

NB: THIS TRANSCRIPT WAS TYPED FROM A TRANSCRIPTION UNIT RECORDING AND NOT COPIED FROM AN ORIGINAL SCRIPT: BECAUSE OF THE POSSIBILITY OF MIS-HEARING AND THE DIFFICULTY, IN SOME CASES OF IDENTIFYING INDIVIDUAL SPEAKERS, THE BBC CANNOT VOUCH FOR ITS ACCURACY.

.....
.

PANORAMA

BUYING THE GAMES

RECORDED FROM TRANSMISSION: BBC-1

DATE: 4:08:04

.....
.

JUSTIN ROWLATT: ... at the heart of the Olympic movement. With the Games now worth billions to the winning city, we ask: "How fair is this Olympic Game?". The IOC shortlist for 2012 has been announced..

JACQUES ROGG: Paris, New York, Moscow, London, Madrid.

ROWLATT: ...but is the game already over? We've been promised enough IOC votes to bring the Olympics back to Britain. Panorama has gone under cover to film four Olympic insiders who say that for a price they can get the votes London needs. How can Gabor help?

GABOR: I think twenty is a fair number I can say.

ROWLATT: Goran has been working with bid cities for 20 years.

How many cover votes do you think you might be able to influence?

GORAN: Between, I will say, between 15 and 20.

ROWLATT: And the man from Egypt, what can he do?

MAHMOOD EL-FARNAWANI: Fourteen, right.

ROWLATT: London needs 63 votes to win, we've been promised 54 and we hope we'll get more. Meet the director general of the Olympic Council of Asia.

MUTTALEB AHMAD: The guy from XXX, that person, you give him money, he will take the money.

ROWLATT: The Olympic movement boasts of its high ideals, integrity and fair play. Tonight we reveal the secret world behind the Olympic ring. Our investigation began here in Salt Lake City. It was the home of the last Olympics, the Winter Games of 2002. Salt Lake's Olympic bid revealed for the first time just what it takes to get the Games. Salt Lake, unlike many previous bid cities kept meticulous records of where their money went. We wanted to know what London could still learn from how Salt Lake City had got the

Games. In the Rocky Mountains above Salt Lake City there are some of the best winter sports facilities in the world, but we weren't here for sport because the truth is it wasn't sport that made these Olympic Games really memorable.

Olympic Winter Games in 2002 to the City of Salt Lake City.
(screams from crowd)

ROWLATT: What made Salt Lake City's Games memorable was the fact that they ended up in this court room. The case was to reveal how far corruption and gift-giving had contaminated the Olympic family. These were the men in the dock, Tom Welsh who led the Salt Lake Bid Committee and his deputy Dave Johnson. They were amazed they ended up on trial. Dave Johnson says that as far as he is concerned, all the bid team did wrong was to follow an Olympic tradition.

DAVE JOHNSON

Senior Vice-President

Salt Lake City Bid Committee

A bid city doesn't invent the bid process. You're very much at the mercy of the International Olympic Committee in a bid process.

ROWLATT: Dave Johnson learnt how the IOC bid process worked when they competed unsuccessfully for the previous winter games. All five bid cities had travelled to Britain for the final vote on where the Games would be held.

JOHNSON: An IOC member is royalty and that's truly the case. We would see bellmen moving through the halls at the hotel in Birmingham with just wracks of gifts, and you think well that's alright, they're probably getting gifts today, but the next day there'd be another wrack of gifts and the next day there'd be another. It was just an unending supply of gifts and people trying to carry favour with members of the International Olympic Committee.

Birmingham, 1991

President of the International Olympic Committee Juan Antonio

Samaranch...

(Applause)

ROWLATT: Bid cities want to carry favour with IOC members because the IOC members are the real Olympians. Each has a single vote cast in secret. Those votes decide where the Olympic Games will be held. In Birmingham Dave Johnson learnt just how far some bid cities are willing to go to get those votes. Salt Lake had been pretty confident they'd got the best bid. But...

SAMARANCH: The city of Nagano....

ROWLATT: Negano in Japan won by just four votes after spending millions of dollars entertaining IOC members. Japanese companies raised nearly 20 million more for an Olympic Museum.

JOHNSON: We got an education. But regardless of what happened, we all came home and we decided to move forward, okay, and we were empowered to get the bid.

ROWLATT: Back in Salt Lake City they decided to bid again for the 2002 Games. Having some of the best winter sports facilities in the world clearly wasn't enough, so what was the trick? Salt Lake City decided they needed some expert help.

JOHNSON: We needed people that were trusted in these areas of the world with members of the International Olympic Committee to facilitate us getting to know them, and we took advantage of those opportunities.

ROWLATT: Panorama has been given access to the Bid Committee's legal archives. These documents reveal what Salt Lake City learnt from previous bid cities. It recruited a group of agents - men who claimed to be specialists in Olympic bidding and who say that for the right money they can deliver IOC votes. The agents told the bid committee the key to getting those IOC votes was finding out exactly what IOC members might want. They were encouraged to visit the city.

[Hilton Hotel]
This is one of your presidential suits....

And were given the very best it could offer. Five star hotels, champagnes and vintage wines, the finest food in the state, and first class flights and holidays around the world for some IOC members and their families. And then there were the gifts and benefits showered on some IOC members. The International Olympic Committee has strict rules. The limit on gifts was then \$200. In total the Bid Committee was to spend \$15 million bringing the Games to Utah. With the help of their agents Salt Lake developed a simple strategy. Whatever an IOC member wants, the answer is 'Yes'. Medical treatment including Viagra and cosmetic surgery for IOC members and their families. Hundreds of thousands of dollars to help IOC members' sons and daughters to study in America. And a quarter of a million paid into the bank accounts of some IOC members or their relatives.

MAX WHEELER

Dave Johnson's lawyer

Many people in the bid effort thought that our commitment to the IOC included providing adequate medical

treatment and we felt that that was an obligation that we had.

ROWLATT: Scholarships for IOC members' children to come to universities in America.

WHEELER: Yes.

ROWLATT: Payments for political campaigns.

WHEELER: Well...

ROWLATT: Bathroom fittings.

WHEELER: Sure.

ROWLATT: Shopping trips to Wal-Mart. And they're extraordinary things to be part of the process of a city convincing the IOC that it should be the place to host an Olympic Games are they not?

WHEELER: Is that a question or a statement?

ROWLATT: That was a question. That was a question.

WHEELER: [laughing] Well you can again judge for yourself whether that's right or not.

ROWLATT: And when the vote for the 2002 Games was held, the IOC members voted overwhelmingly for...

SAMARANCH: Salt Lake City
(Screams from crowd)

ROWLATT: But, 3 years later, details of the gifts and payments the bid team had made began to leak out.

Eyewitness NEWS

You're watching KSL Television, Channel 5, Salt Lake City, Utah.

The Salt Lake Olympic Bid Committee paid lots of money, possibly as much as tens of thousands of dollars in scholarships for relatives of people influential in determining who would get the Olympics.

ROWLATT: For the International Olympic Committee thousands of miles away in its Swiss headquarters the Salt Lake City Scandal was to become the biggest crisis it had ever faced. Once the scale of the payments became known the IOC had to be seen to take action. After an investigation six IOC members were expelled, four resigned.

JUAN ANTONIO SAMARANCH

IOC President, speaking in 1999

A handful of our memberships violated the rules and those individuals have now suffered the consequences of their actions.

ROWLATT: The IOC made big changes introducing 50 reforms. New blood was brought in with the appointment of athletes as IOC members. A powerful ethics commission was set up to police the movement, and there are strict new rules which drastically restrict contact between IOC members and bid cities. Three months after the scandal broke, and IOC President Samaranch said his work was done.

SAMARANCH: I think we cleaned the house and a fundamental reform package has been adopted.

ROWLATT: He said there would never be a repeat of the Salt Lake City scandal. But what of the leaders of the Salt Lake bid team?

December 2003

[NEWS] Former Olympic bid leader, Tom Welsh, surrounded by family walks out of Federal Court free of all criminal charges.

ROWLATT: The judge dismissed the case. He said he did not believe Welsh and Johnson had shown any criminal intent. They were vindicated. They'd always said they were just doing what bid cities had to do to get the Games. Just a few weeks ago we watched as a real lord of the rings joined the athletes carrying the eternal Olympic flame through London. The Olympic Movement said it's rooted out corruption. Panorama wanted to know whether the IOC had really cleaned its house. To answer our question we needed to find a way to get inside the closed world of the Olympic family. It was clear that the network of agents Salt City had recruited had given it an inside track to IOC members. Perhaps the agents would be able to give us the insight we wanted.

[Telephone] My name is Justine Ionides and I work for New London Ventures, a consultancy firm in London.

We knew we couldn't approach the agents as the BBC so we went undercover. We set up a company. Welcome to New London Ventures.

[Telephone] We're a consultancy firm working with a group of clients who've got business interests in East London. For their own commercial reasons they'd like to see the Olympic Games.. the 2012 Games located in London. Now it's completely separate from the formal London bid. This is a completely separate initiative developed by my clients.

Agents have been part of the Olympic family for years. We collected evidence about bid cities around the

world and the same few names kept appearing. We put out the calls, the question was whether the agents would fall for our story. Our first stop was Belgrade, Serbia. The man we were to meet is a true veteran of Olympic intrigue. From his office in the centre of town he runs a business which boasted has provided design services to 17 bid cities. Goran Takac has a fine Olympic pedigree. His father, Artur, was an advisor to IOC President Samaranch himself.

[Secret filming]

ROWLATT: You must be Goran.

GORAN: I'm Goran, yes. Nice meeting you.

ROWLATT: I'm Justin.

It appears that Goran offers bid cities much more than just fancy designs.

GORAN: Would you like to drink something.

ROWLATT: I would love a cup of coffee.

GORAN: A cup of coffee. How about you?

HOWARD: No, I'm not feeling...

ROWLATT: He was very clear how he could help get the Games. One problem, we were secretly filming - the ceiling!

GORAN: It's all about money - full stop.

ROWLATT: Money in what sense? Money in terms of...?

GORAN: Money in terms of cash.

ROWLATT: To create friendships?

GORAN: To create votes.

ROWLATT: We give you money and you... we give you money and you give money to IOC members.

GORAN: That is one of the ways.

ROWLATT: Right, okay.

GORAN: And it will not go through me because you have to be protected and they have to be protected. It will go the way I tell you.

ROWLATT: IOC votes for money! It sounded as if the Olympic family hasn't changed that much since

Salt Lake City. But we were worried about the problems with our camera.

ROWLATT: Your tie was too far that way.

HOWARD: What was?

ROWLATT: Your tie. Too far that way. You hadn't flattened it.

We needed another meeting.

GORAN: [telephone] Yes?

ROWLATT: Hello Goran, it's Justine here. Can we come over and see you?

GORAN: Sure.

ROWLATT: You're leaving at about 10, so if we come over...

We were back at his offices the following morning determined to get him on camera this time. Once inside Goran led us down to his basement office.

GORAN: Okay, downstairs.

ROWLATT: How many votes do you think you might be able to influence?

GORAN: Between.. I will say between 15 and 20.

ROWLATT: And would all of those require some kind of...

GORAN: No, no, no.

ROWLATT: ... payment?

GORAN: No. I will say that between 7 and 10 would require payment.

ROWLATT: And the rest are your...

GORAN: And the rest is just personal relationship and convincing...

HOWARD: Knowing them over the years.

ROWLATT: But his help doesn't come cheap. Goran wanted 3,600 euros a day!

The sums of monies we're talking about, if I can go through it again, were roughly 900,000 euros, sort of following it down to 2005.

GORAN: It's 900,000 euros divided in three parts.

ROWLATT: Yeah, and the funds we'd need over and above that, and that's for lets say oiling the wheels of the IOC members - some don't need money but some do - would be between two and three million.

GORAN: Two and a half.

ROWLATT: Two and a half we wrote down. Yes?

GORAN: Right.

ROWLATT: Could what Goran Takac was claiming be true, despite the reforms were there really still IOC members willing to take money for their vote.

Paris and we'd made an appointment with a man we hoped might be able to help answer that question. He's one of the IOC members who was labelled corrupt after Salt Lake City. The man Salt Lake City called the human Hoover.

Ah, Mr Ganga. How are you sir?

GANGA: I'm very well. I'm very well.

ROWLATT: It took us a long time to find you here in Paris.

GANGA: Yes, yes.

ROWLATT: Jean-Claude Ganga from the Congo was expelled by the IOC for his conduct at Salt Lake City but he believes he's been unfairly victimised. He says wherever he went with the IOC all the IOC members received the same treatment.

GANGA: We were treated the same.

ROWLATT: So everybody stays in a five star hotel.

JEAN-CLAUDE GANGA
Former IOC member
The same hotel...

ROWLATT: Everybody has a limousine.

GANGA: Yes, everybody has the same.

ROWLATT: Everybody eats the same high quality food.

GANGA: The same, the same.

ROWLATT: But that was just routine Olympic hospitality. When Mr Ganga visited Salt Lake City he vacuumed up gifts and benefits worth a quarter of a million dollars.

GANGA: No, no, no, no.

ROWLATT: The figures are...

GANGA: I know gifts we got...

ROWLATT: \$14,000 for meals for meals and hotel expenses...

GANGA: If you want me to listen to you, I'm leaving.

ROWLATT: \$14,000 in shopping and gifts.

GANGA: Au revoir monsieur.

ROWLATT: \$115,000 in travel expenses. You tell me, why do you think they paid that money to you?

GANGA: I will not talk again to you.

ROWLATT: Perhaps it is not surprising that Mr Ganga doesn't appear to believe he's done anything wrong, given that many of his colleagues, some very senior, also took gifts or benefits but were not expelled. Remember those meticulous records the Salt Lake Bid Committee had kept, well they confirm that a majority of IOC members had broken the rules on gifts and benefits.

MAX WHEELER

Lawyer

We had gone through and made a list of IOC members that we could prove had accepted gifts or benefits, and we figured it was something like 85% of the total membership of the IOC had engaged in at least one violation during our bid.

ROWLATT: Indeed, even the man responsible for the clean up was accused of breaking the rules. IOC President Samaranch accepted a small armoury. A pistol worth \$9,000 a rifle and this engraved shotgun. He says he deposited them at the IOC headquarters in Switzerland and hasn't broken any rules.

We'd come to Budapest in Hungary for a meeting with another agent, Gabor Komyathy. He's a man with a big reputation. He'd helped get IOC votes for Sydney, but given the changes in the IOC rules, would he be able to do the same for London. Mr Komyathy said he didn't want to meet in his office.

KOMYATHY: For discussions of that kind, of the kind that you and I want to conduct...

ROWLATT: We want to be a bit discreet, absolutely, yeah, no, no, fine. Well let me see what I can..

KOMYATHY: It's too high visibility.

ROWLATT: I met him in the lobby of our hotel. I'd managed to find the ideal meeting room. [Panorama Lounge] First things first. Hadn't the reforms been intended to stop agents corrupting the bid process?

KOMYATHY: You need to be extremely, extremely sophisticated if you want to talk with IOC members.

That fortunately helps me or raises my standing with them because never once was any problem with me working with the ideas I represented.

ROWLATT: Mr Komyathy said he played a senior role in the battle for the 2008 Games and had already had an offer for 2012.

Which city?

KOMYATHY: I wouldn't discuss...

ROWLATT: Yes, okay. One city or more than one city?

KOMYATHY: Another city.

ROWLATT: But you're not working for them now?

KOMYATHY: No, I'm not.

ROWLATT: So how many votes would he claim he could bring for London?

KOMYATHY: Twenty is a fair number, I can say. Twenty votes.

ROWLATT: Right.

KOMYATHY: Scattered...

ROWLATT: Around the...

KOMYATHY: around the globe, yes.

ROWLATT: You've said twenty votes, how much is that likely to cost?

KOMYATHY: Normally if this was still the open bidding - which it's not, as you know - a vote would cost, without the drum and drum man, and all the travel etc, about 200,000 euros.

ROWLATT: Two hundred thousand euros.

KOMYATHY: If you...

ROWLATT: If you made direct.

KOMYATHY: Yeah, if you took the money you spent and then took the votes, you know..

ROWLATT: Yes, yes. \$200,000 each and twenty votes, that's 4 million euros. That's quite a lot of money.

KOMYATHY: It's a lot of money.

ROWLATT: Mr Komyathy said that the Salt Lake City scandal has changed the way the Olympic bid process is conducted.

KOMYATHY: I think they have become smarter and you will see extremely sophisticated and discreet, indirect - double or triple indirect approaches and methods and you will have to be able to use many aliases if necessary and then there is a London so-and-so company, buy a flat in XXX...

ROWLATT: Yes.

KOMYATHY: And then that flat may be leased to somebody XXX at a nice chunk of money which of course never... Can you do that? If you can, you're in the business.

ROWLATT: He said he wouldn't make any payments, we'd have to do that.

KOMYATHY: I don't need that money, I'm not going to go to buy the flat. You or somebody.. Hopefully not you personally but someone who.. you know.. is very, very silent in some organisation.

ROWLATT: But you would tell us what that IOC member would want.

KOMYATHY: Exactly, and then more often than not you would have to be the one...

ROWLATT: Who facilitated the payment.

KOMYATHY: ...facility or executes the deal. And I give you the name, the number, the address...

ROWLATT: Four months after this meeting, we wrote to Mr Komyathy to tell him about the programme Panorama is making. Even though since our meeting he's been in email correspondence with New London Ventures he told us he'd known we were journalists all along. Mr Komyathy told us he'd worked on Stockholm's bid for the 2004 Olympics. He wouldn't give any details so we'd come to Sweden's capital to try and find out more. Stockholm last hosted the Games back in 1912. It marked the beginning of one of the greatest Olympic traditions, the filming of the Games. And the old Olympic stadium still stands. The perfect place to meet my contact. Mats Ekman is a researcher who became upset by the way Sweden had conducted its bid for the 2004 Games. He's gradually built up an extraordinary library of evidence about Stockholm's bid.

MATS EKMAN

Olympic researcher

The Swedish bid committee afterwards denying the whole time, denying, denying, denying. "We didn't use an agent, we played a fair game." They didn't. They played an unfair game.

ROWLATT: Mats' database contains tens of thousands of records. The bidding for 2004 took place before

the Salt Lake Scandal broke and his evidence shows that Stockholm also followed the Olympic tradition of hospitality. And just like at Salt Lake Stockholm's largess to IOC members went well beyond first class flights and five star hotels. He gave us private banking records which reveal a very unusual transaction two days before the final vote in Lausanne.

JUSTIN ROWLATT

At 11.10 that morning Olaf Stenhammer, the chairman of the Swedish bid committee withdrew 460,000 Krona from his personal bank account and transferred it to an account held here. Thirty minutes later an associate withdrew the money. He asked for nine separate bankers drafts possibly to avoid the attentions of the money laundering authorities. Those bankers drafts were then changed into US dollars at a series of currency exchanges across central Stockholm. The bagman asked only for 100 dollar bills. When he'd finished, he had a stack of 500 - \$50,000 in cash. The bid leader, Olaf Stenhammer, has always insisted that \$50,000 was for a family holiday and never left Sweden. Sweden's chief state prosecutor investigated the Olympic bid. He was sceptical of Mr Stenhammer's claims.

CHRISTER van der KWAAT
Chief Prosecutor, Sweden

I worked on the suspicion that it went to an IOC member, of course, that was my suspicion.

ROWLATT: Was that a strong suspicion?

KWAAT: Yes, I would say it was a strong suspicion.

ROWLATT: So you thought this money, this \$50,000, was a bribe.

KWAAT: Yes.

ROWLATT: Then why didn't you prosecute this case?

KWAAT: I couldn't. I hadn't a case. If I can't say that this IOC member got the money, I can't have a case.

ROWLATT: But during the making of this programme new evidence has been uncovered that the money did leave Stockholm two days before that crucial vote. Panorama has obtained records of a conversation with Mr Stenhammer's bag man. He says he flew to Geneva with the money and then brought it to this hotel in the centre of Lausanne. There it was passed to Mr Stenhammer's right-hand man on the bid team. But despite their efforts, at the vote two days later Stockholm was to be disappointed.

Lausanne, 1997

SAMARANCH: The city is Athens.

(crowd response reflects surprise and disappoint)

ROWLATT: Next we'd arranged to meet one of the agents who'd been key to the Salt Lake City bid. The Egyptian agent lives in Cairo. He's been part of the Olympic family for decades. He'd been paid \$150,000 for his help with the Salt Lake bid, that included arranging favours for IOC members.

MAHMOOD: Hello

ROWLATT: Hello, is that Mahmood?

MAHMOOD: Yes.

ROWLATT: Hello, it's Justin Ionides here. How are you sir?

MAHMOOD: Fine thank you.

ROWLATT: Mahmood El-Farnawani insisted he take us to the pyramids to see the sound and light show. His chauffeur dropped him outside the entrance. We knew Sydney had also been very pleased with Mr El-Farnawani's work. They paid him 60,000 US dollars for his help.

[The Sound and Light Show]

I saw the history of Egypt in its first glow, and tomorrow I shall see the East burning with a new flame...

ROWLATT: Could Mr El-Farnawani help bring the Olympic flame back to Britain? As always, before our meeting began, we carefully explained what New London Ventures is.

We're completely separate from the official London bid. We're nothing to do with London 2012.

Of all the agents we met, Mr El-Farnawani was the most suspicious of us. He was still keen to prove his credentials though. The Egyptian described the role he said he played in bringing the 2000 Olympics to Sydney.

MAHMOOD EL-FARNAWANI: I am the one who made it for them. Okay?

ROWLATT: He told us the work he'd done had help win two crucial IOC votes.

EL-FARNAWANI: The votes are running neck to neck. I got this written commitment. I sat down with two of the IOCs. I finished with them. I got their 100% assurance. We won!

SAMARANCH: The winner is Sydney.
(Cheers from the crowd)

ROWLATT: It had been extraordinarily close. The final round from which Sydney beat Beijing by just

two votes out of 88. Panorama has learnt that on the morning of that crucial vote Mr El-Farnawarni delivered letters to two African IOC members, Charles Mukora of Kenya, and Frances Nyangweso of Uganda. The letters offered them \$35,000 each for sports programmes in their countries if Sydney won. Mr El-Farnawarni told us agreements like this are no longer possible because they are illegal under the new IOC rules. He was clearly still wary of us but to prove his current connections during the meeting he showed us some interesting documents.

EL-FARNAWANI: I'll show you something I will not leave on you.

ROWLATT: You want those back?

EL-FARNAWANI: The conclusions of the files with all the cities bidding.

ROWLATT: This is for 2012, yeah? Can I have a look at this?

EL-FARNAWANI: No.

ROWLATT: He only let us read the cover pages, but just weeks before the IOC were to announce the shortlist of cities for 2012, and Mr El-Farnawani claims to have the IOCs conclusions on each city's bid.

EL-FARNAWANI: This is a conclusion. Every document is a book like this. [with hands gestures very thick]

HOWARD: Yes, well no, it's folders, big folders.

EL-FARNAWANI: This is the conclusion, done. The conclusion, done.

ROWLATT: Mr El-Farnawani claimed he could deliver more than just documents. He said he'd help get 8 votes for Salt Lake City. So how many votes would he claim he could get for London?

EL-FARNAWANI: The minimum is...

ROWLATT: Is...?

EL-FARNAWANI: Is 14.

ROWLATT: Right. And the maximum ?

EL-FARNAWANI: It depends on the progress of your bid.

ROWLATT: Right. How much resources will my clients need to commit in order to bring these 14 plus votes in?

EL-FARNAWANI: Let us say for myself... for myself I need to have.. if you put 25,000 per month for 15

months.

ROWLATT: That's a lot of money.

EL-FARNAWANI: Yes, I know it's a lot of money. If we are winners... okay, I will get a quarter of a million dollars more.

ROWLATT: A quarter of a million on top of that.

EL-FARNAWANI: Yes.

ROWLATT: And how much resources will we need, do you think, to put in behind to ensure that we get the vote?

EL-FARNAWANI: You need 1.4 1.5 for the expenses.

ROWLATT: For the expenses. So you're saying \$100,000 per vote.

EL-FARNAWANI: It will be more than that because there will lots of travelling expenses.

ROWLATT: And the 1.4 million, what will that be spent on?

EL-FARNAWANI: For everything.

ROWLATT: Travel...

EL-FARNAWANI: For everything.

ROWLATT: Mr El-Farnawani would not say how he'd get those 14 votes. He insisted that the IOC had cleaned itself up after Salt Lake City and said he'd stick to the new rules.

EL-FARNAWANI: The crooked group already left the IOC.

ROWLATT: Right. They're not there anymore. Is that what you're saying?

EL-FARNAWANI: They are not there anymore. But there's some people who need a personal touch, okay? Then this you make it in a way that you are not giving them a bribe or making them feel that they are getting any kind of a bribe, because that they would be reluctant to accept it.

ROWLATT: So as long as it is clear that.. you know.. so long as it is not a bribe...

EL-FARNAWANI: As long as they understand it is not a bribe, as long as they understand it is because of my business.

ROWLATT: Okay, so if you as a friend were to...

EL-FARNAWANI: They know that they are helping my business. I have a business in London. Okay?
And when you come next time I can tell you oh there is an official business. We can do official business on paper.

ROWLATT: Panorama wanted to talk to Mr El-Farnawani about what he'd said to our cover company New London Ventures. He has not responded to our repeated attempts to contact him. While we were making this programme, more proof that corruption has gone to the highest levels of the Olympic family. Behind the mask is one of the IOC's most important members, one of its four vice presidents. Kim Un-Yong is under arrest facing bribery charges including misuse of his Olympic position. His was another name which loomed large in the Salt Lake City investigation. His daughter is a concert pianist. While Salt Lake was bidding for the Games, she gave a concert with the City Symphony Orchestra but his son got a job and the bid team contributed \$100,000 towards his salary. Dr Kim received the most serious of warnings from the IOC but did not appear to believe he'd done anything wrong.

KIM UN-YONG

IOC member, speaking in 2000
I have no comment. I don't like my family to be attacked for nothing but I have no comment.

ROWLATT: In fact, just two years after the warning, he stood for the biggest job in the Olympic Movement, President of the IOC. His election platform was unusual. He wanted to overturn some of the reforms after Salt Lake City.

UN-YONG: Now you cannot do anything because they talk stupid things all the time, destroying all human relations. I am against outright corruption.

ROWLATT: Dr Kim's position went down well with some ordinary IOC members. He came second in the 2001 presidential election and last year was elected an IOC vice president. But the activities of Dr Kim, who'd introduced taiquando into the Olympics were being investigated by Korean police. At the end of last year his home was raided. In a safe police found a million dollars in cash. Amongst other things Dr Kim was charged with taking bribes for jobs on the Korean Olympic Committee. He wiped a tear as he announced his resignation from the Korean Parliament and the taiquando federation. But right up to the end he got the support of his Olympian friends. Former IOC President Samaranch sent a letter to the Korean court. He asked the judge take into consideration Dr Kim's age and his contribution to the Olympic movement. It wasn't enough to keep Dr Kim out of gaol. In June he was sentenced to two and a half years

in prison and find two thirds of a million dollars. Dr Kim is appealing his conviction. Meanwhile, our cover company, New London Ventures, had finally managed to get through to the most interesting agent of them all, a man who works at the very heart of the Olympic movement, the Kuwaiti Muttaleb Ahmad. He is the Director General of the Olympic Council of Asia, the governing body of all amateur sports on the continent. The OCA runs Asia's biggest sporting event, the Asian Games, it is at the centre of the Olympic world too. It's part funded by the IOC itself. Mr Ahmad wanted us to come and see him at the Olympic council of Asia's headquarters here in Kuwait. We knew he'd worked as an agent before.

Mr Ahmad, how are you?

AHMAD: How are you?

ROWLATT: Very well indeed. Good to meet you.

The Director General was paid \$62,000 by Salt Lake City. He told us that the reforms brought in after the scandal meant Olympic bid business has to be conducted with discretion.

KUWAITI MUTTALEB AHMAD: Look we have to be extremely, extremely careful with this now with those.. what you call? Code of ethics that the IOC have. There is a thin line that you can still go parallel but sometimes you think that all the IOC members whose extremely cautious because he think he will step on toes. So you need persons who know that IOC member very closely to talk with him about it.

ROWLATT: Mr Ahmad confirmed that many of those who accepted gifts and benefits at Salt Lake City are still on the IOC, some in senior positions.

AHMAD: I would say 70% are still there.

ROWLATT: 70%?

AHMAD: Yes, of those who supposed to be... if you have say 20 people who are on the take - and there were more - The ones that are caught, it's only a few.

ROWLATT: A fraction. So you think 70% of the ones who took things are still there?

AHMAD: Oh yes. Yes.

ROWLATT: The Director General offered to use his connections to try and set up meetings with the 23 Asian IOC members.

AHMAD: You have to approach the IOC members not necessarily with an official appointment because

they'd shy away from that.

ROWLATT: Okay.

AHMAD: They are not allowed to do it.

ROWLATT: But you could facilitate that.

AHMAD: Of course. Yes.

ROWLATT: So we would have a back door way.. we could go back to our client and say we can meet some of the IOC officials.

AHMAD: Yes.

ROWLATT: He told us that at least one of the Asian IOC members is already planning to vote for London, his boss at the Olympic Council of Asia.

AHMAD: Sheikh, automatically, he is going to London. We don't really invest anything about that, okay?

ROWLATT: He will vote for London.

He told us he wouldn't pay anyone himself.

AHMAD: I always shy away from clearly giving cash, I don't do this, okay? I advise that this guy is in need and you.. your assistant has to go to.. I don't act like that, you know.

ROWLATT: Yes.

AHMAD: Because I have my payment and I respect that jurisdiction, I don't go beyond that.

ROWLATT: Consultant payment, yeah.

AHMAD: It's not that I carry cash for anybody.

ROWLATT: The director general told us about one IOC member who still appreciates a direct approach.

AHMAD: There is the guy from XXX that person, you give him money, he will take the money still, even with those guidelines. But...

HOWARD: Sorry, he would take money to vote?

AHMAD: Yeah, but I wouldn't say it's from London. I talk to him, that this is the attitude of my boss and the OCA and our interests, we have a communication with them, and if this goes to London we'll be better off etc and he will be convinced.

ROWLATT: Since that meeting a spokesman for Sheikh Ahmad, El-Fahad, El-Sabar told Panorama he had not decided which city to vote for, and it was a decision he would never disclose. Panorama asked Mr Ahmad to comment on what he'd told New London Ventures. He did not respond to our inquiry.

Athens, home of this year's Olympics. We arrived back in February. The Greeks still had a lot of work to do if they were to be ready for next week's Games. But we weren't here just to look at the facilities. We were here for a key meeting of the Olympic family, a get-together of the national Olympic committees of the world, and there at the top table another IOC vice president who'd been implicated in the Salt Lake Scandal, the Russian, Vital Smirnov. He'd accepted a day's shooting plus hundreds of dollars worth of hunting equipment and a shotgun. In addition Mr Smirnov arranged free medical treatment for a Russian sportsman and helped get a university scholarship for a Russian student. He also took home bathroom fittings worth \$1,488. He'd received a serious warning for his conduct but, like Dr Kim, it didn't seem to have affected his IOC career. He was elected to his third stint as Vice President in 2001. Mr Smirnov had been cleared of the most serious charge against him. It had been alleged that the Serbian agent had approached the Salt Lake bid team and offered to sell Mr Smirnov's vote for \$35,000. Mr Smirnov and Goran Takac had denied the allegation. When we'd met with Goran in Belgrade we'd asked about his relationship with the Russian.

GORAN: He will tell you... He will tell you that I am his best friend.

ROWLATT: Right, I see.

GORAN: And he will tell you that he knows me for a long, long time and that our relationships are 100% open and that's it. He would probably accept a tie from you.

ROWLATT: Right.

Goran said he might be able to arrange for New London Ventures to meet his friend Mr Smirnov. But when we called Goran from Athens, he told us Mr Smirnov had been less than enthusiastic.

GORAN: [Telephone] He refused categorically to meet with you.

ROWLATT: He refused to meet with us?

GORAN: Yes, categorically.

ROWLATT: Right, what did he say?

GORAN: He say that he is refusing categorically.

ROWLATT: We asked Mr Smirnov to comment on his relationship with Goran Takac. He declined to respond. In Lausanne the IOC was preparing to announce the short list of cities for 2012. The top guns assembled for the meeting.

Mr Samaranch clearly still takes a keen interest in Olympic affairs. He took his place beside Jacques Rogg, the current president. And there was our friend Mr Smirnov. In this room the guardians of the Olympic ideas. We were ushered out. Across town the world's media were waiting for the actually announcement.

JACQUES ROGG: The executive board decided unanimously that the following cities are accepted as candidates to host the 2012 Games: Paris, New York, Moscow, London and Madrid.
(Applause)

ROWLATT: The head of the London bid certainly knew where she'd be focusing her efforts.

BARBARA CASSANI

Chair London 2012, speaking in May 2004
Ultimately every member makes a personal vote. They push the button all by themselves, it's a secret vote, and so we're really learning a lot about them. They come from 80 different countries, and so unless you have an appreciation of the sporting issues, and the cultural issues in many, many countries around the world you can't possibly understand what it takes for them personally to make a decision.

ROWLATT: What we didn't know was that this was one of the last interviews she was to give as the had of London 2012. The very next day Barbara Cassani handed in her resignation. She was reported as saying she'd had enough of drinking into the early hours with middle aged men smoking fat cigars. Back at the New London Ventures city offices we'd got mail. A message from Olympic agent Goran Takac. He said he'd been called by someone from London 2012.

GORAN: He asked me what I was up and whether I work already for somebody.

ROWLATT: Do you think he was interested in possibly employing you because that would have an effect on my client.

GORAN: It was.. I cannot confirm that but it was a kind of like okay, we'll talk some day.

ROWLATT: London 2012 stressed to Panorama that the conduct of the bid team has and will comply with

the rules of conduct defined by the IOC. So which other bid cities have had contact with any of our agents. Mr Ahmad told New London Ventures he'd been in communication with New York city 2012. New York city told Panorama that Mr Ahmad had "expressed an interest in assisting new York's bid without compensation but that this was not followed up on." Meanwhile Paris 2012 told Panorama our four agents are known to some of its bid representatives. Paris say they have "never been in direct contact, nor have any intention of contracting with them." Moscow 2012 said there would be no contact with any of the agents, while Madrid 2012 said the same but added its congratulations to Panorama for "bringing up such a delicate and at the same time interesting subject."

Panorama had more questions for the London bid team. Goran Takac had told us that Keith Mills, the chief executive of London 2012 had sent IOC Vice President Vitaly Smirnov a letter suggesting a private meeting in Moscow. The IOC rules say: "there will be no visits from the cities to IOC members for the promotion of their candidature." Goran Takac said IOC Vice President Vitali Smirnov had wrong him to complain.

GORAN: That's exactly not the thing to do.

ROWLATT: Right, okay.

GORAN: Because it's against the rules and he was very upset with that.

ROWLATT: London 2012 has confirmed to Panorama that Keith Mills did write to Mr Smirnov. He suggested a meeting over coffee in Moscow while he was in the city on business. The Bid Team told Panorama: "Having or seeking contact with members of the Olympic movement is not prohibited under the IOC's bidding rules." However, they explained: "This contact must not be used to promote any particular bid's candidature." The meeting never took place. New London's Ventures was making its last journey. Mr Smirnov had refused to meet with us but Goran Takac said he could arrange a meeting with another IOC member in the Bulgarian capital Sophia. Would we get crucial evidence that agents can still help to deliver IOC votes? Would an IOC member really agree to meet New London Ventures?

GORAN: Hello?

ROWLATT: Is that Goran?

GORAN: Yes Justin.

ROWLATT: Goran wanted to meet for dinner.

GORAN: We are with Mr Slavkov on the last floor in Panorama restaurant.

ROWLATT: In the Panorama restaurant?

GORAN: Panorama restaurant. It's 19th floor.

ROWLATT: Was this Goran's idea of a joke? Had he rumbled us? We agreed to meet in the morning. The next morning the Bulgarian, Ivan Slavkov did arrive, driven in an Olympic jeep. He's an important man. Not only is he an IOC member but he's the President of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee. He's a professor at Kiev University. He's been a government minister, the head of Bulgarian TV. He's the son-in-law of the ousted communist dictator and surely he should not be attending this meeting. The IOC rules say members "must not be involved with firms or persons whose activity is inconsistent with the principles set out in the Olympic charter."

Has Goran explained who we are to you?

IVAN SLAVKOV: Yes.

ROWLATT: Sort of, has he?

SLAVKOV: Yes, yes, he said to me.

ROWLATT: Has he explained how sensitive it is? We're not part of the formal London bid process.

SLAVKOV: I know that.

ROWLATT: Professor Slavkov was happy to discuss how New London Ventures might influence the votes of IOC members.

Have you already decided where your allegiances lie?

SLAVKOV: No, not yet.

ROWLATT: Not yet, so you're open to negotiation?

SLAVKOV: Yes.

ROWLATT: So how do you encourage people to.. you know.. see the benefits of..

SLAVKOV: It's the different.. you know.. approach, different approach. Some are businessman, yes, and they are interested.

ROWLATT: They want favours.

SLAVKOV: Yes, in some areas they are interested.

ROWLATT: So you may be offer them a business contract or..

SLAVKOV: Yes, yes. The others just are.. they believe in sports.

ROWLATT: Then Goran arrived.

Hello, Goran. How are you? Very good to see you again.

ROWLATT: Goran explained that because of Professor Slavkov's many roles he could get around IOC rules on meetings with IOC members.

GORAN: He is the President of the NOC, of the National Olympic Committee. So on the basis of the National Olympic Committee's relationships he can travel anywhere. He is the President of the National Football Association. He is the member of the executive board of FIFA and UEFA, no?

SLAVKOV: Commissions.

GORAN: So, in this capacity, he can travel wherever he wants, it's easy done and it's all covered.

ROWLATT: We've obviously.. we've talked about the contract with you, and we've seen the provisional figures that you've discussed. If we bring Mr Slavkov in, how do we reward him for the effort that he puts in for London? What would you be expecting Mr Slavkov?

GORAN: Mr Slavkov was included in the figures I told you.

ROWLATT: Right, I see, that's clear now.

GORAN: He was included. The figures I gave you and I wanted to have with you very open and very trustable relationship.

ROWLATT: A little later the Professor made his apologies.

SLAVKOV: Boys, I have to leave because I'm going to a funeral.

ROWLATT: Right, I'm sorry about that.

SLAVKOV: And I have to make a speech.

ROWLATT: After he left we asked more about his role. Would he appear on any contract?

GORAN: No, of course not. He will not appear at all, and I would even say this was probably the last time that we are sitting all together.

ROWLATT: I see. I suppose in principle, some people might see this in itself as a breach of the rules.

GORAN: Right. So he is not appearing anymore. He will convince his.. our closest friends to take money.

ROWLATT: Right.

GORAN: And that's it.

ROWLATT: And then you will contact us and say where the money needs to go.

GORAN: And I will tell you exactly how much and where.

ROWLATT: A couple of weeks after that meeting, we contacted Goran Takac and Professor Slavkov to ask them about what they'd said. They told Panorama they had only agreed to the meeting to expose what they thought was a real attempt to corrupt the bidding process. Professor Slavkov said? Whatever I could say during the meeting was intended to trap the corruptors. It was hard to square that with what they'd said in the meeting. After the Professor left, Goran produced a list of current IOC members. He went through name by name.

GORAN: I will tell you now, in here, whom I can approach. I will not tell you in which way.

ROWLATT: Okay. Right. Go ahead.

GORAN: I know him very well, XXX great friend but I cannot talk to him about money. Ivan can. XXX If London gets the Games you have 500,000 because he needs money. He's 100% under control, no problem. He s a guy with whom you can make big arrangements.

ROWLATT: Goran named over 30 IOC members he said he could approach.

GORAN: He loves Paris but he needs money.

ROWLATT: In response to tonight's Panorama the IOC's Ethics Commission has already launched an investigation. We will discuss with them how we can help their inquiries. The host city for the 2012 Olympic Games will be decided next year. No one who loves the Olympics could want that decision to be tainted by corruption.

CREDITS

Reporter

JUSTIN ROWLATT

Camera

JOE TAYLOR

PAUL COX

STEVE FOOTE

Sound

JEFFREY JOHN

TONY PASFIELD

Specialist Equipment

ALAN HARRADEN

VT Editor

BOYD NAGLE

Dubbing Mixer

ROWAN JENNINGS

Production Co-ordinator

JUSTINE HATCHER

Web Producer

ADAM FLINTER

Graphic Design

DIMITRI KEVGAS

ALEX NEWBURY

ALEC EVES

Juggler

IAN MARCHANT

Post Production Co-ordinator

LIBBY HAND

Production Managers

LAURA GOVETT
GINNY WILLIAMS

Production Executive
EMANUELE PASQUALE

Research
LUCY ELLIS
LATHLYN POSNER

International Research
DANIEL HOWDEN
JIM WOOLF
LENA BELKINA
JUNG-EUN KIM

Film Research
KATE REDMAN

Film Editor
ANDY KEMP

Associate Producer
MATTHEW MERVYN-JONES

Producer
HOWARD BRADBURN

Deputy Editor
ANDREW BELL

Editor
MIKE ROBINSON

9

Transcribed by 1-Stop Express, 3 Southwick Mews, London W2 1JG Email:
panorama@bbc.co.uk

OTHER SPORT

BBC SPORT

OPEN

AUDIO AND

[Sport Homepage](#)

Other Sport

Olympics 2012

[UK Results](#)

[World Results](#)

[Calendar](#)

[Badminton](#)

[Basketball](#)

[Bowls](#)

[Darts](#)

[Equestrian](#)

[Hockey](#)

[Ice Hockey](#)

[Rowing](#)

[Sailing](#)

[Squash](#)

[Swimming](#)

[US Sport](#)

[Winter Sports](#)

[Grandstand: Have Your Say](#)

[Photo Galleries](#)

[Archive](#)

[Daily E-mail](#)

[Mobiles](#)

[Fun and Games](#)

[Question of Sport](#)

CHOOSE A SPORT

Select

Go



Last Updated: Wednesday, 4 August, 2004, 21:48 GMT 22:48 UK

[E-mail this to a friend](#)

[Printable version](#)

IOC member 'selling votes'

An International Olympic Committee member agreed to help a fake bid to bring the 2012 Olympics to London for cash, the BBC's Panorama reports.

Bulgarian Ivan Slavkov was secretly filmed by the television programme discussing how the votes of other IOC members could be "bought".

Four sports agents are also filmed saying they can secure nearly half the total votes needed, for a fee.

The IOC has launched an inquiry into the claims, aired on Wednesday.

IOC president Jacques Rogge promised to take the "necessary action" after the organisation's ethics committee had investigated the claims made in the programme.

IOC rules forbid committee members from being "involved with firms or persons whose activity is inconsistent with the principles set out in the Olympic charter".

But Professor Slavkov talked openly to New London Ventures - a fake company set up by Panorama - about the "favours" which could sway the voting.

The company is in no way connected to the official London 2012 bid, a fact made clear to all parties approached.

Professor Slavkov told Panorama he was "open to negotiations" about which way he was going to vote in the race to stage the games.

And different IOC members would want different things in order to vote, he said, such as business contracts.

The meeting was set up by Goran Takac, one of four sports



Panorama: Buying the Games will be broadcast on 4 August at 2100 BST on BBC One

[OPEN](#) [VIDEO](#)

2012 OLYMPICS

[THE RACE TO HOST](#)
[London unveils bid](#)
[Paris launches Gam](#)
[Madrid unveils 'gree](#)
[NY shrug off Iraq d](#)
[Rivals explain their](#)

[Inspection dates/tin](#)

[MORE ON LONDON'S](#)
[Promotional film](#)
[Virtual tour of venu](#)
[London 2012 image](#)

[Londoners warming](#)
[Facts/claims at-a-gl](#)
[Proposed venues](#)

[INTERNET LINKS](#)

[International Olymp](#)
[Official London 201](#)
[Download London's](#)
The BBC is not resp
content of external

[SEE ALSO](#)

[Q&A: Olympic bid a](#)
30 Jul 04 | [Olympics](#)
[The track record on](#)
[corruption](#)
30 Jul 04 | [Olympics](#)
[The official respons](#)
03 Aug 04 | [Panoram](#)
[The Olympic rules](#)
03 Aug 04 | [Panoram](#)

[RELATED BBC LINKS](#)

[Panorama](#)

[ALSO IN THIS SECT](#)

[Coe urges UK to bac](#)
'GB United' claims o
[Paris recruits transp](#)
[Tanni backing Lond](#)

agents featured in the programme who specialises in helping cities win the Olympics.

Panorama reporters posed as consultants acting for clients with business interests in east London who wanted the Games to come to the city.

They met four agents who said they could secure a total of 54 votes - nine short of the 63 required to host the Olympics.

Mr Takac named more than 30 IOC members who he said he could approach to negotiate backing for London.

About one member, he said:
"He loves Paris but needs money."

Mr Takac said he could probably get 15 to 20 votes, of which half would require "payment".



Bulgarian Ivan Slavkov was secretly filmed by Panorama

An IOC spokesman said the matter had been referred to its Ethics Commission and Panorama has said it will discuss with them how it can help with the inquiry.

Meanwhile, Mike Lee, director of communications and public affairs at London 2012, said his bid team was not accused of any wrongdoing.

He said: "We understand that certain allegations are made as a result of the programme's undercover operation but they are not in any way connected with the London bid.

"Seb Coe has emphasised that this bid is being conducted in an ethical and proper manner and within the bidding rules set by the International Olympic Committee.

"There is nothing in this programme which brings that into question.

"Panorama's wider allegations regarding the bidding process have already been referred to the IOC's Ethics Commission and these matters will be dealt with by the IOC in due course."

When approached by the programme, Mr Takac said he had known Panorama's story was fake and had simply played along.

He said that both he and Professor Slavkov had only agreed to the meeting because they wanted to expose what they thought was a real attempt at corruption.

“Whatever I could say during the meeting was intended to trap the ‘corruptors’”
Professor Slavkov
IOC Code of Ethics

Professor Slavkov added that he had deliberately hinted that his vote could be swayed in order to trap the Panorama team.

He said: "Whatever I could say during the meeting was intended to trap the 'corruptors'."

IOC president Jacques Rogge promised to eliminate corruption following the 1998 Salt Lake City scandal in which 13 Olympic officials were accused of accepting bribes.

The Ethics Commission was set up as part of the reforms introduced in the wake of that crisis.

London is up against Paris, Madrid, New York and Moscow for the right to stage the 2012 Games.

 [E-mail this to a friend](#)

 [Printable version](#)

Links to more Olympics 2012 stories

In This Section  