

**Commission on Security & Cooperation in Europe:
U.S. Helsinki Commission**

Helsinki on the Hill Podcast

“Damocles’ Sword: The Impact of the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act”

Guests:

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TIERSKY: Hello, and welcome back to Helsinki on the Hill, a series of conversations hosted by the United States Helsinki Commission on human rights and comprehensive security in Europe and beyond. I'm your host, Alex Tiersky.

Listeners, we are recording this episode in what may be the final months of a global pandemic. For more than a year, COVID-19's disruptive effects have been felt far and wide, and that includes unprecedented cancellations and postponements of major public events all over the world. But the highest profile confab on the global calendar looks at least as of now to be on for the summer, the Tokyo Olympics. They're slated to take place in late July after a one-year postponement.

Now, there's no doubt that the media and the public will be focused on how COVID might impact the spectacle of the games, and for good reason. But there's another story here that has the potential to make these Olympics truly different from any in the modern era. Listeners, these will be the first games to take place after the passage by the United States Congress of the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act, a ground-breaking law with potentially transformative consequences for the anti-doping fight in international competition.

On today's episode, we will explore how the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act came to be and how it might impact doping in sports, including the summer's Olympic games. And we have an extraordinary guest interview to share with you. Joining us for the podcast is Dr. Grigory Rodchenkov himself, the man this bill was named after. Now, those of you who are familiar with this story, perhaps you've seen the award-winning documentary film "Icarus," know that Dr. Rodchenkov is the former head of the Russian anti-doping lab who blew the whistle on his former government's manipulation of athletic competition.

Since he came forward with detailed accusations against all levels of the Russian government and its sports machine, he has been in great fear of his life. In fact, for the last several years Dr. Rodchenkov has been in hiding in the United States, and the news media has carried credible reports that Russian officials posted here have been expelled for pursuing him. Dr. Rodchenkov, of course, called in for this interview on a secure line from an undisclosed location. Before we get to our interview, I do want to thank the Helsinki Commission's anti-corruption advisor Paul Massaro, whose voice you'll also hear, for helping make this conversation happen. Paul has been at the center of the bill's consideration and passage from its inception.

Dr. Rodchenkov, thank you very much for joining us on Helsinki on the Hill.

RODCHENKOV: It's a pleasure. Thank you.

TIERSKY: Your story, sir, is well-known to many of our listeners. But if you'd permit, I'd like to remind our audience of the facts of your case as detailed in the award-winning book that you released last year, "The Rodchenkov Affair." You are the former director of Russia's anti-doping laboratory, which was suspended by the World Anti-Doping Agency in 2015 for facilitating Russia's elaborate state-sponsored doping program. You helped develop and distribute banned substances, banned performance enhancers, to thousands of Russian sports

stars from 2005 to 2015. And you made headlines in 2016 as a whistleblower, exposing the extensive nature of Russia's doping program, leading to bans on Russia's participation in international competition and the Olympics. You are currently in witness protection in the United States.

Let me start, Dr. Rodchenkov, by asking you, it's been now some five years since you exiled yourself from Russia and entered witness protection here in the United States. Do you still feel threatened, sir?

RODCHENKOV: Oh, yes. I feel threatened, but it doesn't mean that I am in fears because, again, I've been in fears for many years, only maybe several days. But the most important for me, we are keeping strict safety measures and it's a part of my life, my daily routine. That's it.

TIERSKY: I understand. But clearly you – the reports are that you are – you are still under threat. Could you help our listeners understand why the Russian government would wish you harm?

RODCHENKOV: Oh, it's a quite typical story. Because Russian government – and I would prefer Kremlin government – they are doing things which are opposite to interest of Russia as a nation or country. So don't mix up Russia and Kremlin governing group. This is important. And Kremlin took not the worst, but the main things from Soviet Union. And Soviet Union, during Soviet times, it was a big thing – it was a competition between West and East. They considered sport as a political affair, as a façade, as a demonstration that communist and socialist countries have advantage and superiority over West. And it remains now.

So it was absolutely a not good picture when the country losing position in economy but trying to uphold sport, which also degraded in course of economic degradation. But the only way is – to halt this decline is doping, and doping was integral part of Russian sport. And then it was important – very important in Putin acts. And then, under Putin's regime, if you are not cooperating with regime you are enemy. And this – you have to understand the situation. You have no choice. When I was the director, in my hands it was a nice instrumentation, fantastic researchers, and I was responsible for their lives and careers. I cannot say what we are doing.

And Putin considered people who are getting truthful inside, like, in form of whistleblowers as the pure traitors. And those traitors betray us should be, simply in a straightforward way, killed. You know how dramatic scenes were exposed. There are groups of people who are killing not people abroad like Skripals or Litvinenko but people inside Russia. I was lucky when turbulence begin, thanks to whistleblowers Stepanovs. I retired from my job. I was immediately notified from all important people: Get lost. Escape. And it saved my life.

TIERSKY: Dr. Rodchenkov, clearly you knew much of this about how the Kremlin regime would consider an enemy, as you have described it, someone who was not – who is part of the system and then chooses not to be a part of the system. Can you tell our listeners a bit about how you made the decision to turn against this Kremlin system of sports doping, which

you led for so long? And I would like to ask you, sir – it's a difficult question – but are you satisfied today that it was the right decision for you to make?

RODCHENKOV: Good question. When I was director, I do understand that we are saying that we are following by the rules, meantime we were cheating the whole sports world. But it allowed me to have scientific research to have – to run laboratory of dream. My laboratory was one of the best of the best in the world. Such a lab, it's unrivaled forever. And three turning points in my life.

First of all, it was turbulence started from [the] Stepanovs revelations. They shed light into athletics problem in Russia. I retired. Then I was told, again: Get lost. Thanks to Bryan Fogel and the documentary producers of the "Icarus" film, I emerged in Los Angeles and I continued working on documentary. But still I worried because I kept in my head secrets. I had the only overall picture. Some people have, like, some episodes, like pieces of puzzle. But the whole picture was inside my mind. And I felt, how would you say, basically threatened. Everything could happen – a car accident or heart attack, you never know.

And it happens not with me. My friend in school years Nikita Kamaev was killed. I was talking to him last day. So I was crying for one week and then I immediately decided to go public. This is – was absolutely inevitable and I am not regretting. And before [the] Stepanovs and Nikita's death and my escape, it was – I'm honest with you – my really bad feelings during Sochi Games.

It was opening ceremony, closing ceremony, and during. Russian athletes were in the center of the huge stadium in Sochi and during the same midnight I was swapping their dirty urine. It's unimaginable.

I did not know what to do, but in my mind it was absolutely clear decision. It cannot be like this. It cannot be left under the carpet. One day, I speak up.

TIERSKY: Thank you, Dr. Rodchenkov. As I mentioned in the introduction, the United States late last year passed what is known as the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act. And I would like to bring in my colleague Paul Massaro, who's the Helsinki Commission's anti-corruption expert, to talk about that act, what it is, how we got here.

Paul, thanks for coming on Helsinki on the Hill.

MASSARO: Such a pleasure to be here, Alex.

TIERSKY: Great to have you, Paul. Can you take our listeners through this story? How did we get from the extraordinary act of courage that we just heard about from Dr. Rodchenkov to a law in his name? Maybe you can start by talking about how some of the members of the Helsinki Commission became interested in this issue in the first place.

MASSARO: Yeah, for sure. And I want to start off just by saying how good it is to be here again with my friend Dr. Rodchenkov. We have, in fact, met in person, and I hope we'll

meet in person again sometime. Perhaps when COVID ends and perhaps when he doesn't face such immediate persecution.

Our story begins with Dr. Rodchenkov's representatives. They wanted to offer Congress the opportunity to learn about Russia's weaponization of corruption, in this case, and criminality in sport that have gone on to advance Russia's foreign policy goals. And that's really important to emphasize. This is a classic case of authoritarian regimes using sport for foreign policy. And made this offer of learning from Dr. Rodchenkov's really singular firsthand experience here.

So we actually were able to bring Dr. Rodchenkov in in person to meet with our commissioners. And that's kind of where the real genesis of all of this begins. And it was this extremely emotional meeting. Dr. Rodchenkov told us his story that he sort of just told you. And he had to wear a mask for fear of Russian retaliation. And we had security. And of course, the help of the Capitol Police as well. And they didn't come to us saying, you know, you got to pass a law, or anything like that. Really, they just wanted to tell his story and figure out how we could work together to find some tangible solutions to this which, you know, I mean Russia's behavior here not only defrauded all these athletes, but defrauded the United States. And in all honestly, it threatens our national security. This sort of thing is just a classic weaponization of corruption tactics.

So we needed to do something to create deterrents against those who persecute whistleblowers and defraud the United States in this way. And what happened to Dr. Rodchenkov shouldn't happen to anybody else.

The Foreign Corrupt Practices Act makes it illegal for a U.S. company or listed entity – anybody listed on our stock exchange – to pay a bribe abroad. And it is one of the most powerful, meaningful laws ever passed by the United States. And it really is the USA complying with its own values. It's a commitment to never allow our economy to export corruption.

Similarly, the Rodchenkov Act is a commitment to never allow our economy to enable doping fraud. I mean, fundamentally, when we're thinking about these extraterritorial laws, really what it's all about is we want to ensure the United States is never inadvertently complicit in corruption.

I mean, we've now seen so many Russian dissidents assassinated because of their whistleblowing. I mean, it's just such an extraordinary thing. And it's really important to note that in this particular case we would know of none of this – none of it – if not for Dr. Rodchenkov.

Representatives Jackson Lee and Burgess, who really believed in this, dropped the bill, and made it a reality. And from there, I mean, we just sort of ran with it – had a hearing, got a Senate introduction.

And then the real work began. Then the two years of coalition building and fending off all of these opposing interests and all that kind of stuff.

TIERSKY: Thanks, Paul. That's fascinating backstory. Dr. Rodchenkov, I imagine you remember this meeting with members of Congress in the ornate halls of the United States Congress. I wonder if you can give us your recollection of the meeting with our members of Congress.

RODCHENKOV: Oh, it was exciting meeting for me. We were driving a long time to Washington. And I was received very well, people who are – how would you say – highly excited, you know. And I felt such good feelings from and towards their reception, especially from Sheila Jackson Lee. She was absolutely kind. And also, Michael Burgess, he was, how would you say, overwhelmed at what I was saying. And then, again, Paul, you were there.

Look, why Rodchenkov Act was inevitable? Because sport corruption and crime, they have close-link relations. And if you take a helicopter view, what would we have in sport, we have several issues. It's betting/gambling, sexism, and doping. The first two issues there are criminal laws and criminal things. So it was absolutely inevitable to bring criminal law enforcement into sport – massive, new. Now I am saying just – not such much optimistic but realistic thing. You know, how long time it takes sexism in the gymnastic or gambling and corruption in football? It's unbelievable.

We have to have – understand that sports are not congenial. And when I'm talking about doping, I'm talking about those sports which in front of my very eyes. It was, first of all, weightlifting; athletics, track and field; biathlon; and some other sports, absolutely full of doping. On the other hand, we have, let's say, archery, or gymnastics, or alpine skiing, which is absolutely another sport.

But if you go to the depths of doping, it's some sort like a cancer. And this cancer cure was developed for years or decades. And it has metastasized. In different countries national anti-doping organizations, national [agencies] – there is no remedy, no tool, no cannon or rifle to kill everything at once.

So if you see immediate remedy, you should understand that this huge underwater war. But you've seen nothing on the surface. It will resurface one day. Just wait.

TIERSKY: Dr. Rodchenkov, thank you for that.

What I'd like to do now is bring Paul back in to tell our listeners exactly what is the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act? How has it changed the conversation around doping? And what tools – what new tools has it created to get at this cancer that Dr. Rodchenkov is alluding to?

MASSARO: We really are against a lot of authoritarian states that are really active in this space. And it's about time we got active. And the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act is going to enable us to do that in a big way. And I think that's why it's one of the most important anti-corruption laws ever passed by Congress. It's a very rare one that has extraterritorial jurisdiction, first of all.

So let me – let me start by saying that one of the first and most important things that the Rodchenkov Act does is actually conceptual. It redefines doping as fraud. For a very, very, very long time, doping has been understood to be performance-enhancing drugs, drug trafficking, and that sort of thing. People taking drugs in locker rooms and whatever else. What this does is actually look at it from a money direction. When you defraud an athlete, or a corporation, or a state or whatever, there's prize money at stake, there's sponsorships, there's all sorts of other money that goes into sport – and broadcasting rights. It's a huge industry.

So when you use doping to win a competition, you are denying someone a victory. You're denying them their rightful cash, and really their rightful glory and their rightful lifetime achievement as well, which is much, much, much more difficult to put a price on, of course.

So now practically, it criminalizes doping fraud in international competitions. It does not criminalize athlete conduct. Very critically, this law is about going after the structural elements. There is a large system in place that up until now has basically only ever gone after the athlete. It has disqualified athletes, and all of the structural guys – the coaches, the administrators, the – really sometimes transnational criminals – oftentimes transnational criminals – government officials, and so and so forth just get off scot free and move them around. There's literally no way to go after them. And now there is. So this really fills that loophole in a very serious way.

So with regard to the extraterritorial jurisdiction, it hits any competition that touches the U.S. economy, basically. I mean, if there's a broadcast in the United States, or the sponsoring entity does business in the United States, or whatever, then it is fair game. And that is really, really critical.

Now, it also protects whistleblowers. And this is a really, really, really critical thing, because part of the whole impetus of this – you know, we called the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act because of Dr. Rodchenkov's incredible bravery here. It's so they can protect whistleblowers in the future.

Now, the DOJ under Title 18, our sort of criminal section, we have all of this law about protecting informants and witnesses – tons of it. But if it's not a crime – if you're not informing to a crime, none of that applies. So just by virtue of criminalizing this, we have brought all of these whistleblowers in, understanding informant and witness protection laws, which is just huge.

Now, finally, I want to talk about the restitution section of the bill. Which is, if we – if we're able to get you in front of a court, and convict you, and find, you know, I don't know, you defrauded all these athletes of \$10 million or \$100 million, or whatever it is, and these corporations. There is mandatory restitution, so that we actually make these athletes whole for the money that they've been denied.

And I want to just say right here, the athletes are the victims of these crimes. They are the primary victims. And it is both sides of this game. It is the American athletes, the clean athletes who are denied and defrauded. But then also, you know, Dr. Rodchenkov was talking

about in Russia, if you don't dope you don't compete, right? So in that particular case you're being doped from the time you're a child.

We had Yuliya Stepanova, who Dr. Rodchenkov also talked about, at our hearing. And she talked about how they would give you, you know, these drugs, starting when you're, like, 13 or 14, or anything like that. And it would destroy your body. They called them vitamins, is what she said, you know?

We want to keep the athlete in mind throughout all this. The rights of clean athletes, of course, but also just human rights.

TIERSKY: Paul, thanks for that. It seems to me, just one the face of it, that providing additional tools to address the challenge of international sports doping would be something that would be universally popular and would immediately gain the support of anti-doping authorities the world over. You alluded that this might not have been the case when you were working through the process of getting it passed into law. Can you talk a little bit about some of the opposition to the bill, and where it came from, and how it was addressed?

MASSARO: For sure. And let me – let me preface this by saying, you know, we built a really, really extraordinary coalition here supporting this. We have the major leagues on board. We have every Olympic national governing body. That means, like, USA Swimming and USA Track and Field. The U.S. Olympic Committee, the U.S. Anti-Doping Agency, every single athlete. Everyone was supportive of this.

But for some reason, the World Anti-Doping Agency, which is half intergovernmental and half totally funded by the IOC, and really is not independent, they did not support this. In fact, they engaged in a very, very, very sort of unfriendly – (laughs) – lobbying campaign to go against this. And in fact, the International Olympic Committee did the same thing. They were involved in this. And of course, the Kremlin made a large number of statements.

At the end of the day, they met with everyone. They had their say. At the beginning we met with them, we talked with them, we tried to really work with them as, like, a sincere partner on this. But then they started on with some really sort of unwelcome disinformation tactics, saying things about the bill that were, you know, sort of overtly untrue. Like, for example, that it would apply to athletes, that, you know, the United States is trying to bring all athletes under its jurisdiction, or whatever, which, you know, as I said, there's a specific, specific exemption for athletes in the bill.

But sort of the list goes on. They had this Swiss attorney write up a whole account of how it would screw up the whole international sports structure. I mean, it really is kind of an extraordinary effort that they went to. And at the end of the day, it was a unanimous vote in both the House and the Senate to pass this thing, and it was signed by the president. Not a single member of Congress bought what they were selling. And that is really, really, really a credit to our incredible Congress, and our bosses, and our members of Congress that saw through what really was an unwelcome campaign. And one where you kind of got to wonder what the real motivations there were.

TIERSKY: Dr. Rodchenkov, let me bring you back into the conversation here. I'm curious if you could tell us how the Kremlin reacted to the passage of the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act.

RODCHENKOV: Forget about Kremlin. In the whole picture, there are hidden mechanisms which people don't know.

That's why whistleblowers are of the paramount activity for the future fight against doping, unless Department of Justice in United States prepare top-level investigators who could speak same language to doping frauds athletes and [Russian] federation. This should be understood. That's why whistleblowers should be upheld, welcomed.

And if you'll let me take a few minutes to tell the most important thing which I have now in my mind, I call this Yevgeny Kudryavtsev dilemma. Yevgeny Kudryavtsev was head of my department of sample storage in Moscow. Because he was in Moscow, he had no choice and he was key witness – key witness – in hearings in [the Court of Arbitration for Sport] the so-called "CAS." And IOC, the whole sport generation of 2014, lost case about Sochi probe.

They continued cheating criminally, lying, and denying. And Kudryavtsev was again in the epicenter of the LIS – Laboratory Information System. Incredible falsification. Twenty thousand files falsified, deleted, whatever, manipulated. One hundred fifty cheats saved.

Do you think Kudryavtsev is happy? He cannot move. From RADA standpoint, he is of huge caliber cheat, criminal, unbelievable. But there is a small border between Russia and United States to make him under RADA top level in the history as the same caliber as me and Stepanov whistleblower. You have to remember this can bring to the public [the] Kudryavtsev dilemma. It's the same like Rodchenkov law and Magnitsky law.

TIERSKY: Dr. Rodchenkov, that was very helpful. Yeah, Paul, please.

MASSARO: That's such an important point from Dr. Rodchenkov. And I want to tell to this gentleman, you know, give the DOJ a ring, you know? You would be under witness protections now, and they would love to hear from you. I was on a Hudson Institute event a few weeks ago where we had the head – the FBI's head of the sport integrity unit. And he called this law a huge hammer that they're going to use to go after kleptocrats, corrupt officials, and criminal figures in sport.

And I'll tell you, every indication that the FBI and DOJ wants to enforce this aggressively – very, very aggressively. And they do need whistleblowers. It's not just in sport. I see this all over my portfolio. The only way investigations into kleptocracy, into sport corruption, into whatever are ever really made [are] via whistleblowers. So they really should step forward.

I also want to just note real quick that, you know, oftentimes athletes are the first on the ground, and do get this kind of information. And when that is the case, you know, again, athlete

conduct is not criminalized under this. But there's a very, very, very, very strong whistleblowing program with the U.S. Anti-Doping Agency that is already in place. So this law should embolden whistleblowers. Everyone should want to step forward thanks to this law.

RODCHENKOV: Let me add some important comment.

TIERSKY: Please.

RODCHENKOV: WADA and public audience in sport, they consider countries even across all countries. But if you take – if you take corruption perception index of freedom law, there are tiers which shows which country is good and which is not good. And it covers 180 countries. If you take medium and you have another picture became more not blurry, from top level – from country – honest country, let's say New Zealand or Finland. United States, by the way, whistleblowers are mainly, I would say, anecdotal.

In Russia, it's a – it's a death, grave threat. People are afraid. People need help. Remember the name, Andrei Dmitriev. He hardly escaped from Russia. Since 2017 we don't have any whistleblower from Russia, which shows how difficult it could be. You are – the problem is inside Russia. U.S. looking at athletes, like at just athletes. But you know that Russian athletes, they are Putin's army.

MASSARO: Just one quick final note. Just wanted to say that this guy that's heading this up, this FBI agent – Joe Gillespie. He's heading this program. And he was the Eurasian crime squad guy responsible for Russian organized crime. So there is a really deep understanding at DOJ of exactly what you're saying, Dr. Rodchenkov.

RODCHENKOV: When Russia and their satellites – like, let's say, Belorussia or Uzbekistan – all this is, again, politics coming into sport.

Now, when you hear from Russia politics, it means they are jeopardizing our criminal interests. It's a clear sign. Remember this whatever. And, again, don't trust to Russia because I told many times that there are three words: cheating, lying, and denying. They are absolutely incorrigible. They never get along with them. If they agree with you, the next day they close door, oh, stupid Americans, we are cheating him again.

And forget about laws. Law, government, president, it's a fiction and it's a farce. There is dictator and his criminal protection environment, cheats who are stealing money, oil, and gas from Russia, and left 30 percent of people of poverty.

TIERSKY: Dr. Rodchenkov, I'd like for us to talk a bit about what this all means as we look forward to Tokyo specifically, and Beijing and Winter Games 2022. That's not too far behind. So you very eloquently described the challenges for potential whistleblowers for anyone who might want to shed light on doping systems in Russia, but also in any country that faces authoritarian regimes.

What do you believe is the likely impact of the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act both in the short term and then in the longer term as well?

RODCHENKOV: It's a very good question and a very complicated question. Immediately and now, that it's a game changer. Game changer means that those people who were part of conspiracy, they will tighten their security because of fear. I know people who are core of the doping system. It's like rich doctors or some others – some other who enable efforts to do doping. They are very clever. They are very good. Now they have some sort of Damocles' sword above their heads. It's absolutely different feelings and style of life. You were not – you were untouchable and not vulnerable before. Now you are victim.

Those people are victimized. And you should remember that I was victimized as a whistleblower, looking back [over] my shoulder. Now they are in the same situation. Sooner or later, they will be caught and punished. This is very important. Then again, people would like, oh, it's a success, already success to cooperate with some figures. We cannot say immediately, even with such nice men like Joe Gillespie in Department of Justice. We see next months we will catch three groups of cheats. The deterrence means that three groups of other cheats in different cheating countries hardly would emerge. This is also very important.

In the long run, I am absolutely sure that there it will be removed and addressed and resolved any discrepancies between WADA and RADA. It's not a fight and mutually exclusive things, not Russia versus – or, RADA versus WADA. It's about WADA plus RADA. It's a synergy. But again, the people should open their eyes and, as Gorbachev said, it's new thinking. We need new thinking. And again, still, it's my thoughts. Sport is full of people who are sitting in IOC, WADA for 15 or 20 years. It cannot be like this. There should be attrition. We need fresh blood.

We should allow not here – only here athletes. Athletes should be sitting next to them and to control what they are saying. You know, I don't always get into details, but sport governing body, it's Stone Age. It should be much more transparent, much more friendly, much more responsible. Because they're absolutely uncontrolled. We see we're drifting. It should be RADA, it should be law enforcement, it should be a battalion to discover, to undermine, to find their approach. It's millions of dollars, it's hundreds of medals and world records which are absolutely fake, I mean, done by doping.

TIERSKY: Paul, are you optimistic that things will get into place to perpetrate cheaters between now and Tokyo?

MASSARO: When it comes to Tokyo 2021, we should expect doping fraud to go on. We got to be ready. I mean, at the end of the day, that's really what it – like, Tokyo 2021 will be where the rubber hits the road of the Rodchenkov Act.

I am not so ignorant to believe it'll be the first clean Olympics, but it's the first one where the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act will be in force, where doping fraud will be criminal. And it is incumbent now upon our executive branch, our enforcement apparatus, to be ready. And when those whistleblowers come – and they should have investigators ready. They should have a

program ready. And when all that comes around, you know, months after the competition when we are inevitably getting the reports from journalists that so-and-so doped, and we're seeing all of that, on the heels of that we should be seeing indictments.

And that's the big difference. That's the – that'll be the first time ever in history that there has been real legal consequences for those in the structure, for those that actually, you know, keep this doping apparatus alive and are hollowing out international sport.

TIERSKY: We are starting to make the first steps in moving towards a time of cleaner sport, particularly – eventually, and the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act will make a significant difference in that respect.

Gentlemen, I'd very much like to thank you both for appearing on Helsinki on the Hill. Dr. Rodchenkov, thank you so much for not only appearing on the program today but, of course, for sharing your extraordinarily courageous story with us, and for being willing to come forward and expose this corruption. And, Paul, thank you very much for helping us organize this conversation, and for all the work you do in this field for the members of the Helsinki Commission.

Listeners, you might want to find more information on the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act in particular. Paul, could you direct them to some resources?

MASSARO: For sure. So there is a whole lot of stuff on CSCE.gov that you can search and find. The bill, of course, is H.R.835 in the 116th Congress, to see the actual text. And then, I mean, feel free to reach out to me personally. I'm always very excited to talk to everyone – anyone and everyone about this bill, and anything else in the world of international anti-corruption policy.

TIERSKY: Thank you, Paul.

Gentlemen, thank you very much both for your participation in this conversation. Listeners, as always, we welcome hearing from you with feedback. Get in touch via our website, CSCE.gov, our Facebook page, or on Twitter. Thanks again for joining us. Until our next conversation, I'm Alex Tiersky, signing off.