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## Letter re Speculations on Coca-Cola's Return to the Russian Market

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**Michael Goltzman** <mgoltzman@coca-cola.com>

28 March 2025 at 18:25

To: Business for Ukraine <contact@b4ukraine.org>

Cc: Derek Gilliam <dgilliam@coca-cola.com>, Melina Androutsopoulou <mandroutsopoulou@coca-cola.com>, Jonathan Rief <jrief@coca-cola.com>

Dear Business for Ukraine,

We are in receipt of your letter. Thank you for your outreach.

As you acknowledge in your communication, sanctions regimes and other legal hurdles remain in place impacting any considerations about returning to the Russian market.

Thank you,  
Michael Goltzman

Michael Goltzman  
Senior Vice President, Global Policy & Sustainability  
The Coca-Cola Company

Classified - Confidential

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**From:** Business for Ukraine

**Sent:** Thursday, March 6, 2025 3:16 AM

**To:** James Quincey; Michael Goltzman; Debbie Ebalobo; James Gibson

**Cc:** Manolo Arroyo; Stacy L. Apter; Henrique Braun; KO Investor Relations; Lisa V. Chang; Monica Howard Douglas; [kaloveless@coca-cola.com](mailto:kaloveless@coca-cola.com); Jennifer Manning; Felix Poh; Nancy Quan; [agarcia@la.ko.com](mailto:agarcia@la.ko.com); Mark Westfall; Ashna Zaheer; [rhalpern@coca-colacompany.com](mailto:rhalpern@coca-colacompany.com); Connor Lacey

**Subject:** Letter re Speculations on Coca-Cola's Return to the Russian Market

James Quincey  
Chief Executive Officer  
The Coca-Cola Company  
One Coca-Cola Plaza  
Atlanta, GA 30313  
United States of America

**B4Ukraine** 

March 6, 2025

Dear Mr. Quincey and The Coca-Cola Company Leadership Team,

We write to you as [B4Ukraine](#), a coalition of Ukrainian and international civil society organizations committed to curbing the financial support that fuels Russia's brutal invasion of Ukraine. Given the turbulent and uncertain political situation and discussions about the potential return of Western businesses to Russia, we are reaching out to urge your company to remain committed to its decision to exit.

**Businesses must not return to the Russian market until:**

- Ukraine's sovereignty and complete territorial integrity are restored, as recognized by international law.
- Reparations are paid in full for all damages caused by Russian aggression, covering infrastructure, economic losses, and human suffering.
- Accountability is imposed for violations of international law, including the crime of aggression, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.

As is outlined below, this is not only a matter of principle but also a strategic and financial judgment based on a plethora of risks related to Russia. The circumstances that led to the withdrawal of Western firms from Russia have not changed. The war against Ukraine continues, and the economic, legal, and reputational risks of doing business in Russia remain high.

B4Ukraine engaged with the representatives of the company in July 2023, and we are now reaching out again in light of recent speculations in Russian media suggesting that Coca-Cola may be [planning a return](#) to the market. According to reports from the Telegram channel [Mash](#), citing unnamed sources, the company is allegedly exploring strategies for re-entry, including potential competition with Russian companies and resuming production at former facilities. It has also been noted that Coca-Cola has not monitored the quality of products sold in Russia by third parties.

**Given these reports, we would like to clarify whether there is any truth to these claims. If they are unfounded, we urge The Coca-Cola Company to publicly refute them to prevent misinformation.**

Recent speculation about the potential lifting of sanctions, particularly in the United States, has created uncertainty. However, it is clear that the broader sanctions regime remains intact. The United States has for now maintained its restrictions, while the European Union recently approved its [sixteenth package](#) of sanctions. Even if some policymakers consider relaxing their stance, the reality remains that the EU, UK, Japan, Canada, and numerous other countries and organisations have imposed sanctions on Russia, making it the most sanctioned country in the world, due to its crime of aggression against its sovereign neighbour.

It has been three years since Russia invaded Ukraine, committing the crime of aggression and breaching the UN Charter. Russia is violating international humanitarian and human rights law,

committing over 150,000 documented war crimes. In recognition of the severity of abuses, in March 2023 the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for Vladimir Putin to answer charges of war crimes.

Further, economic and regulatory conditions in Russia are no longer conducive to stable business operations. Companies re-entering the market would be navigating a landscape of restricted [supply chains, financial barriers, and legal uncertainties](#).

Russia has demonstrated a pattern of malignant and systematic asset seizures, expropriations, and regulatory manipulation, using foreign businesses as leverage in political disputes. According to a study conducted by the London School of Economics, since 2022, [over 500 Western firms](#) have seen their assets expropriated under various pretexts, including companies in industries ranging from brewing and consumer goods (e.g., [Danone, Carlsberg](#)) to energy (e.g., [Uniper, Fortum](#)). The scope of legislation and Russian domestic case law showing the readiness for expropriation has skyrocketed since the start of the full-scale invasion. Businesses looking to re-enter must expect that their assets would meet a similar fate.

These patterns show a blatant disregard for property rights, investor and shareholder rights, and are a general indicator of an authoritarian government. Accordingly, any western business seeking re-entry faces the [risk of Kremlin](#) decrees that introduce new fees, taxes, and price controls; limit the repatriation of profits and dividends; restrict asset sales and management decisions; and expropriate private businesses.

The [economic outlook](#) in Russia further devalues the case for re-engagement. Interest rates have soared to 21 percent, labour shortages are worsening, and consumer purchasing power has significantly declined. The country's middle class is shrinking, and the infrastructure that once supported international trade and investment has deteriorated.

Russia's own leaders have stated that returning businesses should [not expect to be treated on equal footing](#) with local firms. Instead, as confirmed by Vladimir Putin himself, those seeking re-entry would be [disadvantaged](#) to ensure the competitiveness of domestic businesses. Many Western brands have already been [replaced](#) by domestic or Chinese alternatives, making it difficult, if not impossible, for companies to regain their former market position. Rebuilding operations in such a climate would require substantial financial investment with little certainty of return, naturally concerning investors. Russian policy is confirmed to be favourable towards domestic production and market share.

The Russian legislative framework continues to pose a high risk of business complicity in the war. Under [Federal Law No. 31-FZ](#) businesses, including international companies that are operating on a full or limited scale in Russia, are required to conduct military registration of the staff if at least one of the employees is eligible for military service. They must also assist with delivering the military summons to their employees, ensure the delivery of equipment to assembly points or military units, and provide information, buildings, communications, land plots, transport, and other material means of support to the war effort.

Beyond financial and legal risks, reputational risks remain high. Any company that chooses to return to Russia will be seen as disregarding the human cost of the war in Ukraine. Some Russian officials have even suggested that businesses seeking to re-enter should [contribute financially to the Russian military or establish operations in occupied Ukrainian territories](#). These decisions would directly associate a company's name with a government engaged in an ongoing conflict, one that has been widely condemned for violations of international law. Moreover, they could render the company complicit in violations of international law.

For all these reasons, we strongly urge your company not only to remain outside the Russian market but to take an active role in discouraging others from returning. We ask that you publicly **reaffirm**

**your commitment to staying out of Russia**, engage with your peers, and use your influence to advocate for continued economic pressure until meaningful conditions for peace and accountability are met.

With so many alternative markets offering greater stability and growth potential, the case for returning to Russia is weak. The financial, legal, and reputational risks outweigh any potential short-term benefits. More importantly, to re-enter the Russian market under current conditions would be to ignore the principles that led to withdrawal in the first place and contradict all principles of ethical business conduct and a business' responsibility to [respect human rights](#).

**We hope that your company will remain firm in its decision to stay out of Russia and will use its influence to encourage others within its industry to do the same.**

We are happy to discuss these issues in greater detail and are therefore inviting you to a meeting which would be held under Chatham House Rules. We are happy to provide further information and address any questions you may have. Should you wish to participate in such a meeting, please confirm your availability by March 20, 2025 to schedule. Kindly note that after this date, this letter and any responses will be published on the B4Ukraine website.

Sincerely,

The B4Ukraine Coalition

# *The Coca-Cola Company*

MICHAEL GOLTZMAN  
VICE PRESIDENT  
GLOBAL POLICY & SUSTAINABILITY

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May 9, 2023

B4Ukraine Coalition

Via email: [contact@b4ukraine.org](mailto:contact@b4ukraine.org)

Dear B4Ukraine Coalition:

Thank you for your April 26<sup>th</sup> letter to James Quincey, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of The Coca-Cola Company. We appreciate your outreach and your desire to discuss the company's March 2022 suspension of our business in Russia as well as our support for the people of Ukraine.

We would be pleased to meet with you in Atlanta or Washington, DC to discuss further in late May or early June.

With kind regards,



James Quincey  
Chief Executive Officer  
The Coca-Cola Company  
One Coca-Cola Plaza  
Atlanta, GA 30313  
United States of America

April 26, 2023

RE: The Coca-Cola Company's business operations in Russia

Dear Mr. Quincey,

We write to you as [B4Ukraine](#), a coalition of Ukrainian and international civil society organizations working to curtail the financial resources enabling the Russian invasion of Ukraine. In the spirit of respect for the fundamental rights of all people, the rules-based international order, and a prosperous global economy, we expect companies to demonstrate public support for the people, democracy, and territorial integrity of Ukraine, opposition to Russia's war of aggression, and alignment with the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPs).

We request an urgent dialogue regarding potential inconsistencies between The Coca-Cola Company's obligations under international humanitarian and human rights law and the company's ongoing business operations and relationships in Russia that may contribute to, or be linked with, human rights harms.

It has been over one year since Russia invaded Ukraine and the devastating impacts continue to shock the global conscience and shake the global economy. Russia is violating international humanitarian law (IHL), including war crimes and crimes against humanity, through attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure (e.g., mass executions, sexual violence, torture, forcible transfer of civilians). More than 22,700 Ukrainians have been killed and injured and millions more have been forced to flee their homes, creating one of the largest humanitarian and refugee crises of modern times. In recognition of the severity of abuses, in March 2023 the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for Vladimir Putin to answer war crimes charges for an alleged scheme to deport Ukrainian children to Russia.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, as outlined below, recent developments in Russia point to an expanding universe of financial, legal, and reputational risks facing remaining companies.

On September 21, President Vladimir Putin escalated the war by announcing a "partial mobilisation"

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<sup>1</sup> International Criminal Court, "Situation in Ukraine: ICC judges issue arrest warrants against Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin and Maria Alekseyevna Lvova-Belova," March 17, 2023, <https://www.icc-cpi.int/news/situation-ukraine-icc-judges-issue-arrest-warrants-against-vladimir-vladimirovich-putin-and> (accessed March 22, 2023).

of the Russian population. The accompanying legislation ([Article 9 of Federal Law No. 31-FZ](#)) mandates all organisations, including the more than 1,500 international companies that are currently operating on a full or limited scale in Russia, to conduct military registration of the staff if at least one of the employees is eligible for military service.<sup>2</sup> They must also assist with delivering the military summons to their employees, ensure the delivery of equipment to assembly points or military units, and provide information, buildings, communications, land plots, transport, and other material means of support to the war effort.

A new decree issued by President Putin on March 3, 2023, enables the Russian government to suspend shareholders' rights and implement external management in companies that don't fulfil state defence contracts under conditions of martial law.<sup>3</sup> By specifying the process of appointing Russian government representatives to manage businesses that fail to meet state orders, the latest Decree effectively creates a scenario of "partial nationalization."

With new legislation introducing partial mobilisation, nationalisation, and potentially martial law in Russia, it is highly likely that corporations will be unable to prevent or mitigate negative human rights impacts; an obligation imposed on companies by the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights. As such, continuing to conduct business in Russia entails significant legal risks for companies, including potential civil and criminal liability under comprehensive sanctions regimes and recent international jurisprudence holding corporations and their officers responsible for human rights abuses abroad.<sup>4</sup> By remaining in Russia, companies face the rising risk of criminal liability for complicity in international crimes, which can be prosecuted by domestic courts outside

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<sup>2</sup> Federal Law No. 31-FZ of February 26, 1997 "On mobilization training and mobilization in the Russian Federation" (as amended), <https://base.garant.ru/136945/> (accessed November 14, 2022).

<sup>3</sup> Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 139 dated March 3, 2023 "On Certain Issues of Carrying Out the Activities of Business Companies Participating in the Fulfilment of the State Defense Order", <http://publication.pravo.gov.ru/Document/View/0001202303030004> (accessed March 22, 2023).

<sup>4</sup> International companies remaining in Russia are now at a greater risk of violating sanctions regimes as implementation of the legislation will likely involve transacting with sanctioned individuals or entities. Furthermore, new domestic civil and criminal cases against companies involved in violations of international law demonstrate the risk of significant liability for facilitating state-sponsored human rights abuses abroad (e.g., Lafarge case, Lundin case, Castel Group indictment, Nevsun holding, and Dassault Aviation, Thales, and MBDA France criminal complaint.) Victoria Riello and Larissa Furtwengler, "Corporate Criminal Liability for International Crimes: France and Sweden Are Poised To Take Historic Steps Forward," *Just Security*, September 6, 2021, <https://www.justsecurity.org/78097/corporate-criminal-liability-for-human-rights-violations-france-and-sweden-are-poised-to-take-historic-steps-forward/> (accessed November 14, 2022); The Sentry, "Breaking: France Opens War Crimes Inquiry Focused on Iconic Food and Beverage Conglomerate," July 1, 2022, <https://thesentry.org/2022/07/01/7216/breaking-france-opens-war-crimes-inquiry-focused-iconic-food-beverage-conglomerate/> (accessed November 14, 2022); Rfi, "French technology firm charged over Libya cyber-spying," July 2, 2022, <https://www.rfi.fr/en/business-and-tech/20210701-french-tech-firm-charged-over-libya-cyber-spying> (accessed November 14, 2022); Preston Lim, "Canadian Supreme Court Allows Corporate Liability for International Law Violations," *Lawfare*, March 12, 2022, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/canadian-supreme-court-allows-corporate-liability-international-law-violations> (accessed November 14, 2022); Sherpa, "Aiding and abetting war crimes in Yemen: Criminal complaint submitted against French arms companies," June 2, 2022, <https://www.asso-sherpa.org/aiding-and-abetting-war-crimes-in-yemen-criminal-complaint-submitted-against-french-arms-companies> (accessed November 14, 2022).

Russia under the doctrine of "universal jurisdiction."<sup>5</sup> Companies may also be exposed to financially material risks through operational restrictions, such as limitations of future government contracts.<sup>6</sup>

Firms which continue to trade with Russia also face high levels of risk attached to financial transactions. On 24 February 2023, the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) suspended Russia's membership as a result of the war, calling on all actors in the international financial system to exercise extreme caution in all dealings with Russia.<sup>7</sup> In practice, the decision means that all international banks will scrutinise all Russian payments, making financial transactions more expensive, lengthy, with no guarantee that the transaction will occur at all.<sup>8</sup> Although FATF has not yet blacklisted Russia, it highlighted the consensus among its 36 member countries that "the Russian federation's actions represent a gross violation of the commitment to international cooperation upon which FATF Members have agreed to implement and support the FATF Standards."<sup>9</sup> Previous practice shows that noncooperative behaviour is one of the reasons for FATF blacklisting. As a result, companies should examine and mitigate the high levels of risk attached to financial transactions with Russia and based on that risk, companies should reconsider all ongoing business operations related to Russia.

Additionally, the Ukrainian government's [National Agency on Corruption Prevention](#) (NACP) has created a list of "foreign companies that, despite the international recognition of Russia as the aggressor state and the introduced sanctions restrictions, continue to cooperate with it."<sup>10</sup> These companies are recognised as "international sponsors of war" by the Ukrainian state. The listed entities will be included into the World-Check database to protect the global financial sector from Russian sponsors of war. Since banks and insurance companies use World-check to assess risks, companies on the list will be limited in freely accessing personal and corporate finances. So far there are 23 companies on the list, but the NACP notes that it will be expanded with "international companies that provide the public and private sector with goods and services of critical purpose, as well as [those that] contribute to the Russian budget."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> For example, ongoing proceedings in the US and France against the French multinational Lafarge for complicity in human rights violations in Syria. The Paris Court of Appeal, "La Cour d'appel de Paris confirme la mise en état de la multinationale française Lafarge pour complicité de crimes contre l'humanité commis par l'Etat islamique," May 18, 2022, <https://www.doughtystreet.co.uk/sites/default/files/media/document/Press%20release%20french%20version.pdf> (accessed March 22, 2023); United States Attorney's Office, Eastern District of New York, "Lafarge Pleads Guilty to Conspiring to Provide Material Support to Foreign Terrorist Organizations," October 18, 2022, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-edny/pr/lafarge-pleads-guilty-conspiring-provide-material-support-foreign-terrorism> (accessed March 22, 2023).

<sup>6</sup> Venable LLP, "Do You Contract with State Governments? If So, Beware of Emerging State Sanctions' Obligations Related to Russia and Belarus," *JD Supra*, June 3, 2022, <https://www.jdsupra.com/legalnews/do-you-contract-with-state-governments-6537229/> (accessed January 2, 2022).

<sup>7</sup> FATF, "FATF Statement on the Russian Federation," February 24, 2023, <https://www.fatf-gafi.org/en/publications/Fatfgeneral/fatf-statement-russian-federation.html> (accessed March 14, 2023).

<sup>8</sup> Liudmyla Sliptsova, "Russia's membership in the FATF suspended. What does this mean and how ruinous is this for the aggressor's economy?," *Mind*, February 27, 2023, <https://mind.ua/en/publications/20253993-russias-membership-in-the-fatf-suspended-what-does-this-mean-and-how-ruinous-is-this-for-the-aggre> (accessed March 14, 2023).

<sup>9</sup> FATF (n 7).

<sup>10</sup> NACP, "International Sponsors of War," <https://sanctions.nazk.gov.ua/en/boycott/> (accessed February 6, 2023).

<sup>11</sup> NACP, "Companies from the NACP list of "International Sponsors of War" are now in the World-check database, used worldwide for reviewing counterparties," September 7, 2022, <https://nazk.gov.ua/en/news/companies-from-the-nacp-list-of-international-sponsors-of-war-are-now-in-the-world-check-database-used-worldwide-for-reviewing-counterparties/?hilit=sponsor+of+war> (accessed February 6, 2023).



In response to this unprovoked and unjustified war<sup>12</sup> many companies have already left Russia. According to the Kyiv School of Economics Institute's #LeaveRussia [company tracker](#), The Coca-Cola Company has scaled back some of its operations, while continuing others.

On March 8, 2022, The Coca-Cola Company announced the suspension of its Russian business.<sup>13</sup> Prior to the war, the company's operations in Russia accounted for roughly 2% of its operating revenue and income. The Coca-Cola Company also has a roughly 20% ownership stake in a bottling and distribution business in Russia.<sup>14</sup>

In June 2022, it was reported that Coca-Cola is still available in Russia. The Coca-Cola Company said in a statement that Coca-Cola HBC (Coca-Cola bottler and distributor) and its existing customers in Russia are "in the process of depleting stock," and that once that process is complete, Coca-Cola HBC will "no longer produce or sell" Coke or its other brands in Russia.<sup>15</sup>

In August, Coca-Cola HBC announced that it has stopped all production and sales of brands of The Coca-Cola Company in Russia, in alignment with the latter company, and confirmed that there are no plans to reintroduce The Coca-Cola Company brands or products in any format. In a statement, Coca-Cola HBC referred to the illegal invasion and war in Ukraine as a "geopolitical crisis."<sup>16</sup> The company stated that it intends to contract its operations in Russia which has been renamed to "Multon Partners," and that it will focus on the production and sale of existing local brands - Dobry, Rich and Moya Semya. The raw materials are said to be sourced from within the market and the business managed and operated locally. Coca-Cola HBC's Russian firm still operates 10 factories, and its Dobry Cola is the most popular drink on the market.<sup>17</sup>

We understand that Coca-Cola HBC and The Coca-Cola Company are separate legal entities, however the operations of the two are intricately linked and the latter owns an approximate 21% share of the bottling company, making it one of the principal shareholders.<sup>18</sup>

In March 2023, over a year after the invasion, Coca-Cola remains one of the top sellers among cola-flavoured beverages in Russia, accounting for over 14% of sales per unit in January and February

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<sup>12</sup> The UN General Assembly condemned Russia's "aggression against Ukraine" and demanded that Moscow "unconditionally withdraw all of its military forces from the territory of Ukraine within its internationally recognized borders."

<sup>13</sup> The Coca-Cola Company, "The Coca-Cola Company Suspends its Business in Russia," March 8, 2022, <https://www.coca-colacompany.com/press-releases/coca-cola-company-suspends-business-russia> (accessed April 25, 2023).

<sup>14</sup> BBC News, "War in Ukraine: McDonald's, Coca-Cola and Starbucks halt Russian sales," March 9, 2022, <https://www-bbc-co-uk.cdn.ampproject.org/c/s/www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-60665877.amp> (accessed April 25, 2023).

<sup>15</sup> Reuters, "Big Macs still sold in Russia despite McDonald's exit," June 16, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/business/retail-consumer/big-macs-still-sale-russia-despite-mcdonalds-exit-2022-06-16/> (accessed April 25, 2023).

<sup>16</sup> Coca-Cola HBC, "An Update on our Russian Operations," August 5, 2022, [https://www.coca-colahellenic.com/en/media/news/corporate\\_news/2022/an-update-on-our-russian-operations](https://www.coca-colahellenic.com/en/media/news/corporate_news/2022/an-update-on-our-russian-operations) (accessed April 25, 2023).

<sup>17</sup> Tinkoff Journal, "Coca-Cola remains the leader in soda sales in Russia. How is it imported and what are they trying to replace," March 31, 2023, <https://journal.tinkoff.ru/coca-cola/> (accessed April 25, 2023).

<sup>18</sup> Coca-Cola HBC, "Shareholder Structure," <https://www.coca-colahellenic.com/en/investor-relations/shareholder-centre/shareholder-structure#:~:text=Our%20principal%20shareholders%20are%20Kar,of%20our%20outstanding%20ordinary%20shares>; "Relationship with The Coca-Cola Company," <https://www.coca-colahellenic.com/en/about-us/who-we-are/relationship-with-tccc> (accessed April 25, 2023).

2023.<sup>19</sup> According to the data operator Evator, imported Coca-Cola remained the top seller of all sweet carbonated beverages, accounting for 32% of sales.<sup>20</sup> The original Coca-Cola is allegedly being brought to Russia by Russian retailers and fast-food chains via parallel imports and through countries like Turkey, Poland, Hungary, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, and Kazakhstan.

We are writing now to confirm The Coca-Cola Company's position regarding its continued presence in the Russian market; to enquire on the company's mechanisms regarding the prevention of parallel imports of its products and enhanced due diligence policies in your supply chains, intermediaries, and customers; and The Coca-Cola Company's position regarding Coca-Cola HBC, its partner that continues to operate in the Russian market.

These activities in Russia risk enabling and financing Russia's violations of IHL and human rights law during the ongoing invasion and occupation of Ukraine.

We seek to understand the status of The Coca-Cola Company's exposure to Russia and how the company has conducted and continues to conduct heightened human rights due diligence, and how the findings of such a process have resulted in these continued business activities and relationships. As noted by the UNGPs:

...the more severe the abuse, the more quickly the enterprise will need to see change before it takes a decision on whether it should end the relationship. In any case, for as long as the abuse continues and the enterprise remains in the relationship, it should be able to demonstrate its own ongoing efforts to mitigate the impact and be prepared to accept any consequences – reputational, financial or legal – of the continuing connection.

In consideration of the above points and B4Ukraine's [Declaration](#), we request an urgent dialogue with The Coca-Cola Company's relevant senior management and staff to discuss the company's ongoing activities and relationships in Russia, associated risks to the people of Ukraine and the company, and potential steps to prevent/mitigate these risks. Please contact the B4Ukraine Coalition at [contact@b4ukraine.org](mailto:contact@b4ukraine.org) to schedule a call. We kindly ask for your response by 5:00pm CET, May 10<sup>th</sup>, 2023.

Sincerely,

The B4Ukraine Coalition

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<sup>19</sup> Amrit Burman, "Coca-Cola continues To Remain Top Seller in Russia Despite Withdrawal: Report," *Republic World*, March 19, 2023, <https://www.republicworld.com/world-news/rest-of-the-world-news/coca-cola-continues-to-remain-top-seller-in-russia-despite-withdrawal-report-articleshow.html> (accessed April 25, 2023).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.