

A THEATER OF THE ABSURD: ECONOMIC SANCTIONS IN THE EMERGING
AGE OF MULTIPOLARITY

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ABSTRACT

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Economic Sanctions have been imposed on nations throughout the Global South during the post-World War Two era. This led to the “Sanctions Decade” of the 1990s which saw the most devastating impacts on civilians in nations like Haiti and Iraq. The 2014 Russian annexation of Crimea resulted in sanctions being imposed on Russia by the European Union (EU), and retaliatory counter-sanctions from Moscow ensued shortly after. The Russian counter-sanctions banned the importation of certain agricultural foodstuffs from the EU, and this ban had significant implications for farmers in the EU who were now unable to sell to the large Russian market.

This thesis seeks to understand how counter-sanctions from Moscow impacted the West, and created conditions for protest. Case studies of farmers protests in France and Poland will be used to understand the impacts of the counter-sanctions and the response from both civil society and their governments. This thesis will use scholarship from World-Systems Analysis and Transnational Social Movements to situate these protests as the result of a unique case of economic sanctions being imposed by a core nation on another core nation. We conclude with a reflection on the 2022 Russia/Ukraine conflict and what impact this may have in a world with rapidly developing economies growing across the globe threatening the hegemony of the West.

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INTRODUCTION

In Modena, Italy, families like the Lambertinis have been growing pears on their land in the Italian commune for generations. To their delight, in 2014, farmers in Italy were experiencing a rise in exports, especially to Russia which purchased 10%-15% of their pears from orchards like those of the Lambertinis. A massive disruption for farmers in the European Union occurred in 2014 when Russia issued a ban on foodstuffs from the European Union in retaliation for sanctions being imposed for the annexation of Crimea. The counter-sanctions imposed by Moscow suddenly blocked off a huge market to farmers in the European Union, and the impacts were felt immediately. Italy ranked fifth in total exporters of foodstuffs to Russia behind Poland, Germany, France, and The Netherlands. A ban on the Russian market meant that Italian farmers were going to lose close to 706 million Euros. Fabio Lambertini explained that there is a “sense of fear” surrounding his family around the loss of income, and further explained, “these political decisions have nothing to do with simple citizens” (Arsenault 2014). These feelings as a result of the Russian counter-sanctions were not seen only by Italian pear farmers, but by many farmers of different fruits and vegetables across the European Union. At the peak of harvest season, when farmers were expected to be compensated for their hard work, they were now faced with full storage of soon to be spoiling fruit, but more importantly no payments for their fruits. By suddenly blocking off a lucrative market to farmers in the EU, the counter-sanctions imposed by Moscow created conditions for farmers to protest across the European Union.

Economic sanctions are used by governments to coerce another state government, individual or entity into altering their own policies. Motivations for imposing economic sanctions include human rights violations, state-sponsored terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and armed aggression (Peksen 2011). An example of a country who has been a target of economic sanctions for nuclear proliferation is North Korea, who has had sanctions applied and lifted multiple times since the 1990s by the United States. In this case, imposing economic sanctions did not achieve the desired results of preventing North Korea from obtaining nuclear weapons. This is not an outlier in the grand scheme of economic sanctions, as many scholars have reported sanctions do not succeed in coercing the targeted state to change their own ways (Mallach-Brown and Gibson 2014). Following the destruction of World War One, economic sanctions were seen by global leaders as a peaceful alternative to military conflict (Bezuidenhout, Karrar, Lezuan, and Nobes 2019). The United States has been the leading country in terms of imposing economic sanctions. The United States has targeted 30 countries with over 130 total sanctions since the First World War (Peksen 2011). Scholarly research surrounding economic sanctions has focused around their effectiveness in coercing the targeted state, and how they impact civilians of the targeted state. While the use of economic sanctions has been questioned by researchers, they are still a prominent tool of foreign policy specialists well into the 21st century.

While the impact of sanctions on civilians on the targeted countries has been examined, there has been little work that examines the impact of counter-sanctions on the livelihoods of civilians in the country that initially imposed the sanctions. Little is known

about these impacts and the efforts of civil society to respond to the conditions which were created by the economic counter-sanctions. The counter-sanctions imposed by Moscow offer a very unique case in the study of international policy and social movements. Scholars of World-Systems Analysis should also be aware of how unique this situation is in that it allows us to examine a case of two core nations engaging in imposing economic sanctions on one another and the ripple effects it has on civil society. This case is important because, as this thesis will discuss in the literature review, previously economic sanctions were exclusively used by core nations to coerce peripheral nations into accepting demands from the United States and other core nations in the West.

Research around economic sanctions has largely consisted of discourse focusing on the effectiveness of sanctions in coercing other states' governments to alter their policies, and has remained a central topic in political science and international theory. The research on the impact of economic sanctions on civil society has been dominated by studies that highlight the humanitarian disasters they create in terms of healthcare (Peksen and Drury 2008) and food security crises (Debarre 2019). The "Sanctions Decade" of the 1990s saw the worst humanitarian crises as a result of economic sanctions, and this will be covered more in the literature review.

Our current geopolitical age is much different than that of the "Sanctions Decade", and a new analysis of economic sanctions from a World-Systems perspective is the necessary lens to also understand sanctions impact on social movements. This thesis seeks to better understand how counter-sanctions imposed on the West are creating

conditions for social movements to arise, and what these movements look like in the context of different cultures and states. To examine how these movements fit into the context of the larger global economy, World-Systems Analysis will be used to explain how these movements are more than a result between civil society and the nation-state. The effectiveness of economic sanctions to obtain political and economic goals going forward in 2022 will also be called into question, explaining how the essence of sanctions are now being undermined.

Using World-Systems Analysis to inform my understanding of this situation, I will answer the following questions; Is imposing economic sanctions an effective tool of foreign policy? Are there any risks in imposing sanctions on another core state? And finally, How are conditions for protests being created by economic sanctions? This is unique because as sanctions became popular in the post World War Two time period, economic sanctions were used on the peripheral nations such as Cuba, Haiti, and Iraq. In a post World War Two global economy dominated by Western Europe and the United States, using sanctions was seen as having little risk of any negative consequences for the imposing nation. By analyzing this case of sanctions being imposed by the EU and consequently being negatively affected by counter-sanctions, we can see how sanctions are not only ineffective but also harmful, given the interdependence of the current World-System. As a result of farmers in the EU being harmed by counter-sanctions, we can better understand how the global economy is entering an age of multipolarity, where the United States and the European Union are no longer in a position to impose sanctions on any nation without unintended consequences harming their own economy.

There is research on social movements as a result of conditions created by anti-globalization efforts, and this thesis seeks to expand the overall field of research. Jackie Smith's writings on social movements in the World-System will be used to ground our understanding of the case of the European Union. Smith explains, "...conflicts within states are thus understood in relation to this World-Systemic context, in that they are not independent of the structures and competitive dynamics of globalized capitalism" (Smith and Wiest 2012). By using the World-System as the unit of analysis instead of the nation-state, we can understand how protests by farmers in the EU are connected to each other, although they are organized independently of each other.

Widespread protests occurred from 2014-2015 across the European Union as a result of conditions created by the counter-sanctions from Moscow. Although many countries had their economies negatively impacted by the counter-sanctions, two countries offered unique case studies. Case studies of protests in France and Poland will be used to analyze the failure of economic sanctions and how the use of counter-sanctions created conditions for civil resistance from farmers as a result of economic sanctions. The actions of the two nation's governments is also important to examine because it highlights how there are many factors that influence the response from a government to protesting civilians.

To better understand both the risks involved for a core nation in sanctioning another core nation, and how conditions are created for these protests to occur, one must analyze not only the protests on the ground, but as a result of conflicts between two main actors (Russia and The EU) in the capitalist World-System. The European Union is not a

monolithic culture, and this thesis will seek to expand Social Movement scholarship by also understanding how these protests express themselves in relation to their nation's government and culture. Using World-Systems Analysis we can understand how sanctions are now not only ineffective but harmful, and new approaches must be adopted now that we are not in a global economy solely dominated by the United States. With Russia and Ukraine now being in another conflict stemming from the 2014 annexation of Crimea and new counter-sanctions from Russia being imposed on natural resources and fertilizer, it would be safe to expect new conditions for civil resistance to occur in the near future.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Research surrounding economic sanctions consists of discourse of their effectiveness in achieving their intended political goals (Doxey 1983, Drury 1998, O’Driscoll 2017) and the direct impact they have on vulnerable populations in the targeted state (Debarre 2019). There is a wide range of research showing that sanctions negatively impact poverty, healthcare, employment, and access to food (O’Driscoll 2017), yet there is a lack of sociologists who specialize in the conditions created by sanctions. There has been less attention given to the social movements which arose as a response from conditions created by economic sanctions. Researchers of social movements have examined protests as a result of anti-globalization, with environmentalism being a prominent issue causing protests globally. This study extends the field of social movements and World-Systems Analysis by examining protests as a response to conditions from core-core sanctions.

This chapter will examine previous literature on World Systems Analysis and how it can help us understand economic sanctions. Research on transnational social movements will also be examined which allows us to better understand how these movements are similar to those covered in the case studies of France and Poland. I will summarize the history of economic sanctions from when they began in the early 20th century, and up to the “Sanctions Decade” of the 1990s and their impacts on civil society. This review of literature surrounding social movements and economic sanctions is important to this thesis because the two areas of study have not been used together to

analyze how economic sanctions and now counter-sanctions, create conditions for social movements to arise.

World-Systems Analysis

World-Systems Analysis was popularized in the 1970s as there was a growing interest in observing the world through the perspective of interactions between global actors that go beyond using the nation-state as the central unit of analysis. World-Systems Analysis was a direct rebuttal of the theories of development that dominated the academic conversations of the 1950s and 1960s (Chirot and Hall 1982). World-Systems Analysts such as Fernand Braudel, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Giovanni Arrighi have in one way or another examined the expansive history of capitalism to explain how we have arrived at our current geopolitical and economic moment in time.

Theorists such as Wallerstein use the core/periphery unit of analysis to understand how global distribution of resources results in one region of the world retaining hegemonic power over another. The core/periphery distinction has its roots in examining the case of Latin America's relationship with the West in the post World War Two era. Raul Prebisch, was the Executive Secretary for the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America in 1950 and is seen as the creator of the core/periphery perspective (Wallerstein 2004). Prebisch was an Argentinian political theorist who argued against the idea of comparative advantage, and explained how resource producers are not benefitting from the global trade of the 20th century (Chirot and Hall 1982). Wallerstein credits Raul Prebisch and the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America for explaining how the countries in the Global South are unequally being

compensated for the exploitation of their resources and labor through what was coined “Dependency Theory”. The “core” in this context refers to the group of wealthy states who extract and enjoy the profits from labor and resource extraction from the periphery. Examples of core states include the United States and Western Europe, who through colonialism and modern day imperialism extract resources from the Global South, which in this context we refer to as the “periphery”. This is important to this thesis because there is always competition between the core states for hegemony of the World-System, and economic sanctions are now being used (in the case of EU/Russia) by core states against another core state, leading to new consequences previously unseen in the context of the imposition of economic sanctions.

World-Systems analysts have explained how national borders have diminished in importance compared to economic ebbs and flows (Wallerstein 2001). Studying social movements using the state as the unit of analysis limits our ability to fully understand all the factors that lead to certain movements. Wallerstein mentions that social movements which arise to push back and ultimately replace the existing structure of the World-System as “anti-systemic movements” (Wallerstein 2004). Wallerstein explains extensively how the “World Revolution” of 1968 has shaped how we understand social movements going forward (Wallerstein 1989, Wallerstein 2004). The United States saw protest against the Vietnam War, racism, sexism, and other issues oppressing groups, and there were movements across the globe that sought to push back against the post World-War Two World-System which was dominated by the United States. The events of 1968 were against existing right-wing elements, but was also pushing back against those who

constitute the “Old Left” (Wallerstein 1989). Understanding anti-systemic movements is important to this thesis because we are analyzing protest movements which arise as a result of conflicts at the level of the World-System and involves a myriad of concerns for the country’s status at the international level and managing crises that effect their civilians.

Anti-Globalization and Transnational Social Movements

World-Systems Analysis allows us to understand not only the global economy in an interconnected lens, but also social movements. From this perspective there is literature on transnational social movements which highlights the vulnerabilities and opportunities to create alternative futures (Smith, Gemici, Plummer, Hughes 2018). This thesis benefits from understanding transnational social movements because this topic directly relates to protests which arise from conditions created by economic sanctions. The case studies such as “The Battle in Seattle” and other anti-globalization movements are similar to the case studies in this thesis in that they are all in response to conditions created by international politics. The rise in globalization connected wealthy elites to new markets to further the capitalistic goals of mass accumulation. This rise in global interconnection also brought together the masses of people being negatively impacted by the conditions being created by the capitalist world-system. By using scholarship from transnational social movements we can better understand how the protests used in this study are similar to those of anti-globalization by being in response to policies from international governing organizations.

Those around the globe who are protesting against the conditions being created by globalization are usually advocating against capitalism, and advocate for alternative forms of organizing the world (Smith and Wiest 2012). One example of an issue that has been organized around is climate change, with movements arising across the globe. In April of 2022, over 1,000 scientists in 25 countries organized a day of protest to bring awareness to the danger of rising global temperatures (The Smithsonian 2022). While the actors in this protest had clear demands of wanting policies to address rising global temperatures, many in the anti-globalization movement do not definitively outline their demands, they make it known they want a system which better addresses their needs (Smith and Wiest 2022). Understanding anti-globalization movements is helpful to this thesis because it reveals how the interconnected world-system created opportunities for conditions to be created that otherwise would not be, prior to such globalization.

Protests against global financial institutions have been popular in the history of transnational social movements as civil society voiced their displeasure with certain global trade agreements (Chase-Dunn, Petit, Niemeyer, Hanneman, and Reese 2007). Institutions like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization have been the targets of anti-globalization movements due to their implementation of neoliberal policies. The “Battle in Seattle” was one such anti-globalization movement which occurred in 1999 at the WTO Ministerial Conference in Seattle, Washington.

Social Media and Social Movements in the World-System

An increase in globalization has also seen an increase in the modes of technology we are able to access and use to communicate with others. Social activists have been using forms of technology to organize their movements in many ways, but social media has been vital to these communications. The rise in social media and its ability to connect people have expanded the social networks activists can engage in to a global scale (Schuler and Truong 2020). Social media is not the only platform which helps social movements escalate beyond their local borders. Mass media news platforms on television and the internet have created a new political landscape in which what would once be a local protest can now turn into a global crisis (Bleiker 2000). Mass media plays an interesting role in the intersection of economic sanctions. The next chapter covers the case studies, and in Poland social media was an important tool to counter the effects of counter-sanctions from Moscow. The use of social media is important to this thesis because it highlights how the protesters are bringing social movements to the virtual realm to further their message.

History of Economic Sanctions

In the global theater of diplomatic and economic relations, all nations use an array of political tools to maintain or improve their position. International hegemonic nations like the United States, Russia, and China, along with global institutions such as the European Union (EU) and United Nations (UN) are in a unique position to implement economic sanctions as a political and economic tool. Imposing economic sanctions on a country is done to coerce the targeted state into changing their own policies towards

human rights, or undermine their military power in a way that carries a negative force (Doxey 1983). Following World War One which devastated Europe, there was a search for an alternative to the destruction and financial burden that war provided (Bezuidenhout, et al 2019). The League of Nations was responsible for this task, and President Woodrow Wilson saw an opportunity for a new type of weapon to be used in the realm of international politics (Mulder 2022). The first use of economic sanctions as we know them today occurred through the blockade of German ships in the first World War. (Mulder 2022). Sanctions were used leading up and during World War Two. Sanctions were used by the United States to seize assets and funds from the Nazi Party and used sanctions to cut off trade with Mussolini's regime as a result to their invasion of Ethiopia. While sanctions were seen as primarily a tool to use during times of war. Article 16 of the Covenant of the United Nations changed the nature of when sanctions can be used, transitioning them to a viable option to be used as a preventative to war instead of being used during war (Mulder 2022). By now being a diplomatic tool with its goal being to prevent a war, the core nations were now able to use them freely to coerce weaker nations to succumb to the imposing nations demands.

Following World War Two, The United States has imposed sanctions on multiple governments of certain states and numerous individuals and entities. The first nation to be sanctioned by the United States was Kim Il-Sung's government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in 1950. A sanctions regime that has been of the most long-lasting sanctions program is the embargo on Cuba which was implemented partially in 1960, but a full embargo was put in place in 1962 as a result of the Bay of

Pigs Invasion (Mallach-Brown and Gibson 2014). The United States has imposed similar sanctions programs on Venezuela, Syria, and Iran which prevent any US businesses from conducting trade with these countries. Along with these countries, there are many individual people and organizations like banks and corporations that are sanctioned by the United States in some way such as asset seizure or a travel ban. Issuing a travel ban on certain individuals is a way to hinder their potential destinations for travel which can ultimately impact their financial interests. Changing the way economic sanctions are put in place by targeting specific people and organizations was an attempt to alleviate the negative impacts on civilians in response to harsh criticism over the humanitarian crises of the 1990s as a result of sanctions on countries such as Iraq. The problem with this attempt is that it has not succeeded in reducing the hardships caused by sanctions. The effectiveness of economic sanctions has been discussed in literature, with a wide range of just how effective they are in coercing the target to alter their policies. Economic sanctions imposed by the United States fail 65% of the time to force the targets to change their policies (Hufbauer, Schott, Elliot, and Oegg 2007). 65% seems to be on the low end compared to other researchers, with it being as high as 95% (Pape 1997). More importantly, imposing economic sanctions can potentially cause negative effects in terms of the public health, access to food, and employment of the civilians of the targeted country (Peksen 2011). The devastating impacts on civilians caused by economic sanctions reveals the plethora of sectors that can be impacted and create conditions for anti-systemic movements to occur.

Analyzing economic sanctions from a World-Systems perspective allows us to understand the protests in the case studies as a result of a conflict between two core nations. The counter-sanctions from Moscow are also unique in the history of economic sanctions because it is one of the first occasions of a powerful actor in the West being counter-sanctioned by their initial target. Not only does this highlight how economic sanctions are still not effective in coercing their target to change (sanctions from the EU did not make Russia return Crimea to Ukraine), it also exposes how sanctions in the current age of emerging multipolarity can cause harmful blowback in the form of counter-sanctions.

The Sanctions Decade

While there are many types of political and diplomatic tools that can hamper the economy of another state such as tariffs, and trade restrictions, no other action besides acts of war (Mulder 2022) have had the negative impacts on civilians than economic sanctions have. Governments engage in sanctions to pressure another nation, corporation, or politician to alter their actions and change certain policies. An example of this can be seen in how economic sanctions have been imposed on North Korea over disputes surrounding their nuclear weapons program.

This presents an interesting contradiction because while the elites of a nation are most often targets, they bear minimal burdens while the worst effects are laid upon civilians (O'Driscoll 2017). The impact of economic sanctions have been noted since their initial use in the first World War. An economic blockade was used by the British and the French to cut supplies from entering Central Europe which would assist

Germany, The Ottoman Empire and their allies. Due to this blockade, more than 200,000 people in Germany and over 500,000 deaths in the Ottoman Empire were attributed to starvation as a result of the economic blockade (Mulder 2022). Since their inception, economic sanctions have caused major harm on civilians while not directly impacting the day-to-day lives of the elites being targeted.

David Cortwright and George A. Lopez (2000) coined the term “The Sanctions Decade” to describe the time period of the 1990s which saw some of the most devastating results of economic sanctions. The effects of sanctions on the country of Iraq have been studied extensively by researchers (Choonara 2013, Weiss, Cortwright, Lopez, and Minar 1997) since they were imposed in 1990. Due to the high levels of combat in the area at the time, it is more difficult to directly account for the deaths attributed directly to sanctions. Despite this difficulty, it is estimated that sanctions played a role in the threefold increase in child mortality under the age of five in the year of 1991, compared to data from the years 1985-1990 (Choonara 2013). From the years of 1991-1995 it was estimated that over 500,000 people died from lack of medicine, food, and water during an increase of infectious diseases (Choonara 2013). Iraq saw such devastating effects of the sanctions from the global community that the UN was pressured to create the Sanctions Assessment Handbook in 2014 which sought to monitor and create solutions for similar situations as that in Iraq.

While there have been other cases of negative impacts from sanctions, no other country has had sanctions to the point of another Sanctions Assessment Handbook being created (Choonara 2013). “The Sanctions Decade” also saw unprecedented harm to the

nation of Haiti which, like Iraq, was in a situation that was made much worse by the implementation of sanctions. In October of 1991, The Organization of American States imposed sanctions on Haiti's military-led government as result of the coup which ousted Jean-Bertand Aristide (Weiss, et al. 1997). Like most sanctions programs, they affected those who were already the most vulnerable parts of the population. The civilians of Haiti saw inflation of the cost of food, transportation, and the cost of medical supplies. Lack of imports and access to tools and machinery, which resulted in water treatment plants closing which caused the drinking water output to drop by fifty percent (Weiss, et al. 1997). Another country that had many negative consequences of economic sanctions was The Former Yugoslavia (FRY). The FRY was seeing many conflicts within their borders which was the result of the sanctions as an attempt to restrict arms and supplies to certain groups (Dashti-Gibson, Davis, and Radcliff 1997). The areas that were mainly affected by the sanctions were the highly concentrated areas of the ethic Serbians. Similar to Iraq and Haiti, there was combat and other factors that contributed to the hardships civilians faced in the FRY, but researchers still maintain that sanctions exacerbated already existing issues such as displacement of refugees, while creating new ones like creating more barriers to accessing food and medical equipment (Dashti-Gibson, et al. 1997). The case study of the FRY is used as an example of how economic sanctions can impact almost every sector of a nation's economy. Sanctions had negative consequences on industrial production, trade, food, employment, agriculture, and health and social services all to varying degrees (Dashti-Gibson, et al. 1997). The sanctions decade is an important era for those studying economic sanctions and their impacts because the harm to civilians

was a main point of criticism from global actors and saw some change to how sanctions are imposed. Even though they have slightly changed, there has not been any attempt by the UN or other global governmental organizations to alleviate the harmful effects of these sanctions (Cortwright and Lopez 2000).

The era known as “The Sanctions Decade” saw an array of consequences from the first major time period that economic sanctions were used to this amount. Since the 1990s there have been more areas that are negatively affected by economic sanctions. Economic inequality (O’Driscoll 2017), academic institutions (Bezuidenhout, et al 2019) and access to humanitarian aid (Debarre 2019) are also negatively affected as a result of economic sanctions. As shown, the available research surrounding this topic has focused on the impact on civilians, but there is a clear lack of centering the agency of people as the focus of the research. Research regarding social movements has generally focused on movements that occur in one area or country. While there is growing research among transnational social movements, they generally focus on transnational organizations that are leading movements for issues surrounding globalization such as concerns over the environment.

By bringing in a World-Systems perspective, we can understand how the conditions discussed in times like the Sanctions Decade are connected to the global economy. The next chapter will examine how social movements arose in the European Union from farmers due to conditions being created by Russian counter-sanctions.

FARMERS PROTEST EU SANCTIONS IN FRANCE AND POLAND

In this section I will describe how the modern geopolitical era is much different than the “Sanctions Era” of the 1990s when sanctions inflicted humanitarian crises on countries in the global south. Sanctions in the 21st Century are now able to play a different role and can be used to economically damage Western states, as previously they were seen as a tool to be used specifically by Western hegemonic states (Mulder 2022). The sanctions regimes of both the EU and Russia which were imposed as a result of the 2014 Maidan Revolution and subsequent annexation of The Republic of Crimea will then be summarized. Case studies of France and Poland, then be used to examine how the Russian counter-sanctions, which banned the import of EU foodstuffs created the conditions for organized workers in the agricultural sectors of these states to engage in protest.

Examining these cases using World-Systems Analysis allows us to understand how micro-mobilizations which seem to arise from domestic issues are actually consequences of a disruption in the highly intertwined economic World-System. The case studies of the two nations and the protests that occurred were organized independently of each other, but arose due to conditions created by the counter-sanction from Moscow. In each section I will illustrate why using the concept of World-Systems Analysis and transnational social movements are beneficial to understanding how these protests arose, how they may be organized independently of each other but are actually connected, and how we can further understand them in the future.

Entering the Multipolar Era

The political landscape of the “Sanctions Era” is much different to what we are experiencing in 2022. Western nations are no longer in a position to impose their will by using sanctions without facing severe blowback. As the global economy is much different than the 1990s, other nations are now able to combat sanctions by engaging in alternate trade routes with other nations, and by imposing sanctions of their own. Russia’s economy has grown significantly since the fall of the Soviet Union with state owned corporations such as Gazprom and Rosneft dominating the Russian economy with the extraction and sale of natural resources. Along with Russia, China is also a major stakeholder in the global economy that is also being sanctioned, and the two nations engage in trade deals to help offset the effect of sanctions from Western nations. Four months after the annexation of Crimea, Russia and China signed thirty-eight economic deals worth over \$150 billion dollars and included plans to supply China with natural gas and oil for the next thirty years (Polansek and Plume 2014). From a World-Systems perspective we can understand how sanctions in the age of multipolarity and decline of United States hegemony help push countries like Russia and China further into economic hegemony.

While the status of the United States and Western Europe as major economic powers is still undeniable, there are also many emerging economies worldwide that challenge the hegemonic status of the West. China, India, and Brazil have gradually risen economically due to their position in the global supply chain, and countries like Russia and Saudi Arabia who have large control of global energy are also emerging quickly

(Unay 2013). With more integration into the global economy and natural resources, these nations are projected to continue rising. Since 2009, BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) nations have accounted for a large share of the global Gross Domestic Product, accounting for four out of the top eight leaders globally in this category (Lowe 2016). The West has not stood by idly while the emerging economic powers strengthen their relationships with each other. The Group of 20 Forum is composed of the European Union and 19 other countries in the West and Asia. Originally with seven members being the United States, Germany, France, Canada, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, and the European Union. The global market is no longer solely dominated by Western nations, and this was highlighted when many different countries in the European Union were negatively impacted by the sanctions imposed by Russia in 2014. The counter-sanctions imposed by Moscow created conditions for protest that worked alongside previously existing tensions between the government and those in the agricultural sector.

This chapter will unpack the events that led to sanctions being imposed on Russia by the EU, and the retaliatory counter-sanctions imposed by Russia on importing agricultural commodities from the EU. Case studies of protests in France and Poland will be used to show how these protests are arising due to conditions being created by the Russian counter-sanctions. This thesis will also examine how the governments of both France and Poland responded to the protests, which highlights the difficulty of managing geopolitical issues with the well-being of their agricultural sector. I will end this chapter with how we can use the concept of transnational social movements and World-Systems Analysis to better understand how these social movements are connected to each other.

These case studies are important to understanding how Russian counter-sanctions are impacting the West because it exposes the vulnerabilities of using economic sanctions on another core state in the age of rising multipolarity in the economic World-System.

Sanctions and Counter-Sanctions over Crimea

During the days of the Soviet Union, Russia and Ukraine had close ties which signified their ethnic and cultural similarities. Following the Soviet Union's collapse, NATO has expanded eastward against the will of Russian politicians (Mearsheimer 2014), and this culminated in the 2014 Maidan Revolution (Grant 2015). Also called the "Revolution of Dignity", protests in Ukraine arose when then president Viktor Yanukovych made a decision to not develop stronger economic ties with the EU, and instead chose to build stronger relationships with Russia. Starting in November 2013 anti-Russian protests arose across Western Ukraine and in February 2014 President Yanukovych was forced to flee to Southern Russia, and a new, EU-friendly government took power in Ukraine (Mearsheimer 2014). Immediately following the change of power, the Eastern Ukrainian regions of Crimea and Donbass voiced their opposition to the change of power in the Ukrainian Government.

The Republic of Crimea adopted a declaration of independence on March 11, 2014 and scheduled a referendum on the secession of Crimea on March 16, 2014. The results of the referendum have been highly debated, and although the vote indicated that 96.7% (Grant 2015) of the Crimean population voted to leave Ukraine and become a part of Russia, Western governments disagree and claim the vote to be manipulated by the Russian government (Charron 2016). Regardless of the opinion of Ukraine and other

Western nations, Russia recognized the referendum and welcomed The Republic of Crimea back into the Russian Federation on March 18, 2014. Following the recognition of Crimea as a part of Russia, Russian troops moved into Crimea and seized government buildings and other posts.

The situation over The Republic of Crimea resulted in economic sanctions being imposed by both the European Union and Russia. While there were numerous sanctions imposed from both sides on individuals and entities, the sanctions critical to this paper due to them creating the protests involved in the case studies occurred months after the Maidan protests and the recognition of Crimea by Russia. On July 29, 2014 the European Union banned the import of Russian dual-use (items that can be used for both military and civilian purposes) and oil. In response to the numerous sanctions on Russian politicians and corporations, Russia imposed counter-sanctions on the European Union and the United States by banning imports of most foodstuffs. According to an amendment from Moscow Food included in the ban were beef, pork, chicken, fish, milk and dairy products, fruits, vegetables, (with the exception of potato seeds) nuts, and all finished food products or supplements which include these as ingredients. Certain exemptions were also made for baby food and other items. Following the Russian counter-sanctions, the EU tasked economists with attempting to determine which sectors of the economy will be impacted most. Those in the meat, dairy, and produce sectors were deemed to be those most at risk of financial loss as a result of the sanctions (Kutlina-Dimitrova 2017). Following the counter-sanctions from Russia in August 2014, more analyses were conducted to determine the economic effects they had on the meat, dairy, and produce

sectors. Between August of 2014 and June of 2015, overall agriculture trade with Russia dropped by 43%, and the EU and its individual states had to take measures to try to alleviate these effects (Galbert 2015). The biggest problems faced by those in the agricultural sector were sudden loss of income, and problems of oversupply due to export bans (Martinez-Juan 2015). There is a wide range of agricultural products produced by farmers in the EU and their response to these sanctions will provide the subject matter for my case studies.

The impact of the sanctions regime which was imposed by Russia as a response to the EU sanctions are a unique case in the study of social movements. The sanctions on EU foodstuffs caused protests across Europe which were organized locally but came as a result of the Russian counter-sanctions, which was the ban itself. By examining the geopolitical context of which these movements are arising we can understand how sanctions cause unintended consequences in multiple sectors of the World-System and create conditions in which people may be motivated to protest.

RESISTANCE BY FRENCH FARMERS

This section will examine the protests which occurred in France during the years of 2014-2016 following the counter-sanctions imposed by Russia. Due to the protests being organized and mobilized by those in the agricultural industry, and the rich history of rural social movements in France, some background on this will be given. Following the brief historical context, I will explain why this case is beneficial to social movement scholarship and using it to understand future social activity from sanctions and other policies from international institutions which cross many different sectors of many

nation's economies. Summaries of the protests which took place in France will then be given to fully understand the impact the sanctions had in creating the conditions which allowed civil society, most notably the agricultural sector to mobilize.

The counter-sanctions from Russia impacted the agricultural sector of France and caused multiple protests from 2014 to 2016. These acts spanned from a non-violent act of showing solidarity by the encouragement of purchasing domestic products and boycotting fruits and vegetables from other countries, altercations with riot-police, and blocking entire highways to prevent outside goods from entering France. This case is important for the study of social movement scholarship due to these mobilizations occurring in response to the counter-sanctions. These movements spanned multiple years and locations, used different tactics of protesting, and included actors that actively engaged in protesting and altering their consumption habits in solidarity with the protesters. While these types of protests are not unique or new in and of themselves, they are unique in that they are in response to a sanctions regime that does not involve France on the direct level (being that the situation is happening in Crimea) and are happening in the same timespan as movements in other countries independently of each other, but from a sanctions regime that is the result of actions by Russia. By using the mobilizations in France as an example, I will show how this case is actually connected to mobilizations in Poland as a result of the ban on EU imports from entering Russia. This case is helpful in understanding how economic sanctions now negatively impact the West, which previously saw little risk in imposing sanctions. From social media to interstate

highways, civil society in France voiced their opinion to the counter-sanctions from Russia.

French Rural Resistance Then and Now

France has a long history of social movements, most notably the French Revolution and the nation is still the site of many acts of resistance today. Farmers in particular have used different methods of demonstrating their displeasure with sanctions and other domestic policies that are affecting them.

An infamous incident in the history of protests by French farmers occurred on September 6, 1990, in the city of Limoges when over 300 sheep being imported from Scotland were seized, slaughtered, and then dumped outside a government building to show their anger over falling dairy and meat prices (Associated Press 1990). This was not an isolated incident in the early 1990s when many different protests were happening as a result of the falling prices on meat. Along with demanding an additional one billion euros in aid, French cattle and sheep farmers stole over twenty trucks transporting animals, and stormed government buildings (Greenhouse 1990). In Nyons, over 200 sheep were released into the street from a truck that was seized. A truckload of meat near the Belgian border was also seized but was burned at the border instead of allowing it to enter, or even return to where it originated. The government issued an aid package of \$225 million dollars, but the farmers claimed this was not nearly enough, but politicians such as Michel Charrase claimed the ongoing Gulf War was also taking funds away from further potential aid packages (Greenhouse 1990). These protests are similar to those included in the case study in that they are rising from conditions created by policies of their

government and the EU. It also highlights the history of mobilizations in the French agricultural sector and how they are often the industry most impacted by international politics.

Ripple Effects of Sanctions on French Farmers

As discussed in the literature review, the 1990s was known as the “Sanctions Era” due to it being the time of the most devastating effects of economic sanctions. The 2014 counter-sanctions by Russia are important in the scope of geopolitics because by seeing the negative impact the sanctions had on different economies of the EU, we can now understand that we are no longer in the “Sanctions Era” but in an era where sanctions can now be imposed on Western countries with significant impacts. The cases of protests that happened in France which I will now discuss that occurred as a result of

Prior to the situation in Crimea, farmers in France were already feeling displeased with their countries policies towards agriculture and the lack of price controls on items like cheese and milk (Michalopoulos 2018). Policies from the French government such as requirements for larger chicken pens, causing farmers to lose profitable space on their land, were hurting small farmers while supporting larger farms, and there has been a phenomena of farmer suicide plaguing the French countrysides. Between 2007-2009, farmers were 20% more likely to commit suicide than other professions, and small farmers were 40% more likely than large scale farmers to commit suicide (Bennet-Smith 2013). Farmers in France were already dissatisfied, and the actions by both the EU and Russia regarding Crimea only exacerbated an already difficult situation.

While the economic relationship between Russia and France may not be as prominent as other economic partners of the French such as Germany and the United States, the 2014 counter-sanctions on the European Union caused ripple effects that not only reached France, and created the conditions in which farmers and other members of the agricultural sector sought to protest against conditions created by the Russian counter-sanctions. In 2013, France exported \$1.6 billion euros to Russia, and the counter-sanctions imposed by Russia immediately cut off many agriculture businesses' access to the large Russian market. One company was Comimpex, whose owner Jean Selverro claims 90% of the company's apples and pears usually go to Russia, and he expects to lose over two-hundred thousand euros a month. Distributors of dairy products felt the ripple effects of the sanctions, with one company's annual sales to Russia totaling more than two million euros a year (France 24 2014). By understanding the negative impact the Russian counter-sanctions had on French farmers, we can now see the conditions economic sanctions have on the agricultural sector.

Widespread Farmers Protest Across France

By understanding past instances of resistance by farmers and others in the agricultural industry, this paper will be better able to examine different protests that took place in France as a result of the Russian counter-sanctions on foodstuffs from the EU. This serves to highlight the impact the counter-sanctions had on the agricultural industry of France, and how this occurrence is similar to those of transnational social movements due to the protests arising from the conditions created by the ban on EU foodstuffs, which is a policy affecting farmers in different nations.

The first major demonstration over the impact of the ripple effects from the counter-sanctions by Russia occurred on September 20, 2014. About one-hundred farmers gathered and dumped piles of artichokes and cauliflower were dumped outside an insurance office in the city of Brittany. The produce that was left outside the office was reported to be a large part of the stock that the farmers were unable to sell to buyers in Russia. The insurance office was then set on fire, and the farmers then traveled to a tax office in the city of Morlaix. Similar actions were taken at the Morlaix tax office, and farmers reportedly blocked off the roads to prevent firefighters from reaching the offices (BBC 2014). The farmers were reprimanded by the French government, but on a local French radio station one farmer stated, “If nothing changes this week what happened at Morlaix is just a starter” (Harris 2014). The demands of the farmers was a better aid package from the government that would alleviate the loss of income due to the Russian counter-sanctions.

Organized labor played a significant role in the mobilization of the agricultural sector. Two large unions representing the interests of farmers in France are Fédération Nationale des Syndicats d'Exploitants Agricoles (FNSEA) and Jeunes Agriculteurs or “The Young Farmers” (JA), and both organized large protests against the ripple effects of the counter-sanctions on Russia. The FNSEA was established in 1946 and was the first agricultural union in the country. They seek to unite all regions of France in the 31 agricultural sectors such as cereals, milk, meat, fats, and so forth. The union claims it is the international voice of its membership of over 200,000 made up of over 200 unions. The Young Farmers are a much smaller organization compared to the FNSEA. With over

200 members, they claim to be the only organization which focuses solely on the issues of farmers under the age of 35. The Young Farmers seek to represent the same sectors as the FNSEA, and have departments in 14 regions across France. November 5, 2014 was deemed a national day of protests by both of the unions. Across France in the cities of Paris (which had the largest mobilization of the day), Nice, Guingamp, Vesoul, Sorigny, La Rochelle, Marseille, Le Mans, Chalon-en-Champagne, Nantes, Toulouse, Avignon, Dijon, and Strasbourg, were hosts to protests as a result of the counter sanctions imposed by Russia. Months of dropping prices on cereals, vegetables, fruits, and dairy products, new policies regarding fertilizers using nitrates, and rising cases of imports from other countries were some of the issues made worse by the ban from Russia (Laffont 2014). The day of the event and certain cities were chosen by the two unions, but farmers all around France quickly joined in and protested in their local area.

Over 300 farmers brought in more than 100 tons of manure and rotting produce to the city center to dump in protest over the many issues they were facing. The combination of manure and produce was dumped in front of the agricultural department buildings in the city's town hall. Other farmers chose to use machines to spray the mixture onto the buildings directly instead of directly in front of them. While reports do not mention any slogan or phrase used in mass by the protesting farmers, a sign reading “Manure, we can’t spread it anymore, help yourselves” (Laffont 2014) was left in front of the manure, referencing the recent ban on certain nitrate levels of fertilizer used by farmers which was imposed by the European Union by of the EU Nitrates Directive, as an environmental policy which aims to reduce water contamination (Musachio, Re, Mas

Pla, and Sacchi 2020). Although the issue of fertilizer prices rising due to EU policies, may not be directly impacted by the Russia-EU sanctions, it caused farmers to pay high costs for new fertilizers in an already volatile market with dropping prices. The sanctions from Russia only made this situation more dire in that a large market was no longer available while their produce was going to spoil, costing them a part of their livelihood.

The city of Paris saw the largest protest of the day, with over 700 protesters arriving at Place de la Republique, a town square in the nation's capital. FNSEA was the main organizer of the demonstration in Paris, and this was also made clear with their flag being embedded in a mountain of potatoes, which were of course dumped there by the farmers and their tractors. The symbolism of the potatoes was not mentioned in the articles covering the protests that day, but it may have been a criticism of the exemption to sell potato seeds, but not the potatoes which have already been harvested, and now need a new market in which to be sold.

Boycotts and Nationalistic Approaches

Similar to the situation which occurred in Poland in the next case study, the French farmers attempted to use a nationalistic approach to alleviate the effects of the sanctions. The day of protesting was met with encouragement from farmers to consume domestic products instead of the cheaper foreign imports. Another way to promote consumption of domestic products the farmers also brought with them fresh produce which was bagged and given out for free to those passing by (Trompiz and Topham 2014). While the FNSEA was responsible for coordinating the event in the Place de la

Republice, the Young Farmers were conducting searches on transportation trucks to ensure they were not importing produce from other countries, instead of leading them to dump in front of government buildings like other farmers were doing. Trucks entering the city and headed for the finance ministry were inspected for foreign imports of produce, and one Young Farmer leader explained how cheaper imports were a factor in causing domestic prices to drop (Laffont 2014). In an interview with a local news station, Young Farmers member Samuel Vandaele explained, "We want to show that it's not going well in the countryside. We want the government to respond to (the effects of) the Russian embargo," (McPartland 2014). The protests in and around Paris were far from the only demonstrations that day but being both in the capital city and organized by a union, it was the largest demonstration of the day.

Both unions organized smaller acts of resistance in other cities with different ways of reacting to the conditions created by the sanctions imposed by Russia. The main tactic of the protesters was the dumping of produce, and in Avignon, pumpkins were dumped in front of the Vaucluse Prefecture, blocking the entrances. Along with the pumpkins, carrots and burning pallets from the farmers were also placed along the entrances (Taylor 2014). Demonstrations did get somewhat confrontational in some of the demonstrations. Riot police were called to quell a group of protesters in Marseille. Once the police started to descend on the protesters, they responded by hurling apples at them, causing them to stop and retreat (Taylor 2014). Similar acts occurred in Le Mans, but this group of protesters chose eggs to throw at incoming riot police. Other than protester lighting a car on fire in Chalon-en-Champagne, the confrontation between apple

and egg throwing protesters and riot police seemed to be the most violent of the demonstrations. Manure was also used in more places than just Paris, and it was sprayed on buildings and dumped in public roads in Toulouse, and Dijon (Laffont 2014). Both dumping the fruit and manure are useful in causing a demonstration that will need to be addressed, and it symbolizes the main concerns of the farmers that are being made worse by the ripple effects of the sanctions. The products they chose to dump were the products they felt were being impacted and hurting their chances at making an income. The policies around manure and the ban from Moscow both added to the barriers they had to navigate.

Not all demonstrations that day involved placing large amounts of rotting produce or manure on or in front of government buildings. Protesters in Nantes placed dead rodents in shopping carts and pushed them down the street, while the Direction Departementale des Territoires entrance was barricaded by a concrete wall constructed on the spot by the protesters (Taylor 2014). Understanding the different tactics used by the French farmers is important to this thesis because it highlights how civil society is responding to conflicts between core states in the World-System.

Response from the State

The various tactics used by these farmers received a harsh response from the French government. Understanding the response from the state is important because it reflects how the government is responding to the sanctions on an international level as well. Following Russia recognizing the Crimean region to be a part of Russia, then French President Francois Hollande issued a statement condemning the actions of Russia

and their intent to not recognize Crimea as a part of Russia. Manuel Valls served as the Prime Minister of France from 2014-2016, and his initial months as PM saw him needing to address these acts of resistance. Following the fires in Brittany and Morlaix, Valls and French Minister of Public Services Marylise Lebranchu issued statements condemning the actions. Lebranchu stated, “It is unacceptable because it is an attack on public property, common property. It’s an attack on their neighbors, family. It’s an attack on firefighters too because they were stopped from reacting” (Harris 2014). Riot police were called in to stop the various acts of resistance that occurred on November 5, 2014, and protesters responded by throwing apples and other produce at them.

Not all members of the French government scorned the actions of the farmers, and some sympathized with them. French Agricultural Minister Stephane Le Foll has been criticized by FSNEA before, and his relationship with farmers was eroding due to conditions being created by EU policies prior to the counter-sanctions from Russia. Le Foll stated he felt the actions by the farmers were “justified” and following the Russian sanctions he appealed to Tunisian authorities to consider purchasing French apples to alleviate the negative economic effects that came from losing access to the Russian market (Boyle 2014). While there may have been some politicians like Le Foll who did take the side of the farmers, the response from the state in condemning the farmers and responding with riot police was a microcosm of their international position in supporting the sanctions imposed by the EU.

What we can Learn from France

The case of French protests by farmers is important because it highlights how the current world-system has shifted, making new nations vulnerable to economic sanctions which can affect relationships and material conditions in these nations. The relationship between the French state and its farmers may have a tumultuous history, but it is no longer just involving those two parties. The EU, NGOs, other nations, civil society and many other institutions are now at risk of being transgressed by economic sanctions. Farmers in France and other EU nations are now facing negative effects from a situation hundreds of miles away from them that does not directly involve them or their country's governments. The protests which occurred due to the conditions being created by the Russian counter-sanctions can be better understood using WST because it highlights these protests arising as a result of an international conflict between two core nations, and not solely from tensions between farmers and their state's government.

As mentioned earlier, we are no longer in the "Sanctions Decade" of the 1990s and are witnessing the ripple effects economic sanctions can now have on Western powers. France had once colonized the African nation of Tunisia for over seventy years (1881-1956) and suddenly France is now turning to their former colony for help mitigating the ripple effects of the Russian ban. Relationships between countries are just another sector that is impacted by economic sanctions in a growingly multipolar world, and social movements should also be studied from this perspective. Instead of examining these protests individually due to them not appearing to be a coherent "social movement",

we can understand them as responses to conflicts between core states and situate them in the World-System.

POLISH APPLE FARMERS

The ban by Russia on agricultural imports from the European Union had a large effect on farmers in Poland, most notably apple farmers felt the consequences worse than others. Although Poland has been highly successful in growing other fruits such as pears, strawberries, raspberries, and plums, the fruit industry is dominated by apple orchards. According to the Polish Ministry of Finance, the exports of apples was more than a thousand tons more than the rest of the fruits combined in the year 2013. The apple industry in Poland had been consistently improving with EU support since 2002 (Agencja Rynku Rolnego 2014) and overtook China to become the largest exporter of apples in the world in 2013 (Boon 2013).

The years leading up to the situation between Russia and the European Union regarding Crimea were very promising for apple farmers, and being the world's new leader in apple exports they were expecting the success to continue. The importance of Russia in particular to Polish apple farmers was immense due to Russia being the largest importer of apples in the world and especially Poland, making up 55% of their apple exports (Boon 2013). The counter-sanctions imposed by Russia immediately cut off these farmers from over half of their expected market. Poland has over 100,000 farmers working and managing the apple orchards, and the sanctions now forced these farmers to find new markets for their apples while transportation trucks were seized and stopped at borders in Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine. The Polish government realized the impending

crisis and immediately demanded for the World Trade Organization to call for Russia to lift the sanctions (Fox 2013), and later asked the United States to increase their import of Polish apples to help mitigate the economic loss.

Although the European Union provided aid to Poland and many other countries feeling the unintended ripple effects of the sanctions, the anger of Polish farmers was mobilized on November 4, 2014. “Take the politician’s’ salaries, give them to the apple farmers!” was the slogan chanted by over three hundred people who marched to the office of the Prime Minister in Warsaw to demand more economic aid to compensate for the losses they have endured due to the sanctions. Contrary to the events in France being organized by FSNEA and the Young Farmers, the demonstration by farmers was not organized by a single group, but was made possible by the years of unionizing and creating organizations of farmers that was becoming more regular in the years leading to the sanctions (Agencja Rynku Rolnego 2014). The Polish Fruit Growers Association is one of these organizations which attended, and the chairman Miroslaw Maliszewski explained how this mobilization was taking place to demand another 25.8 million Euros to give to the farmers. The lack of aid was not the only reason there was large amounts of unhappiness amongst apple farmers, they were also demanding their government expedite the process of locating alternative markets for their apples. Preliminary agreements were made to export more apples to China, with a direct railroad taking two weeks to arrive in the Chinese city of Chengdu (Harper 2016). In the events immediately following the sanctions, Polish distributors of apples were forced to engage in “sanction busting” activities to still sell their apples to Russia through third party distributors in

Belarus and Ukraine, but the Russian government quickly stopped this practice. Jerzy Pucek was one apple farmer who traveled to Warsaw from his orchard in Goszczyn to voice his anger. During an interview with AFP, he explained that had over 500 tons of apples he worries he will have to dispose of if alternate markets are not located quickly enough.

Support from the Polish Government

This case is important to analyze because the counter-sanctions from Russia created a situation where the Polish government had to respond to the apple farmers and their protest. Although Poland was among the other EU nations that condemned the acts of Russia regarding Crimea and did not recognize the region as Russian territory, Poland acted quickly to appeal to the EU for altering the sanctions to alleviate the negative impact on Poland (Fox 2013). While there have been social movements in Poland that were met with backlash from the state, the protests by apple farmers were not oppressed by riot police or condemned by the government like we saw in France. The state agreed with the apple farmers and promised alternative markets would be sought out.

With the looming crisis of truckloads of spoiling fruit, the state needed to act quickly to ensure there would not be any more resistance from the farmers. In an attempt to help the apple farmers, the Polish government chose a maneuver that sought to embrace the national pride of the Polish people. Polish citizens were instructed to “Eat Apples to Annoy Putin”, which was a call for people to increase their consumption of domestic fruits to help offset some of the economic losses (Lu 2014). Facebook and Twitter were flooded with images of people across Poland eating apples with various hashtags

conveying how they were engaging in an act of resistance against Russia and more notably, Putin. Polish journalist Grzegorz Nawacki was one of the online posters, and during an interview with Algarve Daily News he explained, "It's the most hurtful thing that could happen to Polish farmers...I thought the best way to help them would be to start eating more apples and drinking more cider. That way some of the apples will get consumed and people will show solidarity with farmers." While the online social media movement may have eased the monetary problems of a few farmers and built solidarity across the country, the revenue of apple farmers dropped by 20% following the sanctions and reports from the Institute of Agricultural and Food Economics in Warsaw claim that it would take years for the fruit industry to recover and return to being the world's largest exporter of apples (Lu 2016). The government of Poland and unions across the country worked together to subsidize purchases of apples to give to charitable donations as another way to manage the crisis of a sudden apple surplus. Compared to the conditions in France being created by the sanctions, there was much more support from the government in helping manage the immediate ripple effects and pushing the EU for more aid to their farmers.

What we can Learn from Poland

The acts of mobilization seen in Polish apple farmers marching to the office of the Prime Minister and increasing their apple consumption to show solidarity with farmers and "annoy Putin" are an important case to examine. This situation is unique in that it encompassed multiple forms of engaging in acts of resistance both on social media and in person. The response from the government is unique as well in that there was support

from the government towards the demands of the farmers. This contrasts with the condemnation of the resistance from French farmers we saw in the previous case study. Poland was impacted by the ripple effects of the counter-sanctions from Russia much more than France was, so the support from the Polish state may have been influenced by the knowledge of the expected economic impact as well.

This case is also important to social movement scholarship because it highlights a situation in which different forms of protest arose from conditions due to sanctions can occur individually in one nation from a policy that is affecting many states, organizations, and individuals. Acts of resistance occurred in person and on social media in Poland against policies imposed by Russia, but the Polish government and its people were then faced with unintended ripple effects over a situation that most would argue does not involve them. By situating the acts of protests by Polish apple farmers in the context of the economic World-System, we can properly examine how these acts of resistance may seem to be individually motivated but are actually connected through multiple intersections of different facets of everyday life and international geopolitical factors as well. Analyzing how policies like economic sanctions can create conditions for civil resistance is important in our current geopolitical context because sanctions can now reach areas that were once seen as untouchable by sanctions.

The cases of France and Poland were just two examples of acts of resistance from the agricultural sector due to conditions created by the Russian counter-sanctions, Using the two provided cases we can see there are already differences in tactics used by the protesting farmers and responses from their respective states, but also a deep culture of

resistance is embedded in France which impacts the conditions today. Examining the case of Polish apple farmers in relation to the protests in France helps us understand how these two cases are connected even though there was no coordination or contact among the farmers or unions.

GOING FORWARD IN THE AGE OF EMERGING MULTIPOLARITY

This thesis has sought to understand how the Russian counter-sanctions on the European Union created conditions for protests to arise and examined what those protests looked like in France and Poland. This last chapter will explain how this thesis expands scholarship in World-Systems Analysis and social movements. This chapter will also explain how we are entering an era of multipolarity, which can be understood as an age of declining hegemony of the United States, and a growing number of other countries who are quickly ascending to the status of a “core” nation. Since the annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014 there has been a major development in this conflict, and significant changes to the global economy which saw new alliances between major economies grow stronger. Ukraine was invaded by Russia in 2022 and similar to the situation over Crimea, new sanctions were imposed on Russia which will now impact not only the European Union, but the entire world.

How this Thesis Helps Advances Scholarship

The counter-sanctions on the European Union imposed by Moscow offer a unique opportunity for scholars of both social movements and World-Systems Analysis. By highlighting the cases of protests in both France and Poland this thesis shows how sanctions on a core state in Russia is creating conditions for protests in the West. This thesis expands the research on social movements by examining the conditions in which these acts of resistance arose, and how the state responded to the protest from farmers in France and Poland. Each state has its own tensions among its agricultural sector and the

government, but the counter-sanctions on certain foodstuffs added to these tensions and led to protests from farmers.

Russia and Ukraine in Conflict Once Again

The annexation of Crimea by Russia in 2014 was a situation that made headlines across the world, but this now seems much more distant in our memories given the recent invasion of Ukraine by Russia in early 2022. The invasion in 2022 can be seen as an extension of the 2014 Crimean annexation. The conflict which began in the Donbas region of eastern Ukraine in 2014 has continued since the annexation and has only intensified given the recent events. With many countries in Europe depending on Russia for natural gas and oil, and many others across the globe relying on Russian fertilizer, it is safe to expect that there will be massive ripple effects resulting from further sanctions on Russia. Instead of Polish and French, and other farmers in the European Union being impacted, farmers in South America, Africa, and the United States will soon be feeling the ripple effects of a further conflict between two core members of the World-System.

Russia is the world's largest producer of fertilizer, and with the rising cost of natural gas which is a main ingredient, farmers across the world are now being impacted. The last shipments of fertilizers bought on the prices set before the conflict from Russia will be landing in Brazil on May 5, 2022. Purchasers of fertilizer will now be met with higher prices and limited quotas as Russia seeks to ensure enough fertilizer to meet their domestic demand. The lack of fertilizer beyond this point is expected to reduce the total amount of agricultural products in Brazil and increase the global price of commodities like coffee, sugar, and soybeans. There have already been mobilizations across the world

in favor of both Russia and Ukraine over the issue of the conflict. Due to the highly integrated World-System we can expect to see protests arise due to conditions being created by the 2022 invasion of Ukraine by Russia. While we can only wait in anticipation to see what the consequences of the rising prices in Russian natural resources will be, more focus on this should be given to the social movements which arise from the conditions they create.

CONCLUSION

Using World-Systems Analysis to place this situation in the context of the global economy we can see there is now an emerging multipolar World-System. China's Belt and Road Initiative is a global infrastructure project seeking to increase global commerce, and is threatening the hegemonic status of the United States (Council on Foreign Relations 2019). World-Systems Theorists such as Immanuel Wallerstein have explained how the core of the world-system has shifted gradually from the East to the West (2007). The BRI is connecting countries in Asia, Africa, South America, and Latin America into an emerging World-System with multiple core states. This transition from a World-System dominated by the United States following the collapse of the Soviet Union to our current time can be understood as emerging into an era of global multipolarity. A single core state in the United States which dominates the World-System politically, economically, and militarily is being threatened by the emerging BRICS coalition.

BRICS is an acronym coined by Goldman Sachs economist Jim O'Neil in 2001 (originally just BRIC) for Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa, which comprise the economies expected to dominate the global economy in the future (Raimondi 2020). South Africa was added in 2010, and these states meet at an annual summit to discuss further developing their economic relationships. Since the invasion of Ukraine by Russia, BRICS members have made it clear they intend to support Russia and continue importing their natural resources and other products. The Steel Minister of India Ramchandra Prasad Singh claimed on April 14, 2022, that although shipments have been disrupted, India plans to double the amount of coal they usually import (BRICS Information Portal

2022). Although Russian fertilizer will be sold at higher prices and stricter quota amounts, an unnamed Brazilian businessman claimed he will continue to purchase the fertilizer and added, "...I hope that our authorities (government) will take into account the importance of agribusiness and not take impulsive procedures on wars that do not concern us." The relationship between these states does not end in the economic realm. Following the annexation of Crimea in 2014, China, India, Brazil, and South Africa all chose to abstain from voting on the UN resolution to condemn Russia and support the territorial integrity of Ukraine, with Russia of course voting against it. China is set to host the 2022 annual summit of BRICS nations, and with the theme being "Foster High-quality BRICS Partnership, Usher in a New Era for Global Development" it is clear that an era of multipolarity is emerging, and sanctions on countries like Russia are only accelerating the interconnection of the economies of the BRICS coalition.

The states that make up BRICS are not the only governments taking action to form coalitions to make sanctions less harmful on them. Iran and Nicaragua have both been on the receiving end of sanctions from the United States for decades. In September of 2021, President of Iran Ebrahim Raisi and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega spoke on the phone of developing stronger economic relations in an attempt to "nullify the US sanctions and increase the costs of the American regime's actions against independent states and nations, especially Iran and Nicaragua." (Tasnim News Agency 2021). Both Iran and Nicaragua have recently grown closer to countries in the BRICS coalition and are also members of the "Group of Friends in Defense of the Charter of the United Nations". This is an organization in the UN that seeks to promote multilateralism and

diplomacy over the use of force among member states. This organization was founded in 2021 and comprises Algeria, Angola, Belarus, Bolivia, Cambodia, China, Cuba, North Korea, Eritrea, Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Nicaragua, Russia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Syria, and Venezuela and Palestine. Although this organization in the UN was created in 2021, every member of the Group of Friends in Defense of the Charter of the United Nations either abstained or voted against the UN referendum condemning the Russian annexation of Crimea. This highlights how this split in the economic World-System between the United States and their allies and Russia, China, and their allies has been emerging in the 2000s.

As shown in the literature review surrounding the Sanctions Decade, sanctions created the worst impacts on civilians during the immediate aftermath of the Soviet Union and the birth of the United States domination of the World-System. A rising multipolar World-System with multiple cores making up the BRICS nations and emerging alliances between sanctioned countries is quickly emerging. In this new global economy a new approach to diplomacy is needed as this thesis has shown that sanctioning another core nation has potential risk for negative impacts on the imposing nation's economy due to the integration of the global economy. The answers to the question of what approach should foreign policymakers take in attempting to change another state's actions or policies is difficult to approach. Each situation is highly nuanced in that the dependency on other nations is not the same for all, but with alliances being quickly strengthened in opposition to United States interest, sanctions are not a viable option anymore.

The previous chapter of this thesis examined how social movements arose due to conditions which were created as a result of a conflict between core members of the World-System. The further development of economies like Russia and China are now creating a global theater where sanctions are now not only ineffective, but harmful due to the blowback they cause on the imposing core member. As mentioned earlier we can expect there to be significant consequences from the rising costs of products like fertilizer in Brazil and other countries. While Brazil and Russia may be building a stronger relationship, the relationship between Brazil and its farmers will now have a new issue that may manifest itself in ways similar to what was discussed in Poland and France.

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