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The new sporting Cold War: implications of the Russian doping allegations for international relations and sport

Sergey Altukhov^a and John Nauright^{b,c}

^aCentre for Sport Management, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russia; ^bDepartment of Kinesiology, Health Promotion and Recreation, University of North Texas, Denton, TX, USA; ^cSport and Event Management Lab, University of North Texas, Denton, TX, USA

ABSTRACT

This article examines current state of the new sporting cold war in the world of sports. It provides an examination of the 2014–2018 Russian doping scandal. Political and ideological prerequisites that triggered this scandal are considered, and based on obtained observations, an analysis of possible scenarios in the development of events is made as are recommendations for future progress in ending this unnecessary neo-cold war.

Introduction

The term 'Cold War' first appeared and took its place in the system of international relations immediately after the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition over fascism in the Second World War. In most of the existing literature, the start of the Cold War is considered to be the report of Winston Churchill in Fulton on 5 March 1946. Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, believed that if the communist or neo-fascist states had nuclear weapons, they would be able to impose totalitarian systems on democratic capitalist countries. He warned everyone against the danger of tyranny and proposed an 'iron curtain' around the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and its allies. This idea was continued in the 'Truman Doctrine' of USA President Harry Truman announced on 12 March 1947, which proposed the creation of American military bases in the Mediterranean Sea to assist Greece and Turkey. The cold war marked the confrontation of the United States of America and the Soviet Union everywhere – in space, in the depths of the ocean, in scientific laboratories, in sports, in art, in education, etc. The 'Cold' term was used to designate that the two sides did not fight in open or 'hot' combat, but essentially competed in every sphere for global influence and supremacy combating the ideas and allies of each side around the world (LaFeber 2008).

In 1991, the USSR collapsed, leaving only one superpower – the United States, which tried to rebuild the whole world on the basis of American neoliberal capitalist values. By default, the collapse of the Soviet Union meant victory in the Cold War for the USA and its Western allies. But life without specific, recognizable enemies has been challenging to the American state. As early as 1995, American film-maker Michael Moore satirized this

2 😓 S. ALTUKHOV AND J. NAURIGHT

dilemma in his movie *Canadian Bacon*, where anti-Canadian sentiment is hyped up in search of a new 'enemy' for the US military-industrial complex.

The next stage in the development of American global power focused on 'evilothers' and demonized groups such as Somali pirates, Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi state, Iran, North Korea, countries that coalesced into George W. Bush's famous 'axis of evil'. American militarism increased after the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, DC of 11 September 2001. Other operations sought to extend American capitalism around the world with regimes such as that of Hugo Chavez in Venezuela being vilified and actively undermined (reference *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man; Failure of Global Capitalism*). Within this framework of globalization, an attempt is being made to impose on the whole of humankind a kind of universal model of the social order modelled on the neo-liberal democracies of the USA and Western Europe.

However, American leaders cannot claim their goals have been fully achieved yet. Action generates counter-action. There is active resistance in various parts of the world against the planting of American values, which are unacceptable for many peoples, particularly the establishment of regimes propped up by corporate capitalism led by US-dominated transnational corporations, who often export profits out of the countries in which they operate. Often this policy includes influence over public organizations and institutions. Against the backdrop of US global activities, the economically powerful nation of China and the still comparatively strong state of Russia have resisted the exact models of the USA. The election of Donald Trump, a corporate capitalist himself, as US President has created an opening whereby China and Russia have been able to extend their global influence.

Since 2000, particularly with Russia under the leadership of Vladimir Putin, tensions between the USA and Russia have increased as Russia steadfastly promotes its own interests around the world, especially in neighbouring countries, some of which, like Turkey, remain American allies. One of the most striking examples of a return towards a Cold War mentality between the USA and its allies in Western Europe and Russia was the anti-doping scandal of 2015–2017 against Russian sport (Appendix).

In 2016, the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) issued a report on what it alleged were massive anti-doping improprieties on the part of the Russian state, sports administration, the Russian Anti-Doping Agency (RUSADA) and Russian athletes over the past several years particularly at the Sochi Winter Games in 2014. This resulted in a ban on some Russian athletes in the 2016 Olympic and Paralympic Games. The International Olympic Committee allowed a partial stay of the bans which prompted a further report by a Canadian lawyer, Richard McLaren, one of the WADA panel who completed the initial investigation and with close ties to WADA's founding leader, Richard Pound. The McLaren Report issued in December 2016 led to several events being moved from Russia to other countries and court appeals from the Russian state. President Putin and the Russian government responded by creating an oversight panel to establish Russian anti-doping controls within Moscow State University. The new RUSADA lab was established at the University by April 2017. Further sanctions were imposed on Russia, however, in December 2017 by the International Olympic Committee (IOC), which banned Russia from the 2018 Winter Games in Korea and banned for life from the Olympics the Russian Deputy Prime Minister and former Minister of Sports, Vitaly Mutko.

This case examines the international structures of elite sports events, anti-doping politics and the appearance of a new Cold War in sport. In January 2017, reports linked the Russian anti-doping scandal to allegations of Russian interference in the 2016 US election (Nauright 2017). The role and significance of the new Russia in these scandals are increasing every day. The world did not become unipolar. The response of sport managers and event managers to 'crises' whether generated externally or internally is crucial to the long-term success of sports organizations and events with sport becoming more and more significant in the high stakes geo-political world of today.

Literature review

Literary sources, which study the causes and main stages of the confrontation between the USA and the USSR in the cold war, are very extensive and of great value to politicians, historians and researchers in the field of international relations. Much of this literature analyzes the transformation of the system of international relations and foreign policy of states after the Second World War and the specifics of diplomatic ties, the struggle for resources and mutual reconnaissance.

Scientists disagree on the causes and dates of the outbreak of the Cold War. D. Proektor (1995) believes that the Cold War began in the first decades of the twentieth century, as the West categorically did not recognize communism as a socio-political model. Professor V. Zubok considers the beginning of the Cold War the moment of destruction of the 'axis of evil' – Rome – Berlin – Tokyo. After 2 September 1945, it became clear that the leaders of the anti-Hitler coalition had different ideas about how to use the fruits of victory. The Soviet Union insisted on reparations and the establishment of a communist regime in the territories liberated from fascism. The US sought to create a new economic system and play a dominant role in world politics. In fact, at the end of 1947 all negotiations between the USSR and its former allies in Germany, Japan and reparations were interrupted.

Scientists were also particularly interested in questions of responsibility and guilt for unleashing the cold war. Some historians believe that the responsibility for the onset of the cold war rests with the United States of America and their policies (Gaddis 2005b; Zubok 2007). Researchers argue that the Cold War was the product of American imperialism.

The Cold War erupted because it was very desired. We want those who are not eager to replace just knocked out of the saddle contenders for world domination, and make the land at least 85% (the expression Truman) similar to the American standard. The Cold War was not our choice. It could not be the choice of the USSR after the most severe war and the enormous sacrifices made by the people in order to remain themselves and live at their own discretion ... (Bezymensky and Falin 1989)

An interdisciplinary approach to the formation of causes and mechanisms of counteraction to countries in the cold war is presented in the three-volume work *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (Leffler and Westad 2010). Leading historians, political scientists, and diplomats discuss the realities and consequences of making decisions in this confrontation. Some modern theories suggest that the cold war continued until 11 September 2001, because after this date, priorities in US foreign policy were replaced by the fight against international terrorism.

The USA identified the Olympics as a space to promote democratic values soon after the cold war period began (Rider 2017). Likewise, the USSR entered the Olympic Games with tremendous success in 1952 after observing the Games in 1948. The ice hockey Super Series in 1972 between Canada and the USSR is historically recognized as the most vivid sports

confrontation of the cold war. Eight matches radically changed the tensions and political orientations of politicians around the world. Researchers in Russia and North America (Dvortsov 1979; Hoppener 1972; MacSkimming 2012; Podnieks 2012) have written much about this series and its role in world politics. The cold war realities on the ice arenas are described by the direct participants of these hockey matches (Dryden 1975; Sears and Park 2012; Sinden 1973; Tretiak 1993). Following this series, the USA famously upset the USSR in Olympic ice hockey in 1980, while the Soviets dramatically overturned US basketball dominance with a last second score to win the gold medal in the 1972 Games.

The literature on the study of doping problems and rules for the regulation of anti-doping policies examines all possible aspects of influence – from the sporting result to crime. Becker (1968) explains the economic approach in the system of 'crime and punishment'. Doping is part of the criminal economy, and athletes are prone to 'prisoner syndrome', which must keep a vow of silence because of the fear of death. The market for high-performance drugs for sports was estimated at 10 billion euros for the year 2015 (Bourg and Gouguet 2017) and is growing rapidly around the world. How can athletes and countries resist this? Strengthening punishments and sanctions (Berentsen 2002), improving the testing system and reducing prize fees (Eber and Thépot 1999), creating incentives for athletes and teams (Bird and Wagner 1997; Dilger, Frick, and Tolsdorf 2007) have not led to the expected results.

Institutional causes are becoming central to the non-rationality of the fight against doping (Eber 2002; Wagner 2010). Sports associations and federations balance the problem of the sporting outcome and economic efficiency of their organizations. Anti-doping agencies understand this and become *gendarmes* for the criminal economy. The International Olympic Committee and WADA are becoming medically key stakeholders in the sports economy.

Changing the consciousness of athletes is the key to solving the problem. Qin Wu offers one more direction in the fight against doping (Wu, Bayer, and Lenten 2016). Scientists from the University of Adelaide offer to create a pension fund for athletes, in which they will deduct the percentage of prize fees. They can get a pension only if they have never been caught in doping. Professor Verner Moeller from Aarhus University suggests it is crucial to 'watch the watchers' and that WADA cannot simply say that doping is what it says it is, there has to be better definitions and oversight (Moeller 2014). Nauright (2014) discussed what the sport means to the global sports federations and those anti-doping agencies. It is suggested that ideologies of 'pure sport' and 'level playing field' are used by those international sporting federations and anti-doping agencies to maintain their power position, rather than keeping integrity and morality in sport (Nauright 2014).

An interesting proposal was made by Professor Wladimir Andreff (Forthcoming). He believes that it is necessary to introduce 'doping diaries' for the racers of the Tour de France, which will indicate all the prohibited preparations for the athlete for the entire season. Any violation of the doping diary should be followed by a lifetime disqualification. Diaries of successful riders can enjoy the entire peloton without restrictions.

We must note that there is practically no scientific assessment of the value of the anti-doping economy today. Millions of test tubes with the analysis of athletes fly by air between tournaments and laboratories. And this economy is not transparent. It can be assumed that this factor also affects the imbalance of sports policy and scandalous stories associated with doping in sport. Many issues remain unresolved, and the boundaries of scientific research are constantly expanding, which makes it a particularly rich field of research for new and experienced researchers.

Case studies

The theory of the 'cold war' is a form of peaceful coexistence among superpowers. What is the cold war? It is a hidden preparation for the real war. It is a hidden threat, blackmail, influence and capacity building to reduce the difference in resource potential and readiness for war. Rivalry warring parties in an open form are transferred to humanitarian activities and achievements of mankind-arts, literature, Ballet, sport and in this rivalry – all means are good. They glorify the social order.

Do you remember the previous cold war? In 1972, at the height of the confrontation, the hockey Super Series between USSR and Canada was held. This phenomenon will be the subject of a huge number of studies in various areas. But the main achievement of these series is a release of hot steam that prevented an explosion. In addition, since then, sport is not only limited by physical development, the perfection of individual abilities, physical strength and endurance, but sport became the scene of action and including boycotts of the Olympic Games.

The cold war made the popular definition of the sport as a sublimation of war. Sport became a substitute for real wars. The rapid growth of the Olympic movement in the second half of twentieth century was driven by increasing competition and involvement in sport of all new resources and opportunities, with this approach expediting the capitalization of sport and sports business formation. The system of sports and entertainment events, leaderboards, rankings migrated now to the public relations of Nations, ethnicities and cultures. Sport became one of the most important human values and a platform for global competition.

We must perceive sport as a new set of sports and entertainment production, travel, media, educational, informational and other services and with billions of dollars in turnover. The cold war and globalization served as the creation and development of new markets and the establishment of sports economics. However, billions of dollars attract to the sport all human flaws that were previously known.

History of accusations and suspensions of Russian athletes is Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* in contemporary performance. And as it was presented in the classic novel, Russia again opposes European civilization with the participation of the highest leaders of the state. The desire for greatness and fame dictates their decisions that lead to dramatic consequences. In history with the doping scandal, there are its traitors and sacrifice, love and hate, their Bezukhov and Karataev, their Napoleon and Kutuzov. And the question in our story may sound different. Is doping guilty, that it is taken in sport?

Mats Lindgren and Hans Bandhold proposed a methodological tool for research in scenario planning: a method of 'TAIDA', the link between the future and strategy. Lindgren and Bandhold used this algorithm to carry out hundreds of scenario planning projects for public and private companies and organizations over many years. The abbreviation for TAIDA means:

- Tracking: monitor changes and signs of actual and potential threats.
- Analysing: we analyse the impact and generate scripts.
- Imaging: we identify opportunities and create an image of desirable developments.

6 🛞 S. ALTUKHOV AND J. NAURIGHT

- Deciding: we weigh the information, decide on options and strategies.
- Acting: we set short-term goals, take the first steps and we try to make these activities.¹

The authors point out three main types of scripting – based on trends, contrasting and standard scenarios – that must be associated with a probable, possible, desirable and undesirable future options. In addition, scripts can be global, local and situational. Our case – associated with the analysis of events and developments in the International Olympic movement – is in active development. Proposed scenarios are likely to be based on observations and trends. We will try to avoid forecasts and focus more on observations, analysing and possible scenarios.

Tracking

The first anniversary of the triumphantly held Sochi Winter Olympic Games was commemorated on 15 February 2015. The President of International Olympic Committee Thomas Bach met with Russian President Vladimir Putin and made a statement which has been noted by many researchers and experts.

We discussed different issues, especially cooperation between the IOC and the United Nations in the sport and the contribution of Russia to the adoption of certain resolutions. We also discussed the role of sport in society, and I congratulated President Putin with sports development initiatives. I think after such a successful organization of the games in Sochi, Russia has an excellent reputation for organizing big sporting events and hospitality, which your country has provided around the world.²

What happened next? On the request of American prosecutors, special operations and the subsequent arrests of major officials in the international football (FIFA) and the athletics federations (IAAF) began. Such a powerful action just after Thomas Bach's evaluation of Russian activities seems like a coincidence only at first glance. We all remember from the novel by Tolstoy: the main conflict, slowly smouldering and bursting in the world during the cold war going on between what is 'simple' and what is 'right'.³ It is very easy to subjugate people, who would consider promoting a major life success and become agents of the will of the strong. But this is not always correct. Therein lays the basic nature of the conflict. There can be many reasons for dissatisfaction with each other, or there can only be one. Billions of dollars managed by leaders of the International Olympic Committee and international federations was such a banal and straightforward reason for launching a new round of cold war.

Analysing

We suppose that the development of the world of sport, currently takes place not only by one, but according to several multiple scenarios that require an operative response from the leadership of the IOC and a new paradigm of organization management. Look at the agenda of the extraordinary session of the IOC in December 2014 when there were no scandals. There is no anxiety over the future of the Organization and of the entire international Olympic movement. And WADA was never mentioned at all, as a subject for discussion.

The agenda of the extraordinary session of the IOC (December 2014):

• the Olympic Games organisation expenditure reduction;

- clear division of the Olympic Games organisation expenditure into the cost of competitions carrying out and the development of urban infrastructure;
- questions of the struggle for the 'purity' of athletes;
- the Olympic TV channel launch;
- the Youth Olympic Games development strategy;
- the IOC cultural policy;
- the IOC management improvement;
- updated sponsorship strategy of cooperation, ethics, licensing and trade;
- the IOC membership new procedure.

Everything seems very solid and straightforward. IOC members discuss strategy and prospects. Why did this happen? IOC revenues continued to grow even in the peak of the economic crisis sweeping the global economy. For completeness notions about IOC business processes, it is worth looking at costs of television rights to broadcast Olympic Games. These figures do not allow the IOC leaders to really evaluate the processes taking place in the external environment. Instead it shows the financing of the organization only from American sources and did not prevent the development of Olympic movement crises.

- For the cycle 2010–2012 years the IOC received from broadcasters' contracts \$3.9 billion.
- For the cycle 2014–2016 years the IOC received from broadcasters' contracts \$4.5 billion.
- NBC bought the rights to broadcast the Olympic Games in the United States until 2020 for \$4.38 billion.
- From 2013 to 2016 years the IOC received from sponsors contracts over \$1 billion.
- The IOC sold a license to broadcast the Olympic Games in Europe during 2018–2024 years to Discovery Communications Inc. for €1.3 billion.
- The IOC extended contract with NBC to broadcast the Olympic Games in the United States until 2032 for \$7.75 billion. This is new record!

As you can imagine, a reliable control over such resources is extremely necessary. And this control could become a part of Russian Olympic plan after a triumphant Olympics and 52 billion spent on its organization.

Imaging

Doping scandals and problems among different athletes exist as much as there is a sport. In this context, it is worth continuing the discussion of the conflict between what is 'simple' and what is 'right'. The Russian sports leadership did not react to early warning signals – films of the German TV-company ARD, visits of various commissions and delegates. As a result of maximum simplicity, one sports training center across the country was created in Russia. All the fullness of the sports authority and resources were transferred to a single Ministry. This is how total centralisation occurred. This scheme is simple, but it does not seem correct.

Consider the following quote, on 2 July 2016, the head of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Christine Lagarde, replying to a question by a journalist of *The Greek Reporter*, on what she thinks about the idea of giving Athens the right to host the Olympic Games permanently, noted the following:

8 😔 S. ALTUKHOV AND J. NAURIGHT

I think it is a good idea, worthy to get it from a long box \dots If this can create a demand that is necessary for the economy, it would be excellent.⁴

In another article, one of the authors noted that a permanent Olympic site would eliminate many of the problems in the global elite sports system as it pertains to the Olympics and generate profit while promoting real adherence to the ideals of Olympism, however, the embedded interests of major powers and organizations are currently in the way of progress (Nauright 2015).

It should be noted, that it required one year for arrests of international sports leaders, the creation of anti-doping information base of scandals and revelations, demonstration of films and emergence of a witness protection program in the United States for former leaders of the anti-doping laboratory from Russia. The rapidity and correctness of submitting material on different continents in the press were excellent.

Early warning signals were not able to prevent a crisis. The IOC management ideology turned out to be at an impasse. Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic movement, warned of the possible negative influence of sport on personality and social relationships.

We know that he wrote in his article Discours Athens 16 November 1894, that sports can lead to serious abuse, drown in mercantilism and low dirt, and we must protect it from such a fate. If this is not done, it will collapse all the hopes related to sports and it will not play any role in either school education, nor in public life, but rather help corruption, giving it an extra chance.⁵

Sobering happened 1 March 2017 onwards. Two years of scandals surrounding Russian sports, ended at one point when President Vladimir Putin made a statement during a trip to Krasnoyarsk. 'Available and existing until now non-doping control system, the Russian one, failed, and it is our fault, we need to say it directly and admit it'. Next, Putin added that Russia should also heed the WADA requirements, 'despite the blunders in the work of an independent commission'. Putin also stated that it was necessary to recognize that there are 'reliable cases of doping Russia', but stressed that state support system for doping in Russia 'has never been, not now, and I hope will never be'.⁶

In the existing realities of Russian power vertical, this statement means that the overdue structural changes in Russian sport, and 'control system' should also be reviewed. We can state that a short historical period of Sochi romanticism in sport gives way to more familiar to Russian realism.

Deciding

Confrontation in the cold war continues. 5 May 2017, President Vladimir Putin told the author of the official history of the Olympic Games and the IOC, David Miller: 'Russia can join the fight for the right of regular summer Olympics. At least, we do not exclude this possibility'. Replying to Miller's question whether he means the 2028 Olympics in Moscow, Putin said that in this case it would be more correct to speak about Russia as a whole, rather than just Moscow alone.

In addition to the capital of our country there are other cities that could potentially take the summer Olympics. This, of course, Sochi, but, in addition, St. Petersburg and, possibly, Kazan. We do not make any specific allegations. But in the year 2014, our country successfully held a Winter Olympics, and I do not exclude the possibility that Russia could participate in the filing of applications for the right to hold another Olympics.⁷

In early February 2017 on the possibility of holding the Olympic Games in St. Petersburg, said Russian Deputy Prime Minister Dmitry Kozak, who was Deputy Prime Minister for the Organization of the Sochi Olympic Games. In a conversation with Miller, Putin refused to assess the chances of Los Angeles for the third in history Olympics Games, saying only that the United States has been and remains a great sports power and so they have good chances to take the Olympics.

Acting

The following three Olympic Games will be held in Asia. This significantly changes the positions of key players in the market and gives an opportunity for the IOC to do a reboot of the entire system for monitoring doping control.

The global growth of the Olympic bubble should keep in good shape today's IOC leaders. Available resources should be used for auctions of cities-organizers, and to create a new/ old Olympics.

In addition, a global centre of Olympic education is desperately needed to implement the program 'change of consciousness' in relation to sports and its ideals. Its main base can be located in Athens, and continental offices will implement an educational program approved by the IOC, worldwide.

It becomes clear that the solution must be brave, and it must come from above. The IOC can confirm its legitimate place as home for global sport and Center for the ideals of Olympism, where peace and social justice will be linked through a common global language of sport only by independent responsible decision (cf. Nauright 2015). Political likes and dislikes should be pushed into the background. Changes in the management system of the organization are needed. The United Nations, controlled by the Security Council, can be an example for the IOC: it has a clear position on membership in the Organization and logical management structure with the right to veto decisions.

The scandalous arrests of the leading FIFA officials in May 2015 became a test for the strength of the relationship between the IOC, ISF and the Swiss authorities, with an agreement on the extraterritoriality of the governing bodies of the sports world. The emergence of American prosecutors and subsequent arrests of members of the international sports federations, non-terrorists and non-tax defaulters, jeopardizes the accommodation the IOC and ISF headquarters in Switzerland. The intervention of the State institutions in the public organizations is unsafe for IOC and ISF members and the entire world of sports management system.

The situation develops chaotically. The IOC is trying to remain 'above the fray', delegating the major decision-making authority to international federations. American prosecutors, heads of international sports federations and WADA, by its decisions, continue to destabilize the International Olympic movement. This imbalance should be overcome and new scenarios will be implemented. Overcoming the crisis and developing new strategies will require new scripts for 'change of consciousness' and new paradigms in the management of world of sport. The chaos of decision-making between the Court of Arbitration for Sport, the IOC and WADA (through broad spectrum decisions on medical exemptions) in the week of the opening of the 2018 Olympic Winter Games in Korea suggests to us that we are a long way from finishing the scapegoating that can only be described at the time of writing as a neo-Cold War waged via the politics of global sports. Individual athletes are the

victims as is the promotion of global understanding between cultures of the former Super Powers of the original cold war.

Notes

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Appendix

Chronology of undeclared war against Russian sport

Prof. Igor Ponkin, Dr. Alena Redkina, Dr. Sergey Altukhov http://moscou-ecole.ru/

01.08.2015 – Investigations into the use of doping by champions from different countries, including Russia, put the sport ahead of an insoluble problem.

14 😔 S. ALTUKHOV AND J. NAURIGHT

German journalist Hayo Zeppelt in the new documentary investigation, which caused a stir in the sports world, says: the problem of eliminating doping by professional athletes seems insoluble. Zeppelt's tape, entitled 'Top Secret: The Shadowy World of Athletics' (you can see the film here) showed the first public-legal channel of German ARD television, another day later such a loud exposure was made by the British newspaper Sunday Times.⁸

09.11.2015 – The first part of the Report on the results of the investigation of the 'independent commission' was published under the chairmanship of Richard V. Pound (also composed of Richard H. McLaren, Gunther Janger and others).⁹

The final report No. 1 dated 09.11.2015 of the 'independent commission' chaired by Richard W. Pound (also composed of Richard H. McLaren, Gunther Janger and others) is characterized by numerous critical shortcomings that deprive it of proper thoroughness, validity and objectivity, is based on speculation, Inaccurate information, on information that, judging by the text of the Report, has not been subjected to objective means to verify and validate, does not contain direct, unambiguous evidence and relevant evidence of the main findings.

09.11.2015 The World Anti-Doping Agency Commission recommended that the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) disqualify the All-Russian Athletics Federation (VFLA) for systematic violations related to the use of doping by athletes.¹⁰

10.11.2015 The World Anti-Doping Agency suspended accreditation of the Moscow Anti-Doping Laboratory.¹¹

10.11.2015 The French authorities have expressed suspicions about the former head of the International Athletics Federation (IAAF) in that he received about $\in 1$ million for concealing the use of doping by Russian athletes. A spokesman for the French prosecutor's office told Reuters that the former IAAF official Lamin Diack is suspected of having received about $\in 1$ million in 2011 for concealing data on positive doping tests.¹²

13.11.2015 The Council of the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) decided to temporarily remove Russia from the competition under its auspices for an indefinite period. For the removal of Russia voted 22 members of the committee out of 24 one voted against. Russia, which is a member of the council, did not have the right to vote. The decision took effect immediately. This made it impossible for the Russian national track and field team to participate in the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro.¹³

18.11.2015 WADA made a decision to recognize RUSADA as not meeting the established requirements. $^{\rm 14}$

07.01.2016 The IAAF made a decision on the life of Balakhnichev, Melnikov and Diak. Dolle was suspended for five years, while Balakhnichev was fined 25 thousand dollars, and Melnikov was fined 15 thousand dollars. The Ethics Committee of the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) on Thursday suspended for life all athletics-related activities, the former head of the VFLA Valentin Balakhnichev and the ex-senior coach of the Russian national team in the endurance group Alexei Melnikov, amid the situation with the removal of Russian athletes from international competitions because of a doping scandal.¹⁵

14.01.2016 The second part of the Report on the results of the investigation of the 'independent commission' under the leadership of Richard Pound was published. The second part of this report, contrary to expectations, was again almost entirely devoted to problems related to Russia. Much attention in this part of the report was paid to the former treasurer of the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF), the former head of the All-Russian Athletics Federation (VFLA) Valentin Balakhnichev. The report notes that the combination of Balakhnichev's posts in the VFLA and the IAAF allegedly contributed to the formation of informal communication between the leadership of organizations and, thereby, simplification of the corruption pattern that developed between them.¹⁶

14.01.2016 The head of the US Anti-Doping Agency (USADA), Travis Tygart, sharply negatively expressed the situation in Russian track and field athletics, expressing doubts that it could change for the better before the Olympics in Rio de Janeiro. According to Tygart, Moscow continues to deny all charges against him, but without the anti-doping laboratory's well-established work and testing of athletes, it's impossible to fix the situation when there are several months left before the Games

start. In addition, according to the head of the USADA, Russia at the state level supports the use of doping, violating the fundamental principles of the Olympic spirit.¹⁷

06.03.2016 The German TV channel ARD showed the third falsely defaming Russian sport a film from the series 'The Secret Affair: Doping' about doping violations in Russian track and field athletics. A new film by journalist Hayo Zeppelt is called 'Doping Top Secret: Russia's Red Herrings'.¹⁸

 $15.04.2016 \ \mbox{The World Anti-Doping Agency revoked accreditation of the Moscow Anti-Doping Laboratory.}^{19}$

08.05.2016 In the TV program '60 Minutes' on the channel CBS (USA) was shown a story about the facts of anti-doping rule violations during the Olympic Games in Sochi. 'As Russian experts of the anti-doping agency at the Olympics in Sochi, Russian special services were speaking,' said former employee of RUSADA Vitaly Stepanov. In this way, according to Stepanov, the Russian side wanted to cover the unscrupulousness of its athletes during the Winter Games of 2014.²⁰

12.05.2016 The former head of the anti-doping laboratory in Moscow, Grigory Rodchenkov, gave an interview to The New York Times. According to unfounded allegations Rodchenkov, 15 Russian medalists of the Sochi Olympics used dope.²¹

17.05.2016 The US Department of Justice initiated an investigation into the state-sponsored use of doping by Russian athletes. The Prosecutor's Office of the Eastern District of New York began to scrutinize Russian officials, athletes, coaches, anti-doping officials and others who might unfairly benefit from the use of doping.²²

19.05.2016 WADA appointed Richard McLaren as an independent person to conduct an investigation into the doping situation at the Sochi 2014 Olympic Games.²³

08.06.2016 Haio Zeppelt's new film 'Secret Doping: Hour X' for Russia, which alleged that the Russian Sports Minister Vitaly Mutko was implicated in concealing information about the systematic use of doping by Russian athletes, was released. In the film, the interview of the former head of the Moscow Anti-Doping Laboratory Grigory Rodchenkov was presented.²⁴

17.06.2016 The International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF) decided not to restore the membership of the All-Russian Athletics Federation, which meant that Russian athletes were denied the right to take part in international sports competitions.²⁵

18.07.2016 The report 'Investigation of WADA accusations of the Russian participants of the Sochi Olympics in the use of doping', prepared by Richard McLaren, was published.²⁶

18.07.2016 WADA formally issued a recommendation that the International Olympic Committee and the International Paralympic Committee remove all Russian athletes from participating in the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro, and Russian officials were banned from accessing international sports competitions, including the Olympic Games.²⁷

19.07.2016 IOC President Thomas Bach stated that the IOC, without hesitation, must apply the most brutal sanctions against implicated persons or organizations.²⁸

19.07.2016 The International Olympic Committee established two commissions:

- Oswald's commission, which deals with the examination of evidence against individual Russian athletes and their entourage who may have committed anti-doping rule violations at the Sochi Winter Olympics in 2014.
- Schmid's commission, which considers significant allegations of potential systematic manipulation of anti-doping samples.²⁹

07.08.2016 The International Paralympic Committee (IPC) dismissed the entire Russian national team from the Paralympic Games in Rio de Janeiro.³⁰

30.08.2016 CAS in Lausanne, in the Paralympic Committee of Russia vs. the International Paralympic Committee, rejected the appeal of the Russian Paralympic athletes, leaving the International Paralympic Committee's decision to suspend the Russian team.³¹

16.09.2016 Richard McLaren said that, in his opinion, the International Olympic Committee underestimated the results of his report, which concluded that the Russian Ministry of Sport directed and controlled the manipulation of urine samples of athletes. R. McLaren also stated his confidence that the report contains sufficient evidence of the existence of a state-sponsored system for the use (and concealment) of doping in Russia.³²

16 🛞 S. ALTUKHOV AND J. NAURIGHT

18.09.2016 President of the International Olympic Committee Thomas Bach warned that they will take all necessary measures and sanctions against Russia depending on the results of the two reports that were ordered in connection with accusations of having a state-sponsored doping in the country.³³ **20.09.2016** The International Olympic Committee announced its intention to neutralize, suspend or even replace the World Anti-Doping Agency as a sanction for calls for a total ban on admission of Russian athletes to the Olympic Games, which raises concerns about the future of WADA. The president of the Olympic Committee of Argentina, Gerardo Vertein, accused WADA that it 'fails the sporting movement' and makes obvious attempts to blame other members for major problems.³⁴

27.09.2016 Member of the executive committee of the International Olympic Committee, Sergey Bubka, sharply criticized the activities of WADA. According to S. Bubka, recent events have shown that, despite the WADA budget of \$ 30 million, a direct question about the effectiveness of the World Anti-Doping Agency may be raised in the near future. S. Bubka argued that the recent events related to the WADA's compliance with the national anti-doping organizations, the ban on such a drug as Meldoon, and the therapeutic exceptions for the administration of many doping drugs against individual athletes, led to a loss of confidence in this organization. The statement of S.Bubka continued the line of many IOC members who called for the creation of a single international sports organization that simultaneously dealt with the problem of doping, corruption, and contractual matches.³⁵

20.10.2016 The Court of Superior Instance of Paris ruled that the World Anti-Doping Agency violated the presumption of innocence against Habib Cisse who, according to the second part of the Report following the investigation of the Independent Commission headed by Richard Pound, was at the very center of the schemes to disrupt the management of the IAAF results by deliberate delay such management and interference in the prosecution of Russian athletes, thus trying to conceal doping violations of Russian athletes; He was also an accomplice in extortion from athletes for covering up, postponing or abolishing disciplinary sanctions against Russian athletes.³⁶

26.10.2016 The Institute of National Anti-Doping Organizations has severely criticized the International Olympic Committee. Thus, the Institute of National Anti-Doping Organizations stated that the International Olympic Committee demonstrates a 'compliant approach to the state-sponsored doping in Russia' and also called 'attacks on WADA' on this matter groundless, which generally undermines the confidence of athletes in countering doping.³⁷

20.11.2016 Craig Reedy, the head of the World Anti-Doping Agency, said that the facts reveal the violations of the World Anti-Doping Code found by the McLaren Commission, in which the Moscow Laboratory and the Russian Ministry of Sport took part.³⁸

27.11.2016 A new film by Hayo Zeppelt 'Secret doping: patronage' was released. It talks about six Russian sportsmen accused of giving bribes for concealing doping tests. In the film Zeppelt tells how the corrupt scheme was carried out: bribes allegedly passed through the offshore company New Mills Investments, owned by the ex-head of VFLA Balakhnichev.³⁹

09.12.2016 The second report of Richard McLaren published. The report is characterized by the clearly expressed unsubstantiated nature of most of its statements, the use of manipulative techniques, contains many contradictions, discrepancies and conjectures.⁴⁰

09.12.2016 WADA head Craig Reedy said that the report of Richard McLaren confirms that in Russia there was a system for concealing the use of doping.⁴¹

09.12.2016 The head of the US Anti-Doping Agency (USADA), Travis Tyart, severely obstructed Russia, said that the IOC now had another chance: they could immediately issue a decree on the temporary exclusion of the Russian Olympic Committee and make it impossible to hold a single international Competition until the entire system is corrected in accordance with established standards.⁴² **13.12.2016** The International Bobsleigh and Skeleton Federation decided to postpone the World Cup 2017 from Sochi because of the situation.⁴³

22.12.2016 The International Biathlon Union decided to postpone the World Biathlon Championship among juniors and the Biathlon World Cup in 2017 from Russia.⁴⁴

23.12.2016 The International Olympic Committee initiated disciplinary proceedings against 28 Russian athletes who took part in the Winter Olympic Games in Sochi in 2014. Moreover, as pointed out by the Olympic Committee itself, at the time of the initiation of these disciplinary cases, the tests of these athletes were not positive, 'however, manipulation of the samples themselves may lead to violation of the anti-doping rules and sanctions.⁴⁵

31.12.2016 Former CEO of the World Anti-Doping Agency David Howman spoke in favour of removing the Russian national team from the 2018 Winter Olympics in Pyeongchang.⁴⁶

20.01.2017 The premiere of the documentary film 'Icarus' by American filmmaker Brian Fogel on doping in Russian sports, based on unfounded statements by the ex-head of the Moscow Anti-Doping Laboratory Grigory Rodchenkov.⁴⁷

03.02.2017 BBC Sport said that in a letter received last month from the lawyers of the World Anti-Doping Agency, there are indications of 'certain discrepancies in the testimony of athletes who could potentially benefit from manipulation of samples and the evidence placed by R. McLaren on a special web –Site'. Despite this, the World Anti-Doping Agency stated that it retains full confidence in the conclusions formulated by the results of the investigation conducted by R. McLaren.⁴⁸

22.02.2017 German TV channel ARD has presented the next film about doping in the Russian track and field athletics 'Lie and hypocrisy – the new informant puts serious charges against the Russian track and field athletics'⁴⁹

23.02.2017 The International Olympic Committee published an open letter from the Director General of the IOC, Christophe de Capper, in which it was pointed out that it was necessary to verify the statements in R. McLaren's report, as well as the need to create a new testing body independent of sports organizations and national interests and the need for general anti-doping reform System.⁵⁰

01.03.2017 President Vladimir Putin made a statement during a trip to Krasnoyarsk. 'Available and existing until now non-doping control system, the Russian one, failed, and it is our fault, we need to say it directly and admit it'. Next, Putin added that Russia should also heed the WADA requirements, 'despite the blunders in the work of an independent commission'. Putin also stated that it was necessary to recognize that there are 'reliable cases of doping Russia', but stressed that state support system for doping in Russia 'has never been, not now, and I hope will never be'.⁵¹

16.03.2017 The head of the independent public anti-doping commission Vitaly Smirnov said that the author of the report of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) commission R. McLaren acknowledged the errors in his conclusions about the situation with doping in Russian sports.⁵²

16.03.2017 The Executive Council of the International Olympic Committee adopted the Declaration '12 principles of a more reliable and independent global anti-doping system to protect clean athletes', which, *inter alia*, provides for the creation of an independent testing body.⁵³

22.03.2017 The International Olympic Committee (IOC) initiated reforms of the international anti-doping system. They can be considered as a weakening of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA), a structure that played a decisive role in the emergence of the doping crisis, which has been going through Russian sports since last year. In accordance with the proposals of the IOC WADA, serious personnel reforms are awaiting, and if they are implemented, the agency will have to share powers with the CAS and the new structure – the Independent Testing Agency (ITA).⁵⁴

10.05.2017 The number of participants in the 2008 and 2012 Olympic Games, whose tests gave a positive result for doping after repeated research, increased to 110. It is specified that among these athletes – 63 medalists of Beijing and London, including 15 champions. We are waiting for the official reports of the commission Oswald. According to the source, banned substances were found in the body of athletes from 19 countries: Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Germany, Spain, China, Greece, Cuba, Croatia, Turkey, Jamaica, Bahrain And Qatar.⁵⁵