## **Book Review**

## Urban Jakša\*



Putin's Olympics: The Sochi Games and the Evolution of Twenty-First Century Russia

Robert W. Orttung, Sufian N. Zhemukhov 2017, Routledge, 136 pages

Robert W. Orttung and Sufian N. Zhemukhov's book Putin's Olympics: The Sochi Games and the Evolution of Twenty-First Century Russia presents a concise yet dense overview of how the games designed to symbolize Russia's return to great power status have ultimately failed to do so due to large-scale corruption, subsequent aggression against Ukraine, and the doping scandal that have become the true legacies of the games. Their analysis of Kremlin's mega-project strikes a good balance between looking in detail at the different aspects of Sochi Olympics (political economy, civil society, security) and weaving them together into a comprehensive, coherent narrative.

The authors address a series of paradoxes surrounding the games and unpack them in the four middle chapters that form the core of the book. In the second chapter, they look beyond the glittery façade of Olympic games to find the ugly face of corruption and profiteering, which ramped-up the final costs and made these the most expensive Olympics in history. The third and fifth chapter demonstrate government's refusal to listen to the voices of local population, non-governmental organisations and minority groups and its subsequent failure to silence them. As the result, the Olympics that were supposed to show a strong, united Russia, revealed an authoritarian,

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homophobic and divided polity. Perhaps the most striking is the analysis of the paradox of security in fourth and fifth chapter. A major success for Russia was that there was no terrorist attack during the Olympics (despite the bombings in Volgograd in the run up to them). However, a large price was paid for that: huge investment and military presence, surveillance and heavy-handed counter-terrorism campaigns that further alienated the local population are all well described in the book. In addition, the Olympics that were supposed to be a time of peace proved to be the calm before the storm that hit Crimea in the form of Russian invasion soon after. The process of run-up to the games and the games themselves took place between the August war with Georgia in 2008 and the war in Ukraine in 2014, meaning that Sochi is now located between two buffer zones: occupied Eastern Ukraine and one semi-autonomous yet heavily dependent Abkhazia. This of course begs the question (that is addressed) whether Sochi and the surrounding area is now more or less safe despite two wars and countless anti-terrorism campaigns?

One thing that would perhaps merit a more in-depth examination is how Sochi Olympics fit into a broader context of Russia's soft power strategies: while we're currently focused on Crimea, Syria, and cyberattacks, we shouldn't forget that in recent years Russia also significantly increased its soft power capabilities including media influence and funding of far-right political parties in Europe. This investigation would be particularly interesting for two reasons. First, Sochi is a good example how hard and soft power were used together and we would see a similar combination yet a different mix (that acquired the name hybrid warfare) deployed shortly after in Ukraine. Secondly, for Russia, soft power is not Nye's power to attract and coopt, but to coerce or financially induce others to do what you want, which we saw manifestly employed in Sochi.

Several studies and papers were published in the run-up to the Olympics, for instance *The Sochi Predicament*, an edited volume by Bo Petersson and Karina Vamling, published in 2013. However, in a crowded field, Orttung and Zhemukov have, with the benefit of hindsight, produced a well-structured and eminently readable little book that is an essential reading for anyone seeking to understand what the legacy of Sochi Olympics really is.