Drugs in Australian Sport:
A BRIEF HISTORY

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The Myths of Australian Sport

Australia has an enviable sporting history. Not only have Australians played organised sport in significant numbers since the 1840s, but they have also achieved much international success along the way. Australian identity is also built upon the nation's sporting achievements, and consequently a raft of sporting heroes, legends, and halls of fame have been created. Sport has become embedded in Australia's popular and political cultures, and social planners see it as a way of building character, enhancing self confidence, controlling juvenile crime, and building better communities.¹

Nevertheless sport in Australia also houses many problems. It has been accused of being sexist and homophobic, riddled with racist values and beliefs, divided by class-based barriers, and built on a culture of violence.² Its supporters are seen as philistines, officials are often accused of being corrupt, and bookmakers are vilified as match fixers. A recent critique of sport claims it is infested with drugs, where players are forced to take illegal substances to maintain their place in the team, and on the winners' podium.³

This article examines the place of drugs in Australian sport by undertaking a number of critical-incident case studies. These case studies will review the background to the incidents, discuss the way they were handled, reveal what the incidents tell about the scope of drug-use in Australian sport, and explain how the incidents influenced anti-doping policy in Australia.

The Roots of Drug Use in Sport

The use of drugs and other medicinal concoctions to enhance athletic performance goes back a long time. Dried figs were used to secure a winning edge in the ancient Olympic Games, while ancient Egyptians used potions containing ground ass-hooves to improve performance. In the nineteenth century caffeine, cocaine, and strychnine were used by European endurance cyclists, swimmers, and runners.⁴ One of the catalysts for the increase in drug use in sport was the production of amphetamines and related stimulants in

the 1940s. They were initially used to help soldiers stay awake during battle, but after World War II they were used by truck drivers, shift workers, and subsequently sports-people, who wanted to increase their endurance.\(^5\)

The other significant pharmacological advance occurred in the 1950s when synthetic steroids were created. They were adapted to sports after John Zeigler, a prominent American sport physician, assisted the CIBA pharmaceutical company to produce Dianabol, which became a favourite steroid amongst the strength-athlete and weightlifting communities.\(^6\) By the 1960s, drug companies had developed synthetic growth hormones and anabolic steroids which, while primarily for use in hospitals and medical clinics, quickly found their way into locker-rooms and sport training centres around the world.\(^7\) In addition, mood altering drugs, and in particular marijuana, became a feature of the counter-culture that swamped most industrial nations.\(^8\) Drug taking consequently became normal practice, and many of the social and moral barriers to their consumption were removed.\(^9\) Sport was quick to see the performance benefits of steroid use, and the Soviet Union and East Germany provided pharmaceutical support for their elite Olympic athletes during the 1970s. The amazing success of the East German team at the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games was mainly the result of the skill of its chemists.\(^10\) Steroid use spread to commercialised sports where strength was important, and the rewards for achieving on-field success were high. At the same time, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and its Medical Commission, which first compiled a list of banned substances in 1967, became aware of these developments and ramped-up their drug testing programme.\(^11\)

**Creating the Conditions for a Drugs-in-Sport Culture**

By the end of the 1970s the conditions for the rapid diffusion of drug use in sport were in place. On the one hand the pharmaceutical industry had developed a product-line of steroid-based drugs that could be applied to sport by improving athlete rehabilitation, making them faster, and building their strength. On the other hand, the sports world itself had become more sophisticated. First, governments were using sport to build national identity through greater funding. Second, amateur competitions were increasingly replaced by professional sport leagues and events where players had a lot to gain materially from improving their athletic performance. According to one critic, the amateur ideals of sport as an end in itself, self-reliance, and fair play had been overwhelmed by instrumental reasoning and the goal of winning, and drug use was an inevitable outcome.\(^12\) Finally, sport's expanding revenue streams enabled teams and clubs to secure the services of physicians, chemists, dieticians, physiotherapists and trainers as a means of improving athlete performance. Sport had not only become politicised and commercialised, but also medicalised.\(^13\)
So, how did Australian sport respond to these developments? The first thing to be said is that the Australian sports community has traditionally seen itself as relatively drug free, apart of course from the endemic use of alcohol, but that is another matter. The belief that Australian athletes were clean was used to explain its poor performances at the Olympic Games during the 1970s.\(^4\) However the myth that Australian athletes were drug free was exploded in the 1980s, which ironically coincided with the establishment of the Australian Institute of Sport (AIS) in 1981. While the primary role of the AIS was to enhance international performances in Australian sport through the application of better science, it also provided fertile ground for a drug culture to emerge. The other irony was that the catalyst for the AIS was the superior performances of athletes from communist Europe, most of who were primed with drugs.\(^5\)

The AIS was officially opened by Malcolm Fraser, Australia's Prime Minister, who proclaimed that it 'would bring together Australia's most talented youngsters guided by the best coaches that can be found'.\(^6\) In addition to hiring a raft of well-credentialed coaches the Commonwealth Government also established the Australian Sports Commission (ASC) in 1984.\(^7\) The ASC not only funded programs to help athletes improve their levels of performance, but also put in place an anti-drugs program that complemented the IOC's regime of testing, sanctions and education.

**Crises in the AIS**

As it turned out, some of these well-credentialed coaches were also prepared to recommended drugs as an aid to performance. In November 1987 the Australian Broadcasting Commission's (ABC) *Four Corners* program examined the use of anabolic steroids in sport. While most of the program focused on body-building, reporters also talked to weightlifters and track and field athletes. In each case it was alleged that coaches were supplying anabolic steroids to athletes on AIS scholarships. In the following year the steroids-and-sport-performance debate was inflamed when the Seoul 100 metres gold medallist, Ben Johnson was found to have taken illegal drags, and was stripped of his medal.\(^8\) This was all too much for the Commonwealth Government, which had been funding sport on the assumption that it would not contravene the IOC's anti-doping code, and in 1988, with the backing of the Australian Olympic Committee (AOC), it instructed the Seriate Standing Committee on Environment, Recreation and the Arts to undertake an inquiry into the drugs-in-sport problem.

The Standing Committee's *Interim Report* found that a number of athletes had taken steroids regularly during the 1980s, and cited Gael Martin, who was a discus thrower and shot putter, and Sue Howland, who was a javelin thrower, as examples. Both athletes had tested positive for an anabolic
steroid. Martin, who won a bronze medal for discus throwing at the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games, estimated that 30% of the AIS track and field team were using steroids. In addition, five weightlifters from the AIS admitted to having used anabolic steroids. They also claimed that every weightlifter on an AIS scholarship was 'using steroids at peak training times'. Coaches were also implicated. Howland and Martin alleged that Merv Kemp, a field event coach had given athletes tablets, and injected them with steroids at a training camp in Italy in 1984. Martin knew it was a steroid because it 'was the same stuff I was getting'. Kemp subsequently denied the allegation. The Interim Report concluded that the Commonwealth Government should immediately establish an authority to carry out sports drug testing, and Graham Richardson, the Minister for Sport, foreshadowed the establishment of the Australian Sports Drug Agency (ASDA).

The Standing Committee's Second Report confirmed the scope of the drugs-in-sport problem, and gave special attention to weightlifting and its culture of steroid use. Both coaches and athletes were implicated. Lyn Jones, the head weightlifting coach at the AIS, admitted that a number of young weightlifters at the Institute had taken drugs. The Standing Committee found that Jones had also supplied AIS athletes with steroids imported from overseas. In fact, steroid use in weightlifting was endemic, with former weightlifter turned coach, Nigel Martin, claiming that at least one club provided young weightlifters with an envelope full of pills to assist their training program. Notwithstanding protests from AIS officials that the whole drug abuse problem was exaggerated, the Commonwealth Government legislated for the establishment of ASDA, and gave it the power to expand the testing regime, undertake research into improved testing for banned substances, and educate athletes about ethics, health problems and sanctions associated with drug use in sport.

The Lure of the Anabolic Steroid

However the establishment of ASDA did not deter some of Australia's best international athletes from experimenting with banned substances. At the 1991 world cycling championships, Carey Hall and Stephen Pate, who finished first and second respectively in the sprint event, tested positive for steroids. They were suspended from competitive cycling for two years. In the same year Martin Vinnicombe, a leading time-trial cyclist, tested positive to a steroid compound whilst competing in an event in the United States. Vinnicombe was also suspended from competition for two years, although he appealed the penalty to the Federal Court of Australia on the grounds that the tests did not comply with ASDA procedures, the penalty was excessive, and cancelling his licence was a restraint of trade in that it prevented him from continuing his career as a professional cyclist. The Vinnicombe case,
like others that followed, revealed some legal loopholes in the anti-doping rules, and the appeal led to a reduction in his suspension.

Neither were football players discouraged by the establishment of ASDA and a more systematic enforcement of anti-doping policies. A case in point was the Western Reds, a short-lived rugby league team that played in the expanded Australian Rugby League (ARL) competition in 1995 and 1996, and the Super League competition in 1997. The team was established in 1994 as part of the ARL ambition to secure a national presence for the league. Since Western Australia had no rugby league history, most off its playing roster, team management, and coaching staff came from interstate. Its key coaching staff comprised Peter Mulholland, the head coach, Bob Sheens, the strength and conditioning coach, and Paul Jordon, the assistant strength coach who had previously been a power lifter and horse trainer. Like all new teams in a professional sports league the challenge for the Western Reds was to become competitive as quickly as possible, and in this case the initial strategy was to improve the strength and endurance of the players. By December 1994 players had become more muscular, and even the Reds' CEO, Gordon Allen admitted that they 'had some suddenly very big boys'.

In January 1995, Corin Ridding, a young front-rower with the Reds, was tested by ASDA as part of the ARL anti-doping policy, and his sample was found to contain Stanazolol, an anabolic steroid. Ridding appeared before the ARL tribunal where he claimed he had been given an unknown drug to help him recover from a hamstring injury. The tribunal found his evidence unconvincing, and handed down the maximum penalty of 22 weeks, which was later reduced on appeal to sixteen weeks. Meanwhile, the Reds management and the ARL agreed to test the remaining players, but the results were negative. However, an internal investigation by club officials found that there was a serious drug problem at the Western Reds in the lead up to the 1995 season, and that between six and fifteen players had been taking steroids.

At the end of the 1995 season the results were mixed. Ridding was no longer with the club, Jordon had resigned, and the team had won eleven of its 22 games, a commendable effort in view of its early difficulties.

Stanazolol also proved to be a problem for Dean Capobianco. Capobianco was Australia's leading track sprinter and had become the fifth ranked 200 metre runner in the world in 1995. However a test undertaken at a meet in the Netherlands was found to be positive, and an International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF) tribunal banned him from competing for four years. An appeal to Athletics Australia on the grounds of faulty testing processes in Europe was upheld, and Capobianco was able to compete at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics Games. However the IAAF appealed against the finding, and after further consideration the appeals tribunal handed Capobianco a two-year ban.
The Big League
During the lead up the 2000 Sydney Olympics, the Commonwealth Government, the AOC and national sporting bodies were busily promoting the success of their anti-doping policies, but pockets of drug use were evident. The Australian Football League (AFL) was seen to be a model of drug-free sport, and had implemented an anti-doping code in 1990 in the wake of the establishment of ASDA. However, this clean image was undermined in 1997 when Justin Charles, a player with the Richmond Football Club, tested positive to boldenone, a banned steroid. Charles defended his actions on the grounds that he was recovering from injury, and that it was recommended he needed drugs to assist the healing process. According to the AFL tribunal this was no excuse, and he was suspended for sixteen premiership matches.

Another AFL case involved Alistair Lynch, who played with the Brisbane Lions. Like Charles, Lynch was found to have taken a banned steroid, but in this case his defence for taking it was far more convincing, in that he was recovering from chronic fatigue syndrome. Moreover, it was Lynch himself who approached the AFL to secure permission for its use under the AFL's anti-doping code. Lynch had been advised by ASDA that given his illness, it was permissible to take the drug on the grounds of its therapeutic purpose. The AFL's initial legally rigid view was that Lynch had contravened the rules, and therefore should be banned from playing. However its handling of the case became a public-relations disaster, and it subsequently changed the policy to allow for drug-use on medical grounds.

The Net Widens
The Lynch case illustrated the inconsistencies in Australia's anti-doping policies, and in 1999 the Commonwealth Government, with the assistance of the ASC and the AOC, reviewed the existing programs, and subsequently initiated a nationwide drug education and enforcement program through the Tough-on-Drugs-in-Sport (TODIS) policy. This led to an IOC inquiry which in turn led to the establishment of the World Anti Doping Agency (WADA) in 1999. Around the same time Werner Reiterer, one of Australia's best performed discus throwers, published his autobiography, in which he not only alleged that drug taking was common amongst the Australian athletic community, but also admitted he had taken performance enhancing drugs in the run-up to the Sydney Olympics. Not longer after the Games had finished, Gennadi Touretski, the coach of world champion swimmers Alexander Popov and Michael Klim, was charged with possessing anabolic steroids, and in early 2001 agreed to stand down from his coaching position at the AIS.
The Warne Case

Not even cricketers were clean. Cricket is Australia's national game and, despite its commercial scale, is not the type of sport that would normally be associated with drug use, but that was not the case since a number of players tested positive to banned substances between 2001 and 2003, the best known being Shane Warne.

Cricket Australia is one of Australia's most powerful sporting bodies, and its anti-doping policy, which it established in 1998, was the first of any national governing body in cricket, and has been used as a benchmark for anti-drug policy in other cricketing nations. Leading up to the Warne case, Cricket Australia condemned the use of performance enhancing drugs, and stated that doping practices were contrary to the ethics of sport and harmful to the health of athletes. The list of prohibited substances not only included muscle building drugs like steroids and increasingly popular substances like EPO (which was a drug that increases the oxygen-carrying capacity of the blood), but also other drugs that masked the existence of performance enhancing substances. These masking agents are referred to as prohibited methods. Cricket Australia's anti-doping policy aimed to prevent the above practices by first, imposing sanctions on players who commit a doping offence, second, educating its players about the whole drugs in sport issue, and finally, supporting the Government's drug testing programs. Under its anti-doping regulations a player committed a doping offence if a prohibited substance was found in the player's body tissue, or the player took advantage of a prohibited method. At the same time, Cricket Australia acknowledged that players might be allowed to take a prohibited substance, or take advantage of a prohibited substance if they could demonstrate that the drug was used for therapeutic purposes, or taken in exceptional circumstances.

Cricket Australia's anti-doping rules were activated in 2003 when Shane Warne, a cricket legend, and the greatest spin bowler of all time, tested positive to a banned substance. At the end of the 2002 cricket season he dislocated his shoulder, had major surgery, and it was thought he would be absent from the game for at least three months. However he made a quick recovery after intensive rehabilitation, and resumed practice in early 2003. In the light of his speedy recovery, Warne was asked to give urine samples as part of ASDA's testing program for Cricket Australia. The test showed a positive reading for Hydrochlorothiazide and Amiloride, two banned substances which act as diuretics: that is, they not only remove fluid from the body, but also mask the use of anabolic steroids. While diuretic drugs were prohibited for use by cricketers, they were available on a doctor's prescription from a chemist shop.

In line with Cricket Australia's anti-doping policy. Warne was requested to attend a hearing of its Anti-Doping Committee. In his defence, Warne
admitted he had taken Moduretic, a prescription drug, but said that he was unaware it was a diuretic, and took it on the advice of his mother, who said it would get rid of excess fluid prior to a media conference. Warne said he took the tablet because he wanted to remove his double-chin before facing reporters. He was also unaware that Moduretic was on the list of banned substances, and consequently argued that his case should be treated as an exceptional circumstance. The Committee was unimpressed with Warne's evidence. His statement that he did not know the tablet was a diuretic because the flaps of the tablet packet were missing was not convincing, and he made no attempt to contact Cricket Australia's medical officers before taking it. Warne also claimed that while he attended player drug education seminars, he learnt nothing about the diuretic problem, or the consequences that would arise from testing positive for banned substances. The Committee concluded that the evidence given by Warne and his mother was vague and unsatisfactory.

The Committee agreed that Warne was unable to establish a case that he should be treated favourably because of exceptional circumstances. It was concluded that Warne had acted recklessly and disregarded the possible consequences of his action. At the same time the Committee understood that there was no evidence that Warne had taken steroids, and agreed that taking Moduretic tablets would not enhance his sporting performance. The Committee reduced the minimum two-year ban to a one-year ban, which meant that Warne would lose one year of his $500,000 contract with Cricket Australia, as well as having his product endorsement potential diminished. While Warne's suspension sent a message that Cricket Australia took its drug code violations seriously, it also indicated that drug use was more widespread than previously believed. It once again busted the myth that Australian athletes have an aversion to drugs as a means of securing a competitive advantage.

**Shifting the Goalposts**

In 2004 the Commonwealth Government revised and broadened its anti-doping policy in the light of the re-vamped WADA Anti-Doping Code of 2003. They collaboratively proclaimed that not only was the use of performance enhancing drugs unethical, unfair, and harmful to the health of athletes, but also made a similar claim for illicit drugs. According to this logic, athletes who take drugs to enhance their performance, or take drugs that are illegal, even if they do not enhance performance, should be banned from participating in sporting competition. This expanded stance was defended on the grounds that all drug taking, whether performance enhancing or illicit, was contrary to the spirit of sport since it undermined values like respect for law, respect for self, fun and joy, health, honesty,
character and education, excellence in performance, and community and solidarity.\footnote{45} The Commonwealth Government endorsed the WADA position that first, drug-use constituted cheating, second, it went against the spirit of sport, and finally, it damaged the health of athletes. And, if a drug met two of these criteria, it was prohibited. For example, EPO met criteria one (because it improved performance) and three (because it was a health risk), and was therefore banned. Marijuana and cocaine, whilst not able to improve performance, met criteria two (because the drug was illegal) and three (because it was a health risk), and were therefore also banned.

Under this new policy arrangement, the Commonwealth Government aimed to stop doping practices in sport by the use of the following measures. The first measure was to provide financial assistance to drug testing programs. The second measure was to educate and inform athletes about the use of performance enhancing drugs. The final measure was to impose appropriate sanctions on athletes who had committed anti-doping offences.\footnote{46} In support of these measures, the Commonwealth Government utilised the services of the Australian Sports Commission to implement the policy, and restructured the Australian Sport Drug Agency by providing it with a stronger investigative role and renaming it the Australian Sports Anti-Doping Authority.\footnote{47} It also secured the support of the Australian Sport Drug Testing Laboratory and the Australian Customs Service in identifying the drug cheats. In addition the Commonwealth Government demanded that all national sporting associations receiving government funds should have a strict anti-doping policy in place, otherwise funding would be discontinued. It was also expected that sporting associations would provide sanctions of no less than two years for a first offence, and a life suspension for a second offence.\footnote{48} While the Commonwealth Government instructed sporting associations to establish processes that ensured fairness and natural justice for athletes, the prime weapon for securing compliance was the threat of severe punishment. The Government, like WADA, was serious about its war on drugs.

Notwithstanding these draconian measures, athletes continued to take drugs, and a number of doping allegations were investigated. In addition to the Shane Warne case, rugby league player Andrew Walker tested positive for cocaine in 2004, and in the same year Belinda van Tiernan, a Commonwealth Games weightlifter, was accused of supplying banned substances to her training partners, Camilla Fogagnola and Jenna Myers, who were in turn banned for steroid use.\footnote{49} Around the same time it was revealed that cyclist Sean Eadie, a former world champion, had a pack of human growth hormones addressed to his home intercepted by Australian Customs, while weightlifter Caroline Pileggi failed to attend a scheduled drug test while training in Fiji. Meanwhile Sergei Chakkoy, another weightlifter, tested positive to a banned substance whilst preparing for the 2004 Commonwealth...
Games. In 2005 Nathan Baggaley, Australia's top kayaker and an Olympic silver medallist, tested positive to steroids, and received a two-year ban. And, in early 2007, Baggaley was again found in possession of drugs, but this time it involved a large quantity of ecstasy tablets. But because ecstasy is both a banned substance under Australian government anti-doping policy (it is a health risk and unlawful to possess), and an illicit substance under Commonwealth law, if found guilty, Baggaley faces a lifetime ban from all Olympic sport competitions as well as a possible criminal sentence.

The French Case

However the most explosive case at this time involved Mark French, an elite level cyclist, and other members of the Australian men’s team that trained out of Adelaide in 2003, in preparation for the 2004 Athens Olympic Games. In December 2003 a batch of injecting paraphernalia containing traces of Testicomp, an over-the-counter homeopathic compound that apparently contained a banned steroid, and eGH, another equine growth hormone and banned substance, were found in French’s room. A range of vitamin and other training supplements were also found. An internal inquiry in early 2004 believed that French had breached Cycling Australia’s anti-doping code, and the matter was referred to the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) for an independent hearing. CAS decided that French had breached the code on eight occasions, although there was no evidence that he had actually used eGH. Nevertheless he was found to have possessed, but not supplied, eGH, and as a result was banned from cycling for two years. It was also established that French had claimed most of the Australian track team, which included Graeme Brown, Jobie Dajka, Sean Eadie, Shane Kelly and Brett Lancaster, had used his room for injecting substances. CAS implicitly accepted the trust of French's allegations when it noted in its ruling that French was 'overcome by a culture ... where he was under the dominating influence of others'. These allegations, which were confidential, were subsequently raised in Federal Parliament when Senator John Faulkner referred to a shooting-gallery incident at the Adelaide training centre.

A second inquiry led by Justice Anderson was held to investigate these allegations, but there was insufficient evidence to sustain the claim that the other cyclists had also taken banned substances. Anderson disputed the CAS conclusion that French had been pressured by his peers to use banned substances. However, it was found that Dajka was not truthful when responding to Anderson’s questions, and had clearly been in French's room in Adelaide when he said he had not. In the meantime, the AOC banned French from all international competition under the AOC and Cycling Australia banner, but noted that his punishment might be reviewed if he cooperated with Justice Anderson.
In the wash-up from the Anderson inquiry Dajka was expelled from the Athens Olympic track team, while twelve months later French's appeal to CAS over its original decision was upheld, and he was again free to compete in cycling competitions. According to the CAS Appeals Tribunal, Testicomp, the homeopathic drug injected by French, did not in fact contain any of the banned substance that its label signified. Moreover, even though the eGH supplies found in French's room were contaminated by his DNA, it could not be established that he had used it, or been the supplier or solely in possession of it.\textsuperscript{55} In a further series of twists to this incident, Dajka became the scapegoat, French used his victim status and a legal loophole to reclaim his reputation, and Australia achieved its best ever international track cycling results at the 2004 Athens Olympics.

**Is Nothing Sacred?**
The latest local anti-doping investigation which involved Wendell Sailor, one of the nation's rugby icons, encapsulated not only the broad reach of Australia's current anti-doping policy, but also the prevalence of drug use in Australia. Sailor, who had originally played league for the Brisbane Broncos, transferred to union where he became a key member of the national team and the Queensland Reds Super-14 team. During the 2006 Super-Ms rugby union season Sailor made the mistake of taking a social, but illegal drug. This was not a performance enhancing drug like EPO, human growth hormone, or a muscle building steroid compound, but rather a recreational drug. However under the new anti-doping policy this did not matter. Sailor had gone to a nightclub after a hard-day-at-the-office (which for him was the rugby paddock) and partied long into the night. He subsequently failed a drug test, and the Australian Rugby Union (ARU) found him guilty of taking cocaine in-season. In line with WADA and Australian Government drugs-in-sport code, ARU terminated his $600,000 contract and banned him from the sport for two years, which at his age, was effectively for life. Moreover, under current policy, Sailor was not able to play any other sport which has signed up to the WADA and Commonwealth Government anti-doping code. ARU Chief Executive, Gary Flowers, subsequently trumpeted that 'drugs of any sort have no place in our sport, and won't be tolerated'.\textsuperscript{56}

**What Does it All Mean?**
The result of all this is a contradictory position whereby sport administrators like Flowers, the Commonwealth Government, and the Australian Olympic Committee, have a very strong anti-drug stance, but the incidence of drug use in Australian sport does not appear to have diminished. However, this is not surprising in the context of the growing politicisation, commercialisation and medicalisation of sport referred to earlier, and the increasing pressures (or incentives, to put a more positive spin on it) for elite athletes and
professional sport players to use whatever it takes to succeed on the field. This begs the question as to just how successful the current anti-doping policy has been, and whether a policy that widens the drug-use net by including illicit drugs, and imposes severe punishment for their use, is the most sensible path to take in a world where drug use is taken for granted, where they can secure a better quality of life for ordinary people, and where they are an essential tool for improving moods and maintaining mental health. As this brief survey of drugs and sport in Australia shows, local athletes, despite the myth that 'our' boys and girls just don't resort to that sort of thing, have a history of securing pharmacological assistance to improve their sporting performance, notwithstanding the shaming and punishment that comes from being caught.

NOTES

13 See Waddington, Sport, Health and Drugs, pp. 120-34.
16 Bloomfield, *Australia’s Sporting Success*, p. 57.
19 Senate Standing Committee on Environment, Recreation and the Arts (SSCERA) *Drugs in Sport: Interim Report*, 1988, p. 188.
20 SSCERA, *Drugs in Sport: Interim Report*, p. 188.
30 Buti and Fridman, *Drugs, Sport and the Law*, p. 36.
35 For a detailed and first-hand account of the formation of WADA, see Pound, *Inside the Olympics*, pp. 67-84.

38 Cricket Australia, Anti-Doping Policy, Cricket Australia, Melbourne, 2003, p. 2.

39 Cricket Australia, Anti-Doping Policy, p. 4.

40 M. McKinnon, 'Warne Drug Test Was No Accident', Weekend Australian, 19-20 July 2003, p. 3.


42 Cricket Australia, Anti-Doping Committee Hearing Report, p. 7.

43 Cricket Australia, Anti-Doping Committee Hearing Report, pp. 9-11.


46 Australian Sports Commission, 2004 Anti-Doping Policy, p. 3.


56 B. Harris, 'Rugby Slams Door on Bad Influence Sailor', Weekend Australian, 22-23 July 2006, p. 3.