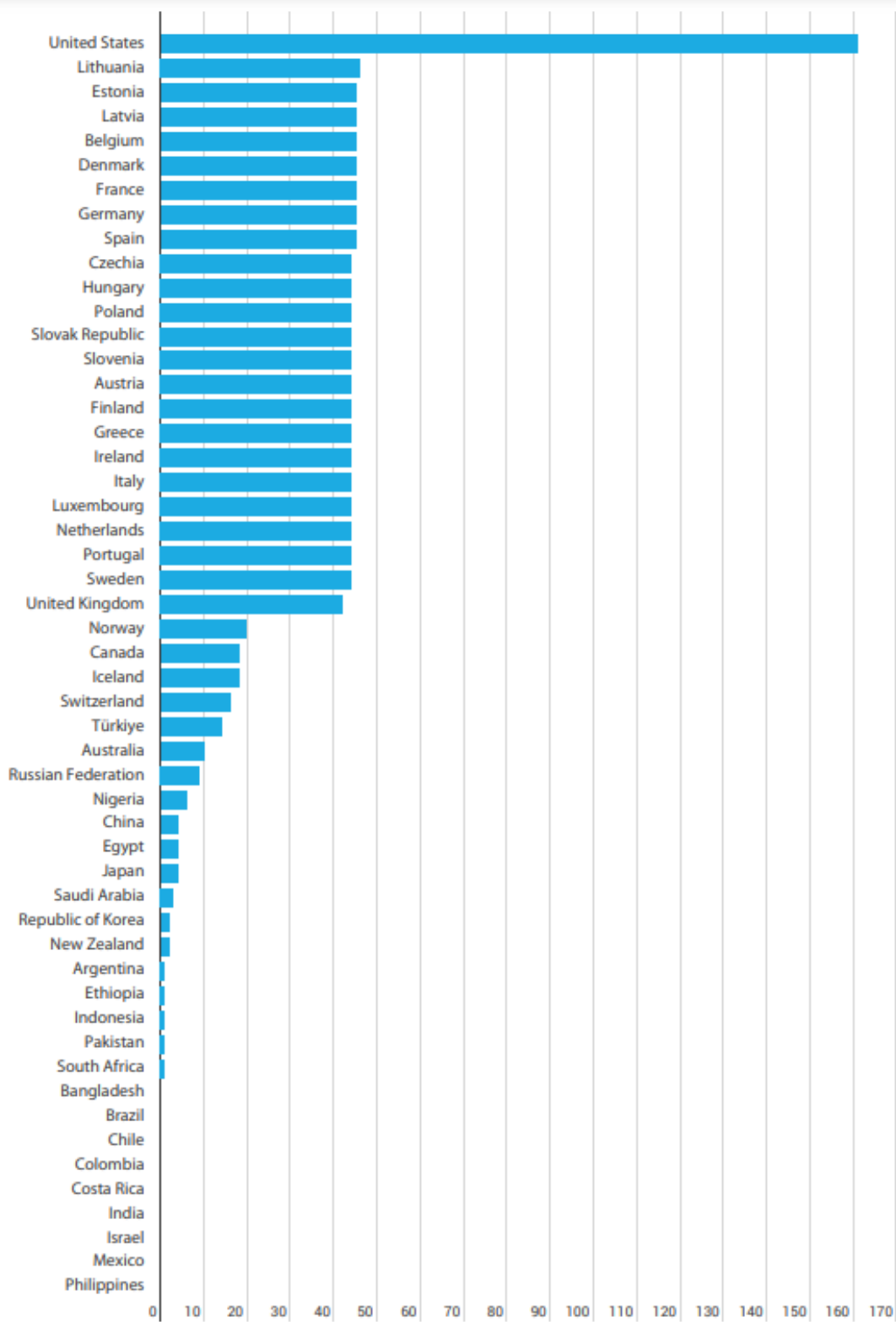
**International Solidarity and Financing:** This indicator (Figure 5) presents data compiled by the OECD on Official Development Assistance (ODA) as a headline indicator of international solidarity. In 2022, only five DAC members – Denmark, Germany, Luxembourg, Norway, and Sweden – had met or exceeded the 0.7 percent ODA target. When computing overall scores, we use the average ratio of ODA/GNI over the past five years (Figure 3.10). In 2022, ODA rose by 13.6 percent in real terms, driven primarily by the sharp increase of in-donor refugee costs (OECD, 2023b).

**Figure 1. UN treaties ratified by Member States (%), 1946–2022**



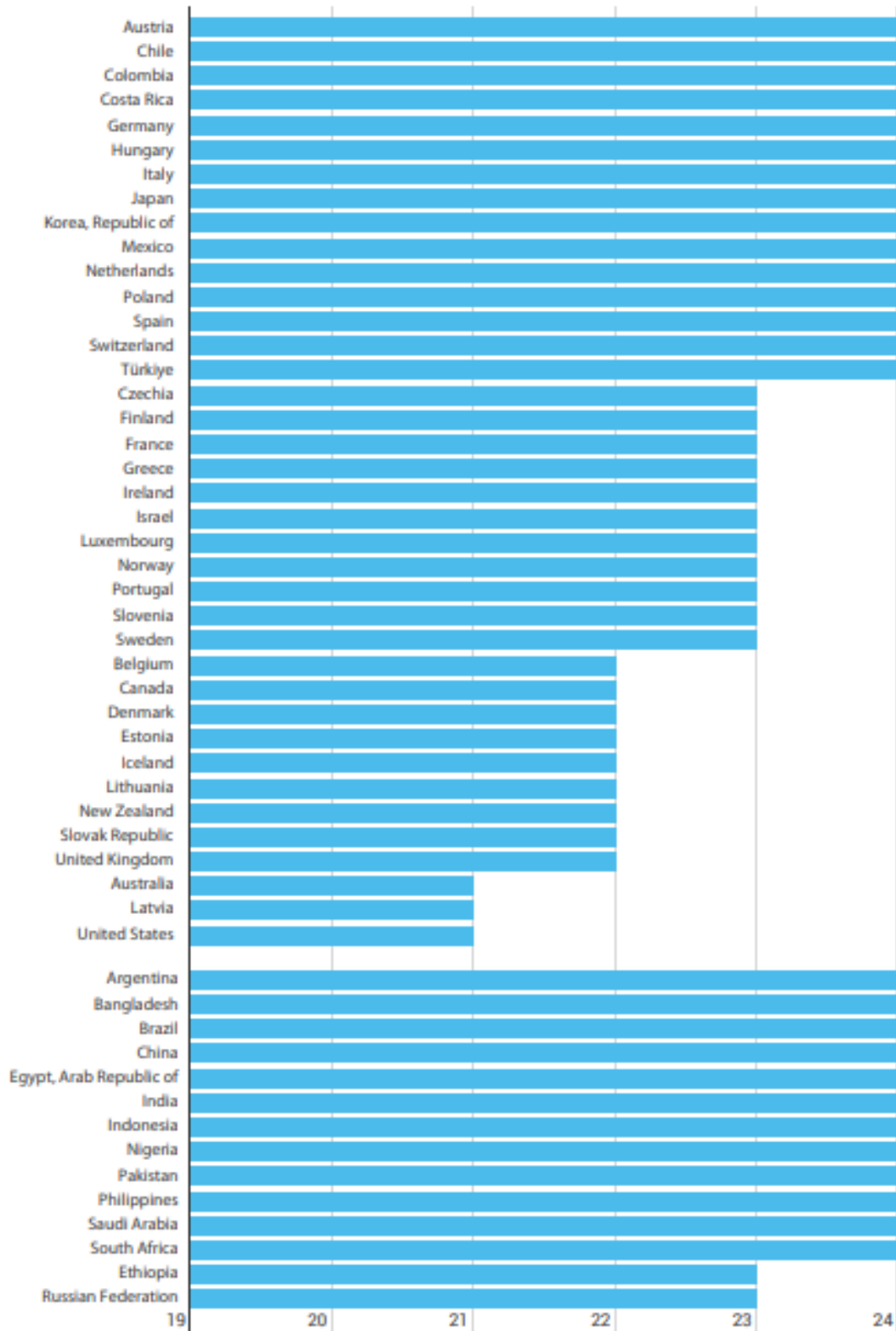


**Figure 2. Use of unilateral coercive measures (UCMs), number (1950–2021)**



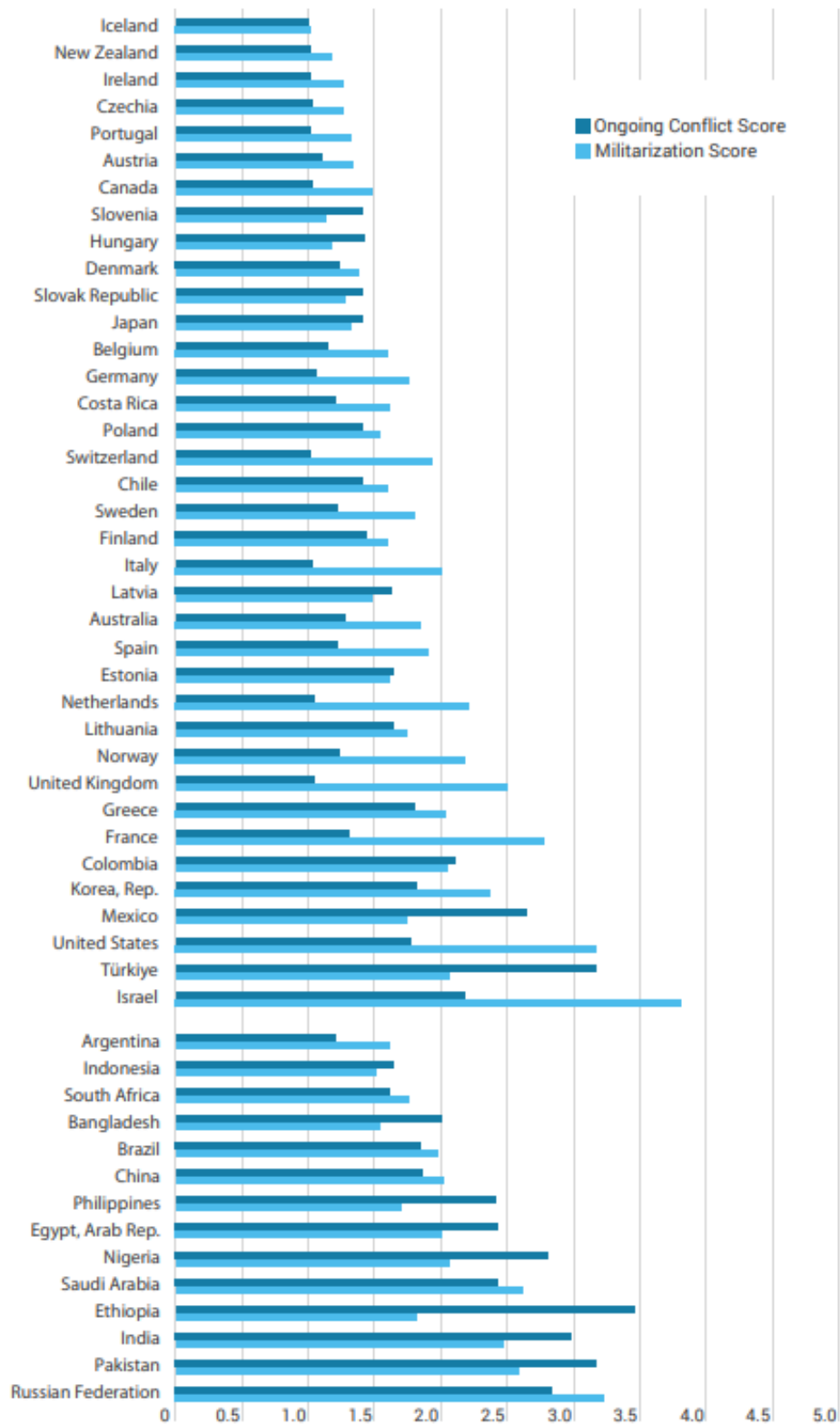
*Note:* Countries listed in descending order of the % UN treaties ratified (selective list). *Source:* Authors, based on Drexel Global Sanctions Database.

Figure 3. Membership in selected UN organizations, 2022



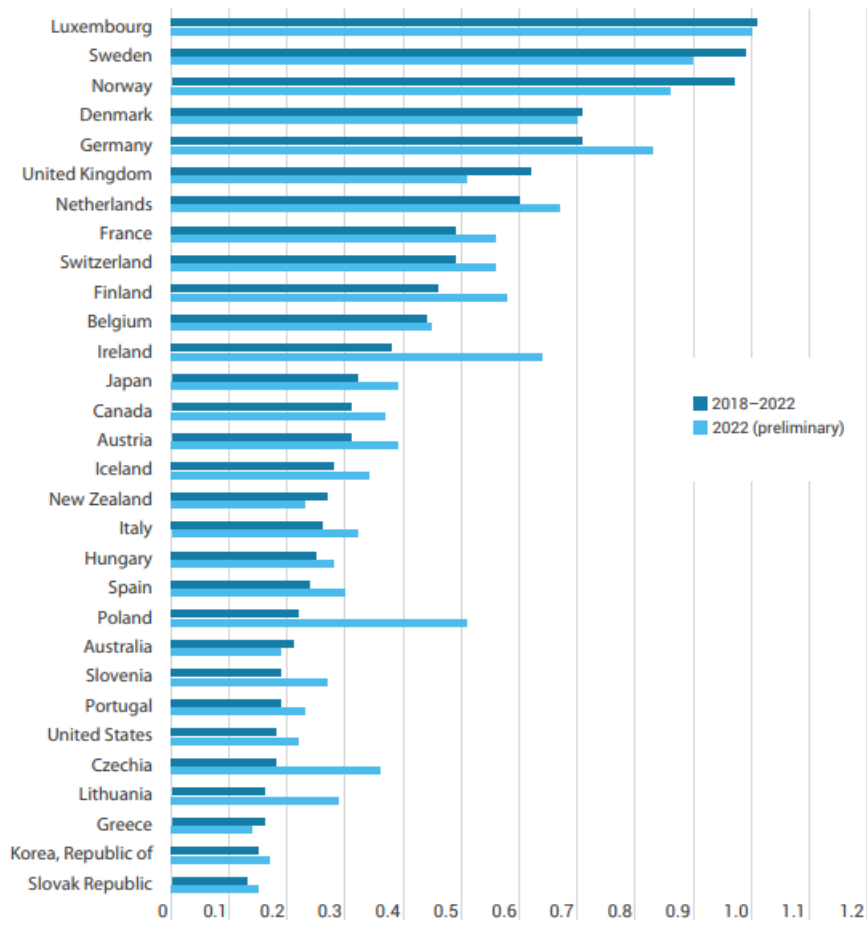
Source: Authors' analysis. As of 31.12.2022.

**Figure 4. Participation in conflicts and militarization, 2022**



Note: Countries listed in ascending order of the average between both pillars. From 0 (best/more peaceful) to 5 (worst/less peaceful).  
 Source: Authors, based on Global Peace Index 2022 (compiled by the Institute for Economics and Peace).

**Figure 5. Official Development Assistance (ODA) as share of GNI, 2018–2022**



Note: OECD, 2022 (2022 ODA data based on preliminary release, all other years from final data).  
 Countries listed in descending order of the average ratio ODA/GNI over the period 2018–2022.  
 Source: Authors, based on OECD

### 3. Method Summary

The procedure for calculating this composite index comprises three main steps: (i) establish performance thresholds and censor extreme values from the distribution of each indicator; (ii) rescale the data to ensure comparability across indicators (normalization); (iii) aggregate the indicators within and across pillars (aggregation). As any composite indicator, or more broadly any methodologies, assumptions and technical decisions made affect the results.

#### 4.1 Performance thresholds

To make the data comparable across indicators, each variable was rescaled from 0 to 100 – with 0 denoting the worst performance and 100 describing the optimum. Rescaling is sensitive to the choice of limits, as extreme values (outliers) risk becoming unintended thresholds that can introduce spurious variability in the data. Consequently, the choice of upper and lower bounds can affect the relative ranking of countries in the index. There are no international agreements that precisely define performance thresholds for engagement with multilateralism. Apart from binary variables (e.g., Yes or No questions), these performance thresholds are therefore largely based on expert judgement and distance to top performers. The lower bound was defined in most cases at the 2.5<sup>th</sup> percentile of the distribution, unless within the 2.5<sup>th</sup> percentile there were particularly high outliers. Each indicator distribution was censored so that all values exceeding the upper bound scored 100, and values below the lower bound scored 0. These thresholds are presented in Table 2.

**Table 2 List of indicators including upper and lower bound for normalization**

Indicator	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper bound justification
% UN Treaties Ratified (selected, 1946-2022)	98,2	58,6	Average of 5 best performers
ODA grant equivalent as percent of GNI (% , avg. 2018-2022)	0,7	0,09	International target
Global Peace Index Militarization and Ongoing Conflict (score, 2022)	1,1	2,9	Average of 5 best performers
Number of unilateral coercive measures (% , 1950-2021)	5,0	80,0	Median value (highly skewed variable)
Membership in selected UN institutions (2023)	24,0	21,0	Technical optimum (all selected UN institutions)

Source: Authors

#### 4.2 Normalization

Each indicator has different units. To aggregate the results, they need first to be transformed into a common scale. After establishing the upper and lower bounds, variables were transformed linearly to a scale between 0 and 100 using the following rescaling formula for the range [0; 100]:

$$x' = \frac{x - \min(x)}{\max(x) - \min(x)} \times 100$$

where  $x$  is the raw data value; max/min denote the upper and lower bounds, respectively; and  $x'$  is the normalized value after rescaling. The rescaling equation ensured that all rescaled variables were expressed as ascending variables (i.e., higher values denoted better performance).

This normalization method mirrors the method used in the SDG Index (Sachs et al, 2023). and allows us to communicate the results as distances to optimum commitment to multilateralism (which is not the case of other normalization methods such as the use of Z-Scores). It also has the advantage of simplicity.

### 4.3 Weighting and aggregation

Composite indices are sensitive also to weighting and aggregation methods. Below, we describe the weighting scheme and aggregation method used, but also present various sensitivity and robustness tests to explore how results would vary if other methods had been retained. The total score was computed using the arithmetic mean. The ratification of UN Treaties and Promotion of demilitarization and global peace were respectively weighted two times and three times more than the other variables as they were considered particularly important headline indicators of countries' commitments for multilateralism and peaceful relationships across nations.

### 4.4 Missing data and Imputations

The influence of missing data is very limited, since we have a near complete database for the countries covered. We imputed a perfect normalized score (100) to Barbados, Samoa and Seychelles on the indicator related to "demilitarization and participation in conflict" based on external data sources that suggest that militarization and participation in conflicts is extremely limited in these countries. Indicators related to "Official Development Assistance" were used for DAC members.

## 5. Results

The results of this year's pilot index of countries' commitment to multilateralism under the UN Charter are presented in Figure 6, with the normalized scores on indicators presented in Appendix Table A.1. The country with the highest multilateralism score is Barbados, and with the lowest multilateralism score is the United States. The top-ranked countries, with scores of 85 and above, are Barbados, Seychelles, Argentina, Chile, Jamaica, Germany, and Senegal. By contrast, the lowest-ranked countries, with scores of 50 and below, are (starting from the lowest score) the United States, Israel, Ethiopia, Pakistan, the Russian Federation, India, and Saudi Arabia. No country obtains a perfect score.

Interestingly, there is a positive and statistically significant correlation between this pilot Index of UN-Based Multilateralism and efforts made by governments to institutionalize the SDGs as measured by the SDSN annually<sup>5</sup> (Figure 7). In particular, based on our sample, countries that perform better on the pilot multilateralism index have also presented and more frequently updated their SDG action plans – so-called Voluntary National Reviews – at the annual UN High-Level Political Forum. The

---

<sup>5</sup> The SDSN measure of SDG "Political Leadership and Institutional Coordination" uses six headline measures, with the majority of the data coming from SDSN's annual survey of government efforts for the SDGs collected from its global network of scientists and practitioners. The six variables track: the presentation of Voluntary National Review, official speeches by country leaders making references to the SDGs, existence of an SDG coordination unit in government, national SDG strategy or sustainable development strategy, national SDG indicator system, and references to the SDGs in latest annual budget.

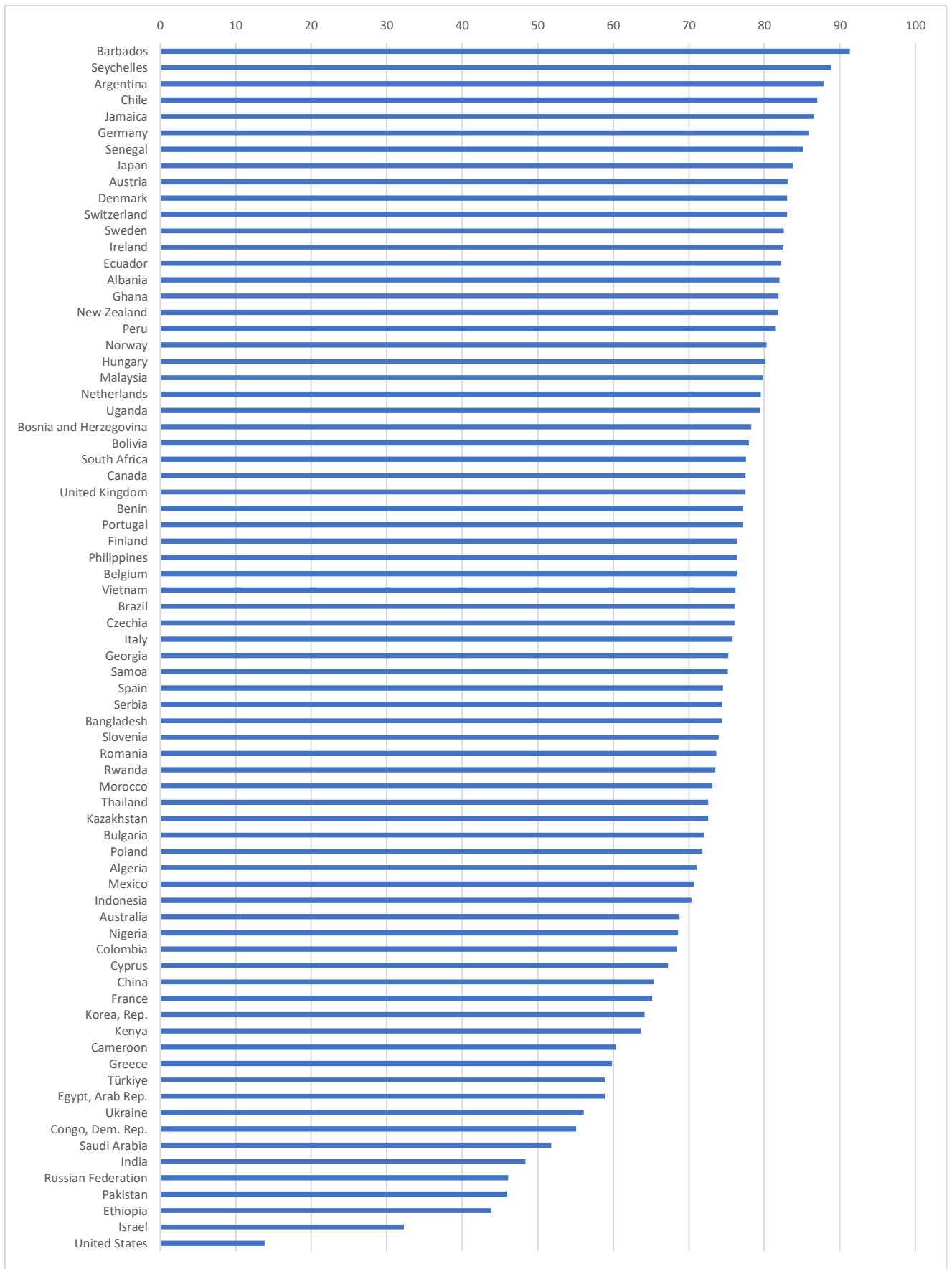
United States is among the only five countries of the 193 UN member states that never presented a VNR at the UN.

There is also a positive and statistically significant correlation between the Index of UN-Based Multilateralism and the percentage of times countries voted with the majority of UN member states at the UN General Assembly over the period 2018-2022 (Figure 8). Countries that adhere to the UN Charter in terms of the core indicators also tend to vote with the majority of countries in the UN General Assembly. The two least multilateral countries, the US and Israel, are also most often in opposition to the UN General Assembly majority. Over the period 2018-2022 these two countries voted with the majority of the UN general Assembly less than 25% of the time. By contrast, Barbados, Argentina, Chile and Jamaica – some of the most multilateral countries – voted with the UN General Assembly majority at the highest rate: 90% of the time. Seychelles and Germany, also among the most multilateral countries, voted more than half of the time with the rest of the majority of the UN General Assembly (respectively 55% and 60% of the time). These are initial steps taken to test construct validity of the pilot Multilateralism Index and in particular convergent validity<sup>6</sup>.

---

<sup>6</sup> In statistics, convergent validity refers to how closely a test is related to other tests that measure the same (or similar) constructs.

**Figure 6. Pilot Index of UN-Based Multilateralism**



Source: Authors





**Table 3. Comparison of Multilateralism Index with other related measures**

Country	id	UN Multilateralism Index	SDG Coordination Efforts	VNR Presented (count)	UNGA Votes with Majority (count)	UNGA Votes with Majority (%)	Country	id	UN Multilateralism Index	SDG Coordination Efforts	VNR Presented (count)	UNGA Votes with Majority (count)	UNGA Votes with Majority (%)
Albania	ALB	82,0	50,0	1	289	60,0	Jamaica	JAM	86,6	75,0	2	455	94,4
Algeria	DZA	71,0	51,7	1	419	86,9	Japan	JPN	83,7	75,0	2	313	64,9
Argentina	ARG	87,8	79,2	3	437	90,7	Kazakhstan	KAZ	72,6	62,5	2	416	86,3
Australia	AUS	68,8	20,8	1	236	49,0	Kenya	KEN	63,6	73,3	2	407	84,4
Austria	AUT	83,1	75,0	1	325	67,4	Korea, Rep.	KOR	64,2	50,0	1	287	59,5
Bangladesh	BGD	74,4	68,3	2	442	91,7	Malaysia	MYS	79,9	70,8	2	444	92,1
Barbados	BRB	91,3	58,3	2	428	88,8	Mexico	MEX	70,8	83,3	3	424	88,0
Belgium	BEL	76,4	75,0	2	297	61,6	Morocco	MAR	73,1	68,3	2	430	89,2
Benin	BEN	77,2	100,0	3	332	68,9	Netherlands	NLD	79,5	83,3	2	294	61,0
Bolivia	BOL	78,0	46,7	1	416	86,3	New Zealand	NZL	81,8	37,5	1	338	70,1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	BIH	78,3	45,8	2	306	63,5	Nigeria	NGA	68,6	83,3	2	409	84,9
Brazil	BRA	76,1	37,5	1	377	78,2	Norway	NOR	80,3	79,2	2	307	63,7
Bulgaria	BGR	72,0	45,8	1	295	61,2	Pakistan	PAK	46,0	78,3	2	369	76,6
Cameroon	CMR	60,3	53,3	2	320	66,4	Peru	PER	81,4	37,5	2	452	93,8
Canada	CAN	77,5	75,0	2	234	48,5	Philippines	PHL	76,4	80,0	3	439	91,1
Chile	CHL	87,0	83,3	3	449	93,2	Poland	POL	71,8	62,5	2	278	57,7
China	CHN	65,4	58,3	2	367	76,1	Portugal	PRT	77,2	79,2	2	302	62,7
Colombia	COL	68,4	83,3	3	426	88,4	Romania	ROU	73,6	70,8	2	283	58,7
Congo, Dem. Rep.	COD	55,1	63,3	2	204	42,3	Russian Federation	RUS	46,1	33,3	1	301	62,4
Cyprus	CYP	67,2	75,0	2	335	69,5	Rwanda	RWA	73,5	53,3	2	308	63,9
Czechia	CZE	76,0	58,3	2	280	58,1	Samoa	WSM	75,2	73,3	2	371	77,0
Denmark	DNK	83,0	75,0	2	291	60,4	Saudi Arabia	SAU	51,8	70,8	3	422	87,6
Ecuador	ECU	82,2	54,2	2	448	92,9	Senegal	SEN	85,1	73,3	2	440	91,3
Egypt, Arab Rep.	EGY	58,8	90,0	3	402	83,4	Serbia	SRB	74,4	50,0	1	303	62,9
Ethiopia	ETH	43,8	63,3	2	417	86,5	Seychelles	SYC	88,8	37,5	1	267	55,4
Finland	FIN	76,4	83,3	2	304	63,1	Slovenia	SVN	73,9	62,5	2	300	62,2
France	FRA	65,2	58,3	2	268	55,6	South Africa	ZAF	77,6	41,7	1	426	88,4
Georgia	GEO	75,2	66,7	2	275	57,1	Spain	ESP	74,5	79,2	2	303	62,9
Germany	DEU	86,0	70,8	2	290	60,2	Sweden	SWE	82,5	83,3	2	317	65,8
Ghana	GHA	81,9	83,3	2	400	83,0	Switzerland	CHE	83,0	87,5	3	315	65,4
Greece	GRC	59,8	79,2	2	308	63,9	Thailand	THA	72,6	75,0	2	449	93,2
Hungary	HUN	80,1	37,5	1	268	55,6	Türkiye	TUR	58,9	62,5	2	323	67,0
India	IND	48,4	53,3	2	366	75,9	Uganda	UGA	79,5	73,3	2	378	78,4
Indonesia	IDN	70,3	100,0	3	431	89,4	Ukraine	UKR	56,1	36,7	1	269	55,8
Ireland	IRL	82,5	66,7	2	335	69,5	United Kingdom	GBR	77,5	33,3	1	267	55,4
Israel	ISR	32,3	20,8	1	112	23,2	United States	USA	13,8	4,2	0	113	23,4
Italy	ITA	75,8	83,3	2	288	59,8	Vietnam	VNM	76,2	53,3	1	422	87,6

Source: Authors, based on Sachs et al, 2023

## Conclusion and next steps

At a time where multilateralism under the UN Charter seems to be particularly fragmented, the pilot Index presented in this paper evaluates countries' efforts to support and promote the principles of the UN Charter. The Index builds on five headline indicators which evaluate countries' commitments to preserve peace, adopt major UN treaties and participate in UN organizations, minimize the use of unilateral coercive measures against other UN member states and achieve global targets for international financial solidarity. It builds on a simple and transparent methodology. The results underline major gaps in countries' performance with some of the wealthiest countries in the world and G20/21 countries performing rather poorly, including the Russian Federation and the United States.

Looking ahead, additional indicators and metrics will be considered. We also plan to expand the scope of this work to cover all 193 UN Member States. The next version of this Index will be released in the forthcoming Sustainable Development Report 2024 which will come out ahead of the 2024 Summit of the Future.

We welcome comments and suggestions: [info@sdgindex.org](mailto:info@sdgindex.org)

## Appendix

**Table A.1. Multilateralism Index Score and Rank and Normalized Scores by Indicator (2023)**

Country	Multilateralism Index Score	Multilateralism Index Rank	UN Treaties	Peace	Unilateral Coercive Measures	UN Membership	ODA	Country	Multilateralism Index Score	Multilateralism Index Rank	UN Treaties	Peace	Unilateral Coercive Measures	UN Membership	ODA
Barbados	91,3	1	69,6	100*	100	100	na	Georgia	75,2	38	73,9	61,8	93,3	100	na
Seychelles	88,8	2	60,9	100*	100	100	na	Samoa	75,2	39	13,0	100*	100	100	na
Argentina	87,8	3	82,6	83,2	100	100	na	Spain	74,5	40	100,0	74,9	46,7	100	24,9
Chile	87,0	4	87,0	78,4	100	100	na	Serbia	74,4	41	87,0	67,2	85,3	60	na
Jamaica	86,6	5	82,6	80,2	100	100	na	Bangladesh	74,4	42	65,2	63,4	100	100	na
Germany	86,0	6	95,7	83,2	46,7	100	100	Slovenia	73,9	43	87,0	90,9	48	80	17
Senegal	85,1	7	87,0	74,8	97,3	100	na	Romania	73,6	44	91,3	84,1	48	100	6,2
Japan	83,7	8	87,0	86	100	100	38,1	Rwanda	73,5	45	65,2	68	100	80	na
Austria	83,1	9	100,0	93,7	48	100	35,7	Morocco	73,1	46	65,2	60,5	100	100	na
Denmark	83,0	10	95,7	88,7	46,7	60	100	Thailand	72,6	47	56,5	65	100	100	na
Switzerland	83,0	11	87,0	79,9	85,3	100	65,1	Kazakhstan	72,6	48	60,9	62,1	100	100	na
Sweden	82,6	12	100,0	77,5	48	80	100	Bulgaria	72,0	49	87,0	88,1	48	80	9,5
Ireland	82,5	13	95,7	97,9	48	80	47,1	Poland	71,8	50	82,6	80	48	100	21,2
Ecuador	82,2	14	82,6	70,1	100	100	na	Algeria	71,0	51	87,0	47,8	100	80	na
Albania	82,0	15	82,6	76,2	80	100	na	Mexico	70,8	52	87,0	40,5	100	100	na
Ghana	81,9	16	78,3	72,7	98,7	100	na	Indonesia	70,3	53	34,8	74,3	100	100	na
New Zealand	81,8	17	82,6	100	100	60	29,1	Australia	68,8	54	95,7	75	93,3	20	20,6
Peru	81,5	18	82,6	68,3	100	100	na	Nigeria	68,6	55	100,0	27,2	98,7	100	na
Norway	80,3	19	91,3	66,6	80	80	100	Colombia	68,4	56	69,6	46,7	100	100	na
Hungary	80,2	20	100,0	88,9	48	100	26,6	Cyprus	67,2	57	87,0	72,4	46,7	100	0
Malaysia	79,9	21	30,4	99,4	100	100	na	China	65,4	58	47,8	54,1	100	100	na
Netherlands	79,6	22	95,7	71,2	48	100	83,4	France	65,2	59	91,3	48,6	46,7	80	66,2
Uganda	79,5	23	82,6	63,7	100	100	na	Korea, Rep.	64,2	60	82,6	46	100	100	10,1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	78,3	24	87,0	68,2	89,3	80	na	Kenya	63,6	61	52,2	47	100	100	na
Bolivia	78,0	25	69,6	68,9	100	100	na	Cameroon	60,3	62	69,6	27,7	100	100	na
South Africa	77,6	26	69,6	68	100	100	na	Greece	59,8	63	87,0	55,1	48	80	11,2
Canada	77,5	27	82,6	91,9	82,7	60	36,4	Türkiye	58,9	64	65,2	17,5	88	100	100
United Kingdom	77,5	28	95,7	63,6	50,7	100	87	Egypt, Arab Rep.	58,9	65	47,8	38,8	100	100	na
Benin	77,2	29	82,6	59,3	97,3	100	na	Ukraine	56,1	66	65,2	28,7	96	80	na
Portugal	77,2	30	91,3	96,7	48	80	16,6	Congo, Dem. Rep.	55,1	67	69,6	15,4	100	100	na
Finland	76,4	31	95,7	77,2	48	80	60,6	Saudi Arabia	51,8	68	34,8	22,4	100	100	77,5
Belgium	76,4	32	95,7	85,1	46,7	60	57,7	India	48,4	69	52,2	11,4	100	100	na
Philippines	76,4	33	95,7	47,8	100	100	na	Russian Federation	46,1	70	73,9	0	94,7	80	na
Vietnam	76,2	34	60,9	70,5	100	100	na	Pakistan	46,0	71	56,5	2,9	100	100	na
Brazil	76,1	35	82,6	55,7	100	100	na	Ethiopia	43,8	72	39,1	16,2	100	80	na
Czechia	76,0	36	87,0	97,3	48	80	14,6	Israel	32,3	73	39,1	0	100	80	0
Italy	75,8	37	100,0	76,8	48	100	28	United States	13,8	74	0,0	25,1	0	20	15,3

Figure notes: na: not applicable. \*: Imputed values. See paper for further explanations. Normalized scores from 0 (poor) to 100 (best).

Source: Authors

## References

1. Anholt, S., Govers, R. (2021). *Good Country Index*. <https://index.goodcountry.org/>
2. Global Sanctions Data Base. (2023). Felbermayr, G., Kirilakha, A., Syropoulos, C., Yalcin, E., and Yotov, Y. V. <https://www.globalsanctionsdatabase.com/>
3. IPI. (2022). *Multilateralism Index: Pilot Report*. International Peace Institute. <https://www.ipinst.org/2022/09/multilateralism-index-pilot-report>
4. Institute for Economics and Peace. (2022). *Global Peace Index 2022*. <https://www.economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/GPI-2023-Web.pdf>
5. Kirilakha, A., Felbermayr G., Syropoulos, C., Yalcin, E. and Yotov, Y.V. (2021). *The Global Sanctions Data Base: An Update that Includes the Years of the Trump Presidency*. The Research Handbook on Economic Sanctions. Edited by Peter A.G. van Bergeijk. [https://ideas.repec.org/p/ris/drxlwp/2021\\_010.html](https://ideas.repec.org/p/ris/drxlwp/2021_010.html)
6. Lowy Institute. (2021). *Global Diplomacy Index 2021* (Methodology). <https://globaldiplomacyindex.lowyinstitute.org/about.html>
7. OECD (2023). *OECD Statistics*. Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris. <http://stats.oecd.org/>
8. Sachs, J.D., Lafortune, G., Fuller, G., Drumm, E. (2023). *Implementing the SDG Stimulus. Sustainable Development Report 2023*. Paris: SDSN, Dublin: Dublin University Press, 2023. 10.25546/102924. <https://sdgtransformationcenter.org/reports/sustainable-development-report-2023>
9. SDSN, Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy, and Center for Global Commons at the University of Tokyo. 2023. *Global Commons Stewardship Index 2022*. Paris; New Haven, CT; and Tokyo. <https://s3.amazonaws.com/sustainabledevelopment.report/2023/2022-global-commons-stewardship-index.pdf>
10. Syropoulos, C., Felbermayr, G., Kirilakha, A., Yalcin, E., and Yotov, Y.V. (2023). *The Global Sanctions Data Base-Release 3: COVID-19, Russia, and multilateral sanctions*. Review of International Economics. <https://doi.org/10.1111/roie.12691>
11. United Nations Digital Library. (2023). *General Assembly voting data*. <https://research.un.org/en/docs/ga/quick/regular/78>
12. United Nations. (2023). *Secretary-General's Address to the General Assembly, September 2023*. <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2023-09-19/secretary-generals-address-the-general-assembly>
13. United Nations (1945). UN Charter <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter>