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

"The First Clean Olympics? Rodchenkov Act Enforcement at Tokyo 2021"

Committee Members Present:
Senator Ben Cardin (D-MD), Chairman;
Representative Steve Cohen (D-TN), Co-Chairman;
Representative Ruben Gallego (D-AZ)

Witnesses:
Edwin Moses, Emeritus Chair, U.S. Anti-Doping Agency;
Richard Baum, U.S. Coordinator, Doping in Sport, White House Office of National Drug Control Policy;
Jim Walden, Partner, Walden, Macht, & Haran, and Attorney for Dr. Grigory Rodchenkov;
Debra LaPrevotte, Senior Investigator, the Sentry;
Noah Hoffman, Two-Time Olympian

The Hearing Was Held From 2:43 p.m. To 3:55 p.m. in Room 428A, Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., Senator Ben Cardin (D-MD), Chairman, Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe, presiding

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CARDIN: I'm very privileged to call this Helsinki Commission hearing to order and welcome our distinguished panel. I must tell you, in two cases I have been your fans, watching you on the screen as you performed on behalf of the United States. I rooted for you, and it must have worked. Because you – in Mr. Moses's cases, you had a long record going. I think I was partly responsible for that, the way I was yelling and screaming. So I'll take a little bit of credit for you. And on cross-country skiing, it's something I tried once. It's tough. It's difficult. So my congratulations to both of our Olympiads for representing our country so well.

And this hearing is to deal with the – we call it the first clean Olympics, the Rodchenkov Act enforcement at Tokyo 2021. We anticipate that the Tokyo games will begin Friday. There's no guarantee of that, as the politics of this is evolving every day and as COVID-19 is getting more serious. But we do anticipate that the games will start this Friday. But anything can happen. The real question is, will this Olympics be clean of doping? And that's an issue that is not yet fully understood. Will the Rodchenkov Act be fully enforced? And will the committee take appropriate action to make sure that doping does not take place in the Tokyo Olympics? That's one of the reasons that we are so pleased to hold this hearing, is to shed some light on where we are today, what can we anticipate, and what, if anything, Congress should be doing to make sure that we have transparency and deal with the potential doping of athletes.

The Commission had the honor of meeting Dr. Rodchenkov in – a couple years ago. We heard about the doping fraud in the 2014 Sochi games. The importance and courage of whistleblowers was very clear to us here. You had a person who had responsibility in Moscow to deal with anti-doping. He saw the scandalous activities that were taking place, and as a result he wanted to do something about it. That takes courage. He's a hero. He's a hero for the Russian people. And he stood up to the kleptocrats, who were plummeting their country and doing dishonor. He now faces the threats of retaliation – make no mistake about it; it's a dangerous thing to turn on Mr. Putin – for telling the truth.

The 2018 investigation of Russian state doping revealed a Putin regime that went to great lengths to defraud clean athletes, honest businesses, and democratic states at the 2014 Sochi games. It involved the Russian state intelligence agencies, its covert operation agencies – including the FSB. And it is part of a practice that we've seen now clearly under Mr. Putin's leadership in Russia – the asymmetric arsenal that he uses. He uses that to control as much of the activities as he possibly can. He uses it to try to bring down Democratic institutions. He uses that to cheat. He uses that for corruption. He uses that for part of his kleptocracy. All of that is part of his game plan. And we need to take action against it.

As a result, a new criminal statute was passed to enforce – give the law enforcement a tool to dismantle these corrupt networks. The Rodchenkov Act was bipartisan, which is not always the case around this institution. It was strongly bipartisan, and we worked together, and ultimately it passed both the House and Senate chamber by unanimous vote. So it was widely accepted as a part of the toolkit needed to deal with Russia's doping activities. We consulted with the stakeholders before we passed the law. Some are with us today, and we thank you for your participation in that. And it really expressed the U.S. leadership on this issue.

And I want to underscore that. This is – you know, we have taken the lead globally on protecting good governance and integrity. We did that with the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, when America established the standards necessary for corrupt officials and not participating with corrupt officials. We did that with the Magnitsky Act, making it clear that these corrupt officials would not enjoy our country or our banking system. And that's been an effective way. Well, we would hope that that Rodchenkov Act would be in that same vein, where the United States would show leadership, but they're going to have to demonstrate leadership on this issue for it truly to be enforced effectively. And that's where we hope that we will be able to deal with today.

With that, I'm going to turn to our witnesses. I want to welcome my colleague here. It's good to have you with us. I don't know if you would like to say some opening remarks.

GALLEGO: Thank you, Senator. Thank you for having me and I'm glad to be part of this commission, my first meeting, and love to hear testimony.

CARDIN: Well, thank you. And welcome to the Commission. I'm going to now introduce our witnesses, and the order I introduce it will be the order that you'll be able to make your presentations. Your full statements will be made part of our record. You may proceed as you wish.

Richard Baum is the U.S. coordinator of doping in sports. He is the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy for more than two decades, with five presidential administrations. I don't know you survived presidents. But congratulations for you then and acting director now. In February 2021 he was appointed as the United States coordinator for doping in sports. And he's been extremely active on this issue, and we thank him for all of his work.

Edwin Moses I think is known to all of us, a three-time Olympiad, Olympic gold medalist. He won the Olympic gold medals in 1976 and 1984, three World Cup titles, two world championships, and broke the world record four times as a 400-meter hurdler in one of the most dominant reins in world sports of nine years, nine months, and nine days – 122 consecutive races, 170 finals. He remained undefeated. That's – you know, those of us who run for office all the time, that record seems unattainable. So it's a real honor to have you here, and you've been an inspiration for us for a long time. So thank you joining us today.

Jim Walden is a partner at Walden, Macht & Haran, managing partner. Is a nationally recognized trial lawyer focusing on high-profile criminal, civil and regulatory matters. He defended the whistleblower Dr. Grigory Rodchenkov, who was a former Moscow anti-doping lab head.

Debra LaPrevotte, a senior investigator for century investigates greed that fuels war crimes and atrocities in central Africa. Debra retired after 20 years with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. And she served as special agent on the International Corruption Unit at FBI headquarters, and was instrument in initiating the FBI's kleptocracy programs. Pleasure to have you here.

And Noah Hoffman, who's a two-time Olympic cross-country skier from Colorado. He was a member of the U.S. National Ski Team from 2007 to 2017. He competed in Sochi in 2014 and again in 2018 Olympic games. He felt the impact of doping personally and acutely during his career. My only way I can relate to your career is that I did ski in Colorado, and I left my knee there with a pretty serious injury. But other than that, it's a pleasure to have all of you with us today.

And we'll start with Mr. Baum.

BAUM: Thank you, Chairman Cardin, Commission members. Thanks so much for inviting ONDCP to testify today – the Office of National Drug Control Policy. ONDCP is responsible for the anti-doping portfolio in the executive branch and manages the federal grant funds that support the World Anti-Doping Agency, WADA, and the U.S. Anti-Doping Agency, USADA. The person who serves as the ONDCP director serves on the WADA Foundation Board as a representative of the U.S. That's Acting Director Regina LaBelle. The International Olympic Committee established WADA in 1999. WADA is the international organization for monitoring the global fight against doping in sport. The WADA anti-doping code serves as the international standard against which anti-doping policies can be measures.

WADA's responsibilities include setting anti-doping standards of general applicability, monitoring the compliance of the code – of code signatories, and WADA accredited laboratories in upholding the rights and interests of athletes to help ensure fair athletic competition. Unfortunately, we have seen repeatedly throughout international sports competitions the need for this governing body. Russia's actions at the 2014 Winter Olympic and Paralympic Games in Sochi is a particularly appalling example of a well-orchestrated state-sponsored doping scheme. The Sochi scandal was the doping crime of the century, but it would be naïve to think that Russia is the only country that sees the Olympic Games as an opportunity to employ corrupt means to bring home gold medals.

The remarkable Sochi cheating conspiracy highlights needs to apply new tools to this grave threat. ONDCP is very encouraged that Congress enacted the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act. Dr. Rodchenkov has explained very clearly that doping in sport should not be thought of as individual actions of athletes, but rather as part of a complex operation with many key actors behind the scenes orchestrating events with technical proficiency, careful planning, and state power all involved. By defining doping as fraud, since such crimes defraud athletes of prize money and sponsorships, the new law extends the substantial whistleblower protections under U.S. law to those who provide useful information to law enforcement in prosecuting these cases. We urge whistleblowers to come forward so that criminals, wherever they reside, can be brought to justice.

The U.S. is working seriously on the issue of doping at home and abroad. When countries are unwilling or unable to prevent and sanction these violations, WADA – as the single global regulator for doping – must take decisive action. There's still much work to do to fully root out corruption in governmental sports ministries, international sports federations, national anti-doping organizations, and laboratories. There are also still unaddressed systemic challenges with internal governance of WADA. These flaws in its structure date back to its founding. Just

as the sports and doping worlds have changed a great deal in the 22 years since WADA was established, society's understanding of what constitutes an effective, modern organization has also changed. The need for high ethical standards, management efficiency, and diversity, equity and inclusion have all advanced. A fit for purpose WADA would adapt and address issues that hamper its effectiveness as the global regulator of doping in sport.

In May, ONDCP provided a detailed report to Congress that enumerated 10 challenges that, if addressed, would improve worldwide anti-doping oversight. Today let me highlight the most urgent reform needed. We need to see a transformation of the WADA Executive Committee. That's the key decision-making entity of the organization, sort of their board of directors. It needs to be changed into a fully independent expert body. Its work is too important to be subject to even the appearance of conflicts of interest. The U.S. will be pursuing this reform proactively in cooperation with other governments. If the IOC blocks this systemic reform, the U.S. will pursue other alternatives to increase independence within the WADA executive committee more gradually.

Finally, let me note that ONDCP has decided to use the authority provided by Congress to make a partial payment of U.S. dues to WADA for the first time. Congress appropriated up to $2.9 million in fiscal year 2021 for ONDCP to fulfill the annual U.S. dues commitment to WADA. ONDCP, breaking from our past practice, intends to transmit just over half of this amount later this year. We view this partial dues payment as a sign of good faith while indicating our commitment to ensure ongoing governance reform at WADA. We hope to see sufficient progress to make the remainder of the dues payment this year. ONDCP looks forward to staying in close touch with the Congress as we pursue challenging negotiations over the next several months. Thank you very much.

CARDIN: Thank you.

Mr. Moses.

MOSES: Good afternoon, Mr. Chairman. Chairman Cardin, Chairman Cohen – Chairman Cardin, Chairman Cohen, members of the Commission, my name is Dr. Edwin Moses, and I'm the chairman emeritus of the board of directors of the United States Anti-Doping Agency. As a three-time Olympian medalist, athletics have played an integral role in my life for the past 40 years. Although the great strides in anti-doping have been made, particularly here in the United States, the issues of doping in international sport that plagued my generation continue to affect athletes now. I want to thank the Helsinki Commission for protecting U.S. athletes' rights, both here at home and abroad, by introducing and passing the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Fraud Act. In short, it's a game-changing statute what will have significant effect on international sport.

As so clearly revealed by the Russian state-sponsored doping saga, the struggle still continues. We are at a critical juncture for the soul – literally, the soul – of our sports. It is important for the Commission to know about the significant ongoing threats facing clean athletes and fair play, and what can be done about it. Just this year it was revealed that Russia had engaged in massive corruption with the president of the International Biathlon Union. The

International Weightlifting Union was sanctioned for widespread corruption and covered up drug tests. This state-sanctioned behavior cannot continue to happen, and IOC cannot continue to miss or ignore defining moments to confront this fraud. Time and time again, when these decisive moments arrive, when the lights were shining the brightest, the World Anti-Doping Agency and the IOC repeatedly failed to lead.

And that's why the Rodchenkov Act is so critical. This law protects the U.S. financial investment in international competition, stops corrupt actors that organize and facilitate doping fraud, compensates clean athletes who have been defrauded, and protects whistleblowers. The Rodchenkov Act is a strong deterrent to those that look to corrupt sport on a global level. We believe that the statute can be even stronger by allowing the proceeds of unlawful activity under the act to be considered money laundering under the U.S. code. An essential component of any effective anti-doping program is the ability to demonstrate to the athlete, coach, and sporting community that you can be trusted to do the job, fairly enforcing the rules even when it's not easy nor popular to do so. We have seen this faith demonstrated in our Play Clean Whistleblower Line, which received over 450 tips from all over the world in 2020.

USADA is also grateful for the close partnerships with U.S. law enforcement agencies over the past 20 years, from BALCO to the Russian state-sponsored investigation. We are thrilled to act to further harmonize and strengthen the effort to build these relationships. Testing is the backbone of an effective program. Transparency in these efforts is essential. WADA's unwillingness to disclose specific testing numbers leading into the Tokyo games is concerning. We know and understand that global testing was down approximately 45 percent in 2020, and down another – down 20 percent in 2021. What is worse is that there is no way to know if athletes outside the United States heading to the games have been properly tested. In Rio, out of 11,470 athletes, 4,125 were not tested at all. And 1,913 of those athletes in the 10 sports with the highest risk for doping were allowed to compete without being tested ahead of the games.

So without transparency to the testing numbers, we have to ask if these games will be clean, as the IOC promises. In the U.S., we post these test results for our athletes on our website. Athletes demanded that we do this as a measure of accountability and transparency. And it's something that they're able to access and digest for their own purposes. We should all be proud of the sacrifices and lengths our athletes go in order to live up to their promise to win the right way. We also applaud the ONDCP for their recent robust analysis of WADA. In their report to Congress on May 17th, 2021, it detailed the efforts for WADA governance reform and possible solutions. We are particularly grateful for ONDCP's decision to partially withhold U.S. taxpayer dues to WADA based on the need for reform. I hope the Commission knows that USADA never loses sight of who we work for. We view the athletes and their powerful stories as our guiding light, our North Star.

Thank you for holding this important hearing today, and your continued effort on behalf of clean athletes. USADA looks forward to continuing to work with the Helsinki Commission as the Tokyo Games begin this week, and as we welcome to world here to the United States for the 2028 Los Angeles Slauer Olympic Games. Thank you.

CARDIN: And, once again, thank you for your testimony. We appreciate it every much. Mr. Walden.

WALDEN: Chairman Cardin, distinguished members and staff from the Helsinki Commission, my name is Jim Walden and, together with my colleague Avni Patel, we had the great honor of representing Dr. Rodchenkov. Dr. Rodchenkov could not be here today because of security reasons, and Ms. Patel couldn't be here because she just gave birth. But in their absence and on their behalf, let me offer the following remarks, setting the stage with what brings us here, as we all know.

Dr. Rodchenkov was the head of the Moscow Anti-Doping Center at the time of the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi. At the direction of and under the supervision of Vladimir Putin, the Russian president, Vitaly Mutko, the minister of sport, other top-level state actors, and the Russian secret police, Dr. Rodchenkov helped orchestrate the most elaborate doping scheme in world history. The scheme succeeded, at least at first. Russia celebrated its most medals ever, 33 total medals, with 13 of them gold. A year later, Dr. Rodchenkov was on a flight from Moscow to Los Angeles with very different things on this mind. Because investigative journalists had exposed part of the doping scheme, Dr. Rodchenkov learned that the Kremlin planned to stage his suicide and blame him for the doping program that it created, directed, and funded for decades.

Long torn between his competing roles as an anti-doping pioneer on the one hand and a doping enabler on the other, Dr. Rodchenkov left his family and his life behind, intent on exposing the entire state-sponsored doping scheme to the world. And expose it he did. In truth, WADA and the IOC had plenty of reasons to act against Russia, even before Dr. Rodchenkov's revelations. By the end of 2015, there was ample proof of a state-sponsored doping system, in part because of informants, brave whistleblowers, and an avalanche of athletes from multiple sports who all tested positive for anti-doping violations in the years before. None of this caused WADA or the IOC to act. It was not until Dr. Rodchenkov revealed his truth to The New York Times that this harsh sunlight finally forced WADA and the IOC from the shadows.

The start of their Sochi investigation was encouraging. WADA engaged qualified investigators to objectively review the evidence and, after their painstaking investigation, they confirmed by the existence of the state-sponsored doping scheme and the participation of scores of Russian athletes, lab personnel, state employees, and politicians in the scheme. Two IOC commissions confirmed the results of the earlier investigation. And between 2017 and today literally dozens of investigative panels and law enforcement have reviewed the evidence and confirmed Russia's guilt. In short, Russia's state-sponsored doping system is the most thoroughly documented crime in sports history.

It is because of the scope and the brazenness of Russia's crimes – all sanctioned at the highest level of the Russian government – that WADA's and the IOC's impotence or complicity is alarming. Put simply, WADA and the IOC have failed to hold Russia accountable in any meaningful way. When I testified before this commission in February of 2018 and proposed the first long-arm doping fraud statute, I did not make that proposal because of Russian corruption.

Rather, it was because I saw that the only system established to confront that corruption, the only true gatekeeper for clean athletes, was broken beyond repair.

In the end, after all the effort and all the resources poured into these investigations, there was little reform that benefitted clean athletes worldwide. Ultimately, 13 Sochi medals were stripped and then nine were reinstated. Forty-two top-level Russian athletes were banned, and 29 were reinstated. The Russian minister of Sport, Vitaly Mutko, was banned and then reinstated. And as so-called punishment for its crimes, Russia suffered two Olympic bans, but those were largely cosmetic – as Russian athletes were welcome to and participated at every Olympics since. In fact, three days after the 2018 Winter Olympics, the IOC reinstated the Russian Olympic Committee, despite the fact that two of its athletes tested positive during the games. And in September of 2018, WADA reinstated the Russian Anti-Doping Agency, despite the fact that Russia had not complied with key requirements that WADA mandated.

And since Sochi, we have learned more about corruption within WADA. Criminal authorities have now filed charges against two of WADA's foundation board members. For what? Covering up doping fraud, sometimes in return for bribes. And with this context, how did WADA's leadership react to American calls for justice and reform? America, WADA's largest source of funding among nations, has been systematically excluded from its executive committee since 2015. WADA excluded the United States from the working group set up to devise its own reforms. And when Congress demanded that WADA finally clean up its act as a condition of further funding, the current WADA president had the audacity to threaten to expel American athletes from international competition.

So, Chairman, against this backdrop it is clear that the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act is essential to restore integrity to international sports and to protect clean athletes, because the current system is corrupt, purposefully ineffective, and deeply conflicted. And doping is only one small part of the problem. It exists within an infrastructure that includes bribery, money laundering, extensive drug trafficking, witness intimidation, and computer hacking. And it's not just about the dirty athletes themselves. It is about the doctors, coaches, sports officials, and politicians who command it, support it, and cover it up. And it's about the so-called gatekeepers who talk a tough game but, in the end, tolerate doping by wealthy nations.

Sadly, the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act will not make the Tokyo games clean. They will not be clean. That much I guarantee. But Congress can do two things to speed up and supersize RADA's impact. The first is to use its oversight authority to make sure that the FBI and DOJ allocate sufficient resources to bring criminal cases. Investigations under RADA will be highly complex undertakings. A skeleton crew will be insufficient. Given the scientific complexities and the challenges for international evidence collection, DOJ must create the same kind of taskforce it did in its recent successful FIFA investigations. There are simply too many innocent athletes and too much revenue at stake for Congress to permit DOJ and FBI to under-source its RADA unit.

The second thing Congress can do is to rip off a Band-Aid, to withhold WADA funding until it implements key reforms. In short, WADA must achieve full independence from the political meddling of the IOC. Its executive committee should be comprised primarily of former

clean athletes and doping – anti-doping scientists. And WADA should implement rules to achieve greater transparency. And on that last note, as we sit here today WADA has sufficient data to know exactly which countries and which sports teams are at risk of doping or are committing doping now. If Transparency International can publish a yearly Corruption Perceptions Index that serves as a reliable tool for the international community, surely WADA can use its substantial data to publish a yearly doping corruption index. This would be a valuable tool to not only DOJ's RADA unit but to criminal enforcement authorities around the globe as they become more active trying to root out doping fraud in light of WADA's impotence.

I wish to thank the Helsinki Commission and the U.A. Anti-Doping Agency for their leadership. I'd like to acknowledge in particular Paul Massaro, who has been a reliable partner with all of us in preparing for today and for all the events before. And I'd like to acknowledge Dr. Rodchenkov for his bravery and perseverance. And in my written testimony in included a statement written by him. Thank you very much.

CARDIN: Thank you, Mr. Walden. We really appreciate all of your commitment to this issue that's been longstanding.

We'll now hear from Ms. LaPrevotte.

LAPREVOTTE: Chairman Cardin, Co-Chairman Cohen, my esteemed colleagues, it is a privilege to testify today on how the FBI and other law enforcement agencies can approach the Rodchenkov Act crimes as part of broader corruption and kleptocracy investigations. Athletic achievement should be about pure sport and, unfortunately, it's driven by profit. Sports is a multibillion-dollar industry. And countries, teams, sponsors, coaches, and criminal networks seek to profit from those. Like most of the crimes that I've investigated, it's almost always all about the money. Investigators around the globe need to follow the money, identify criminal networks, and expose those who manipulate the system and the playing field through doping and performance-enhancing sports. As we approach the Olympic games in Tokyo, the Rodchenkov Act shines a brighter light on those involved in state-sponsored doping and those willing to cheat to win.

It is a global problem. The U.S. sports market is valued at $500 billion. U.S. football, basketball, and baseball teams are valued at $5 billion, which is more than the GDP of 30 countries. U.S. – I mean, European soccer teams are valued at $5 billion. And a cricket team out of India is valued at 6.8 billion (dollars). I mean, it's big money. And where there's big money, there is corruption, or the potential for corruption. The pressure on coaches to win and to generate revenues can cause them to turn to doping and other performance enhancing sports. Sponsors, who are motivated by great financial reward and by greater exposure, can encourage doping or turn a blind eye to criminal activity? For those involved in exercise biochemistry and drug manufacturing, the profits seem worth the risk. And as we saw at the Sochi Olympics and previous Olympic Games, the effects of states-sponsored doping have a huge impact on the games.

The allure of performance-enhancing sports and doping to maximize profits and power and prestige are enormous. This opens the door to corruption. And this is where the FBI and

other law enforcement agencies can step in and hopefully fight these criminal networks. Investigating organized doping schemes is very similar to investigating the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. Like the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, the Rodchenkov Act allows the U.S. to take the lead role in these investigations and helps even the playing field. Many fraud schemes share the same MO of criminal conduct. So when we look at these large-scale doping schemes, I'm probably going to see violations of bribery, money laundering, wire fraud, extortion, and other RICO and FDA violations for the drug aspects.

Organized crime networks are involved in doping and the manufacturing of the performance enhancing sports. The FBI recently launched a new Integrity in Sports and Gaming Program. The effort will dedicate agents and intelligence and financial analysists to investigating the criminal aspects of doping, as well as match fixing and gambling related crimes. This program is an excellent opportunity for the U.S. to work with our foreign partners to address crime in sport. In many cases, our foreign partners are already working hard at this. In 2019, Interpol, led by investigators out of Italy and Greece, conducted Operation Viribus. This effort involved 33 different countries and was a massive crackdown on doping materials. This investigation dismantled 17 criminal organizations, led to 234 arrests, and closed down nine underground drug operations and production labs.

This case involved over 1,000 people that were involved in the production, commerce, and use of doping products. Right now, the anti-corruption commission in Australia is also investigating the role that organized crime plays in performance enhancing sports, including the sourcing and supplying of the next-generation performance drugs. There are investigations around the globe into doping, and they're looking at the role played by coaches, team physicians and franchise owners. In the same what the Global Magnitsky Act shined a brighter light on corruption and imposing accountability, and one that is being replicated by jurisdictions around the world at this time and by groups like the Sentry, where I work now, where NGOs can play a role in exposing these activities, the Rodchenkov Act can bring a more focused attention on how doping can be effectively targeted.

The young athletes of tomorrow who are about to be inspired by what they see at the Olympics deserve to be able to focus on what they need to do as athletes and to improve and compete at the highest levels, rather than feel that their chances will be stolen by those who are willing to cheat and desire profits over hard work. Winning without honor is really not winning. And that's why we're very happy that the Rodchenkov Act was passed.

CARDIN: Thank you very much for all your work.

We'll now hear from Mr. Hoffman.

HOFFMAN: Chairman Cardin, Co-Chairman Cohen, members of this Commission, my name is Noah Hoffman, and it is my pleasure to appear before you today to discuss the costs of doping fraud and the need for strong enforcement of the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act. I competed at the two most recent Winter Olympic Games as a member of Team USA. And in my sport, of cross-country skiing, I felt the effects of doping fraud firsthand. Doping fraud does not just affect the athletes who are next in line for the podium. It affects every athlete chasing an

Olympic dream. Here's one story about how I felt the effects of doping fraud – just one of many.

At the end of the 2013/14 racing season, I was ranked 31st on the world ranking list. Being top 30 on the list automatically qualifies athletes for the U.S. Ski Team's A team. But because I was outside the top 30, I was named to the B team instead. The A team is fully funded by the U.S. Ski Team. B team athletes must pay for their own room, board, and travel expenses for training camps and races. Because I missed out on the A team, I had to cover about $25,000 in expenses that would have been covered by the team if I had been just one spot higher on the world ranking list. That meant spending time fundraising that could have been spent training. It also meant that every potential training camp started with the question: How am I going to pay for this?

Ahead of me on the world ranking list that season, when I missed out on the A team by just one spot, were six Russian athletes, three of whom were later provisionally suspended for being a part of Russia's state-sponsored doping scheme during that very same season. The revelations about Russian doping came too late for me. I never did qualify for the A team, despite being the top-ranked American cross-country skier competing in distance events. Every one of my teammates has a story like this. Doping affects every athlete competing at the international level and every young person inspired by their favorite athlete, who later feels deceived when doping comes to light.

The Rodchenkov Act passed at the right time for athletes, because the international anti-doping system has failed to take meaningful action against the perpetrators of institutional doping. Strong enforcement of the Rodchenkov Act in Tokyo, Beijing and beyond is essential to restore athletes and fans' belief in clean sport. This is more than about policing doping fraud. It's about standing up for the rule of law and democratic values of equal opportunity and fair play. The Rodchenkov Act, with its strong whistleblower protections, put the burden on athletes to share what they know about doping fraud. As Mr. Walden said, these athletes have been coming forward with information. I ask today athletes to continue to come forward with the information about doping fraud to ensure a level playing field for the next generation.

Athletes can now walk into any U.S. consulate or embassy anywhere in the world, speak to law enforcement, and share information about doping fraud. And the Rodchenkov Act does not just cover international doping fraud. Athletes can report information about doping fraud here in the U.S. by contacting a local FBI office. I ask law enforcement to take these tips seriously and to prioritize investigations into doping fraud to hold those responsible accountable. But the Rodchenkov Act alone, as we've heard here today, is not going to stem the tide of institutional doping. The international anti-doping system is broken. The International Olympic Committee and other sport administrators have too much control over the World Anti-Doping Agency and the Court of Arbitration for Sport. And they have demonstrated over and over again an unwillingness to take meaningful action against sport administrators who facilitate doping.

I ask Congress and the members of this Commission to do everything in your power to reform the World Anti-Doping Agency, to help out the ONDCP, to ensure that WADA has the independence and power it needs to achieve its mission of doping free sport. I urge you to push

for a WADA that is fully independent of the sporting administrators whom the agency is tasked to regulate. Thank you for the opportunity to testify before this commission today. I look forward to answering any questions.

CARDIN: Well, let me thank all of our witnesses, again, for the very, very constructive testimony. As you noted, we've been joined by Congressman Cohen, the House chair of the Helsinki Commission. The vote on the infrastructure started about five minutes ago, so I'm going to leave here in about five to 10 minutes in order to cast my vote. But I want to first start by acknowledging, Mr. Hoffman, your testimony by putting a face on this. I think most of us think that doping affects an individual competition, but your circumstance – it may even deny an athlete an opportunity to compete because of the rankings in the international scene. You were able to get through that, but not everyone can get through that. And it certainly distracted from your preparation and being at your top of your game. So it affects all of us. And I think that point is so important.

Secondly, I share your desire to reform WADA and the IOC. Do I have confidence that that will happen? No. Should we try? Yes. Will we succeed in the short run? Unlikely. So we have to go beyond just the efforts that we'll make on the international front. And I think about what we did with the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act. We tried to get international strong sanctions to deal with corruption, and we couldn't. And then the United States acted. And yes, other countries followed our lead. So, yes, we have to enforce the Rodchenkov law. And the United States has got to be aggressive, we have to make sure the law enforcement has the resources they need. But we also need to lead internationally with other countries, our friends, so that we have a coalition of the willing to stand up against the doping in sports because, as you said, it is a big business. It is part of an overall corrupt challenge that we have on corruption. And it is something that the Congress has spoken to, and we all need to step forward and show the international community we can do something. And if we do, then just maybe we will see greater international response to the issue.

I'll give you one more example that this Commission was very actively involved in, and that is stopping trafficking in humans. It was never considered globally to be a big deal. It was a huge deal, modern-day slavery. And the United States stood up for dealing with this. And we ultimately did get the international community to recognize. But what we did is very interesting, because one of the recommendations you're making about naming – rating and naming how countries are doing in doping. We did that in trafficking. So we put out a report every year. And if you're not doing right, you're tier three, and the whole world knows that you're tier three. And it's a similar situation on doping. The transparency can be very, very helpful in getting that done.

So I guess my question is: How can we – you already talked about funding for our law enforcement. But how can we work with our allies, who are strongly in support of cleaning up the doping challenges. How can the United States take a stronger lead? I'm talking about in the Tokyo Olympics. Let's start now. We have the world's attention on it. Once the Olympic Games are over, it's hard to get that type of focus on this issue. How can we take advantage of the spotlight on Tokyo to advance the international will to clean up this doping challenge – when

we know we do not have WADA and we do not have the IOC serious about dealing with those issues? I welcome any one of your thoughts.

WALDEN: I don't mind, if you'll hear me again.

CARDIN: You're never bashful. I know that.

WALDEN: Thanks, again. And hello, Chairman Cohen. Thank you for joining as well.

Chairman, I think that there's a good story to tell in the sense that the United States isn't alone in trying to root out the problem. As Dr. Moses said and as others have referenced, including you, we have criminal partners in Austria, Australia, the Netherlands, and other countries that understand that WADA has been ineffective and that the only solution to protect clean athletes is to put people in jail. The first time the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act is used on a doctor, on a coach, on a government official, it will have a seismic impact. And other enforcement authorities are already having that impact. Taking two of WADA's foundation board members and subjecting them to criminal penalties for covering up doping fraud is incredibly significant.

So I think that you're absolutely right. DOJ needs to speak loudly, and to speak alongside other enforcement partners that are already bringing criminal penalties to bear, and to do the same thing that they did with Magnitsky, the same thing they did with the FCPA, and frankly the same thing they did with the Antitrust Act. I mean, the United States was the first country to pass a law like the Sherman Act, and look what's happened. Countries around the world have now developed systems very much like the leniency program that came into play in the late 1980s, as a result of the Sherman Act. And now there is a coalition of worldwide partners working together to root out cartels. We need the same thing to happen with doping and its related corruption.

CARDIN: Well, I agree. I think we really need to establish a track record. It starts with what we do here in the United States and using our own institutions. And the more we can work in a multilateral fashion, the stronger we will be. And ultimately we embarrass the international organizations to move on this issue. And that's, I think, our strongest strategy. At the same time, I don't disagree – Mr. Moses, to your point about doing everything we can within WADA to change it and put a spotlight on it. We don't give – we don't give them a pass, by any measure. And we certainly use the U.S. participation—which I'm not opposed to our participation, but it's got to be based – as President Biden said, all of our foreign policy needs to be based on our values. So everything we do within WADA has to be based upon the values that we hold dear, including anti-doping.

MOSES: Correct. And one of the things that – one of the peer groups that we have to really rely on for support are the active athletes and the retired athletes. When the Russian Sochi debacle played out, nine of the – nine out of every 10 athlete-commissioned groups in the world wanted the Russians to be banned from the Olympics, from four years to indefinitely. And they were adamant about that. And I think in a certain sense the powers that be in an international sports world were able to suppress the athletes' voices in many different ways, especially at the –

at the commission level – some of the athletes' commissions. Particularly the IOC athletes' commissions.

They were virtually the only one that were wavering on anything, except a serious conviction of the Russian Olympic Committee. Even if that meant having to take the whole Russian Olympic team out. There's many athletes today that feel that, yes, athletes have rights and we really don't want to have a situation where innocent Russian athletes don't have the opportunity to compete. But unless a ruling has real teeth in it, unless something happens at the top levels of the government of the Soviet Union, as you so adeptly describe, it starts at the top – the leadership of the sports programs and the prestige of the Russian sports programs and their success starts at the top. And its influence extends from the top of the government all the way through. You know, unless there are some kind of sanctions that are really goings to affect that structure, then it's going to be very difficult to do something.

CARDIN: Well, I can't tell you how important I think it is for the athletes to speak up about this. So we appreciate your leadership and, Mr. Hoffman, your leadership. It is powerful, believe me, your participation in these efforts. We're going to stick with this issue. We're not – we're not going to let it go. And we will be in touch with our law enforcement. And we will also be urging our participation in international forums to underscore the responsibilities that are there. You're giving a pretty pessimistic account as to what we can expect in Tokyo. You would not be shocked to find there's widespread doping in Tokyo, I take it. Yes?

LAPREVOTTE: Coming from my background with international corruption, I would also look at a lot of efforts into tracing the money, because it is for profit. And therefore, even so far as going after money that was made post-Olympic or post any sport in sponsorship. I mean, if you – if your sponsorship is based off of your gold medal or your winning team, then – and doping has been proven – then it is the proceeds of fraud. And there are opportunities to go after the money and the reason behind it.

CARDIN: And that's a very good point. And we do trace the money. Your expertise in that area can be very helpful to us. We may be falling back on a lot of the help that we've already gotten from this panel.

I'm going to turn this over to Congressman Cohen. And apologize, and just again underscore the vote on the floor has to deal with advancing the infrastructure package. So Senator Schumer would never forgive me if I don't get over to the floor soon. So thank you all very much and I really appreciate your incredible leadership on this important issue.

COHEN: Thank you, Mr. Chair. And thank you for holding this hearing – this important hearing. There's so much I want to ask, but I'm going to start with Dr. Moses because I'm a sports fan. You were in the '76, '80, and '84 Olympics? There have been no stories about doping at those Olympics. Was there doping at those Olympics, do you believe?

MOSES: At the '76 Olympics, that was my first exposure to a big stadium and being an Olympian. That was my first big meet. And I'll never forget the physical look at the women from the Eastern Bloc, and how they demolished the American women, and specifically in my

sport and in other sports as well. I don't think there was a single woman that won a gold medal in – on the running track. I was the only individual gold medal winner in an individual running event in 1976. We won three other medals – discus, decathlon, and long jump, and the relays. But that was my first exposure to international athletics. And I couldn't believe what I saw. I was – 400 hurdlers were supposed to be the strong men, the really hard men and women who run that suicidal event. And I was a skinny guy, but I still thought I had muscles until I saw the swimmers and the sprinters from East Germany.

So in every event – every Olympic event, you're going to have athletes who definitely will cheat. There's countries that believe – that state doping has been a part of their policy and procedures forever. And so I don't think we'll ever see a day where there's not individual athletes or coaches or trainers trying to help an athlete to win illegally, just as we're never going to see a day where no one's, you know, driving intoxicated at night. You know, doing things like that. So it's inevitably going to be there. We've done a great job in reducing the amount of – reducing the possibility and the outlook for athletes who want to cheat because of the technology. Computer technology has caught up with the world and has really gone way ahead of what the average person thinks about. So that's been a very big deterrent going forward.

COHEN: Russia is who we normally think of. They were caught in Sochi. And there were probably implications other places. And we think of the Russians. They're pretty – they have a pretty good history of cheating in all areas, not just sport.

MOSES: Well, in 1989 I was a part of the team Committee on Substance Abuse Research and Education. I was actually the chairman. And we basically operated the United States Olympic Committee's drug testing program. And one of our first missions was to take over the HP computers to the Russians to begin – to allow them to have the technology to set up the lab. Computers were off limits, because they were considered military – capable of being used for military purposes. And this was during the Cold War, right before the wall came down. So we took the computers over and had access to the laboratory, and the gentleman that ran the lab, I can't think of his name. But we saw all the books, and the doping schedules. And they explained that their philosophy was to use medical technology and physiology and high-level sports medicine to win at all costs. So their philosophy is totally different from what we see over here.

COHEN: Has the United States been involved in doping as well?

MOSES: There's been many athletes from the United States that have been caught in doping. Most of them operate independently. They have their own doctor. It's inevitable that it's going to happen. It's a worldwide phenomenon. If you look at the list – the results from track and field, to WADA, to USADA, and if you can go down the list – which is published regularly – of the results from doping, you'll see that it's a worldwide problem. It's not just Russia. It's not just the United States. It's wherever you have sportsmen and sportswomen, and the means – the means and the will to dope.

COHEN: I believe, and I may be wrong, that your U.S. Anti-Doping Agency, of which you are emeritus chair – and I hate to give you the difficulty of dealing with this issue – but I

believe they were the group that was responsible for Ms. Richardson's being banned from the Olympics. Is that correct?

MOSES: We were there to enforce the rules, yeah. Actually, there's three parties with that. The U.S. Olympic Committee is in charge of selecting the team. The United States track and field – U.S. Track and Field regulates the sport. And USADA is there just to perform the functions of carrying out the drug tests. And that's what we do.

COHEN: And the criteria in the drug test is any illegal substance or any performance-enhancing substance?

MOSES: They can be one or both.

COHEN: So, I mean, I guess it's a question for us as politicians all over the world about which drugs we deem illegal and what level. But Ms. Richardson is such a shame. When you've got people, I'm sure, in Tokyo right now who are doping, doped or, for the ones that get the gold in the parlance, they are dope. No pun intended – definitely no pun intended. But Ms. Richardson smoking marijuana, legal in Oregon, legal in most states. Not a performance-enhancing drug unless you're involved in the hot dog eating contest on the 4th of July at Coney Island. Isn't it just awful that here, when we're looking at doping in the Olympics, that the person who's victimized – the only victim so far we know for drugs is an American athlete who trained for four years, lost her mother, smoked some marijuana legally, and is not allowed to show the world her athletic abilities?

MOSES: Well, that was one of the most heartbreaking cases that we've had this year, although there was a handful of similar cases from the beginning of the year on. So it was not the first case of its time – of its kind. We're heartbroken at USADA to have to adjudicate any of these cases, because in many cases there's lots of reasons for drug use. In this case, I think Mrs. Richardson admitted what she did was wrong. She was well-aware of the rules, like every international athlete is well-aware of the rules. And we've always been on the side of more liberalization of the marijuana laws with respect to doping.

For example, over the last, I think, six years the threshold has gone so high as to only have an athlete who tests positive in the competition period have a positive test. The threshold is very, very high. So we try to – and we've moved and promoted changing the regulations, bring the level higher, to eliminate cases of out of competition use which, in certain states, it's legal and it's not banned out of competition. However, she just got caught within that window. So we have been trying everything we can to get the world to understand how this drug fits into the scheme of things.

And on the other hand, WADA is made up of 650 organizations. Neither the United States Olympic Committee, nor USADA, nor the Track and Field Federation have anything to do with making up the rules. There's a period in which – a five-year period in which you can give advice as to what the rules may be, but indeed in most countries in the world it's still an illegal substance. And there's countries in the world that under no circumstances will they ever be as liberal as we are, certainly in certain states in the country, but overall as we are in this country.

And that's how the rule are made. Everyone's quite aware of them. And with USADA we operate under no fear and no favor, whether you're an 80-year-old senior athlete doing track and field and use illegal drugs or a 15-year-old, you know, playing in an amateur tournament in the summertime. Everyone gets the same treatment. And that was the case with Mrs. Richardson. She was the third – she was the third one this year of marijuana that we've had to deal with, so.

COHEN: Who were the other two?

MOSES: I don't know the names specifically. But we had two other cases this year. One was a swimmer and one – another one was track and field. And it might have been another sport.

COHEN: But I'd just encourage you, and I think I heard within – I understand you got to deal with all these other countries, just like I've got to deal with the Senate and the other side of the House to boot. So, it's not an easy thing. I referred today to making good laws like slow as molasses. And the cultural lag that we experience, it's awful. So I know it's tough. But I hope you'll put your best efforts. Dr. King and my friend John Lewis both talked about unjust laws. And because it's the law and because it's rule doesn't mean it's right, and they should be changed. And in her situation – she could have been drunk as she wanted, and that wouldn't have hurt her. If she was at 0.26 on her alcohol scale, she'd have been fine to go run the race. But for marijuana she wasn't. So it's just a deal.

Ms. LaPrevotte?

LAPREVOTTE: LaPrevotte.

COHEN: LaPrevotte. You talked about money a lot. And it reminded me of a buddy of mine named Don Schlitz. He's a songwriter. And he wrote – his first big song was "The Gambler," so you can imagine he's pretty good and done well. But he also did a song that's called "They Say It's Not About the Money, It's About the Money." And it always is, in sport and everywhere else. Are there ways that we can track money, or do you think that there are ways or laws that need to be changed for us to have more opportunity to see where money might be coming in or out of the Olympics, and then be able to ferret that out?

LAPREVOTTE: From a U.S. perspective, a great deal of the money still flows in U.S. dollar, which would give us venue. And so I think we'll find that a lot of the money that is being moved around is not going to be in the United States. Some of it specifically to U.S. athletes may be in the U.S. But the laws we have on the books now, as long as they are related to some of the criminal conduct – which might be extortion, money laundering, bribery, kickbacks, all of those are specified unlawful activities for going after the money. And so – and so it would be drugs – narcotics trafficking, drug trafficking, violations of the Food and Drug Administration violations.

So there are laws already on the books. And I think that until recently there have not been people within U.S. law enforcement specifically looking at what kind of money is moving as related to underground labs, the role that organized crime networks are playing in the

manufacturing, or the extortion related to government doping, where, you know, any athlete who chooses not to be doped might be removed from the team or receive threats to not talk about the international doping aspects of team sports. So there's already a lot of laws on the books that can be used to specifically target doping and performance-enhancing sports.

COHEN: Does bitcoin make it more difficult?

LAPREVOTTE: Absolutely it does, because it's harder to trace and follow. It's not always impossible, but cybercurrencies do make it more difficult than a simple dollar transaction that's going to move through several U.S. financial institutions.

COHEN: Thank you. I don't know who can answer the question, who I should pose it to, but in Sochi – and, Mr. Hoffman, you were affected by that I guess – the Russians apparently, I think, were able to switch the bottles. How were they able to do that? I thought that was supposed to be – it should have been a fail-proof system, if there is such a thing.

HOFFMAN: I can pass this to Mr. Walden, who represents Mr. Rodchenkov, but they were – the KGB, which is the equivalent of the FBI, spent –

COHEN: No, I guess it is, but I usually think of them as kind of the equivalent of a mafia.

HOFFMAN: Sorry, false equivalency. The KGB, it would be like the FBI working on how to perpetrate crimes, the KGB worked for, I believe, months to figure out a way to open the anti-doping bottles – which all of us, as athletes, are familiar with. When we provide a urine sample or a blood sample, for that matter, for anti-doping purposes we put the substance in these bottles that are supposed to be impossible to open without breaking –

COHEN: Childproof, in essence.

HOFFMAN: Childproof, yes. And supposed to be criminal proof as well. But they – when you spin on the bottles, they're ratcheted. You can't spin them backwards. The KGB figured out a way to open these bottles. That was the key point in order to be able to pull out this operation. The other one is that the anti-doping lab exists within a secure – the secure zone of the Olympics. And in order to get the clean urine that was provided by the athletes in the summer before the Olympics into the system, they needed to be able to get the bottles out of the secure zone, open the lids, dump the urine, swap the urine, put the lids back on undamaged and unscathed, pass it back into the secure zone and back into the laboratory where it was going to be tested the next day.

The way they did that was to literally cut a mousehole in a wall between two rooms. One was in the secure zone; one was out of the secure zone. And they would spend all night – after those samples came in around midnight – they would spend all night passing Russian bottles back and forth. The athletes, who we – when we provide the sample, we put an identifying number on so that the lab doesn't know which athlete the bottle corresponds to. So the athletes were part of this system. They would take a picture of their number and text it to the people who

were providing this operation. They would then – so they would pull the Russian bottles, which they had the number for based on the athlete sending the picture. They would swap the urine. Pass it back into the mousehole, all before the anti-doping lab opened in the morning, to replace the bottle with clean urine.

COHEN: And I guess there's no way to determine the age of urine.

HOFFMAN: No, although we do – when we provide a sample we – your specific gravity of your urine, how many particles are in it, changes over time. And so the specific gravity of the urine is measured at the time we give a sample. Athletes are very familiar with looking through a refractometer to see the specific gravity of your urine. And so the urine that the athletes provide in the summer doesn't necessarily match the urine provided by the athletes at the time of competition, especially if – I remember I had – gave some samples after the 50-kilometer race, and I'm sure I was extremely dehydrated and my urine was, like, school bus yellow. So in order to make the specific gravity of the urine match up, they were either adding distilled water or table salt to bring the specific gravity into the range that the athletes marked on the form. Which, again, they had because the athlete took a picture of their form and sent it to the people who were perpetrating this.

COHEN: The Russians. Better living through chemistry.

Mr. Walden, is there a way – have we found ways to end this? Have we got better caps or better mouseholes – or mousetraps, or whatever?

WALDEN: Well, Chairman Cohen, first of all, I've described this dozens of times and I've never heard a more cogent summary of the entire process than I just heard from Mr. Hoffman, for whatever it's worth. And the answer is no. I mean, the Russians – this is what they do, right? They've literally invested their secret police with ways to get ahead of the system so that they're always steps ahead. So there's a specific problem with Russia that is unique in its brazenness, but also unique in the devotion of state resources for this purpose. But there are others – as you said, there are other countries that have state-sponsored doping systems. It's why the U.S. leadership on this issue is so critical to the goal of clean athletes everywhere.

The case of Ms. Richardson is a terrible case, it's a heartbreak case, but that's something that we should be proud of in the sense that it's difficult to enforce the rules. It's painful to enforce the rules. But the U.S. enforces those rules against everyone equally. When other countries start doing what we do, we'll move the world.

COHEN: Well, that's true. It is something that we're good – should pat ourselves on the back for that fact, but it was heartbreaking.

In your testimony you talked some, I think, about how we maybe should change the laws to make them more – give me your top three.

WALDEN: Me?

COHEN: Yeah, I think aren't –

WALDEN: Yeah, absolutely. So Dr. Moses mentioned one that I completely agree with, which is to amend the definition of specified unlawful activity in the money laundering statues to include violations of the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act. That's number one. Number two, would be to modify the definition of a predicate act of racketeering under the RICO statutes, so that the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act could be in the litany of crimes that would satisfy the pattern of racketeering activity.

Opening the gates of the racketeering law to these corrupt doping networks is precisely – other than the Rodchenkov Act itself – is precisely what is needed in order to open up other areas where we can exploit our laws to bring people to justice. And finally, I would modify the forfeiture statutes to include – it's done in the Rodchenkov Act, but there are other forfeiture statutes that could be modified to include doping – organized doping in the definitions.

COHEN: Thank you. We'll look into that, and I appreciate you bringing it up. You know, just – we're – I guess I'm a little confused, to be honest. I thought the Olympics started Friday. And I was going to get up at, like at 5:00 in the morning to watch the opening, you know, whatever. But they're not – but we already lost in soccer. I guess we – so I guess they started, or we couldn't have lost. So the games have started? Is that correct? And Friday's not really a true start?

HOFFMAN: Yes, sir. Yeah, there are certain sports that have a preliminary round that take longer than the scheduled two weeks of the games. And so the – I believe the IOC rule is that no athlete can be eliminated. So, yes, the U.S. soccer team unfortunately lost, but because its group played they're not eliminated from the competition. No athlete can be eliminated before opening ceremonies, but some of the competition has started.

COHEN: It was the ladies' team that lost.

HOFFMAN: Yeah.

COHEN: If we don't distinguish gender-wise we get in trouble.

HOFFMAN: The women's team lost, yeah. They're favored, you know, to win it all, I think, defending World Cup champion. So I would love to see them rebound from that loss.

COHEN: Well, thank you. Thank you.

Mr. Baum, Congress provided the ONDCP the power to withhold funding from WADA in order to secure reform. How is the congressionally provided power to withhold funding being used to help push for reform in WADA?

BAUM: Yeah, thank you for the question, Mr. Cohen. As I mentioned – I know you weren't in the room in my testimony – the ONDCP acting director, Director LaBelle, has determined that we would provide half the funding – just over half the funding, $1.6 million out

of the almost $2.9 million. And, you know, normally we don't split the dues like this. And it wasn't until Congress gave us that authority last year that we had that ability. And we believe that half of payment is appropriate. We think there's been some conversation within WADA about reform. But we still believe that in order to be comfortable with making the full payment we'd like to see additional steps forward.

And, as I know you understand, it's a difficult environment to push reforms through. But we expect to see some progress. And we now – we've had many conversations with WADA and WADA stakeholders. And we know that they're working towards some reforms. And we're hopeful that some will be accomplished this year.

COHEN: Thank you, sir.

Dr. Moses, where did you go to school?

MOSES: Morehouse College.

COHEN: Well, you're a Morehouse man, and that's commendable. And I know that. But at track and field, and if you're from Tennessee, we think of Tennessee State University as being the gold standard. And did you ever have the opportunity to meet Ms. Wilma Rudolph?

MOSES: Yeah. I met her and her coach as well.

COHEN: Mr. Temple?

MOSES: Mr. Temple, yeah, and all the Tennessee Tigerbelles, yeah. I know quite a bit of them. From my first Olympic team through my last, there was always two or three on the Olympic team.

COHEN: Yeah. Well, we revere them in Tennessee. And of course, she overcame polio, which is an amazing story.

MOSES: Yeah. Yeah.

COHEN: And Rochelle Stevens is from my hometown, and she's great.

MOSES: I used to work with Rochelle.

COHEN: She's a star. And you're a star too, I remember – so, really, with all this doping stuff, you know, I hate to think about it. In 1960, I was all hung up on Valeriy Brumel and, you know, beating John –

MOSES: Fosbury.

COHEN: Well, the Fosbury flop, and then there was an African American who was a great – John Thomas. And Thomas was my guy. Thomas probably really won, because Brumel was probably doped.

MOSES: Yeah.

COHEN: So it may have relief now after 60 years. My guy won.

MOSES: Yeah.

COHEN: Thank each of you all for appearing and what you've done. We'll try to come up with additional and better improvements on our laws. Hopefully, we'll have a fairly clean Olympics. And hopefully, we'll have an Olympics. And with that, I guess the meeting is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 3:55 p.m., the hearing ended.]