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RETURN TO YOUR CORNERS: HAVE FEDERAL BOXING LAWS GONE THE DISTANCE OR SLIPPED THE JAB?

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

APRIL 22, 2026

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SENATE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION

ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

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RETURN TO YOUR CORNERS: HAVE FEDERAL BOXING LAWS GONE THE DISTANCE OR SLIPPED THE JAB?

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 22, 2026

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND TRANSPORTATION,
Washington, DC.

The Committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:07 a.m., in room SR–253, Russell Senate Office Building, Hon. Ted Cruz, Chairman of the Committee Chairman, presiding.

Present: Senators Cruz [presiding], Young, Moreno, Sheehy, Rosen, Klobuchar, Fetterman, and Blunt Rochester.

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. TED CRUZ, U.S. SENATOR FROM TEXAS

The CHAIRMAN. Good morning. The Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation will come to order.

For generations, boxing has been a part of the rhythm of American life. It lived in neighborhood gyms, in Friday night fight cards, in radios and television sets, in stories passed down from one generation to the next. Fathers watched fights with their sons. Kids grew up knowing names like Joe Louis, Sugar Ray Robinson, Muhammad Ali, George Foreman, and Mike Tyson. Boxing has never been just about titles and purses. It's about discipline, preparation, and willingness to step into the ring and answer the bell. That's why the movie Rocky still endures. Rocky tells a story that Americans have always understood, instinctively, that hard work and perseverance matters, that sometimes a fair shot is enough to change everything.

Now, Rocky is fiction, but it lasts because it never felt fake to Americans. It strikes a nerve with us because it captured something real. The fighter that nobody believed in, the long odds, the early mornings, the raw effort, not to mention raw eggs and chicken coop chases, but above all, it is the refusal to quit that stands the test of time. As Mike Tyson is famous for saying, "Everyone has a plan until they get punched in the face." That's one reason boxing has always occupied a special place in our national imagination. It's not just about the outcome; it's about the courage to step in the ring and fight.

Congress recognized the importance of this American pastime 30 years ago when it passed the Professional Boxing Safety Act, and later, the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act. Those laws were meant to protect fighters, to promote fairness, and to address real

abuses that had taken root in boxing. They were meant to set basic guardrails without remaking the sport from Washington. But with every change comes tradeoffs. That framework has helped to guard against certain abuses and preserve some level of competition within the sport. At the same time, it has contributed to a system that is overly complex, with multiple sanctioning body, competing interests, and recurring challenges in organizing major fights.

Views on this structure differ. Some see it as a necessary feature of a system that protects independence and competition. Others see it as a source of fragmentation that makes boxing harder to navigate for fighters and fans alike. This complexity shows up in ways that fans recognize highly anticipated fights are delayed or never materialize due to promotional disputes. In some weight classes, multiple fighters are recognized simultaneously as champions, making it harder to follow the sport and harder to determine who truly is the best. The broader landscape has shifted as well. Mixed martial arts has grown up rapidly over the past 2 decades, delivering more consistent matchups and drawing larger audiences, while boxing's biggest viewership is concentrated on just a handful of marquee fights.

Three decades after Congress first acted, we have an opportunity to reflect on the specific ways the Federal framework may be doing more harm than good. These laws undoubtedly helped to improve inconsistent health and safety standards for fighters, and a lack of transparency in contracts and rankings. However, those laws have also locked in place an arrangement that makes boxing harder for fans to follow.

Against this backdrop, the House of Representatives recently passed the Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act with overwhelming bipartisan support. The bill creates a pathway for a unified league-style structure to exist alongside the current system. It introduces the concept of a unified boxing organization or UBO, because the world needed more acronyms, which would operate much like a traditional sports league where a centralized entity employs athletes while still allowing the traditional model to continue as well.

After having spoken to numerous stakeholders across boxing and combat sports, it's clear that there are persistent challenges in the current model. Challenges that fighters, promoters and fans alike recognize, even if they differ on the cause and the cure. With that in mind, I expect to soon introduce a Senate version of the House-passed Ali Revival Act. We need more predictable pathways for matchmaking and simplified rankings. I believe allowing for a more unified structure to take hold could help the sport compete more effectively against other combat sport competitors. I have no doubt that throughout the legislative process there are going to be changes to the bill. There will be amendments to address real concerns and to make sure we design a system that operates in the best interest of everyone; the fighters, the sport, and the fans.

Today, the Committee has gathered a group of witnesses who have lived this to help create a final product that is a win for fans and boxers alike. I look forward to hearing from our witnesses and to a conversation that helps us take a clear look at the issues, and

moves us forward thoughtfully while keeping Congress in its proper corner.

With that I recognize Ranking Member Rosen.

STATEMENT OF HON. JACKY ROSEN,
U.S. SENATOR FROM NEVADA

Senator ROSEN. Well, good morning, everyone, and thank you, Chairman Cruz, for holding this really important hearing. I want to welcome our guests here today, and I thank them in advance for their insight and their testimony as we work to craft something that will work for everyone.

And before I get into my remarks, I'm going to take a point of personal privilege because my in-laws first date was to the fights, as my mother-in-law used to say. As her first date we saw my father-in-law, but they went to a boxing match. They were married 62 years. They always loved the fights. They always went, and so I just remember them today. They were big fans their entire life. And so, they're no longer with us, but maybe they're sitting on my shoulder today. My father-in-law for sure.

Anyway, it has been over two decades since the Commerce Committee has held a hearing to discuss the boxing industry. That was for the rise of mixed martial arts and other combat sports, before the proliferation of viewing options and streaming services, and before scientific research on the impact of head trauma in sports has on the progression of disease like CTE. So, suffice it to say, we're long overdue to examine the state of boxing in America.

Again, I want to thank this panel of witnesses for being here to testify on such an important part of our sports and entertainment economy, particularly in Nevada. And I'm interested to hear what each of you has to say on the challenges boxing as a sport is facing today, and what legislative solutions we should really consider.

Boxing has a long-storied history in America. My hometown of Las Vegas, it has been and remains, I won't do any imitations, the undisputed capital, right, of the combat sports of the world. The biggest fights take place there; the largest purses are paid. We're proud home of the UFC, and this past week we hosted WrestleMania. We've been the site of countless legendary boxing matches from the infamous Tyson versus Holyfield fight in 1997, and the highly anticipated Mayweather versus Pacquiao bout in 2015, the highest grossing event in all boxing history. Las Vegas has seen it all.

In the 19th century, when most states had outlawed prize fighting, Nevada welcomed the sport. In the mid-20th century, the growing entertainment industry in Las Vegas invested in building an ecosystem that supported boxing, as boxing bouts drove fans and support for tourism industry in our state. That remains true today. Just last September, the Canelo versus Crawford fight at Allegiant Stadium drew over 70,000 fans, became the most watched men's championship boxing match of this century. So far, so far, right?

Over 90 percent of those attending the fight were nonlocals, and they came to Las Vegas specifically for this fight, which drove over $300 million of economic impact for Las Vegas. So, today, when people around the world picture a championship fight, they picture

Allegiant Stadium, MGM Grand Garden Arena, or T-Mobile Arena in Las Vegas. But that also means that any significant changes to the boxing industry would have profound impacts on Las Vegas; its venues, its promoters, the boxers, workers living there.

So, when Congress first passed legislation regulating boxing nearly 30 years ago, it did so with a clear purpose of establishing health and safety protections for boxers. Four years later, Congress passed the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act, also known as the Ali Act, to address the anti-competitive and exploitive practices rampant then in the industry. Since then, multiple bills have been introduced in an attempt to improve boxing and combat sports, although none have passed.

Now, in 2026, boxing has the potential to once again captivate people across the country and around the world. The Canelo versus Crawford fight—excuse me, is proof of that. But with so much entertainment competing for so many eyes and so many dollars, few would argue that boxing isn't due for some kind of change that will revitalize the sport and bring it back to its former glory. The question really is for us how to best go about creating opportunities for expansion while still protecting the core of boxing, the boxers themselves. So that's what we have to do.

So, I'm interested to hear what you all have to say today, how we can improve boxing as a whole, because anytime Congress weighs in on the structure of a sport, it is critical we understand the potential impacts, and how changing incentives can end up just changing an entire sports landscape. Boxing is the only sport in America that is federally regulated to this degree, and we owe it to the sport, to the athletes, to their trainers, to everyone in the ecosystem and their fans to get the regulations right. So, thank you, Mr. Chair. I yield back.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I'd now like to introduce our witnesses for today. Ladies and gentlemen, on my left, wearing a blue pinstripe suit and a light blue shirt, he is an 11-time world champion across six divisions. He holds a professional record of 39 wins and 6 losses with 30 wins by knockout. In 1992, he captured Olympic gold and earned his nickname, "The Golden Boy." Now a major promoter at Golden Boy Promotions, weighing in at 133 and 34 pounds——

[Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. Our first witness is the Pride of East LA, Mr. Oscar De La Hoya. We have a really quiet crowd today.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Also on my left is the Executive Director of the Florida Athletic Commission, and the President of the Association of Boxing Commissioners, representing 56 regulatory commissions across the United States. His background includes 21 years of honorable service in the United States Marine Corps—there we go—and 20 years as a combat sports regulator. For his contributions to combat sports, he was introduced into the Florida Boxing Hall of Fame, and the Florida MMA Hall of Fame. We welcome to the Committee, Mr. Tim Shipman.

Senator ROSEN. All right, we are going to clap for everyone.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. On my right is a boxer out of Las Vegas, Nevada. He holds a professional record of 13 wins, two losses and one draw with five wins by knockout. He comes off a unanimous decision victory in his most recent bout in December. He is the grandson of the legendary boxer, Muhammad Ali. Weighing in at 159.6 pounds, we welcome Mr. Nico Ali Walsh.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. And, finally, in the right corner of the panel, our final witness today is a successful businessman with extensive experience in combat sports. Formerly the co-head of television at Creative Artists Agency, where he represented the biggest names and entities in sports media, and now the President of World Wrestling Entertainment and a promoter of Zuffa Boxing, we welcome to this committee, Mr. Nick Khan.

[Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. And now, if you can touch gloves, and Mr. De La Hoya, you are recognized for 5 minutes.

STATEMENT OF OSCAR DE LA HOYA, CHAIRMAN AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, GOLDEN BOY PROMOTIONS

Mr. DE LA HOYA. Members of the Committee, thank you very much for this opportunity today. My name is Oscar De La Hoya, I'm a U.S. Olympic gold medalist, a six-division, 11-time world champion, and now run Golden Boy Promotions.

I care deeply about boxing, and more importantly, about the fighters who step into the ring and risk their lives for our entertainment. I'm here because I strongly believe the proposed changes to the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act take us in the wrong direction. Today, you will hear many different perspectives, some that may want to discredit the decades-long work the sports stakeholders have already done to create a safe sport that puts fighters first, and creates a free marketplace for fighters to negotiate the best deals for their families and for their personal legacies.

I grew up in East LA with very little. Boxing was my way out. When I won the Olympic Gold at 18 years old, I had promoters coming at me from every direction. My family and I didn't have access to legal advice. I signed the first contract put in front of me without fully understanding it. It didn't take long to realize I had been taken advantage of. That experience is not unique. Many fighters enter this sport young, trusting, and without resources, and once they are locked into the wrong deal, it is very difficult to get out. That is exactly why the Ali Act exists. I had the opportunity to work with Senator John McCain on this. As a national hero, a prisoner of war, and someone who loved boxing, as a former Golden Gloves fighter, he understood the risks fighters take and the need to protect them.

The Ali Act reflects that commitment to fairness and to protecting fighters from being taken advantage of. Passed in 2000, the Ali Act addresses real problems including conflicts of interest, lack of transparency, and the exploitation of fighters. It creates a system designed to protect fighters and preserve a fair open marketplace. Those protections still matter today. This principle change of the proposed amendment allows a promoter to create an entity that serves as both promoter and governing body, a so-called "unified

boxing organization." This mirrors the existing MMA model, and creates a closed system controlling rankings, titles, and access to opportunity.

Under this structure, as long as the UBO complies with its own internal rules, it would not violate the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act. Meanwhile, traditional promoters like myself would still be required to comply with full financial disclosures and reporting requirements. In other words, one system operates under transparency and accountability, while the UBOs do not. This is a fundamental shift in power that, if changed, would put corporate profits first, fighters second.

We should be clear about who benefits from this. These changes align directly with what Zuffa Boxing and its leadership at TKO Group holdings have already said. They intend to build in boxing a model similar to the UFC, and we already know what that model looks like, and it does not work for the fighters. The UFC and its parent company agreed to a $375 million antitrust settlement after fighters accused them of suppressing wages and restricting competition.

At the same time, Zuffa Boxing is fully funded by the Saudis. We've already seen how that kind of funding reshaped another sport through LIV Golf. We should be honest about what is happening here. That was sports washing, a clear effort to use sports to reshape reputation. Now, players who were drawn in by the money are trying to come back to the PGA Tour since the league will lose $5 billion in funding. This should serve as a warning.

Transparency is just as critical. In current Zuffa contracts, fighters are locked into rigid earnings structures with little to no ability to negotiate. The promoter controls all major revenue streams, including media rights, ticket sales, and sponsorships, while fighters are limited to guaranteed purses and discretionary bonuses, with only narrow participation in upside revenue. As an independent contractor, fighters won't have leverage when one system controls all opportunities. Under current law, fighters already have the right to see the financials behind every event they headline, giving them a fair opportunity to negotiate their compensation.

I also want to address safety. The proposed changes suggest improved protections, but boxing already has strong safeguards in place and existing protections, including health insurance for injuries and life insurance for fighters' families. Commissions and promoters ensure fighters are medically cleared and covered, and cover related costs. If this proposal is truly about protecting fighters, why are MMA athletes not included at all? They compete in a similar dangerous sport, yet, they are completely excluded. That raises serious concerns about whether it's truly about protection, or about restructuring control of boxing.

Fighters deserve real protection and real opportunity, not have to fight the system as well. If this bill passes, fighters will have fewer choices, less leverage, and less control over their careers. And when that happens, it will not be the sport that failed them. It will be us.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. De La Hoya follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF OSCAR DE LA HOYA

Chairman Cruz, Ranking Member Cantwell, and members of the Committee:

Thank you for the opportunity to be here today.

My name is Oscar De La Hoya. I am a U.S. Olympic Gold Medalist, a six-division, 11-time world champion, and now run Golden Boy Promotions. I care deeply about boxing, and more importantly, about the fighters who step into the ring and risk their lives for our entertainment.

I'm here as a former fighter because I strongly believe the proposed changes to the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act take us in the wrong direction. Today, you will hear many different perspectives, some that may want to discredit the decades long work the sport's stakeholders have already done to create a safe sport that puts fighters first and creates a free marketplace for fighters to negotiate the best deals for their families and their personal legacy.

I grew up in East Los Angeles with very little. Boxing was my way out. When I won my gold medal at 18, I had promoters coming at me from every direction. My family and I didn't have access to legal advice, and I signed the first contract put in front of me without fully understanding it. It didn't take long to realize I had been taken advantage of. That experience is not unique. Many fighters enter this sport young, trusting, and without resources, and once they are locked into the wrong deal, it is very difficult to get out. That is exactly why the Ali Act exists.

I had the opportunity to work with Senator John McCain on this. As a national hero, a prisoner of war, and someone who loved boxing as a former Golden Gloves fighter, he understood the risks fighters take and the need to protect them. The Ali Act reflects that commitment to fairness and to protecting fighters from being taken advantage of.

Passed in 2000, the Ali Act addresses real problems including conflicts of interest, lack of transparency, and the exploitation of fighters. It creates a system designed to protect fighters and preserve a fair, open marketplace. Those protections still matter today.

The principal change of the proposed amendment allows a promoter to create an entity that serves as both promoter and governing body, a so-called "Unified Boxing Organization." This mirrors the existing MMA model and creates a closed system controlling rankings, titles, and access to opportunity.

Under this structure, as long as the UBO complies with its own internal rules, it would not violate the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act. Meanwhile, traditional promoters, like myself, would still be required to comply with full financial disclosure and reporting requirements.

In other words, one system operates under transparency and accountability, while the UBOs do not. This is a fundamental shift in power that if changed would put corporate profits first, fighters second. We should be clear about who benefits from this.

These changes align directly with what Zuffa Boxing and its leadership at TKO Group Holdings have already said they intend to build in boxing, a model similar to the UFC. And we already know what that model looks like and it does not work for fighters. The UFC and its parent company agreed to a $375 million antitrust settlement after fighters accused them of suppressing wages and restricting competition.

At the same time, Zuffa boxing is fully funded by Saudi Arabia. We've already seen how that kind of funding reshaped another sport through LIV Golf. We should be honest about what is happening here. That was sportswashing, a clear effort to use sports to reshape reputations. Now, players who were drawn in by the money are trying to come back to the PGA Tour since the league will lose $5 Billion in Saudi-funding. This should serve as a warning.

Transparency is just as critical. In current Zuffa contracts, fighters are locked into rigid earning structures with little to no ability to negotiate. Zuffa controls all major revenue streams including media rights, ticket sales, and sponsorships, while fighters are limited to guaranteed purses and discretionary bonuses, with only narrow participation in upside revenue. As independent contractors, fighters won't have leverage when one system controls all opportunities. Under current law, fighters already have the right to see the financials behind the events they headline, giving them a fair opportunity to negotiate their compensation.

I also want to address safety. The proposed changes suggest improved protections, but boxing already has strong safeguards in place and existing protections, including health insurance for injuries and life insurance for fighters' families. Commissions and promoters ensure fighters are medically cleared and cover related medical costs.

If this proposal is truly about protecting fighters, why are MMA athletes not included at all? They compete in a similarly dangerous sport, yet they are completely excluded.

That raises serious concerns about whether this is truly about protection or about restructuring control of boxing. Fighters deserve to come first, shareholder profits second.

Fighters deserve real protection and real opportunity—not have to fight the system as well.

If this bill passes, fighters will have fewer choices, less leverage, and less control over their careers.

And when that happens, it will not be the sport that failed them. It will be us.

Thank you for your time. I am happy to answer any questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. De La Hoya. Mr. Shipman.

STATEMENT OF TIMOTHY SHIPMAN, PRESIDENT, ASSOCIATION OF BOXING COMMISSIONS AND COMBATIVE SPORTS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, FLORIDA ATHLETIC COMMISSION

Mr. SHIPMAN. Good morning. Thank you, Chairman. I can't override that great introduction that you gave to me, so, I'll start with my testimony, and thank you very much. My testimony today reflects these experiences and is intended to provide information regarding the implementation and potential impacts of the Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act, along with information about the current state of boxing regulation.

The Florida Athletic Commission is responsible for regulating professional boxing, kickboxing, and mixed martial arts within the state. Florida remains one of the most active combat sports markets in the Nation, consistently ranking among the top five in all combative sports, and top three for boxing. The state has volumes of hosting major national and international promotions. Just as importantly, we pride ourselves on being a leader in the fighter health and safety.

Florida maintains significant medical requirements and oversight standards, including mandatory ringside physicians at all events, robust profile medicals, and strong post-bout monitoring procedures. These safety measures have produced real-world results. For example, during an event last year, a fighter collapsed in the ring. Because Florida requires a ringside physician to be present and immediately available, and not simply on call, the doctor was able to initiate lifesaving care within seconds. The fighter survived because of safeguards Florida has put into place. This is precisely why strong medical standards matter.

The legislation before you proposes significant updates to the Federal framework governing professional boxing, including provisions related to fighter safety, compensation, organizational structure, and Federal and State coordination. My testimony today will focus on how these changes may function in practice, and their potential impact at the State level.

Beginning with safety, the bill includes several enhancements that align with, and in some cases, exceed Florida's already high standards. These include medical testing protocols, minimum insurance coverage, and additional anti-doping measures. The legislation establishes national minimum standards for fighter compensation, medical care, drug testing, and insurance coverage. These provisions may promote greater uniformity across jurisdic-

tions, and when implemented, will introduce additional operational and financial considerations for both commissions and promoters.

With respect to the implementation, each state will need to update rules, procedures, and administrative frameworks to reflect the bill's requirements. In Florida, we estimate an implementation timeline of approximately 3 to 6 months, depending on the timing and clarity of the final Federal guidance. Additionally, the bill introduces structural reforms, most notably, the creation of a unified boxing organization. These entities are intended to expand pathways for fighters to compete, improve compensation, increase access to medical care, and promote greater transparency across the sport. UBOs may also offer more consistent access to training opportunities. Ultimately, UBOs are designated to enhance fighters' ability to seed while reshaping the traditional framework of professional boxing.

From a regulatory perspective, this represents a substantial shift. States will require clear guidance on how UBOs integrate with existing licensing, event approval, and oversight systems. Effectively coordination between Federal standards and State regulatory authorities will remain essential to prevent duplication and avoid conflict and requirements. Ultimately, the overall impact of this legislation will depend on its final structure, the extent of Federal guidance, and level of coordination with State regulatory bodies. Adequate time, clarity, and flexibility for states are essential for a smooth and effective transition.

In closing, Florida stands ready to work with Federal and State partners to implement any enacted requirements in a manner that supports effective oversight, and promotes the health, and safety, and welfare of all participants. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Shipman follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF TIMOTHY L. SHIPMAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, FLORIDA ATHLETIC COMMISSION

For the record, my name is Timothy Shipman, and I serve as Executive Director of the Florida Athletic Commission within the Florida Department of Business and Professional Regulation. I also serve as President of the Association of Boxing Commissions and Combative Sports, representing 56 regulatory bodies across the United States. My background includes 21 years of honorable Service in the United States Marine Corps and 20 years working in combative sports as a regulator, holding positions as Inspector, Chief Inspector, Timekeeper, Coordinator, Assistant Executive Director and now Director of the Florida Athletic Commission. My testimony today reflects these experiences and is intended to provide information regarding the implementation and potential impacts of the Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act along with information about the current state of boxing regulation.

The Florida Athletic Commission is responsible for regulating professional boxing, kickboxing, and mixed martial arts within the state. Florida remains one of the most active combative sports markets in the nation, consistently ranking among the top states for event volume and hosting major national and international promotions. Just as importantly, we pride ourselves on being a leader in fighter health and safety. Florida maintains significant medical requirements and oversight standards, including mandatory ringside physicians at all events, robust pre-fight medicals, and strong post-bout monitoring procedures.

These safety measures have produced real-world results. For example, during an event last year, a fighter collapsed in the ring after the final bell. Because Florida requires a ringside physician to be present and immediately available, and not simply on call, the doctor was able to initiate lifesaving care within seconds. The fighter survived because of safeguards Florida has put in place. This is precisely why strong medical standards matter. The legislation before you proposes significant updates to the Federal framework governing professional boxing, including provisions re-

lated to fighter safety, compensation, organizational structure, and federal–state coordination. My testimony today will focus on how these changes may function in practice and their potential impact at the state level.

Beginning with safety, the bill includes several enhancements that align with and, in some cases, exceed Florida's already high standards. These include medical testing protocols, minimum insurance coverage, and additional anti-doping measures. The legislation establishes national minimum standards for fighter compensation, medical care, drug testing, and insurance coverage. These provisions may promote greater uniformity across jurisdictions and when implementing will introduce additional operational and financial considerations for both commissions and promoters.

With respect to implementation, each state will need to update rules, procedures, and administrative frameworks to reflect the bill's requirements. In Florida, we estimate an implementation timeline of approximately three-to-six months, depending on the timing and clarity of the final Federal guidance.

Additionally, the bill introduces structural reforms, most notably the creation of Unified Boxing Organizations (UBOs). These entities are intended to expand pathways for fighters to compete, improve compensation, increase access to medical care, and promote greater transparency across the sport. UBOs may also offer more consistent access to training opportunities. Ultimately, UBOs are designed to enhance fighters' ability to succeed while reshaping the traditional framework of professional boxing. From a regulatory perspective, this represents a substantial shift. States will require clear guidance on how UBOs integrate with existing licensing, event approval, and oversight systems. Effective coordination between Federal standards and state regulatory authorities will remain essential to prevent duplication and avoid conflicting requirements.

Ultimately, the overall impact of this legislation will depend on its final structure, the extent of Federal guidance, and the level of coordination with state regulatory bodies. Adequate time, clarity, and flexibility for states are essential for a smooth and effective transition. In closing, Florida stands ready to work with Federal and state partners to implement any enacted requirements in a manner that supports effective oversight and promotes the health and welfare of participants.

If you have any questions or need any further information, don't hesitate to get in touch with the Florida Athletic Commission at (850) 488–8500 or e-mail me directly: *timothy.shipman@myfloridalicense.com*

Sincerely,

TIMOTHY L. SHIPMAN.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Mr. Walsh.

STATEMENT OF NICO ALI WALSH, PROFESSIONAL BOXER

Mr. WALSH. Chairman Cruz, Ranking Member Rosen, and members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. My name is Niko Ali Walsh, I'm a professional boxer, and the grandson of Muhammad Ali. I'm here as someone whose name is directly tied to the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act, not just as a fighter affected by it, but as part of the legacy that law represents.

To build on Mr. De La Hoya's statements, fighters are labeled independent contractors. As a result, people say fighters will have options, that we can just go elsewhere. But when the same company controls who you fight, how you're promoted, and whether fans ever see you, it's not much of a choice. When one system controls access, choice becomes theoretical, not real. The Ali Act was built on a simple principle: The people controlling fighters should not also control the entire marketplace those fighters depend on. That separation exists to prevent conflicts of interest and exploitation.

The new Muhammad Ali Boxing Revival Act would undermine that principle. By allowing one entity to operate across promotion, management, and matchmaking, it removes independence. When that happens, you fight who you're told to fight or you don't fight

at all. At that point, real choice disappears and so does negotiation. This type of centralized system is already seen in mixed martial arts, particularly in the UFC, where a single organization controls promotion, matchmaking, and fighter contracts. In that model, fighters typically receive under 20 percent of the revenue compared to boxing, where fighters can earn up to 80 percent.

The newly proposed Revival Act pushes that centralized model onto boxing behind the claim that boxing is broken. Boxing is not broken. If it were, UFC champions at the height of their careers would not be actively targeting boxing fights because of the fair pay. That movement is rarely seen in reverse due to the UFC's centralized pay structure. Boxing has never been perfect, but one of its strengths has always been competition. Multiple promoters competing for fighters creates leverage and fair market value. When that competition is consolidated to one system, leverage disappears.

This isn't abstract. I'm living it. Fighters understand that speaking up can come with severe professional consequences. That reality creates silence, and that silence is part of the system. I've personally benefited from the protections that exist today. After one of my fights, I was notified that my opponent tested positive for performance enhancing drugs. That fight was ruled a no contest. That process; testing, enforcement, and oversight, worked and it protected me. In another fight, I suffered a severe shoulder injury in the ring that required surgery shortly after. The current system ensured I received immediate medical attention and proper care throughout my recovery. These are real examples of the system working to protect fighters. That's the point. Protection should be strengthened, especially around health and safety, but not used as justification to restructure the sport in a way that removes power from fighters.

The bill that the House has passed should not be adopted. We could protect fighters more effectively than we do today without concentrating control over them. If this bill is passed in its current form, it should not have my grandfather's name on it as it would betray the principles that his Act was created to protect. He fought for dignity outside the ring. This is about dignity inside it. Fighters should not have to choose between their careers and their rights.

Fifty-five years ago, this year, my grandfather's name appeared on these grounds, before this government, and he took a stand for what he believed in. He did it knowing there would be consequences. He did it knowing it could cost him everything, and this country, at its best, recognized the principle behind that stand. Today I'm here, decades later, in that same spirit, not as a symbol, but as a fighter living through the reality of this system. This moment is not about the past. It's about whether we continue to stand on those same principles now, and I believe we will.

Thank you, guys, for your time.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Walsh follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF NICO ALI WALSH

Chairman Cruz, Ranking Member Cantwell, and members of the Committee: Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today.

My name is Nico Ali Walsh. I am a professional boxer and the grandson of Muhammad Ali. I'm here as someone whose name is directly tied to the Muhammad

Ali Boxing Reform Act, not just as a fighter affected by it, but as part of the legacy that law represents.

To build on Mr. De La Hoya's statements, fighters are labeled independent contractors.

As a result, people say fighters will have options; that we can just go elsewhere. But when the same company controls who you fight, how you're promoted, and whether fans ever see you, it's not much of a choice. When one system controls access, "choice" becomes theoretical, not real.

The Ali Act was built on a simple principle: the people controlling fighters should not also control the entire marketplace those fighters depend on. That separation exists to prevent conflicts of interest and exploitation. These are the firewall provisions in the current Act.

The new Muhammad Ali Boxing Revival Act would undermine that principle. By allowing one entity to operate across promotion, management, and matchmaking, it removes independence and replaces an open market with a controlled structure.

When that happens, negotiation changes. Fighters are no longer dealing with competing opportunities; they are dealing with a system that controls access, structure, and terms. If fighters cannot clearly see how value is created and distributed, they cannot negotiate on equal ground.

This type of centralized system is already seen in mixed martial arts, particularly in the UFC, where a single organization controls promotion, matchmaking, and fighter contracts. In that model, fighters typically receive under 20 percent of the revenue, compared to boxing, where fighters can earn up to 80 percent.

Prizefighting has always been rooted in open competition for a purse. The newly proposed Revival Act is entertainment—centrally controlled—and presented as athletic competition behind the claim that boxing is "broken."

Boxing is not broken. If it were, UFC champions, at the height of their careers, would not be actively targeting boxing fights because of the fair pay. That movement is rarely seen in reverse due to the UFC's centralized pay structure.

Boxing has never been perfect, but one of its strengths has always been competition. Multiple promoters competing for fighters creates leverage, opportunity, and fair market value. When that competition is replaced by consolidation, leverage disappears.

And once fighters lose leverage, they do not get it back, because every contract, every negotiation, and every career decision is shaped by that structure moving forward.

This isn't abstract. I'm living it. Fighters understand that speaking up can come with severe professional consequences. That reality creates silence long before anything is ever said.

I've personally benefited from the protections that exist today.

After one of my fights, I was notified that my opponent tested positive for performance-enhancing drugs. That fight was ruled a no contest. That process, testing, enforcement, and oversight worked; and it protected me.

In another fight, I suffered a severe shoulder injury in the ring that required surgery shortly after. The current system ensured I received immediate medical attention and proper care throughout my recovery.

These are real examples of the system working to protect fighters.

That's the point; protections should be strengthened, especially around health and safety, but not used as justification to restructure the sport in a way that removes power from fighters.

The bill that the House has passed should not be adopted. We can protect fighters more effectively than we do today without concentrating control over them.

If this bill is passed in its current form, it should not have my grandfather's name on it, as it would no longer reflect the principles that his Act was created to protect.

He fought for dignity outside the ring. This is about dignity inside it. Fighters should not have to choose between their careers and their rights.

55 years ago this year, my grandfather stood in the Supreme Court, before this government, and took a stand for what he believed in. He did it knowing there would be consequences. He did it knowing it could cost him everything.

And this country, at its best, recognized the principle behind that stand.

Today, I'm here decades later, in that same spirit, not as a symbol, but as a fighter living through the reality of this system.

This moment is not about the past; it's about whether we continue to stand on those same principles now.

And I believe we will.

Thank you for your time.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Mr. Khan, you're recognized.

STATEMENT OF NICK KHAN, PRESIDENT, WORLD WRESTLING ENTERTAINMENT

Mr. KHAN. Chairman Cruz, Senator Rosen, members of the Committee, it's a privilege to appear before you today. My name is Nick Khan. I'm President of WWE. I helped to run Zuffa Boxing, and I'm a board member of our parent company, TKO Group Holdings. I'm also a lifelong fan of boxing, which makes the current state of the sport all the more difficult to witness.

When Congress created the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act in 2000, it diagnosed a serious problem with the sport. This committee now has the opportunity to remedy that problem and restore one of the great American sporting institutions. It may sound odd to some people in this room, but there was a time not long ago when boxing in America was bigger than football and basketball.

Fifty years ago, when Rocky came out, during the 1976 bicentennial, boxing was the most culturally dominant sport in America. The greatest, Muhammad Ali, fought four times that year, an unheard-of pace today. Two years prior, Ali knocked out George Foreman in the Rumble in the Jungle, which was broadcast to over 700 million people worldwide. 1976 was also the year Sugar Ray Leonard won gold in Montreal. A mere 4 years later, in 1980, Sugar Ray Leonard earned $8 million for a single fight. The average NFL salary in 1980 was $80,000. Talent follows money. The best athletes in America chose boxing then.

The 1984 Los Angeles Summer Olympics perfectly encapsulates boxing before its precipitous decline. Nine Americans won gold medals in boxing in 1984. In stark contrast, the U.S. has not won an Olympic gold medal in men's boxing in over 20 years. In fact, it's only won one male gold in boxing in 30 years since the 1996 Olympic Games.

Again, Congress diagnosed this problem 26 years ago. Almost every major American sport has a league that sets rules, enforces standards, develops talent, and creates the conditions for stars to emerge. Boxing has never had that structure. Instead, it has a patchwork of sanctioning bodies whose business model is charging boxers money for the right to be called champions. Today, the WBC, a sanctioning body, alone, recognizes 163 champions across 18 weight classes. To state the obvious, there should simply be 18 champions across 18 weight classes. But the more champions, the more fees to the sanctioning bodies. And those fees come directly out of the fighters' purses, typically 3 percent from both champion and challenger.

The Muhammad Ali Boxing Revival Act is built on a simple premise: Give boxers the freedom to choose a better system. The Act as it currently stands would remain in place. The system as it currently stands would remain in place. This is an or option. Create the framework for unified boxing organizations, otherwise known as UBOs, that can do what major sports do: Promote competition, develop talent, enforce consistent standards across one roof.

For boxers, this bill delivers concrete protections that are long overdue. First, minimum pay of $200 per round, a floor that exceeds the minimum in 49 states, and equals that of the highest, California. Second, mandatory injury insurance of $50,000 per bout

at no cost to the boxer. Today, thousands of professional boxers compete with no insurance at all. Under the UBO structure, if it is passed, that we would do. The health insurance would kick in when training camp starts, not just on the night of the fight. So when a fighter goes into camp 8 or 12 weeks before, if there's an injury in that camp, that is covered. Many fighters fight injured on fight night because, again, there is no insurance until the night of the fight.

Third, a six-year cap on promotional contracts comparable to rookie contracts in baseball and football, giving boxers a genuine path to free agency. Fourth, standardized medical protocols for every boxer; annual brain MRIs, cardiac testing, brain health testing. The UFC is at the forefront of brain health testing with its partnership with the Cleveland Clinic.

Anyone can form a UBO. Any existing boxing promoter, anyone, as long as they're willing to meet those boxer protection standards that I just articulated. It's for safety and fair treatment of the boxers. If that disqualifies you from wanting to form a UBO, the problem is not this bill. As you know well, a few bills passed with overwhelming bipartisan support. This one did through the House, incorporating multiple changes.

Some of the sanctioning bodies oppose this bill. That's because it threatens their dominance over the sport. As you know, in 2028, the Olympics returned to LA, the same city where those nine Americans won boxing gold in 1984. If this committee acts now, there's an actual chance that American boxing will be prepared to meet the moment. Otherwise, we will find ourselves spectators in our own stadium.

To ensure this doesn't happen, we are committing $1 million to organizations that build pathways from amateur boxing to the professional ranks. That starts with the Police Athletic Leagues, which has introduced generations of Americans youth to this sport, including a young Cassius Clay. It's an unconditional commitment because rebuilding boxing starts in the local communities and gyms, and it has to start now.

I'm grateful for your time. I'm grateful for this committee's commitment, and I welcome any questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Khan follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF NICK KHAN, PRESIDENT, WWE; SENIOR EXECUTIVE, ZUFFA BOXING AND BOARD MEMBER, TKO GROUP HOLDINGS

Chairman Cruz, Ranking Member Cantwell, and distinguished Members of the Committee: Thank you for the opportunity to testify today about the state of boxing.

My name is Nick Khan. I serve as President of WWE, help run Zuffa Boxing, and I am a board member of our parent company, TKO Group Holdings. I am also a lifelong fan of boxing, which makes the current state of the sport all the more difficult to witness.

I am here because I believe this Committee can help accomplish something historic: revive what was, for generations, a beloved American institution, a sport once dominated by American athletes at both the amateur and professional levels, by supporting the *Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act.*

The *Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act* is a direct response to a problem Congress itself identified a quarter century ago, a problem that has, unfortunately, become worse, not better.

My testimony today focuses on three key areas:

First, boxing's storied history. Before we can restore boxing's status as an iconic American sport, it is important to recall what it once was, for many of us, in our *own* lifetimes.

Second, what went wrong with the sport. Again, a decline Congress anticipated 26 years ago when it last passed the original Ali Act.

Third, a new solution. The Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act can help revive one of America's great sports institutions in the name of one of America's great sports and civil rights icons. This legislation would provide boxers with better health and safety protections, greater compensation, and the freedom to choose their own career path. It would also benefit the professional boxing ecosystem and local communities by encouraging and incentivizing new promotions to produce more events in the United States.

PART I: WHAT BOXING WAS—THE SPORT AMERICA BUILT

Fifty years ago, during America's Bicentennial in 1976, boxing was already at the center of American culture, and the engine behind it was the Olympics. For generations, the Olympics were where boxing champions were made, where the public first fell in love with the athletes, and where the sport's economic power was born. Cassius Clay won gold in Rome in 1960. Joe Frazier won gold in Tokyo in 1964. George Foreman won gold in Mexico City in 1968. The 1976 Montreal team produced Sugar Ray Leonard, Leon Spinks, Michael Spinks, and Howard Davis.

Sugar Ray Leonard was a household name before he threw his first professional punch. The Olympics pipeline minted stars.

Those stars made boxing the most culturally and economically dominant sport in America. Ali's fights were national events: 300 million people watched the "Fight of the Century" in 1971; 700 million watched the "Thrilla in Manila" in 1975. In 1980, Sugar Ray Leonard earned $8 million for a single fight—more than any baseball, football, or basketball player made that entire season. In 1988, Mike Tyson earned more in purses than the entire rosters of the Los Angeles Lakers and the Boston Celtics combined. Talent follows money. The best athletes in America chose boxing because boxing rewarded them best. And boxing rewarded them best because the Olympic pipeline kept delivering talent that the public wanted to see.

Consider what that Olympics boxing pipeline produced from 1984–2004:

- 1984: Nine American Olympic gold medalists, including Pernell Whitaker and Meldrick Taylor, with Evander Holyfield taking home the bronze.
- 1988: Roy Jones gets robbed of the gold. Riddick Bowe medals. Ray Mercer takes home the heavyweight gold medal.
- 1992: The Golden Boy Oscar De La Hoya wins gold.
- 1996: The Atlanta games. David Reid wins gold. Floyd Mayweather goes home with a bronze medal.
- 2000: No American boxer wins gold.
- 2004: Andre Ward brings home the gold.

Alarmingly, the United States has not won a men's Olympic boxing gold medal in 22 years. If our championship pipeline is not rebuilt, we'll find ourselves spectators in our own stadium in Los Angeles at the Summer Olympics in 2028.

PART II: WHAT BOXING HAS BECOME—A SPORT IN MANAGED DECLINE

The Numbers Tell the Story

The contrast between boxing's past and present is not a matter of nostalgia. It is quantifiable, measurable, and stark.

Consider the 1984 Olympic team that I just referenced. American boxers won a record nine gold medals at the Los Angeles Games that year, with most of those athletes becoming huge stars as professionals competing on cable and network television. A mere twenty years later, at the 2004 Athens Games, an American male won his last gold medal in boxing—a time before the iPhone was invented. By comparison, Uzbekistan won five gold medals at the Paris Summer Olympics in 2024. My great respect to Uzbekistan—a country of 36 million people—but something has gone terribly wrong in American boxing that has dried up our previously prolific Olympic talent pipeline.

The media picture is equally sobering. HBO was synonymous with boxing for decades. From its first fight broadcast in 1973—George Foreman versus Joe Frazier, a seismic bout that launched the network's sports identity—through the early 2000s, HBO made boxing cinematic and essential. In 2018, HBO ended its boxing coverage entirely. NBCUniversal followed three years later, airing its final bout in

2021. In 2022, Fox went dark on boxing as well. Showtime did the same the following year. And in the summer of 2025, ESPN let its regularly scheduled boxing contract expire, closing the book on more than eighty years of boxing on American broadcast and cable television.

As the boxing writer Dan Rafael put it in 2025, "There will be no regularly scheduled boxing on linear TV in the U.S. for the first time essentially since the 1940s when TV became widely accessible. Shame on the stewards of the sport who let it happen."

Today, boxing in the United States exists almost entirely on an expensive, not widely known paid streaming service that also offers pay-per-view fights. Zuffa Boxing was fortunate, securing Paramount to partner with us on the vision we present here today.

Prospective and casual boxing fans have no point of entry. They disappeared years ago, along with all those boys and girls who might have found their dream, their purpose, or perhaps even a championship title, in the sport of boxing.

Congress Diagnosed This Problem 26 Years Ago

What is remarkable is that Congress saw this coming and said so plainly back in 2000. The very first finding of the original Ali Act reads:

> *"Professional boxing differs from other major, interstate professional sports industries in the United States in that it operates without any private sector association, league, or centralized industry organization to establish uniform and appropriate business practices and ethical standards."*

That sentence is both a diagnosis and a prophecy. Every other major American sport—the NFL, the NBA, MLB, the NHL—has a league that sets rules, enforces standards, manages competition, develops talent, and creates conditions under which stars can emerge. Indeed, that is the essence of their business. Boxing has never had such a structure. Instead, it has experienced a proliferation of competing sanctioning bodies—the WBC, WBO, IBF, and others—each with its own rankings, its own titles, its own financial arrangements, and, frankly, many cases of documented corruption. The interests of the sanctioning bodies frequently and almost invariably conflict with the interests of boxers and fans.

While the 2000 Ali Act identified the problem, it didn't solve it. The law established baseline protections for boxers—important and valuable ones—but did not create the first thing any credible sport needs: structure. Boxing has no clear path by which a boxer can compete for a championship, no coherent narrative for fans to follow, and no set schedule for broadcasters or prospective advertisers to build a trustworthy product.

The result, 26 years later, is a sport that has declined in precisely the ways Congress foresaw. The sanctioning bodies, which traditionally look to the promoters for funding and financial favors, have proliferated. Boxer rankings have been manipulated—arbitrary at best, but more often, downright crooked.

American boxer Terence Crawford beat future Hall of Famer Canelo Alvarez last September by unanimous decision to win The Ring Magazine championship and all four of the sanctioning body titles. He was the unanimous 168-pound champion of the world—until the WBC unilaterally stripped Crawford of his belt because Crawford refused to pay their $300,000 sanctioning fee. Imagine the Los Angeles Dodgers winning the World Series only for Major League Baseball to strip them of their championship because the Dodgers didn't pay MLB a fee for the honor of winning their title. That's business as usual in boxing.

The biggest fights, once watershed, cultural-defining events, have become nearly impossible to make, as boxing's economy has only grown more fragmented and conflicted since the original Ali Act was passed. It took longer to make a single fight between Manny Pacquiao and Floyd Mayweather than it took for Ali and Joe Frazier to stage the greatest trilogy in the history of sports. Fans began clamoring for Mayweather-Pacquiao back in early 2009, but it didn't happen until May 2015, when each man was well past his prime. What was lost in those six years? How many fans? Unlike other sports, boxing has no mechanism to ensure that the best fight the best. Champions who might otherwise capture the public's imagination are often kept from each other by competing promotional interests.

PART III: THE SOLUTION: WHAT THE *MUHAMMAD ALI AMERICAN BOXING REVIVAL ACT* DOES, AND WHY IT WILL WORK

Finishing What Congress Started

The *Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act* is built on a simple premise: Give boxers the freedom to choose to compete in a better system. It creates a frame-

work for Unified Boxing Organizations—UBOs—to provide the functions that every other major sport takes for granted: promotion, talent development, and the enforcement of consistent standards.

A UBO is not a governing body. It is not a mandate. It is an alternative, a higher-standard pathway. Boxers are free to participate or not. Importantly, it finally addresses Finding #1 from the 2000 Ali Act. For the first time, both boxers and fans would have the option of a centralized organization—one that can establish uniform standards in crucial areas including safety, anti-doping, and anti-conflict of interest rules, and create conditions by which boxing can again thrive. A structure that serves the consumers while protecting the athletes and offering coherent, merit-based opportunities with the best ultimately fighting the best.

What the *Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act* Delivers for Boxers

Here's what this bill actually does for boxers who step into the ring. It provides:

- Minimum pay of $200 per round—a floor that exceeds the minimum in 49 states (and equals that of California), ensuring that boxers at every level receive baseline compensation for putting their bodies on the line.
- Mandatory injury insurance of $50,000 per bout at no cost to the boxer. Today, thousands of professional boxers compete with no insurance at all.
- A 6-year cap on promotional contracts—roughly comparable in duration with rookie contracts in Major League Baseball, the NFL, and the NBA—that would end the practice of binding boxers to promoters for their entire careers and give them a genuine path to free agency.
- The right for boxers to contact other promoters in the final 30 days of a contract: a right that exists on paper under the current system but has rarely been granted to most.
- Anti-benching protection: $2,000 compensation for boxers who go six months without a scheduled bout. This closes one of the most abused loopholes in the sport: the widespread practice of signing boxers only to keep them inactive, thereby preventing them from fighting for other promoters.
- Standardized pre-fight medical clearances: annual physical, dilated eye exam, EKG, HIV and hepatitis antibody panels, and annual brain MRI—with enhanced neurological protocols for boxers age 40 and older. These are standards every boxer deserves. Currently, they vary dramatically by state.
- Drug testing for all title bouts and random testing covering at least 50 percent of other bouts, with mandatory public disclosure of test results and sanctions.
- Annual Association of Boxing Commission report cards grading each state boxing commission on compliance—bringing accountability to a regulatory patchwork that has long operated in the dark.

Additionally, the *Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act* does not just benefit boxers. It has been endorsed by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and America's largest arena operators, including Madison Square Garden Entertainment Corp. and MGM Resorts International, because they recognize the economic benefits that marquee professional boxing events can bring to their communities.

Moderate to large-scale boxing events can be local economic engines for host communities. Local workers are employed in functions including event operations, hospitality, and security. In addition, neighboring businesses, including restaurants, bars, and hotels, see spikes in revenue due to the increase in consumer spending from local fans and out-of-town visitors.

By bringing more boxing cards to venues nationwide, communities around the country can share in these economic benefits.

A Word on the UFC, Competition, and How Sports Get Built

We are excited about the prospect of an alternative system that will give fans and boxers more choice and greater opportunity. Anyone can start a UBO, and no one will have a special advantage. In the case of MMA, it was illegal or unregulated in many states just 20 years ago until the UFC embraced regulation and created an infrastructure. The UFC worked state by state, painstakingly helping to build the foundation of a sport: establishing safety standards, licensing requirements, uniform rules, athletic commission oversight, and consistent enforcement of those standards across jurisdictions. It took years. It was not glamorous. But the beneficiaries of that effort are broad; they include the fans, the athletes, and the multiplicity of professional MMA leagues that now exist in the United States and around the world.

The *Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act* does not seek to eliminate competition in boxing; rather, it seeks to create the conditions under which genuine

competition can flourish. The UBO framework is open to any qualifying promoter. Multiple UBOs can exist. Promoters including Golden Boy, Top Rank, and MVPW could each form a UBO. Any organization willing to meet the boxer-protection standards in this bill is eligible. This is not a bill written for a single company. It is written for a sport.

The few critics of this bill seem to be the beneficiaries of boxing's current, conflicted, and fragmented structure—promoters and sanctioning bodies whose revenue depends on the dysfunction that the *Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act* would remedy. Their opposition is understandable. But their interests are not those of the boxers or the fans.

On the Sanctioning Bodies

The sanctioning bodies—the WBC and the IBF in particular—oppose this bill. Their opposition is easy to understand, as the *Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act* threatens their dominance over the sport. Their model to put it plainly, is charging boxers for the right to be recognized as champions. The WBC currently counts 163 champions across 18 weight classes in the men's divisions alone. Consider this: Muhammad Ali was the Heavyweight Champion of the World, not the WBC interim emeritus champion of the world. Marvin Hagler was the Middleweight Champion of the World, not the WBC champion in recess. These organizations exist, in their current form, to sell recognition. Boxers have to pay to play. They do not develop talent, they do not build the sport, and they do not bear any of the costs when a boxer is injured. They simply issue belts and collect fees as a percentage of the boxer's purse—typically 3 percent each from both champion and challenger. Those fees are not then used to improve the sport, but instead to solely benefit the sanctioning bodies.

One stark example: For the Canelo vs. Crawford fight referenced earlier, the WBC, which purports to be a non-profit entity, insisted on a spacious hotel suite for its President at, ultimately, the cost of the boxers. The WBC also purchased more than $263,000 of tickets to that fight as evidenced by documents submitted with this testimony.

By contrast, WWE Superstar John Cena has granted more wishes than any other human ever for Make-A-Wish, an outstanding non-profit. For a two-night WrestleMania event just this past weekend at Allegiant Stadium in Las Vegas, the same exact venue where the WBC purchased $263,000 in tickets for Canelo vs. Crawford, Make-A-Wish spent just $2,500 on tickets.

And if there were any doubt about the self-interest of the sanctioning bodies, they put that to rest just over a month ago when the IBF sanctioning body stripped the belt of the universally recognized cruiserweight champion of the world, Jai Opetaia, not for anything he did in the ring, but because the IBF President felt his organization had been slighted at a press conference. These are the so-called stewards of the sport who oppose reform.

This is not a new problem. It's the *same* problem. Now the *Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act* is a chance to finish what the Ali Act started.

The Moment Is Now

In 2028, the Olympic Games will return to Los Angeles, a storied boxing city that has produced generations of great champions and where Americans won those record nine gold medals in 1984.

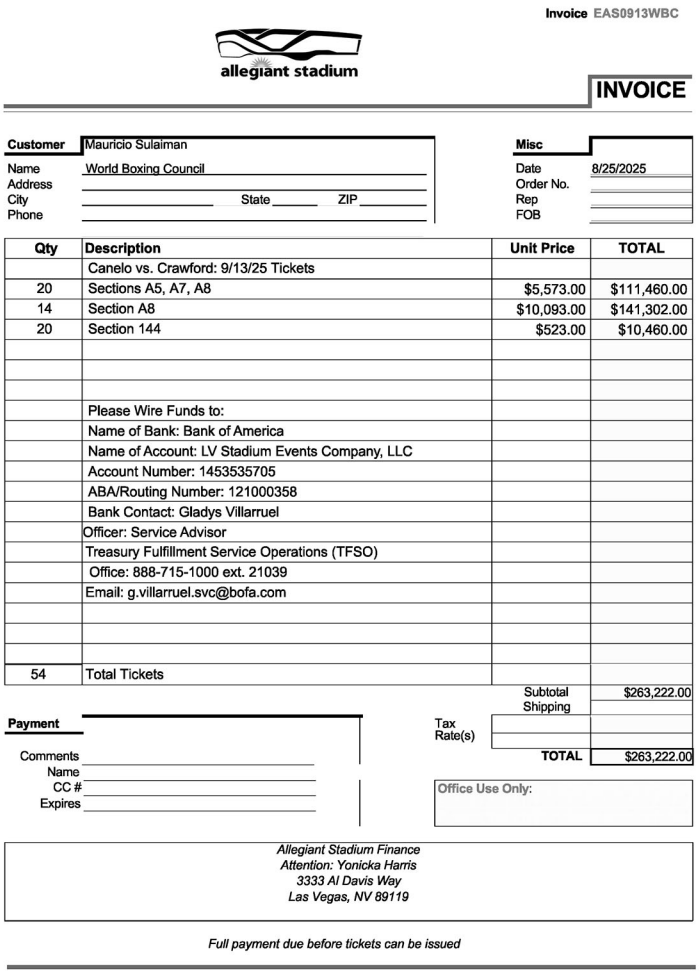
In most healthy sports, the professional league and the national governing body work together to produce excellence at every level. The NBA has USA Basketball. The NHL has USA Hockey. Professional leagues *should* invest in young talent, as the resulting pipeline will produce stars who one day will fill their arenas. In turn, those stars inspire the next generation to train harder and dream bigger. It is a virtuous cycle, and boxing is one of the only major American sports that has never had one. We are hopeful that the UBO framework the *Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act* creates will re-invigorate amateur boxing even as it affords new opportunities to professional boxers.

I was drawn to this sport by the same things that made it great: the individual drama, the history, the improbable journeys of boxers who started with nothing and exceeded their wildest dreams through sheer courage, talent, and discipline. I so vividly recall being 10 years old and watching the 1984 Olympic team, captivated by boxers I knew by their first names—Meldrick, Evander, Pernell. It made me proud of my country. I am the child of immigrants. In many ways, boxing was the agent of my family's assimilation, something I could talk to my grandfather *and* the kids at my school about. Boxing became for me what it had been to generations before mine—an essential part of the American experience. With your support, we can restore that common touchstone for boxers, communities, and fans across America.

Chairman Cruz, Ranking Member Cantwell, and Members of the Committee: I am grateful for your time and for this Committee's commitment to this issue. I am ready to work with you and your colleagues to ensure that the *Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act* reaches the President's desk. I welcome your questions.

Respectfully submitted,

NICK KHAN,
WWE, Zuffa Boxing, and
Board Member of TKO Group Holdings



Invoice EAS0913WBC

allegiant stadium

INVOICE

Customer	Mauricio Sulaiman
Name	World Boxing Council
Address	
City	State ZIP
Phone	

Misc	
Date	8/25/2025
Order No.	
Rep	
FOB	

Qty	Description	Unit Price	TOTAL
	Canelo vs. Crawford: 9/13/25 Tickets		
20	Sections A5, A7, A8	$5,573.00	$111,460.00
14	Section A8	$10,093.00	$141,302.00
20	Section 144	$523.00	$10,460.00
	Please Wire Funds to:		
	Name of Bank: Bank of America		
	Name of Account: LV Stadium Events Company, LLC		
	Account Number: 1453535705		
	ABA/Routing Number: 121000358		
	Bank Contact: Gladys Villarruel		
	Officer: Service Advisor		
	Treasury Fulfillment Service Operations (TFSO)		
	Office: 888-715-1000 ext. 21039		
	Email: g.villarruel.svc@bofa.com		
54	Total Tickets		
		Subtotal	$263,222.00
		Shipping	
		Tax Rate(s)	
		TOTAL	$263,222.00

Payment

Comments
Name
CC #
Expires

Office Use Only:

Allegiant Stadium Finance
Attention: Yonicka Harris
3333 Al Davis Way
Las Vegas, NV 89119

Full payment due before tickets can be issued

Payment Details

REGIONS | Treasury®

World Boxing Council Inc - 980048605

PAYMENT ID: 765

Payment Type	Wire - Domestic
Status	Approved
Entry Method	Freeform
Effective Date	08/27/2025
Transaction Date	08/27/2025
Credit Amount	263,222.00 USD
Debit Amount	263,222.00 USD
Customer Ref	INV: EAS0913WBC
Tnum	17379417

DEBIT ACCOUNT

Number	x7863
Name	World Boxing Council Inc
Type	Checking
Bank	South

ORIGINATOR INFORMATION

Name	World Boxing Council Inc
ID	x7863
Type	DDA
Country	US

BENEFICIARY

Name	LV Stadium Events Company, LLC
Address 1	3333 Al Davis Way
City	Las Vegas
State	NV
Postal Code	89119
Country	US
Account	x5705

BENEFICIARY BANK

Account Type	Other
Bank Code	121000358
Bank	BANK OF AMERICA, N.A., CA
City	SAN FRANCISCO
Country	US

AUDIT INFORMATION

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Payment Details

Regions Bank

REPORT TOTALS

Wires		Total Debit Amount	Payments	Total Credit Amount	Payments
Wires	(USD to USD)	263,222.00 USD	1		

Customer Account Information

Account No: 35358432 **Name:** Mauricio Sulaiman **Company:**
Language:

Address: USA
Phone Day:
Eve:
Fax:
E-Mail: msalomon@wbcboxing.com
Tag:

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YTD Points: 0.00
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Last Updated: 9/2/2025 10:43 AM **By** KCHIN

SEATING INFORMATION

Event	Section	Row	Seats	NS	Full	Purchase	Block Price	Amount Paid	Amount Owed	Prt#	G	C
25BOX	144	26	7 - 26	20	$523.00	$523.00	$10,460.00	$10,460.00	$0.00	0	N	N
25BOX	A5	15	23 - 24	2	$5,573.00	$5,573.00	$11,146.00	$11,146.00	$0.00	0	N	N
25BOX	A7	15	1 - 10	10	$5,573.00	$5,573.00	$55,730.00	$55,730.00	$0.00	0	N	N
25BOX	A7	15	11 - 11	1	$5,573.00	$5,573.00	$5,573.00	$5,573.00	$0.00	0	N	N
25BOX	A8	6	5 - 18	14	$10,093.00	$10,093.00	$141,302.00	$141,302.00	$0.00	0	N	N
25BOX	A8	15	1 - 7	7	$5,573.00	$5,573.00	$39,011.00	$39,011.00	$0.00	0	N	N
Totals				**54**			**$263,222.00**	**$263,222.00**	**$0.00**			

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, to each of the witnesses. And I'll say at the outset, there are hearings that are sometimes designed to drive a point. There are hearings where we are genuinely seeking the input of experts, and I would put this hearing in the latter category. Mr. Khan is right; this bill passed overwhelmingly in the House. That's unusual for a bill to get that wide bipartisan support from those on the far left and the far right. They all came together, and I think they came together because there is a widespread perception there's a problem, and a problem that could beneficially be addressed and be addressed by Congress.

One illustration of the problem. Right now, the LA Dodgers are the World Series champions. Nobody disagrees with that proposition. The Seattle Seahawks are the Super Bowl champions. Again, nobody disagrees with that proposition. If Ranking Member Cantwell were here, she would certainly be interrupting and gloating about that fact right now.

Senator ROSEN. I could do that for her.

The CHAIRMAN. If I'm a new fan trying to get into boxing, we have four experts in the sport right now, can anyone tell me who is the current middleweight champion?

Mr. KHAN. I can try, Senator, if you like.

The CHAIRMAN. Sure.

Mr. KHAN. So, the answer is there is no middleweight champion because there are at least four different people with these sanctioning organizations who say they are the middleweight champion. The WBA has Eris Landy Lara, the WBC has Carlos Adames, the IBF title is vacant, the WBO has Janibek Alimkhanuly, and there are interim champions underneath. So in terms of who is the middleweight champion, by definition, there is no middleweight champion. There's confusion and chaos compared to when you and I were younger. Marvin Hagler was the middleweight champion. Now, the answer to that question does not exist.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask the remaining witnesses, is that a problem? Is that something that that could and should be improved?

Mr. DE LA HOYA. Mr. Niko mentioned confusion back Muhammad—I'm sorry, when Sugar Ray Leonard was a world champion, so was Marvelous Marvin Hagler, who held the world title as well. Thomas Hearns held a world title as well, and the great Roberto Duran also held a world title. I don't believe that confusion comes from having multiple world champions. I believe confusion comes from—or the fights not taking place comes from the actual fighter himself. If a fighter does not want to fight, we cannot force the fighter to fight.

There has been many examples where, for instance, say, Floyd Mayweather, you know, he protects his O because he has an agenda to protect his record, and therefore, he doesn't fight certain fighters, but that's the individual fighter. I strongly believe that fights are being made. The big major fights are being made, like the one coming up in Cinco de Mayo with Benavidez and Zurdo, the one fight we did with Ryan Garcia and Tank Davis, which was highly, highly successful. So, confusion, there is no confusion, and I go back to being here for the fighter, to protect the fighter. What's

in place now? The Muhammad Ali Act protects the fighter, and that's why we're here.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Khan described various health and safety requirements of the bill. Is it your assessment those are good, positive, beneficial?

Mr. DE LA HOYA. Boxing already has those safeties in place. You know, we have the ambulances, we have the doctors. We have everything in place to make sure that the fighter is protected. Me, as a former fighter and now a promoter, I've seen it firsthand. I've promoted thousands of fights, and we've never had an issue with safety.

The CHAIRMAN. You mentioned in your opening statement a desire for greater transparency. Can you elaborate on that? What transparency do you believe is lacking in the current bill and what would make it better?

Mr. SHIPMAN. Well, transparency has—since the bill passed, the Muhammad Ali Bill passed, transparency has been in place. In today's boxing system and business, the fighter makes the majority of the amounts of moneys. In the system they want to implement, TKO, and with the UBO, it'll be the other way around. I think transparency is, obviously, very important to the fighter. The laws that are in place are important to the fighters to protect the fighter.

Mr. KHAN. Chairman Cruz, may I offer one add-on to that, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Sure.

Mr. KHAN. In terms of health and safety of boxers, in the UFC when it was purchased 30 years ago, in that 30 years, there has not been one death of a UFC fighter. In the last 30 years in boxing, there have been 63 deaths that have occurred within a week of a fighter's fight, deaths compared to zero in the UFC.

The CHAIRMAN. Wow.

Mr. KHAN. In terms of the state of the sport now, it's not just the confusion of these sanctioning bodies. So, Senator Rosen mentioned Canelo/Crawford from this past September, a fight that we promoted. We got Netflix to buy into the fight. We moved with a fair deal UNLV football game out of the football stadium, Allegiance Stadium in Las Vegas, so we could have that fight at a football stadium. We had a significant merchandise deal with Fanatics, all of which the fighters participated in, all of those revenues.

If you look at it again, when you and I were younger, there was boxing every weekend on ABC, CBS, and at times, NBC. If you look at it now, the major media conglomerates, outside of the deal we at Zuffa were able to get with Paramount, there's no boxing in the history of television on any major media conglomerate. Fox got out. ESPN got out. Showtime got out. HBO got out. NBC got out. ABC got out. CBS got out. What was formerly known as Spike TV got out.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you came from the media and entertainment world before, why did they get out?

Mr. KHAN. They got out because, ultimately, there was no return on their investment. The fights that were meant to happen, so we mentioned—Senator Rosen mentioned Mayweather/Pacquiao earlier happening in Las Vegas, that fight took 6 years to put to-

gether. For the Ali/Frazier trilogy, those three fights happened over the course of 5 years. The three fights happened starting in 1971 over the course of 3 years, compare to it taking 6 years to make the fight that everyone wanted. How many fans were lost in those 6 years?

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Last question, Mr. Khan. If you were addressing an up-and-coming boxer who's watching this hearing and trying to think, OK, would this law passing be a good thing for me or a bad thing? What would the benefits of allowing a UBO provide to the next generation of boxers?

Mr. KHAN. This provides an additional option. So the current state of boxing would continue to exist. If the fighter wants to go into that, please feel free to sign with those promoters. If you want a chance to be something bigger over a shorter period of time on a platform, we were able to secure a deal with Paramount, as I said, on a platform that has almost 80 million subscribers worldwide and has a network partner in CBS, if you want that exposure, if you want trading card deals, if you want merchandise deals, if you want video game deals of which the fighters would all participate in financially, if you want all of that plus some more, come this way. If you don't, that's your choice.

Mr. DE LA HOYA. If I may add, please. Thank you. If I'm a fighter, a young fighter who wants to go to a promoter, why would I sign a contract that if I—if I am a four-round fighter and getting paid the minimal amounts of money. If I lose that fight under the UBO, that promoter decides how much I make. I believe that's unfair.

The CHAIRMAN. Ranking Member Rosen.

Mr. SHIPMAN. Chairman, may I speak, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. SHIPMAN. Concerning safety of the—what is in the bill as it stands right now, there is much needed safety improvements in this bill that has an impact and safety on all the fighters that participate. Not only with that safety, but also as a recommendation, the sanctioning bodies should actually collaboratively work with the Association of Boxing Commission to develop a ranking system, and then kind of help assist in ranking these fighters in one belt only. I think that will solve a lot of the problems. However, safety in this bill is paramount, and I thank you for having that in there because it means a lot.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Ranking Member Rosen.

Senator ROSEN. Well, thank you again, Chairman Cruz. It's really an important hearing on both sides, and that's when we legislate, it's good for us to hear from everyone as we begin to think about what we're going to do. But I'm really proud to have two of the witnesses here from UNLV graduates, from Las Vegas. They're constituents of mine in, I'll say, the great state of Nevada. So I'm going to direct my first questions to both of them.

So, Mr. Walsh, the first one will be for you. What do you think that, in your eyes, you're boxing now, right, what is the greatest challenges for the sport of boxing and the athletes? Really, you're the one that has to execute. Everybody can train you, you can do all the other things, but you're the one that walks in there and has to execute on that. What are the greatest challenges that you think

you face today, and what issues, considering that we're a legislative body, do you think we should really consider in light of that, if you were to maybe prioritize a few? And then my next question will be for Mr. Khan. Thank you.

Mr. WALSH. First off, thank you for recognizing our UNLV ties.

Senator ROSEN. Yes——

Mr. WALSH. I'm very——

Senator ROSEN. Go Rebels.

Mr. WALSH.—very proud. But as a professional boxer now, I love boxing. I think the sport is in a great place. I think we're headed toward the golden age of boxing. I understand there are concerns with it being confusing, whether it be the belts, the titles, who's champion. That kind of chaos and confused—confusion, I believe, makes boxing, having fighters fight each other to become unified and become the undisputed champion. That's what everyone wants to see.

And Mr. Khan mentioned that it took 6 years to make the Pacquiao/Floyd fight and my grandfather fought Joe Frazier in multiple times in much shorter time. We absolutely agree with that. It's—that's horrible. That's not on boxing; that's on the fighters. And at the time, we know that Floyd Mayweather Jr. did not want to fight Manny Pacquiao, and it was because of, you know, protecting that O, that record. That dragged. And of course, there's a bunch of health——

Senator ROSEN. So do you think—if we're legislators working in the health space would be a helpful thing for us to——

Mr. WALSH. Of course, of course. No, I don't believe anyone in boxing, no boxer, no promoter would disagree with the fact that health and safety concerns can be added to the sport. We can always benefit more from them, but we can do that without stripping the fighters of their rights, which I believe is what the Revival Act is going to do. My grandfather's original Ali Act, the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act, is an anti-monopoly law and this new Revival Act will bring back that monopoly. They say we have a choice, but once they control everything, we won't have a choice.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you. Mr. Khan, in the spirit of trying to help us legislate, which is sometimes different than what happens in the entertainment sphere, although some might—I don't know, with the bell, you're pretty good in that. Boxing, you know, maybe he has a—being a boxing announcer there in the second career.

The CHAIRMAN. But if this politics thing doesn't work out, I may be maybe putting in a job application.

Senator ROSEN. There you go. But Mr. Khan, you know, as we think again, for us as legislators, the successes of WWE and UFC, what things do you think could be transferred when thinking about boxing's future? We know we're going to—we probably all agree on the health and safety. So that's something we should—we could take on in a bipartisan way. But let me hear from you, and like I said, Go Rebels.

Mr. KHAN. Understood. So, WWE, for example, has over 100 deals with what we call our legends, our retired wrestlers. So they receive compensation from us for years after their retirement from the ring because of their participation in our video games, trading

card deals, merchandise deals, and action figures and all of these other ancillary revenues.

Think about this. Floyd Mayweather, Manny Pacquiao, the two fighters of that generation, you could not buy an action figure of them. You cannot buy a video game of them. It doesn't exist because of this broken system. Part of the reason that Mayweather/Pacquiao took 6 years to make, you've heard people say, well, it's Floyd, it's Floyd. The two promoters of that event, they simply didn't like each other. It's this local yokel——

Senator ROSEN. You can't legislate that.

Mr. KHAN. Plenty of people, I'm sure we all do business with that we may not be particularly fond of, do business and get it done for the fighters, for the fans and to grow the sport. In addition to that, the amateur system, if we—I talked about the Olympic gold medalists earlier. Think of this, 1960, Cassius Clay takes the light heavyweight gold in Rome. 1964, Joe Frazier, heavyweight in gold in Tokyo. 1968, George Foreman. 1976, Sugar Ray Leonard, the Spinks Brothers. 1984, the nine Olympic male gold medalists in the LA Games. 1996, Floyd——

Senator ROSEN. 1992.

Mr. KHAN. 1992, The Golden Boy takes over the world with his performance in the ring and his personality out of the ring. Nothing can be taken away from that. In 1996, Ray Mercer wins the gold medal. Roy Jones gets—I'm sorry, in 1988, Roy Jones gets robbed, Ray Mercer wins the gold. 1996, gentleman named David Reed wins the gold. Since then, just one, one in 2004. The amateur system is something that the professionals do not support sufficiently. That's the pipeline. We have to make it easy for fighters. Just like we have a performance institute for UFC, we have a performance center for WWE. If you want to try to do one of those things, come our way and check it out. You don't have to sign anything with us. Same thing in boxing, grassroots system.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you. I yield.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Senator Moreno.

STATEMENT OF HON. BERNIE MORENO, U.S. SENATOR FROM OHIO

Senator MORENO. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm wondering if there's a governing body association that represents announcers, because if there is, and you're listening——

[Laughter.]

Senator MORENO.—our Chairman's post-career could be something that could be interesting. Right? There you go. You could—we could have a whole new line of business post-Senate career.

First of all, thank you all for being here. I guess from my perspective, I would encourage all of you to figure out a consensus point of view, because I think what's clear from your testimony, and from the Chairman's testimony, and our Ranking Member's testimony is that there's an appetite to do something, to get something done. But typically, when there's not consensus among the industry players, it's very hard for that to go forward. So, whatever you can do to work together to bring us a consensus position and get something done. I think all of you love the sport. You care about it a lot. I think Ohioans, like a lot of people around the

United States, care a lot about boxing as well. So I would just—that would just be my word of encouragement. For—I'll start with you, Mr. De La Hoya. Do you feel that there's enough being done on the safety for boxers? Is that—is there more that needs to be done there that can be incorporated into a bill that gets passed?

Mr. DE LA HOYA. Yes, absolutely. And thank you for having me speak here. Safety is always the most important for a fighter, and I'm more than open to hear what else can we improve for the safety of the fighter, but as we speak here today, fighters are well taken care of. I've been in this boxing game since I was 4 years old, and I've witnessed from the amateur ranks, from Golden Gloves, to the Olympic Games, to the professional level, fighters are well taken care of.

And I do want to—if I may speak on the fact that if the UBO is formed, 10 to 15, or 20 percent of fighters are going to go to the UBO, and the rest of the fighters are going to stay in the current system because they want to fight for the titles. The world titles means everything to a fighter. Since the amateurs, fighters want to become the next Ali, the next Chavez, the next De La Hoya. So I had to throw that in there, but yes, safety is a priority for us in the current system.

Senator MORENO. Now, Mr. Shipman, your thoughts?

Mr. SHIPMAN. Yes, sir. I do think that the safety requirements and medical requirements should be by law as some states and jurisdictions don't mandate the same type of medicals. That need to be consistent across the board with the development of a history of the fighter so commissions will have the opportunity to decide if that fighter is fit to fight in their jurisdiction for safety reasons. For that reason, everything that's in this bill shows that medical is important and is documented so we can make fair and right decisions.

I also think that fighters should have a choice, whether it's a UBO or the traditional route, but the biggest thing is no fighter jumps to the top without starting at the bottom and developing their way up. So I do think that that will cause some development to be done, and then the fighters can choose however they want to make their living under what umbrella. I don't think that the—that should have any impact on the safety aspects, and also, fighters should have a choice.

Senator MORENO. Mr. Khan—I'm sorry, Mr. Ali. Sorry about that. By the way, I had a poster of your grandfather in college. Yes, I'm that old.

[Laughter.]

Mr. WALSH. Well, I was going to say, Chairman Cruz, you're welcome to come to the gym in Vegas at any time. Whether it's announcing the sparring partners or fighting yourself. You're welcome.

Senator MORENO. Oh, he does the second half here very well.

Mr. WALSH. OK.

Senator ROSEN. He spars a lot.

Senator MORENO. Yes, he spars a lot.

Mr. WALSH. Good, good.

[Laughter.]

Mr. WALSH. Yes, no, you know, I believe we're all in agreement with when it comes to the health and safety concerns in boxing. It can always, always be strengthened. Myself as a fighter, I've—like I mentioned in my testimony, I've benefited from the current state from boxing currently. I've had a major injury in the ring that required surgery and boxing took care of me. And same when I fought my opponent tested positive for performance enhancing drugs, I was taken care of with that as well. These new health concerns can be—can be added. Again, like I said, it can be added without stripping the fighters of their current protections.

Senator MORENO. Mr. Khan, if you could answer a different question. What is it going to take to bring WrestleMania to Cleveland, Ohio? We're building a brand new stadium right next to the airport. It's the only dome stadium in cold weather climate that will be right next to a major airport. You can drive right across the street 2029 or 2030. Which one's better for you to bring WrestleMania to Cleveland?

Senator ROSEN. Stick with Nevada.

Mr. KHAN. If——

Senator MORENO. You had SummerSlam in Cleveland, 2024, very successful——

Mr. KHAN.—it was quite successful.

Senator MORENO.—very successful.

Mr. KHAN. We think for the city—if we think for WWE, and we think for our wrestlers. If it wasn't enough that Logan Paul pressures me on bringing WrestleMania to Ohio on a weekly basis, now we feel the pressure from you, Senator. So we—in a positive way.

Senator MORENO. You know, feel it as total and complete pressure, but you can pick between 2029 and 2030. I'll leave that decision up to you.

Mr. KHAN. Thank you. Thank you. Just one thing on the boxing front. These sanctioning bodies, there was an article in 1999 in the *Los Angeles Times* written by a Hall of Fame boxing writer named Steve Springer that talked about the corruption between the WBC at the time and Don King. George Foreman's manager around the same time, said about the sanctioning bodies, in the *Los Angeles Times,* "They've taken so much out of the sport, they need to be totally destroyed. Then we could turn this sport around and take it back from the dark ages."

The Crawford/Canelo fight, which Senator Rosen referenced, that was for the four different super middleweight sanctioning body belts. Terence Crawford won the fight by unanimous decision. The WBC then stripped him of that title for refusing to pay $300,000 fee for the honor of having that belt.

Ranking—Chairman Cruz, pardon me, said earlier about the Los Angeles Dodgers being the World Series champions. It would be like if Major League Baseball went to the Dodgers after they beat the Blue Jays and said, no, we're going to take this title away from you because you didn't pay us money. That's what it's akin to. They are terrible for the sport. They've ruined the sport, and between—and by the way, the last thing on Canelo/Crawford. So WrestleMania, this past weekend, which Senator Rosen mentioned, Make-A-Wish, WWE does a lot of work with Make-A-Wish. John

Cena, in particular, has done made more wishes happen than any other human in the existence of Make-A-Wish.

Make-A-Wish, a nonprofit organization, they bought $2,500 of tickets. The WBC for Canelo/Crawford, they hold themselves out as a nonprofit, they purchased $265,000 of tickets for that event and insisted upon a suite for the President of their company. It's a mess. It's not just health and safety. Assume we can get—we all want more health and safety. It's about presenting an option. And by the way, if fighters want—as Mr. De La Hoya said, they want to fight for those belts, please feel free. We're not saying get rid of them. We're saying keep the Ali Act as is. Just provide this option for the UBOs, which we think is great for the fighters.

Senator MORENO. Well, perfect. I appreciate that very much. I did go to the Canelo fight in Las Vegas, so I helped some economic activity. So I'll be the first to invite Senator Rosen to WrestleMania in Cleveland, either 2029 or 2030.

Mr. DE LA HOYA. If I may add on the medicals. You know, if the UBO is passed, please don't make the fighters pay for their medicals. Make the promoters pay for their medicals. That's the current system now, and that's what's fair to the fighter. You know, in regards to the sanctioning bodies, yes, there is a fee that is paid to the sanctioning bodies, but the good they do with that money is incredible. Fighters' retirement, charities, all that money that the fighters are paying is going directly back to the sport, to their families, for medicals. I would rather, as a fighter, pay that small percentage of money I'm making out of my huge purse instead of only making 15 percent of the profits, and the big corporate companies making the majority of the profits. And I'm talking 85, 80 percent of the profits, so if I'm going to pay a small fraction of those monies to the organization that are doing so much good, I would rather do that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. And I thank the Colombian Bomber in the yellow shorts. And you can tell why Senator Moreno was a very, very successful car dealer because he's trying to close the deal right here and now.

Senator MORENO. Well, I heard him say yes, he just didn't commit to which year, by 2029, 2030.

The CHAIRMAN. OK. My suggestion——

Mr. KHAN. We have Logan——

The CHAIRMAN.—do not buy the undercoat covering.

Senator MORENO. Logan—Logan Paul will follow up with you.

Mr. KHAN. Thank you. Thank you. By the way, one thing on that. WWE did shows in 45 of the contiguous states in calendar year 2025. It's the same plan for boxing. Yes, Nevada is the fight capital, but you have to also take it to Cleveland, and Jacksonville, and the south and Texas. I noticed Texas is not considered part of the south, and to Delaware, and the other states so the fans can see it. It's why there are 32 NFL teams, some in smaller markets, so the fans can go and claim ownership over that team. It's the same principle in boxing that needs to be done.

The CHAIRMAN. So, in terms of the UBO model, you know, I have to say this, this issue reminds me of—for the last 3 years, I and others on this committee have spent a lot of time looking at college sports, and I think college sports right now faces a crisis. I think

there is a need for Congress to act. I hope we will get bipartisan agreement on doing so. And one of the issues that's been under considerable discussion has been possibly amending the Sports Broadcasting Act to allow colleges to collectively negotiate for college football rights. And the argument is that if they negotiate collectively, they would extract much higher revenues, which would be more money to go around to support the programs at schools across the country.

In this context, that seems to me a similar argument as the argument being put forward for UBOs that the appeal to a boxer of participating in a UBO would be greater attention, greater notoriety, but fundamentally—and improved health and safety, but fundamentally, a crap ton more money. That is the argument. Am I—am I getting that right, and how would you elaborate on that?

Mr. KHAN. You nailed it. And if I may elaborate, as you ask. So if you bifurcate the sports professionally and collegiately, as everyone in this room knows, college football is the number two most popular sport in the United States, yet it generates the fifth most amount of media rights dollars. That's because it's a bifurcated system. The product's great.

I used to say boxing is the most difficult of all the businesses because of the chaos. Now, I say boxing and college sports. If college sports is not cleaned up, we're going to see the result of it being what many of you already know: Programs will eliminate their football teams, which thereby affects Title 9, which thereby eliminates women's sports, which thereby affects the less revenue-generating Olympic sports. And instead of only boxing, having had one Olympic gold medalist since—male gold medalist since 1996, you will have many, if not all, Olympic sports facing the same consequence.

So, yes, that Act needs to be passed. From my point of view, having had the privilege in my prior career of representing the Southeastern Conference and many other entities like that, it needs to be passed for the health of the athlete and the sports.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let me ask Mr. De La Hoya and Mr. Walsh, you've raised concerns about the bill. As the bill is currently drafted, a UBO is allowed to be created as an alternative, but no fighter is required to enter a UBO, and each fighter could decide whether to stay with the current system or whether a UBO. If it is right that a UBO offered a whole bunch more money, I would think a fair number of fighters would choose, OK, I'd rather have that more money. I guess my question is, is that a right way to view that? And if it's simply an option for the boxers and an option that could give them substantially more money for their families, how is that a bad thing?

Mr. DE LA HOYA. Well, I mean, if creating the UBO—it's segregation, basically. Fighters are going to want to stay in the current system, and fighters are going to want to fight for TKO or for Zuffa. Therefore, we will not see the very best fighting the very best. You know, and I strongly believe—I strongly believe that—you know, why is it—why is it that UFC fighters currently are complaining about pay? Why is it that the shareholders have to make most of the profits and the fighters are having to have second jobs in order to make a living? I strongly believe that if we keep

the system the way it is, you will have more competition. You will have the sanctioning bodies working together to unify the titles and create the undisputed world champion. Therefore, the sport grows.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Walsh.

Mr. WALSH. I totally agree with what Mr. De La Hoya said. It—creating that UBO will segregate the sport and you won't see the effects of what it will do now, but 5 years down the line, 6, 7 years down the line, you'll begin to see how the sport will become monopolized and people won't—people won't have a choice anymore. Fighters like myself will not have a choice anymore. The coercive contracts will be coming back. All the things in the—in the Ali Act, the current Ali Act, that protects fighters will be taken away, and you will see it down the line. It won't be an immediate change, but like Mr. De La Hoya said, the belts, and when it comes to the sanctioning fees, I understand that it gets annoying having to pay X amount of dollars just to hold a belt. But it's more than that because that money gets funneled back to the fighters anyway.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Khan.

Mr. KHAN. It also gets funneled back to suites for the President of the sanctioning body, $265,000 of ticket purchases and other things. Again, I hearken back to when we were younger. Everyone knew the heavyweight champion was Muhammad Ali, and then Joe Frazier, and then fast forward a little bit, Larry Holmes, and then Mike Tyson. If I said to most Americans today, who's the heavyweight champ? No one would know the answer to that question. That's because of the state of the sport and these different sanctioning bodies.

And by the way, in terms of competition, all we're asking for is an option for fighters. We're not saying to get rid of anything. If they like the current system, sign up with these sanctioning bodies and promoters. If you think we're a better option, sign up with us and see how it works out for you. Either we'll succeed or we'll fail. We're the startup. We're the outsider. Let's see what we can do.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Shipman, what is your reaction to the arguments Mr. Khan is making?

Mr. SHIPMAN. I concur——

The CHAIRMAN. Turn your microphone.

Mr. SHIPMAN. I concur. I think that the fighters should have an option. We can't predict what the future will hold. However, I do have a concern as they were talking about, concerning the sanctioning bodies. He is correct. There are a lot of charges that go that in my opinion are not needed, that are charged to the fighters. By reducing those charges and making a change in it, then the fighters will be able to save more money.

Also, without a prediction, I do think that from a UBO perspective, there will be other organizations that become UBO or developers after this if it is approved. And there's nothing like having a choice to decide on who you want to work for, and I think it's good.

The CHAIRMAN. Ranking Member Rosen.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you. Well, I want to—I'm going to ask everyone a question about transparency because I think that has been a big issue, and that's something that we can certainly look

at a policy proposal for that. So, I've often heard that one of the critical pieces of the Ali Act was—it's the increased transparency for financial transactions and agreements between boxers, promoters, and the sanctioning organizations.

So, I'll start with you Mr. De La Hoya. What financial transparency does current law require between promoters and boxers, and how does that impact the sport? Whether not transparent enough, or you tell me what you think?

Mr. DE LA HOYA. In the—in the current state, boxing is very transparent. I've promoted thousands of fights, and we supply financials to fighters who are headlining the—their cards. You know, we make sure that the fighter makes the majority of the—of the purses of the funds. If, if a UBO is formed, there will be no transparency. There is no need for transparency. The UBO will have to answer to shareholders, and in this case, in this system, we answer to the fighters directly, and we take care of our fighters.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you. And Mr. Walsh, I'll move to you. How do the financial transparency requirements, you believe in law today, impact your ability and the ability of other professionals to negotiate their contracts? You're still fighting, so how do you feel that transparency requirements help or hurt you?

Mr. WALSH. I'm very happy with the transparency that exists in boxing today and that's due to the current Ali Act. With the proposed Revival Act, that transparency would be gone. It—fighters will no longer be able to see the full financials that are behind their event, and if fighters are having a problem currently today with any transparency, anything like that, that's on them, and that is on their team, and their management because legally, we are obligated now through the current Act to see the financials. And this proposed Act is an Act made for billionaires, not boxers. It will certainly give more money to the shareholders, not the fighters.

Senator ROSEN. So, there are—are there current provisions in current law that limit your financial stability or ability to negotiate fair terms? Are there things here now that are stopping you from doing that?

Mr. WALSH. No——

Senator ROSEN. No.

Mr. WALSH.—No.

Senator ROSEN. So, Mr. Khan, do you believe that there are provisions in the current law that limit boxers' financial stability, or their ability to negotiate free fair terms in their contracts?

Mr. KHAN. So, Senator Rosen——

Senator ROSEN. Yes.

Mr. KHAN.—we at TKO is, you know, it's a publicly traded company. Everything is public. Our media rights deals are public. I mentioned just briefly in the hallway earlier, the results of WrestleMania this past weekend, including the gate, are public. There's nothing that we can't make public unless we want to face government—real ramifications with the SEC, and, potentially, DOJ. So they're made available on a quarterly basis.

The way our media rights deals work are different than how they were when the Muhammad Ali Act was passed at that time, at the height of Showtime and HBO Boxing. HBO would pay a license fee, let's say $3 million, to a promoter to put together a fight. So that

promoter would then disclose that $3 million amount to the main event fighters and some other sources of revenue.

When you do a multi-event, multi-year deal with, let's say, Netflix, as WWE has done, the allocation of what money goes where for what event, it's completely different and almost impossible to say, well, for this event we're going to give $3 million, but the other event, we're going to give $500,000. It doesn't work, but what does work are our public disclosures made on a quarterly basis for which sitting on the board, I'm responsible for as the President of WWE. I'm responsible for as the senior business executive at Zuffa Boxing. I would be responsible for complete operational control is with us. So we're going to be held accountable and that's no issue for us.

Senator ROSEN. So, if I may, Mr. Chairman, I have one last question about sponsorship——

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator ROSEN.—for each one of our witnesses. And so sponsorship is really important. We know that we live in a world of media, right? That matters. So are there specific—I'm going to ask each one of you, are there specific provisions such as ensuring the ability to secure sponsors outside of a UBO contract, or prohibiting certain provisions in any contract that we could add to the Revival Act that would meaningfully support boxers in a UBO system? If you have opinions on that, we'll start again. Mr. De La Hoya.

Mr. DE LA HOYA. Yes, and let me touch once again on the disclosures. The only problem I have with Mr. Khan's comments is there is no disclosure for the fighters, and that's where the problem is, and that's why we're here to fight for.

Senator ROSEN. Disclosure meaning the amount they get paid? I mean, just clarify that for us.

Mr. DE LA HOYA. The amount they get—the amount they get paid, and the monies that are generated in that event.

Senator ROSEN. OK. Thank you.

Mr. DE LA HOYA. I'm sorry, can you repeat the question?

Senator ROSEN. Well, you know, I just want to be sure. Are there any provisions, any way—any things you think. We have the Revival Act coming from the House, and anything that we could add to that, as we think about as legislators, that would meaningfully support boxers in the UBO system as far as it comes to securing sponsors or prohibiting certain provisions. Just what would you think if we—take on it?

Mr. DE LA HOYA. We do have in boxing current sponsors, which again, the majorities of the monies go directly to the fighter, whether it's ticket sales, revenue generated by TV platforms, pay per views, and sponsorships. The fighter sees the majority of that money.

Senator ROSEN. So we could probably may be able to add something like that in our bill. Thank you. Mr. Shipman, would you like to address this at all? I'm going to ask each one of you and then the Chairman.

Mr. SHIPMAN. Ma'am, the complication that I see concerning, you know, doing the sponsorship from a regulatory standpoint, the commissions do not get involved concerning sponsorship. All of that is done as a contract negotiation between the fighters, their man-

agers, and I can't speak intelligently upon that. I think that that is something that is out of our league from a regulatory standpoint. That's all I have on that, ma'am.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you.

Mr. SHIPMAN. Thank you.

Senator ROSEN. Mr. Walsh.

Mr. WALSH. So, I, I don't know if you've seen the Zuffa Boxing events, but if you have seen the events, it, from my perspective, looks very plain, it looks very corporate. And in current boxing, you have the freedom to have those sponsorships, unlike in Zuffa, where you're forced to wear their trunks, or you're forced to not have certain amount of sponsors or whatever their rules may be in their contract.

But that's what makes boxing important to me. And as a fighter, I know that having those sponsorships gives the fighters more money. It's only for the fighters. And if the new Revival Act was truly for the fighters, to put more money in the fighters' pockets, they're moving that same UFC model over to boxing. You can see it through their events already. And if that model were truly for the fighters, you wouldn't see the $375 million antitrust lawsuit that's going from the—that the UFC had to settle. You wouldn't see former UFC fighters complaining about pay. You wouldn't see current UFC fighters begging for raises in their pay. If that—if that model truly worked, and if it was truly for the fighters, you wouldn't be hearing so much about money from these UFC fighters.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you, Mr. Walsh. Mr. Khan.

Mr. KHAN. Senator Rosen, number one, in terms of working together to try to get the same bipartisan support that we had in the House, of course we want to hear any and all ideas that can work in terms of sponsorship dollars. There was a comment made about that the fighters wouldn't see the revenue. As you know, with the publicly traded company, the whole world sees the revenue. It's disclosed to the public.

So the sponsorship dollars for UFC, WWE have been significant. The fighters participate in that. Ranking—I'm sorry, Chairman Cruz was gracious enough to give part of my resume as the former co-head of television at CAA in representing leagues and broadcasters and talent. Never did I meet someone who said, "I'm making too much money. Don't tell anybody." Everyone wants more money, and I understand that. So if we can generate more money, it means more money to the fighters. If given the opportunity for a UBO, assume the sponsorship in boxing as it currently stands is as horrific as the other elements of boxing; no media major—no major media conglomerate, no video game, no trading cards, nothing. So the sponsorship is as barren as that. If we do our jobs right as the startup and get sponsorship dollars in, the fighters participate, it's more money for them.

Senator ROSEN. Thank you. I yield back.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. I appreciate all of you coming before the Monster Energy Senate Commerce Committee——

[Laughter.]

Senator ROSEN. —a lot of hearings this morning. You're competing with a lot of hearings.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to thank each of the witnesses. I think this was a very productive hearing, and this was helpful. As I mentioned in my opening, I'm going to be introducing the Senate version of the Ali Revival Act. I do think there's a need for Congress to act here, and I think if there is a possibility to generate significantly more revenue for the sport that will benefit, in my judgment, the boxers and everyone participating. I also think enhancing health and safety is a worthwhile endeavor.

And I think the point that there's no doubt you think back to when we were kids and boxing enjoyed a much more prominent place in American culture and society. The champions of the world dominated the news and entertainment in a way that that they don't today, and I do think the dearth of Olympic gold medals—I wish we saw new Oscar De La Hoya's every 4 years. That would be—that would be good for America and good for boxing.

But as I said, I fully expect in the Senate that the version of the bill that the Senate takes up will be different from what the House passed, and so I want to extend a personal invitation to each of the four of you and to any other stakeholders if you have suggestions for modifications that would improve the bill. I think on both sides, Democrat and Republican, we're interested in hearing those suggestions. Mr. De La Hoya, you had a suggestion about who pays for health care that I thought was a helpful suggestion. And so that is an open invitation I hope you all will go back and actually think about. My objective here will be a win-win. That is a win for the sport, and for the fighters, and for the fans, and for everyone involved. If we can achieve that, that will be a good day's work.

Senators will have until the close of business on April 29 to submit questions for the record. The witnesses will have until the close of business on May 13 to respond to those questions.

This concludes today's hearing. The Committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:30 p.m., the Committee was adjourned.]

A P P E N D I X

RESPONSE TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY HON. JACKY ROSEN TO OSCAR DE LA HOYA

Question 1. ENFORCEMENT: In 2003, a GAO report found Federal enforcement of the Professional Boxing Safety Act of 1996 was severely limited. It explicitly stated that DOJ had not prosecuted cases under the Act because it had received no referrals from Federal law enforcement and it prioritizes felony violations, rather than misdemeanors, which violations under the Act were.

a. Mr. De La Hoya, should Congress consider increasing penalties for violations of boxing law to deter violations?

Answer. The challenge historically has not necessarily been the lack of laws, but rather the lack of consistent enforcement, oversight and willingness to report. Instead of focusing solely on increasing penalties, I believe Congress should prioritize creating clearer referral pathways between state athletic commissions and Federal law enforcement, improving coordination among regulators, and providing greater resources for oversight. Fighters benefit most when the law is clear, enforceable, and consistently applied across the industry.

Question 2. UBO DOMINANCE:

a. Mr. De La Hoya Some critics of the proposed legislation have raised concerns regarding the elimination of smaller non-UBO sanctioning bodies and promoters. Under this bill, how would we ensure a fair playing field for smaller non-UBO sanctioning organizations and promoters?

Answer. This is one of my core concerns with the Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act as currently drafted. While I understand the intent to create greater accountability through the proposed UBO framework, the legislation risks consolidating too much power in the hands of a small number of large entities at the expense of independent promoters and smaller sanctioning bodies that have long played a legitimate and important role in the sport.

Boxing has historically operated through a competitive ecosystem of promoters, sanctioning organizations, broadcasters, and athletic commissions. While that system is not perfect, competition within the marketplace has helped create opportunities for fighters and has prevented any single entity from simultaneously controlling rankings, championships, and promotional access.

To ensure a fair and competitive landscape, Congress should preserve the role of independent promoters and sanctioning organizations while strengthening transparency and conflict-of-interest protections across the industry. Smaller promoters are often responsible for identifying and developing young talent, building regional markets, and creating pathways for fighters early in their careers. Any framework that significantly limits their ability to compete could ultimately reduce opportunities for athletes entering the sport.

Congress should also consider incorporating clear anti-monopoly safeguards to ensure that any UBO cannot use its sanctioning authority to unfairly favor affiliated promotional interests. In addition, the legislation should establish objective and attainable standards for UBO certification, along with meaningful grievance and review mechanisms that allow non-UBO entities to challenge potentially anti-competitive conduct. Finally, I would encourage the Committee to carefully examine whether the current structure of the bill could unintentionally recreate the very conflicts of interest between sanctioning and promotion that the original Ali Act was designed to prevent.

Question 3. MEDIA DEALS: In the past, broadcasters would pay a specific license fee for particular matches. However, sports today, including boxing, are now signing multi-year media rights deals with a variety of media companies beyond traditional broadcasting companies.

a. Mr. De La Hoya, should Congress consider updating disclosure requirements for promoters to reflect this new landscape? Should UBOs also be subject to updated disclosure requirements?

Answer. I would welcome updating disclosure agreements to reflect the new landscape. In the past, a broadcaster paid a one-time license fee for a specific fight. Today, we are dealing with multi-year, multi-fight streaming deals with platforms like Paramount+, Amazon, DAZN, and ESPN+ that fundamentally change the economics of boxing. I support updating the Ali Act's financial disclosure requirements to encompass these modern media rights agreements in their entirety, covering all platforms and contract terms. UBOs should absolutely be subject to the same or more rigorous disclosure requirements given the outsized power they would exercise under the proposed legislation.

b. Mr. De La Hoya, beyond transparency related to media rights deals, should Congress consider additional transparency requirements, such as requirements that mirror those that a publicly company must disclose?

Answer. The Ali Act already requires promoters to disclose certain financial information to fighters, but those requirements have not kept pace with the complexity of today's deals. I strongly support modernizing these requirements.

Question 4. TRANSPARENCY ON RANKINGS & MATCHES: Mr. De La Hoya, should Congress consider requiring public disclosure about how UBOs and sanctioning organizations determine rankings, match determinations, titles and title bouts? Are there other ways to provide more clarity and transparency into the decisions made by sanctioning organizations, UBOs, promoters, and boxers themselves related to how bouts and event cards are determined?

Answer. Firstly, today's major boxing sanctioning bodies, including the World Boxing Association, World Boxing Council, International Boxing Federation, and World Boxing Organization, already maintain systems intended to provide transparency around rankings, title eligibility, mandatory challengers, and championship bouts through publicly published rankings, ratings committees, mandatory defense rules, purse bid procedures, and written championship regulations. These organizations also issue official rulings and maintain appeals processes to explain or govern title decisions, eliminators, and mandatory obligations. While the system is still frequently criticized for inconsistencies and subjectivity, these mechanisms are designed to provide fighters, promoters, media, and fans with a visible framework for how championship opportunities are determined. I welcome increased disclosure regarding matchmaking criteria and financial interests that could help improve accountability across the industry and confidence in the sport and reduce perceptions of favoritism or conflicts of interest. At the same time, boxing is not always linear. Injuries, promotional agreements, fighter availability, television considerations, and market demand all influence matchmaking decisions. Any transparency framework should preserve the flexibility needed to make competitive and compelling fights.

If a UBO is going to receive the benefits of Federal recognition and operate with the same legitimacy as the current framework established under the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act, it should be required to meet comparable transparency and disclosure standards. That would likely include publicly publishing rankings criteria, mandatory challenger procedures, championship rules, medical and safety protocols, and written explanations for title decisions or ranking changes in an open forum. A UBO should also be required to disclose financial relationships, sanctioning fees, conflicts of interest, and bout agreements in a manner similar to the protections currently intended under the Ali Act, while maintaining independent oversight, a formal appeals process, and clear reporting mechanisms that allow fighters to confidentially report misconduct, coercion, retaliation, or potential abuses without fear of jeopardizing their careers.

Question 5. INTERNATIONAL FIGHTS: While many bouts happen in the U.S., boxing has always been an international sport. However, courts have found that the current Ali Act only applies to boxing matches held in the U.S.

a. Mr. De La Hoya, as we consider additional health and safety benefits for boxers, what can Congress do to enhance protections for boxers and ensure they understand the limits of U.S. law?

Answer. Congress should mandate that promoters provide fighters with plain-language written notice in the fighter's primary language explaining which protections apply to bouts held outside the United States and which do not. Many fighters, particularly those from lower-income backgrounds or non-English-speaking countries, simply do not know that U.S. law may not follow them overseas.

b. Mr. De La Hoya, should Congress consider requiring UBOs to have consistent protections for athletes regardless of where the fight is taking place?

Answer. Yes. If a UBO is going to receive the benefits of Federal recognition and the market power that comes with it, it should also be required to guarantee fighters consistent health, safety, and financial protections in every jurisdiction where it operates. A fighter signed to a U.S.-regulated entity should not lose those protections simply because a bout is staged in Riyadh or Dubai instead of Las Vegas.

c. Mr. De La Hoya, with more foreign money being dedicated to the sport, I'm also concerned more fights may take place overseas with little to no rules to preserve the integrity of bouts. What can Congress do to incentivize fights in the U.S. and prevent against fights in countries without protections against fixed or unfair fights?

Answer. The influx of foreign capital into boxing, particularly from Gulf states, is one of the most significant shifts I have seen in my career. However, the United States remains one of the strongest regulatory environments in combat sports because of its established state athletic commission system and longstanding oversight mechanisms. Congress can help preserve that leadership position by supporting strong regulatory standards, encouraging transparency, and creating incentives for promoters, broadcasters, and event operators to continue investing in U.S.-based events. One potential approach could include targeted tax incentives for hosting major boxing events domestically, recognizing the significant economic impact these events can have on local communities through event and video production, tourism, hospitality, job creation, and related business activity.

Question 6. CONTRACTS:

a. Mr. De La Hoya, how can Congress ensure boxers are protected from retaliation if they choose to end a contract with a promoter or UBO?

Answer. Fighters should never fear retaliation for exercising their contractual rights. Congress can help protect athletes by strengthening anti-retaliation provisions, ensuring access to independent legal review, and preserving clear dispute resolution mechanisms.

b. Mr. De La Hoya, how have the contract requirements and protections against coercive contract sections under current law protected athletes? Are there still remaining gaps and should Congress consider additional provisions to adequately protect boxers and ensure fair contracts?

Answer. The Ali Act's protections against coercive contracts and undisclosed conflicts have been important safeguards for fighters. The transparency requirements have helped fighters better understand the financial structure of their events and have reduced some of the abuses that existed previously. Since the passage of the Ali Act, the industry has evolved toward greater accountability and professionalism for fighters and other stakeholders. While the system is not perfect and gaps still remain, particularly for younger fighters entering the sport with limited legal or financial knowledge, Congress should consider measures that improve fighter education and access to independent legal counsel.

c. Mr. De La Hoya, the current version of the Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act caps contract lengths to six years. How long is the average boxing career and based on that information, should Congress consider lowering the contract cap? What would be the impact on boxers' ability to negotiate by allowing multi-year contracts?

Answer. Based on my experience, the average professional boxing career, from a fighter's professional debut to retirement, typically spans approximately five to fifteen years for those who reach the highest levels of the sport. However, a fighter's peak earning years are often concentrated within a much shorter window, frequently four to seven years. A six-year contract cap could therefore encompass the majority of a fighter's prime earning potential, potentially locking athletes into terms negotiated before their market value is fully established. I would encourage Congress to consider a shorter cap, with the ability for fighters to negotiate subsequent contracts once they have established their value in the marketplace. Such an approach would better protect fighters while still preserving the ability of promoters and other stakeholders to make reasonable long-term investments in developing talent.

d. Mr. De La Hoya, should Congress consider requiring shorter contract lengths for newer boxers (*i.e.,* a "rookie" year contract)?

Answer. Congress could consider additional protections for newer fighters, including shorter initial agreements or enhanced review requirements. Younger fighters often lack experience and bargaining power, making early-career protections particularly important. Congress should also keep in mind that newer boxers are still developing in their first six years, and aren't very profitable as they build their careers.

RESPONSE TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY HON. JOHN FETTERMAN TO OSCAR DE LA HOYA

Question 1. You fought professionally before and after the Professional Boxing Safety Act of 1996 ("PBSA") was signed into law.

a. Do you believe fighters have benefited from the *PBSA*'s protections and standards?

Answer. Yes, without question. I turned professional in 1992 and fought both before and after the PBSA was enacted in 1996. The difference was tangible. Before the Act, there was no consistent national standard for medical testing. A fighter could lose a bout in one state under circumstances that would have been flagged in another, and no one shared records across state lines. Managers and promoters moved fighters to jurisdictions with weaker oversight. The PBSA's requirement of minimum health and safety standards, along with its establishment of a national registry, made the sport meaningfully safer. Fighters' lives have been protected as a result.

b. Do you believe fighters could benefit from building on *PBSA* standards with respect to medical evaluations, minimum health and/or life insurance requirements, and other safety standards?

Answer. There is always room to improve fighter safety, including stronger medical evaluations, better insurance protections, and long-term health safeguards. Medicine has advanced significantly since 1996. We now have much better tools for identifying traumatic brain injury, chronic traumatic encephalopathy risk factors, and cardiovascular vulnerabilities. The PBSA's baseline standards should be updated to reflect current medical science. Additionally, safety standards vary from state to state and greater consistency across the different athletic commissions would be helpful.

c. What do you believe is the intended purpose of creating an entirely different standard for medical evaluations, minimum health and/or life insurance, and other safety standards for unified boxing organizations (UBOs) as in the House-passed Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act ("Revival Act")?

Answer. That is a question I would respectfully urge the Committee to press the bill's proponents to answer directly and on the record. From my perspective, creating a dual standard, one for UBOs and another for the broader sport, risks creating a system in which the strongest fighters, who are most likely to compete under UBO auspices, receive enhanced protections while other fighters are left behind. If the goal is to improve safety across professional boxing, the standards should apply uniformly. I am concerned that a bifurcated system could also be used as a competitive tool, with UBO medical standards used to attract or exclude fighters for commercial rather than safety reasons. Moreover, current Zuffa contracts pass these medical costs on to the fighters. So, the fighters carry the burden of their own health and wellness.

Question 2. You fought professionally before and after the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform ("Ali Act") was signed into law in 2000. Given your experiences, can you specifically describe:

a. How a promoter directly controlling a title and ranking system in boxing, or any combat sport, could create a conflict of interest that is detrimental to the fighter and provide examples if you have any?

Answer. One of the concerns the Ali Act sought to address was the conflict that can arise when too much control over rankings, titles, and promotion is concentrated in the hands of the same individuals or entities. When a promoter also has influence over championship opportunities or rankings, fighters may feel pressured to accept unfavorable terms to access major fights or title opportunities.

Before the Ali Act, I experienced firsthand how much leverage promoters could hold over the economic structure of major fights. For example, during my fight with Félix Trinidad, promoters and associated business interests exercised significant control over the revenues and negotiations surrounding the event. Fighters often had limited visibility into the full financial picture and limited leverage to challenge the structure of those deals. Essentially, I only made a small share of total monies received for the historic fight. The Ali Act helped move the sport toward greater accountability by separating promotional interests from championship control and requiring greater financial disclosure.

b. What a coercive contract looked like, prior to the *Ali Act* being signed into law?

Answer. Before the Ali Act, coercive contracts were rampant, and I experienced their consequences personally. A typical problematic contract would include: an initial term of three or four years, followed by multiple promotional option periods that the promoter, not the fighter, could exercise unilaterally, effectively extending the

relationship indefinitely; broad exclusivity clauses that prevented a fighter from seeking other promotional opportunities even during periods of inactivity; ancillary rights grabs covering a fighter's name, image, and likeness for commercial purposes well beyond the contract term; and financial penalties for breach that were so severe as to make termination practically impossible. Fighters, often young men with no business background and limited legal representation, signed these agreements without fully understanding what they were giving up.

c. How the transparency requirements under the *Ali Act* benefit fighters today?

Answer. The Ali Act's requirement that promoters disclose the amounts of all fees, charges, and remunerations paid or to be paid to a promoter in connection with a boxing match, including from broadcasters and other sources, has fundamentally changed the information environment for fighters. Before that requirement, fighters often had no idea how much money the promoter was making from their fight. That information asymmetry was routinely exploited. Today, a fighter or their advisor can see the full financial picture and negotiate accordingly. The transparency requirements have given fighters and their teams the tools to be genuine business partners rather than just labor.

Question 3. During the hearing, in response to the Chairman's question on "confusion" and "chaos" in the sport of boxing, you referenced Floyd Mayweather's interest in protecting his record. For those who may not follow boxing closely, can you further explain what you meant by that statement?

Answer. My point during the hearing was that boxing is unique because individual legacy and undefeated records often influence business decisions, matchmaking, and career strategy. Fighters sometimes become more selective because a loss can dramatically impact marketability, earning potential, and public perception. That dynamic contributes to some of the frustration fans feel regarding delays in major fights, but it is also a reflection of the economic structure of modern boxing.

Question 4. The *Revival Act* contains a provision that limits a proposed UBOs promotional contract with a fighter to six years.

a. Given your experience as a fighter, and as a promoter, how long is the average career for a boxer?

Answer. The average professional boxing career varies considerably by weight class and individual circumstance. For fighters who reach elite levels, the career from first professional bout to final fight typically spans five to fifteen years, though the competitive peak where a fighter is in genuine title contention and earning at the highest levels is often concentrated in a five to eight year window. Many fighters have shorter careers due to injury, performance decline, or financial pressures that force them to continue fighting beyond their prime. The variability makes it particularly important that early contracts not overcommit a fighter before they know their own trajectory.

b. Do you believe that a six-year limit is sufficient to ensure fighters are able to make the best long-term decisions for their careers?

Answer. Certain states already impose limits on the length of promotional contracts. For example, California generally limits boxer-promoter contracts to five years, while New York has historically imposed shorter limitations in certain circumstances. A six-year limit may help ensure fighters periodically regain leverage and reassess their options as their careers evolve. However, Congress should also recognize that developing fighters often requires substantial long-term financial investment from promoters before any return is realized.

Question 5. Can you describe what financial information is made available to a fighter and when that information becomes available to a fighter under the *Ali Act*?

a. Can you describe why this information is valuable to a fighter?

Answer. Under the Ali Act, a promoter is required to disclose to a fighter, in writing, all fees, charges, and compensation the promoter has received or expects to receive in connection with a bout, including revenue from television and broadcast rights, ticket sales, sponsorships, merchandising, and other related sources. Fighters are also entitled to receive copies of contracts related to the bout involving the promoter, as well as a full accounting of any deductions made from the fighter's compensation. These disclosures are generally made available once the promoter has received, or has entered into an agreement to receive, the applicable revenues. This transparency helps fighters better understand whether they are being compensated fairly relative to the revenues generated by the event and provides valuable information they can use to negotiate future fights and promoter contracts based on their market value.

b. Would quarterly financial disclosures from a publicly traded UBO hold the same value to a fighter as financial information required to be disclosed under the *Ali Act*?

Answer. Not at all, and this distinction is critical. The Ali Act's financial disclosure requirement is bout-specific and forward-looking: a fighter receives information about the specific fight they are participating in almost immediately. Quarterly disclosures from a publicly traded UBO are aggregate, historical, and general, useful for understanding the overall financial health of the organization but not for evaluating whether a specific purse offer is fair considering the revenues that specific event generated. These are complementary forms of transparency, not substitutes. Replacing the Ali Act's targeted disclosures with public company reporting would leave fighters without the specific, actionable information they need at the moment it matters most when they are negotiating their next fight.

Question 6. Do you believe that the formation of a union for all boxers, or all combat sports athletes would benefit the health, safety, and fair compensation of the athletes?

Answer. Fighters would likely benefit from stronger collective representation regarding health, safety, pension protections, and long-term support. However, boxing is uniquely complex because fighters operate as independent contractors across multiple promoters, broadcasters, commissions, and countries. Any effort to create a union or association would need to account for the decentralized and international nature of combat sports while still preserving fighter independence and opportunity.

RESPONSE TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY DEMOCRATIC SENATORS TO TIMOTHY L. SHIPMAN

Subject: ENFORCEMENT: In 2003, a GAO report found Federal enforcement of the Professional Boxing Safety Act of 1996 was severely limited. It explicitly stated that DOJ had not prosecuted cases under the Act because it had received no referrals from Federal law enforcement and it prioritizes felony violations, rather than misdemeanors, which violations under the Act were.

Question. Mr. Shipman, how do we improve enforcement of current law and ensure any changes to the law are enforceable?

Answer. The Government Accountability Office (GAO) findings highlight a longstanding structural gap between the intent and the practical enforcement of the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act and the Professional Boxing Safety Act, codified at 15 U.S. Code Chapter 89.

Chapter 89 establishes important national standards to protect the health, safety, and economic rights of professional boxers, including boxer registration and recordkeeping (§ 6305), medical safeguards and suspension recognition (§ 6304–6306), financial disclosures (§ 6307), and prohibitions on conflicts of interest (§ 6308) . However, enforcement of these provisions has been significantly limited in practice.

As identified by the GAO, there is no clearly designated Federal entity responsible for investigating or enforcing violations of these statutes. While the statute authorizes the Attorney General to pursue injunctions and criminal penalties, those penalties are generally limited to misdemeanor level offenses up to one year imprisonment or fines which contribute to low Federal enforcement priority. The Department of Justice has not pursued cases under the Act, in part because it has not received referrals from Federal law enforcement and because these violations do not align with typical prosecutorial priorities.

Additionally, the Association of Boxing Commissions (ABC), while serving an important coordinating role, has no statutory enforcement authority. Its mission is to promote uniformity, communication, and adherence to laws not to investigate or prosecute violations. It also lacks the financial resources and legal authority necessary to take enforcement action or make formal referrals.

In practice, enforcement has largely defaulted to tribal and state athletic commissions, resulting in inconsistent application across jurisdictions. Many disputes, particularly those involving financial disclosures and conflicts of interest, are addressed through private civil litigation rather than coordinated public enforcement. This creates a fragmented and reactive system that relies heavily on individual actors rather than structured oversight.

To improve enforcement of current law and ensure that any amendments are enforceable, several actions should be considered:

First, recommend Congress designate or establish a Federal enforcement authority with clear responsibility for investigating violations of Chapter 89 and coordi-

nating with the Department of Justice. Without a defined enforcement body, statutory requirements remain largely self-executing.

Second, a formal referral mechanism should be established between tribal and state athletic commissions, the ABC, and Federal law enforcement. This would allow patterns of misconduct, particularly those involving interstate activity to be elevated and addressed consistently at the Federal level.

Third, recommend Congress strengthen the penalty structure within the statute. Elevating certain willful or repeated violations especially those involving fraud, nondisclosure, coercive contractual practices, or serious safety risks to felony level offenses would better align with DOJ enforcement priorities and improve deterrence.

Fourth, it is important to provide Federal support and incentives for state level enforcement, recognizing that tribal and state commissions are the primary implementers of the law. Grant funding, shared investigative resources, and minimum national enforcement standards would promote greater uniformity.

Finally, any legislative changes should include dedicated funding and clear implementation guidance, ensuring that enforcement authority is matched with the resources necessary to carry out congressional intent.

These reforms would produce meaningful, practical benefits across the industry:

- For fighters, stronger enforcement would transform existing protections into real safeguards. Consistent oversight would improve health and safety compliance, ensure more reliable medical suspensions and recordkeeping, and reduce the risk of exploitation through undisclosed financial arrangements or conflicts of interest. Stronger penalties and Federal involvement would also deter coercive practices and ranking manipulation, giving fighters a fairer opportunity to compete and earn.
- For promoters, clearer and more consistent enforcement would create a more predictable regulatory environment across states. Promoters who operate in compliance would benefit from a level playing field, where competitors are held to the same standards and cannot gain advantage through regulatory gaps. Increased credibility in rankings and sanctioning decisions would also strengthen event marketing and consumer confidence.
- For sanctioning organizations, the introduction of structured oversight particularly through licensing would enhance legitimacy and transparency. While it would impose accountability, it would also distinguish credible organizations from less reputable actors, improving trust among fighters, promoters, regulators, and the public. A more uniform system would reduce disputes and provide clearer operational expectations.

In summary, improving enforcement will require not only statutory changes, but also the establishment of clear authority, coordinated referral pathways, meaningful penalties, and adequate resources. Aligning these elements will ensure that the protections established under 15 U.S. Code Chapter 89 are consistently and effectively enforced, rather than relying on fragmented tribal and state action or private civil litigation.

On the enforcement side, one of the most practical and immediately effective steps Congress could take is to require the Association of Boxing Commissions to license sanctioning organizations including Unified Boxing Organizations (UBO's), should the legislation pass Senate. Right now, there is virtually no direct oversight of these entities no licensing framework, no auditing mechanism, and no clear authority to revoke their ability to operate.

If the ABC were granted the authority to license sanctioning bodies and, critically, the power to suspend or revoke those licenses for serious or repeated violations you would introduce real enforcement authority without creating an entirely new Federal bureaucracy. This approach leverages an existing organization whose mission already includes promoting uniform standards and enforcement consistency.

That single reform would give tribal and state commissions a clear mechanism to push back against problematic practices such as ranking manipulation, unfair bout selection, and conflicts of interest. It would also create a centralized accountability structure that currently does not exist, while reinforcing the broader benefits to fighters, promoters, and sanctioning organizations through increased fairness, consistency, and credibility across the sport.

While broader Federal enforcement reforms remain important, licensing sanctioning organizations through the ABC represents a practical, targeted starting point that could significantly strengthen oversight while preserving the tribal and state based regulatory framework.

Finally, the emphasis on funding and implementation guidance reflects an understanding that statutory reform alone is insufficient. The failure of past enforcement

efforts was not due to lack of law, but lack of execution. Pairing authority with resources is what makes this set of recommendations credible.

Overall, these proposals are not overly expansive they are targeted, structural fixes that address known gaps. If implemented thoughtfully, they would move the system from fragmented and reactive to coordinated and enforceable, which is consistent with the original intent of 15 U.S. Code Chapter 89.

Subject: MEDIA DEALS: In the past, broadcasters would pay a specific license fee for particular matches. However, sports today, including boxing, are now signing multi-year media rights deals with a variety of media companies beyond traditional broadcasting companies.

Question. Mr. Shipman, beyond transparency related to media rights deals, should Congress consider additional transparency requirements, such as requirements hat mirror those that a publicly company must disclose?

Answer. While increased transparency is generally a worthwhile objective, I believe applying public company style disclosure requirements to boxing media rights agreements would be difficult to implement and, in many cases, would not meaningfully advance the core regulatory goals of the sport.

Under current Federal law, including the Professional Boxing Safety Act, the primary focus of regulation is on fighter safety, integrity of competition, and conflict-of-interest protections, not the oversight of commercial media agreements. Tribal and State Boxing Commissions are structured around that same mission. Our responsibilities are focused on licensing, medical oversight, bout approval, and enforcement, not the review of complex, multi-year media contracts.

As a practical matter, most commissions are small agencies without the staff or expertise to analyze sophisticated broadcast or streaming agreements. Expanding disclosure requirements to mirror those of public companies would create significant administrative burdens and raise legitimate concerns about the handling of proprietary business information, including trade secrets, and or commercially sensitive information.

That said, I do recognize that Congress may have an interest in understanding how evolving media rights structures could impact broader issues such as fighter compensation, market dynamics, and potential conflicts of interest. If Congress chooses to explore additional transparency in this area, I will respectfully suggest that any approach be targeted and narrowly tailored, rather than a one-size-fits-all mandate.

For example, Congress could consider:

- Focusing only on larger, multi-year media rights agreements, where the potential market impact is greatest.
- Allowing for confidential or non-public reporting mechanisms to protect sensitive business terms.
- Placing any new reporting responsibility at the Federal level or through a centralized entity, rather than tribal and state commissions.

It is also important to recognize that the industry today includes a wide spectrum from major national broadcast deals to smaller, localized streaming arrangements. Any regulatory framework must be flexible enough to account for that diversity.

Many states already address their financial interest in events through statutorily capped broadcast assessments. California caps it at $35,000, Florida at $40,000, and New York at $50,000. Once that cap is paid, the state has received its fair share. At that point, requiring promoters to turn over the actual contract serves no real regulatory purpose.

In summary, while there may be room for targeted, carefully designed transparency measures, I do not believe tribal and state boxing commissions should be responsible for reviewing media rights agreements, nor do I believe broad public company style disclosure requirements would be practical or effective in this context. Any changes should be narrowly focused, clearly defined, and aligned with the existing regulatory mission of protecting fighters and maintaining the integrity of the sport.

Subject: TRANSPARENCY ON RANKINGS & MATCHES: Mr. Shipman, should Congress consider requiring public disclosure about how UBOs and sanctioning organizations determine rankings, match determinations, titles and title bouts? Are there other ways to provide more clarity and transparency into the decisions made by sanctioning organizations, UBOs, promoters, and boxers themselves related to how bouts and event cards are determined?

Answer. I recommend Congress require sanctioning bodies to be much more transparent about how they determine rankings and choose title bouts. While the Profes-

sional Boxing Safety Act of 1996 established an important Federal framework to protect the health and safety of boxers and to address certain conflicts of interest, it does not directly regulate the processes by which rankings are developed, or title opportunities are awarded. As a result, many of the most consequential decisions affecting a boxer's career remain largely opaque and are not subject to consistent oversight.

To address this gap, Congress may wish to consider establishing a Federal registration or licensing requirement for sanctioning organizations that operate within the United States. Under such a framework, sanctioning bodies would be required, as a condition of licensure, to adopt and publicly disclose standardized ranking criteria, maintain written policies governing title eligibility and mandatory challengers, and provide clear explanations for deviations from those policies. Failure to comply with these requirements could result in graduated enforcement actions, including civil penalties, suspension of the organization's authority to sanction title bouts, or revocation of its license.

In addition, Congress could require periodic reporting and certification to ensure ongoing compliance. For example, sanctioning organizations could be required to submit annual disclosures outlining their ranking methodologies, and any exceptions granted in title bout determinations. These disclosures would provide regulators, athletes, and the public with greater visibility into decision making processes and help deter practices that undermine competitive integrity.

Importantly, to the extent that certain sanctioning organizations currently provide annual filings or make rankings publicly available whether through regulatory submissions or publication on organizational websites those practices should be formalized and applied uniformly across the industry. All sanctioning bodies and UBOs should be held to consistent disclosure standards, including regular submission or publication of rankings. Establishing and enforcing this uniform requirement would help level the playing field and ensure transparency is not selectively applied.

The Association of Boxing Commission whose mission includes promoting uniformity and improved standards across jurisdictions, could assist in developing baseline guidelines or model standards for rankings and bout selection. While the ABC does not currently exercise direct regulatory authority over sanctioning organizations, it can serve an important role in reviewing and mediating disputes, particularly if supported by Federal authority to ensure consistency and enforceability.

The Committee may also wish to examine the relationship between promoters and sanctioning organizations. Although Federal law addresses certain conflicts of interest involving regulators, it does not fully encompass the financial and business relationships that can influence rankings and bout selection. Congress could require disclosure of sanctioning fees, promotional agreements, and other financial arrangements tied to rankings or title opportunities. Where undisclosed or improper relationships are identified, enforcement provisions should authorize meaningful penalties, including fines and potential disqualification of bouts from recognition.

It is also important to acknowledge that boxing operates at the intersection of sport and entertainment. Matchmaking decisions are often influenced by fan interest and market demand, which can benefit the sport. However, once a fighter has legitimately earned a number one contender position, there should be enforceable protections to ensure that opportunity is not bypassed without clear, documented justification. Congress could consider requiring that any deviation from mandatory challenger status be formally documented, subject to review, and, where appropriate, appealable.

Finally, Congress may wish to expand mechanisms for independent review. Current law provides for appeals to the Association of Boxing Commissions in limited circumstances, such as the review of suspensions. A broader appeals framework potentially tied to the proposed licensing system could allow fighters to challenge ranking decisions, title stripping, or denied opportunities before an independent body, with the ABC playing a central role in review and mediation under Federal authority.

In conclusion, while it may not be possible to eliminate all subjectivity from rankings and matchmaking, Congress has the ability to impose meaningful transparency and accountability through enforceable standards. A combination of disclosure requirements, licensing authority, and clear penalties for non-compliance would significantly strengthen the integrity of the sport and better protect professional boxers.

RESPONSE TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY HON. MARIA CANTWELL TO NICO ALI WALSH

Your grandfather, Muhammad Ali, was not only a great American boxer but a great leader. He advocated for boxers' rights and safety. He spoke out against wrongs when others could not or would not.

Question 1. As a professional boxer yourself, what do you think it is important for this Committee to understand about the current state of boxing and the *Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act of 2026* (*Revival Act*)?

Answer. Boxing is a sport that has been on the forefront of civil rights in the United States. Just a few leading examples include:

- Jack Johnson broke the color barrier in 1908, the first Black man to win the World Heavyweight Championship.
- Joe Louis, after defeating the German Max Schmeling in 1938 in a blow to Hitler's white supremacy, used his influence to desegregation the U.S. Army when he joined after the start of World War II.
- Of course, my grandfather Muhammad Ali was stripped of his title for not fighting in the Vietnam War, but won his rights and freedom in the U.S. Supreme Court, in a landmark win for the rights of Conscientious Objectors. For his work on civil rights, he became and remains a huge worldwide icon for the rights of people of races and religions.

So boxing has a unique role in American society. It is a sport and cultural phenomenon that must be preserved from being dominated solely by the commercial interests of one $40 billion company.

Boxers are people who are typically the poor and disadvantaged, who deserve the protections that Muhammad Ali fought for, and which are embodied in the Act named for him and passed in the year 2000.

That Act is designed to protect boxers from being exploited as in the past. This proposed law would create an exception that would lead to the exploitation of those athletes.

Question 2. What do you think your grandfather, the namesake of the original *Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act,* would think of the *Revival Act*?

Answer. Muhammad Ali would strongly object to the Act. He saw how other boxers were exploited by promoters, and fought for the original Act to prevent that exploitation.

He would never agree that the so-called "Revival Act" should create an exception to have a promoter control championships and boxers' rankings, a huge conflict of interest that would prevent a boxer from earning what he or she deserves when they risk their health, and their lives, in the ring.

RESPONSE TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY HON. JACKY ROSEN TO NICO ALI WALSH

Question 1. ENFORCEMENT: In 2003, a GAO report found Federal enforcement of the Professional Boxing Safety Act of 1996 was severely limited. It explicitly stated that DOJ had not prosecuted cases under the Act because it had received no referrals from Federal law enforcement and it prioritizes felony violations, rather than misdemeanors, which violations under the Act were.

a. Mr. Walsh, should Congress consider increasing penalties for violations of boxing law to deter violations?

Answer. Absolutely. The current Act limits penalties to misdemeanors, meaning, imprisonment for not more than 1 year or fined not more than $20,000, or both. Making violations a felony would increase incentives for authorities to prosecute these crimes, as well as to deter violations.

Question 2. PROTECTING BOXERS: Each state has different rules about protections for boxers, including health, safety, and minimum wages. These rules are meant to protect all boxers, not just the ones fighting for championship titles.

a. Mr. Walsh, how can Congress protect all professional boxers, not just the ones who make it to the very top? Should Congress consider creating a national commission to establish uniform standards or does the current state by state commission model adequately protect boxers?

Answer. The Ali Act's protections are currently limited to boxers who are in matches of 10 rounds or more, so yes, it should apply to all boxers, and to mixed martial arts fighters as well.

The key is uniformity of standards, whether to be enforced by states or a possible Federal commission. One concern about a Federal commission is the possibility for it to be dominated by political interests. The so-called Revival Act is a good example.

Why? Because it is being strongly pushed by President Trump based on his friendship with Dana White, head of the UFC, and his Secretary of Education, Linda McMahon, former President of WWE. Both are part of TKO Group (NYSE: TKO), a $40 billion company that is moving into boxing under a brand called Zuffa.

The "Revival Act" would permit Zuffa to establish its own Championships, and have one man—Dana White—determine who and who does not fight for the titles. It would create a dangerous monopoly in boxing as he did in Mixed Martial Arts ("MMA") with the UFC.

Proving why that model is bad for fighters, in October 2024, UFC made a *$375 million* settlement of a class action lawsuit against UFC for anticompetitive practices that caused mixed martial arts (MMA) fighters to earn significantly less than they should have been paid. Yet, Trump is hosting a UFC show on the White House lawn next month to celebrate the 250th Independence Day. How is this good for fighters being exploited?

So, great care should be taken to stop the "Revival Act" from giving a sweetheart deal to the President's supporters, and from Federal boxing regulation becoming corrupted to benefit the Friends of Trump?

In any event, the Ali Act should be improved to strengthen uniformity of safety, medical, and economic protections for *all boxers, with strengthened enforcement by state commissions and the DOJ*.

b. Mr. Walsh, should Congress consider requiring minimum health and accidental death insurance levels adjust to inflation and allow athletes to be protected at escalating levels in the years to come?

Answer. Absolutely. A law passed in the Year 2000, without updates for inflation and current and future economic realities, is outdated. Again, most boxers are less educated, from working class and poor backgrounds, using the sport to fight their way to a better life. Few people risk their lives as a profession unless they have to, to feed their families. Fighters deserve increasingly better insurance protections.

Question 3. INTERNATIONAL FIGHTS: While many bouts happen in the U.S., boxing has always been an international sport. However, courts have found that the current Ali Act only applies to boxing matches held in the U.S.

a. Mr. Walsh, as we consider additional health and safety benefits for boxers, what can Congress do to enhance protections for boxers and ensure they understand the limits of U.S. law?

Answer. In reality, countries around the world have followed the U.S. system, not permitting promoters to control boxing championships and boxers' ratings and title opportunities. The biggest problem is that if the U.S. law is weakened by creating the exceptions in the so-called "American Boxing Revival Act", the USA will lose its influence on the world stage, with other countries seeing the way to permit conflicts of interest to benefit their own countries, fracturing the sport at its core.

b. Mr. Walsh, what can Congress do to prevent boxers from being forced to fight in foreign countries, where laws don't require adequate health and safety protections?

Answer. The Ali Act should be strengthened by including a new provision that says that any promoter licensed by any U.S. state, territory, or tribal nation must provide the same standards for boxers' protection if they stage events, directly or indirectly through third parties, in any location in the USA or elsewhere.

c. Mr. Walsh, should Congress consider requiring UBOs to have consistent protections for athletes regardless of where the fight is taking place?

Answer. Perhaps the biggest problem with the indirectly so-called "Revival Act" is that it exempts UBOs from having to comply with all the requirements that other boxing promoters must follow. A UBO would be both a promoter *and* a championship/ratings organization, so, rather than being exempt, should have to follow the Ali Act laws applicable to both promoters and sanctioning organizations—not have an exception to both.

d. Mr. Walsh, with more foreign money being dedicated to the sport, I'm also concerned more fights may take place overseas with little to no rules to preserve the integrity of bouts. What can Congress do to incentivize fights in the U.S. and prevent against fights in countries without protections against fixed or unfair fights?

Answer. This is a great question, because Dana White and TKO's boxing venture has been financed to date by/through Sela Sport—a Saudi Arabian company owned by the government. (*https://www.spa.gov.sa/N2276063, https://www.sportingnews*

.com/us/boxing/news/saudi-arabia-boxing-takeover-riyadh-season/be3baac4cde37aea73de1044).

In fact, after financing many World Championships, some in the USA but mostly in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia—megafights that would in prior years have been held in Las Vegas or other USA venues—it has just very recently been revealed that the Saudi entities will no longer fund any shows outside of that country. This means that Dana White's boxing partner would be moving all shows out of the USA.

Question 4. CONTRACTS:

a. Mr. Walsh, how can Congress ensure boxers are protected from retaliation if they choose to end a contract with a promoter or UBO?

Answer. Any change that permits a UBO should limit the term of contracts for boxers who sign with the UBO, such as making them no longer than one year, and prevent giving the UBO unlimited future options.

Its sponsor wants the UBO to have many exceptions to the current law, so in return, they need to give boxers the right every 12 months whether to stay in that closed system, or again become free agents in the open marketplace of boxing.

Also, the UBO should not have the right to control the name, image, and likeness of boxers beyond the term of the contract (TKO affiliate WWE almost always creates images and names for their wrestlers that are owned forever by the company and not the athlete, which is wrong, and should not be permitted in boxing).

b. Mr. Walsh, how have the contract requirements and protections against coercive contract sections under current law protected athletes? Are there still remaining gaps and should Congress consider additional provisions to adequately protect boxers and ensure fair contracts?

Answer. Current boxing shows the boxers benefitting from an estimated 80 percent of the economic benefit of boxing, with promoters having the remaining 20 percent gain and often losses from the sport. UFC is the opposite, with fighters being paid a fixed amount of less than 20 percent, while the promotion makes hundreds of millions from exploited fighters who unknowingly signed contracts taking away their rights.

The best thing that Congress can do today is not to permit exceptions to the Ali Act, and keep negotiating power in the fighting hands of the boxers, not billion-dollar corporations.

c. Mr. Walsh, the current version of the Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act caps contract lengths to six years. How long is the average boxing career and based on that information, should Congress consider lowering the contract cap? What would be the impact on boxers' ability to negotiate by allowing multi-year contracts?

Answer. Boxing is a free market sport, so data on career length is limited, but the prime age of boxers is from 22 to 34.

Having said that, six years is a very long time for any athlete, but the current free market system seems to be working generally. For boxers in a UBO, however, they will no longer be in an open free market system. Therefore, as noted above, UBO contracts should be confined to one year maximum.

d. Mr. Walsh, should Congress consider requiring shorter contract lengths for newer boxers (*i.e.,* a "rookie" year contract)?

Answer. Young boxers often need time to become stars, which requires investment losses. I would be concerned that promoters would not want to invest in young boxers without the protection of a longer-term contract. So I would not be in favor of a different standard; I prefer uniform standards across the board protecting all fighters.

RESPONSE TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY HON. JOHN FETTERMAN TO NICO ALI WALSH

Question 1. Do you believe fighters could benefit from Congress building on Professional Boxing Safety Act of 1996 ("*PBSA*") standards with respect to medical evaluations, minimum health and/or life insurance requirements, and other safety standards? Yes, of course.

a. What do you believe is the intended purpose of creating an entirely different standard for medical evaluations, minimum health and/or life insurance, and other safety standards for unified boxing organizations (UBOs) as in the House-passed Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act ("Revival Act")?

Answer. I think the different stated standards for UBOs are a distraction, as many of those standards already exist in industry practices, and are a smoke screen to cover the ways in which UBOs will be bad in the long run.

My strong opinion is that if we want to increase medical, safety, and insurance standards, they should be strengthened uniformly across all professional boxing.

Question 2. The *Revival Act* limits a proposed UBO's promotional contract to six years. Do you believe this limit is sufficient to ensure fighters are able to leverage fair market value for their talents?

Answer. As stated above, boxers in a UBO should have contracts limited to 12 months, after which they can decide whether to stay in the closed system, or become free agents back in the open, free market system that exists outside the UBO.

Question 3. Can you explain what a "coercive contract" could look like if the *Revival Act* were to be signed into law as currently drafted?

Answer. The Ali Act defines a coercive contract essentially as one that requires a boxer to sign a contract with a certain promoter in order to get a championship opportunity or to fight against another boxer under contract to that same promoter.

By definition, therefore, since a UBO as a closed league will have boxers fighting only against other boxers in that promotion, UBO contracts would be coercive under the current definition. So the "Revival Act" is totally intended to permit a certain promoter to require boxers to sign what today are recognized as coercive and against public policy.

Question 4. As an active fighter, do you believe there is sufficient competition in the sport of boxing for you to get fair market value for your talent as a fighter?

Answer. Yes, very much. Today's system has many independent promoters and several world championship organizations, creating multiple opportunities for boxers to benefit greatly. Top boxers have often been in the top 5 of all athletes in terms of earnings in their best years.

Question 5. Do you believe that if protections from the original *Ali Act* were to be expanded to include other combat sports athletes like mixed martial arts, it would lead to better pay and improved working conditions for those fighters? What evidence do you have to support your claim?

Answer. Absolutely no doubt about it. One of the best examples is former UFC fighter Francis Ngannou, who quit the UFC as its then-current Heavyweight Champion because they rejected his requests to the UFC to provide health insurance for all its fighters and to allow its athletes to have their own sponsorship deals. (*https://www.bbc.com/sport/mixed-martial-arts/64311715*).

Again, boxers like Floyd Mayweather Jr. have made purses for a single bout of $250 million–$300 million, while UFC fighters had to sue to get a $375 million settlement, spread among 1,088 claims, with a projected average payout of only $230,792, with a median of $85,949.

Citations: *https://sports.yahoo.com/mma/article/ufc-fighters-are-finally-getting-their-money-antitrust-payouts-explained-from-highest-earners-to-next-steps-170537959.html?fr=sycsrp_catchall*

https://www.totalprosports.com/boxing/which-floyd-mayweathers-opponent-fetched-him-the-biggest-payday-mcgregor-pacquaio-canelo-or-others/

The facts are clear; the TKO/UFC model is bad for fighters, while boxing under the current Ali Act permits boxers to make more money under better working conditions with more freedom.

Question 6. Regardless of whether a version of the *Revival Act* is signed into law, do you believe that formation of a union for all boxers, or all combat sport athletes, would be beneficial to the health, safety, and fair compensation of the athletes?

Answer. Players' unions have worked in all U.S. sports leagues, such as the NFL, NBA, MLB, and NHL. It seems clear that it would be great for fighters to have collective representation as in other sports.

Question 7. Do you believe the House-passed *Revival Act* as currently drafted should carry the name of your grandfather, Muhammad Ali?

Answer. I said it before and I will say it again:

If this bill is passed in its current form, it should not have my grandfather's name on it, as it would no longer reflect the principles that his Act was created to protect. He fought for dignity outside the ring. This is about dignity inside it. Fighters should not have to choose between their careers and their rights.

RESPONSE TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY HON. JACKY ROSEN TO NICK KHAN

Question 1. ENFORCEMENT: In 2003, a GAO report found Federal enforcement of the Professional Boxing Safety Act of 1996 was severely limited. It explicitly stated that DOJ had not prosecuted cases under the Act because it had received no re-

ferrals from Federal law enforcement and it prioritizes felony violations, rather than misdemeanors, which violations under the Act were.

a. Mr. Khan, should Congress consider increasing penalties for violations of boxing law to deter violations?

Answer. The challenges facing boxing are not related to the enforcement of the Professional Boxing Safety Act of 1996. The real problems relate to deeper structural issues within the sport—particularly fragmentation and the lack of uniform rules—which led to collusion and self-dealing among promoters, managers, and sanctioning bodies.

The July 21, 2003, GAO letter transmitting its report to Chairman John McCain cited in your question observes that:

> Congress has recognized that boxing is the only major professional sport in the United States without a central regulatory authority that establishes and enforces uniform rules, business practices, and ethical standards. There is no other major professional sport in which the rules and regulations—and their enforcement—vary so widely. As a result, the sport has been plagued with reports of permanent and sometimes fatal injuries, the economic exploitation of boxers, and corruption.[1]

Another commentator explained:

> Boxing's decline can also be attributed to the inconsistent and fragmented nature of its promotional efforts. Unlike major team sports with centralized leagues and promotional strategies, boxing is characterized by a myriad of competing promoters, governing bodies, and weight divisions. This fragmentation often leads to scheduling conflicts, diluted talent pools, and confusion among fans. The lack of a cohesive structure and unified approach to promotion has made it challenging to sustain long-term interest and build storylines that engage the audience. Moreover, the prevalence of various boxing organizations with multiple champions in each weight class has diluted the significance of title fights, reducing their appeal to casual fans.[2]

What was true and obvious when the GAO issued its 2003 report is unfortunately still true in 2026. The Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act (MAABRA) addresses these structural problems that the Federal government and boxing fans have long recognized. The creation of alternative Unified Boxing Organizations (UBOs) will foster greater competition to entrenched incumbents, provide greater choice and merit-based pathways to boxers, and create a consistent framework upon which to revive the sport. Importantly, MAABRA requires UBOs to pay boxers a minimum of $200 per round, as negotiated in the House, to ensure that smaller UBOs are not priced out of the market.

Ultimately, reviving boxing requires modernization. Creating credible alternative structures—UBOs—offers the most effective way to introduce competition, drive innovation, and confront systemic challenges that existing law fails to fully address

2. UBO DOMINANCE:

a. Mr. Khan, some critics of the proposed legislation have raised concerns regarding the elimination of smaller non-UBO sanctioning bodies and promoters. Under this bill, how would we ensure a fair playing field for smaller non-UBO sanctioning organizations and promoters?

Answer. We do not interpret MAABRA to have a negative impact on sanctioning bodies or promoters regardless of their size. Under the legislation, UBOs complement the current system to increase competition and choice for boxers and will exist in parallel to sanctioning bodies. MAABRA does not eliminate sanctioning bodies or promoters. Sanctioning bodies and promoters will still operate and compete in the marketplace so long as they follow applicable Federal and state law.

The criticism emanates from the boxing industry's largest, not smallest, promoters and sanctioning bodies, including the Mexico City-based World Boxing Council (WBC). It should be of little surprise that incumbents oppose competition, because the current system disproportionately benefits them. Boxing today is highly concentrated, with four major sanctioning bodies exerting significant control over rankings, titles, and championship opportunities, while small sanctioning bodies have not meaningfully thrived or disrupted this structure. As a result, the current

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[1] General Accounting Office Report to the Chairman, Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, U.S. Senate, "Issues Related to the Protection of Boxers' Health, Safety, and Economic Interests" GAO–03–699 (July 2003).

[2] Nicholas P. Carlone, "The Decline of Boxing in the USA: A Comprehensive Analysis," *Medium* (May 13, 2023).

system is not a model of vibrant competition, but rather one in which a small number of entrenched large entities dominate key aspects of the marketplace, often to the detriment of boxers.

There have been several examples over the past year, where sanctioning bodies have shown a disturbing pattern of deciding titles for non-boxing reasons. In March 2026, the International Boxing Federation (IBF) stripped Jai Opetaia of its cruiserweight world title, after he sought to fight Brandon Glanton under the banner of Zuffa Boxing.[3] Although Opetaia's team sought approval for the fight, IBF denied their request arguing that it did not recognize fights organized outside the other large sanctioning bodies.[4]

In December 2025, the WBC took similar action against one of the sport's biggest stars, Terence Crawford. Crawford defeated Canelo Alvarez to become the undisputed, undefeated, super-middleweight champion. Shortly after the victory, the WBC announced it was stripping Crawford of his championship belt for failing to pay mandatory sanctioning fees.[5] According to the WBC, Crawford owed roughly $300,000, even after they reduced the standard fee from 3 percent to 0.6 percent of his reported purse.

Another high-profile stripping occurred in September 2025, when the IBF removed Oleksandr Usyk's heavyweight title because of the sanctioning body's mandatory defense requirement. Usyk was the undisputed heavyweight champion, but after a fight with Tyson Fury, the pair's fight contract called for an immediate rematch. The Usyk-Fury contract conflicted with IBF's requirement that the champion (Usyk) face their own determined challenger. When Usyk could not meet the IBF's deadline to defend the title, the sanctioning body vacated the belt and replaced Usyk with another boxer.[6]

Taken together, these cases illustrate a consistent pattern in modern boxing: a small number of sanctioning bodies control the fate of boxers based on conduct unrelated to competition.

Question 3. MEDIA DEALS: In the past, broadcasters would pay a specific license fee for particular matches. However, sports today, including boxing, are now signing multi-year media rights deals with a variety of media companies beyond traditional broadcasting companies.

a. Mr. Khan, should Congress consider updating disclosure requirements for promoters to reflect this new landscape? Should UBOs also be subject to updated disclosure requirements?

b. Mr. Khan, beyond transparency related to media rights deals, should Congress consider additional transparency requirements, such as requirements that mirror those that a publicly company must disclose?

Answer. We appreciate that Senators have raised questions about how the Ali Act's disclosure requirements apply to UBOs. Those provisions were designed specifically for the one-and-done sanctioning body model covering a single fight, not the UBO model which is focused on the long-term promotion of the boxer and the sport. But without understanding how information from private contractual and commercially sensitive agreements will be used and for what purposes, it is difficult to give affirmative support for updated disclosure requirements.

We believe however the UBO model provides more transparency and disclosure to boxers about their compensation, compared to the current sanctioning body model. The UBO system provides boxers with clarity and transparency because they negotiate and sign a contract that sets forth their guaranteed purse and any other financial incentives. Boxers know exactly what they will make when they step into the ring. Therefore, additional requirements in this regard are not necessary. Oscar de la Hoya, who opposes MAABRA, conceded in his written testimony that mixed martial artists know and understand their compensation when they sign a contract and before they step into the Octagon.

The current compensation paradigm that relies on contingent pay does not apply to the UBO system and does not help boxers earn more. To be successful, a UBO will have to deliver a consistent experience to broadcasters and fans. Broadcast, promotional and other rights are not tied to one particular event which makes assigning revenue on an event-by-event basis impractical and arbitrary. Boxers' compensation in the UBO system will not be linked to any particular event, but the success

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[3] Sheldan Keay, "IBF makes final decision on stripping Jai Opetaia of world title," *Boxing News* (March 23, 2026).

[4] "Jai Opetaia officially stripped of IBF title," *Boxing Showtimes* (March 24, 2026).

[5] James Dielhenn, "WBC strips Terence Crawford, who responds in fiery video post," ESPN.com (Dec. 3, 2025).

[6] "Usyk Stripped of IBF Crown in Bombshell Ruling as Fury Rematch Looms," *BritBrief* (Aug. 9, 2025).

of the UBO and the sport over time. Even if a single UBO event does not achieve economic success, the system does not penalize boxers. Their compensation is guaranteed and does not depend on the performance of any one event. Rather, it is driven by the longer-term success of the enterprise to which they are contributing their talent.

Question 4. TRANSPARENCY ON RANKINGS & MATCHES: Mr. Khan, should Congress consider requiring public disclosure about how UBOs and sanctioning organizations determine rankings, match determinations, titles and title bouts? Are there other ways to provide more clarity and transparency into the decisions made by sanctioning organizations, UBOs, promoters, and boxers themselves related to how bouts and event cards are determined?

Answer. Competition provides the public with confidence about rankings, match determinations and title bouts. There is no doubt the current boxing system fails, in part, because of the overwhelming failure to match boxers during their prime. I covered this manifest failure in my testimony. The sport has repeatedly failed to deliver the matchups fans most want to see, especially when both boxers are at their peak. Instead of consistently pitting the best against the best at the right moment—which a centralized organization like UBOs will do—the current system is shaped by various competitors with different business considerations and therefore it delays or derails such contests.

Congress identified this failure more than 26 years ago. The Ali Act's first legislative finding identifies the structural problem: "Professional boxing differs from other major, interstate professional sports industries in the United States in that it operates without any private sector association, league, or centralized industry organization to establish uniform and appropriate business practices and ethical standards."[7]

Because there is no centralized industry organization, such as a UBO, matchmaking among competing promoters is extremely difficult, complex and slow, and takes into consideration opaque rankings, which are often self-serving, from the sanctioning bodies. These improper and arbitrary rankings established by the sanctioning bodies have contributed to declining viewership and have coincided with the withdrawal of major media companies from boxing broadcasts in the U.S. HBO was synonymous with boxing since 1973, when it aired the George Foreman versus Joe Frazier fight, a seismic bout that launched the network's sports identity. HBO made boxing cinematic and essential. In 2018, HBO ended its boxing coverage entirely. NBCUniversal followed three years later, airing its final bout in 2021. In 2022, FOX went dark on boxing as well. Showtime did the same the following year. In the summer of 2025, ESPN's regularly scheduled boxing contract expired, closing the book on more than eighty years of boxing on linear and cable television in the U.S. As the boxing writer Dan Rafael put it in 2025, "There will be no regularly scheduled boxing on linear TV in the U.S. for the first time essentially since the 1940s when TV became widely accessible. Shame on the stewards of the sport who let it happen."[8] The erosion of boxing's U.S. television presence should have incentivized sanctioning bodies to reform flawed ranking systems to promote more compelling matchups for fans.

Even when there is public demand for a specific matchup, competing business interests prevent agreements from coming together for years—if they happen at all. UBOs will not have these impediments. By comparison, the UFC does not rank its fighters, instead rankings are done by a panel of media members. Information about athlete rankings can be found at *https://www.ufc.com/rankings.* UFC has every incentive to put on fights fans want to see. Matchmaking decisions are a priority for our leadership, because we know they are scrutinized by athletes, media and fans, which has a direct impact on the value of the UFC's brand and TKO as a public company.[9]

Question 5. INTERNATIONAL FIGHTS: While many bouts happen in the U.S., boxing has always been an international sport. However, courts have found that the current Ali Act only applies to boxing matches held in the U.S.

a. Mr. Khan, should Congress consider requiring UBOs to have consistent protections for athletes regardless of where the fight is taking place?

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[7] Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act, P.L. 106–210, Sec. 2(1) (May 26, 2000).

[8] Phil Jay, "Boxing Wiped from U.S. Broadcast TV After 80-Year Run," *World Boxing News* (July 27, 2025).

[9] TKO Group Holding's leadership explained and defended UFC's matchmaking during a recent earnings call with media and investors. *See* "TKO Group Holdings, Inc. (TKO) Q1 2026 Earnings Call Transcript," SeekingAlpha.com (May 6, 2026).

b. Mr. Khan, with more foreign money being dedicated to the sport, I'm also concerned more fights may take place overseas with little to no rules to preserve the integrity of bouts. What can Congress do to incentivize fights in the U.S. and prevent against fights in countries without protections against fixed or unfair fights?

Answer. To be clear, MAABRA will result in an increased number of professional boxing matches held in the United States. Under MAABRA, boxers who compete with a UBO will do so under unified rules, pursuant to which boxers will enjoy the highest level of protection, pay, benefits, and will participate in an accountable system with integrity, regardless of where the match takes place. Furthermore, MAABRA prohibits UBOs from participating in jurisdictions without proper regulation either by a boxing commission or tribal organization. While we do not have an opinion about whether or how to apply MAABRA's reach extraterritorially, such a rule may incentivize other nations to attempt the same with regard to their businesses. Notably, the two British-based boxing promoters who have publicly opposed MAABRA operate largely outside the reach of the Ali Act, as more than 90 percent of their yearly bouts are staged outside the U.S.

6. CONTRACTS:

a. Mr. Khan, the current version of the Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act caps contract lengths to six years. How long is the average boxing career and based on that information, should Congress consider lowering the contract cap? What would be the impact on boxers' ability to negotiate by allowing multi-year contracts?

Answer. Estimates vary, but an average professional boxing career lasts around eight to twelve years, with some estimates suggesting it's closer to 17 years.[10] In contrast, the average career in other professional sports leagues are shorter. The typical NFL player's career lasts approximately 3.3 years, with variation by position but generally remaining under four years.[11] Given these comparisons, we believe MAABRA strikes the right balance with a six-year cap on contract length, considering the average length of a boxer's average career. Furthermore, MAABRA guarantees boxers the right to negotiate new contract terms—either within or outside the UBO model—upon the conclusion of their agreement, giving them the flexibility to secure terms aligned with their career stage.

7. CURRENT LAW:

a. Mr. Khan, what are the top three most impactful components of the Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act that your organization believes is missing from current law?

Answer. MAABRA represents a significant attempt to address structural issues which impede boxing's growth.

First, the Act authorizes a new system which would exist in parallel to the current sanctioning body model. MAABRA specifically addresses concerns that Congress raised 26 years ago, namely the lack of a centralized industry organization to operate a unified governance model. MAABRA allows for the implementation of UBOs, marking a fundamental structural innovation in the sport. This stands in contrast to the current arrangement, in which multiple competing promoters and sanctioning bodies work under fragmented rules and conflicting business objectives, which has resulted in inconsistent rankings, incoherent champions (*e.g.,* multiple champions within the same weight category), and delayed fights from happening, all of which is a disservice to boxers and fans.

Second, the Act establishes standardized economic rules governing boxers' pay and contractual relationships. For example, MAABRA introduces minimum per-round pay of $200, and places limits on the length of contracts with boxers, as negotiated by the House, to ensure smaller UBOs are not priced out of the market. It also expands boxers' mobility by enabling them to negotiate with other promoters at the conclusion of their contracts. Together, these provisions aim to create a more uniform framework for compensation and contractual dealings across the industry.

Third, the legislation expands health, safety, and insurance protections for boxers. It requires more consistent medical standards, including regular testing such as neurological exams and other screenings, drug testing, and mandates baseline injury insurance coverage.

Taken together, MAABRA's reforms reflect a shift toward a more structured and nationally standardized system. Its three most significant changes—creating unified organizational frameworks, establishing baseline pay and contract protections, and

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[10] Mike Colon, "Average Career Span Pro-Boxer—Interesting Facts You Want to Know," Fighter Gear Guide (no date).

[11] "Average career length of selected positions among active players in the National Football League as of September 2025," Statista.com (Feb. 26, 2026).

strengthening health and safety requirements—will provide boxers more protection, choice and opportunity.

RESPONSE TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY HON. JOHN FETTERMAN TO NICK KHAN

Question 1. In describing the six-year cap on promotional contracts for boxers as included in the House-passed Muhammad Ali American Boxing Revival Act ("Revival Act"), you compared this limit to rookie contracts in other professional sports. However, America's most popular sports leagues—the NFL, MLB, NBA, and NHL—players are represented by unions that negotiate collective bargaining agreements. There is no organized union for boxers, or any combat sport athletes for that matter, and there is no provision in the *Revival Act* that guarantees collective bargaining for boxers, despite borrowing frameworks for contract limits from sports leagues which are unionized.

a. Without their fighters being under the jurisdiction of the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act ("Ali Act") how can Zuffa Boxing, or any other proposed unified boxing organization (UBO), guarantee that fighters will receive fair compensation and a fair venue to address grievances, if they have no ability to collectively bargain side by side with other fighters?

Answer. First, boxers are not unionized because they are independent contractors not employees, as Oscar de la Hoya himself testified during the hearing on April 22, 2026. Federal law preserves independent-contractor status through common-law and economic-reality tests applied under statutes like the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the Internal Revenue Code—each of which explicitly distinguishes independent contractors from employees.

Second, most states including Pennsylvania, do not impose a specific statutory maximum for personal services agreements. In California, which hosts the highest number of boxing events per year in the U.S., contracts for professional services are limited to seven years. Oscar de la Hoya relied on that law in a lawsuit against his former promoter, Top Rank, to argue their contract was unenforceable.[12] MAABRA proposes a shorter cap.

Third, estimates vary, but an average professional boxing career lasts around eight to twelve years, with some estimates suggesting it's closer to 17 years.[13] In contrast, the average career in other professional sports leagues are shorter. The typical NFL player's career lasts approximately 3.3 years, with variation by position but generally remaining under four years.[14] Given these comparisons, we believe MAABRA strikes the right balance with a six-year cap on contract length, considering the average length of a boxer's average career.

Question 2. On January 28, 2026, The Guardian reported secondhand details regarding a contract offered to a fighter by Zuffa Boxing[15]. Will you provide copies of the ten most recent contracts which Zuffa's fighters have signed, with all personally identifiable information removed?

SEE BELOW ANSWER.

Question 3. Has Zuffa Boxing ever entered into a contract with a fighter which contained language that:

a. States in solid capital letters: "ALL COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MEDICAL EXAMINATION AND TESTS SHALL BE PAID BY FIGHTER."?

b. Requires a fighter to relinquish their right to sue Zuffa Boxing in state or Federal court and require that any grievance claim be subject to binding arbitration in Clark County, Nevada?

c. Requires a fighter to relinquish their right to join a class-action lawsuit against Zuffa Boxing?

d. Requires a fighter's contract to be automatically extended in the event that fighter is a Zuffa Boxing champion at the end of their contract?

e. Allows Zuffa Boxing to terminate a contract with a fighter if that fighter loses a fight?

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[12] Mike Coppinger, "Explained: The legal battle between Ryan Garcia, Golden Boy," ESPN.com (Sept. 13, 2023).

[13] Mike Colon, "Average Career Span Pro-Boxer—Interesting Facts You Want to Know," Fighter Gear Guide (no date).

[14] "Average career length of selected positions among active players in the National Football League as of September 2025," Statista.com (Feb. 26, 2026).

[15] *https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2026/jan/28/zuffa-boxing-contract-dana-white-reform*

f. Allows Zuffa Boxing to terminate a contract with a fighter if that fighter refuses to fight two opponents in succession?

g. Allows Zuffa Boxing to remove a fight guaranteed to the fighter, in the event the fighter claims they are injured or disabled?

h. Allows Zuffa Boxing to take out life insurance policies on their fighters and be named as the beneficiary of said life insurance policy?

i. Sets cap of 30 percent of net revenue or 15 percent of gross revenue for merchandise or event merchandise that goes to the fighter?

j. Does not guarantee payment to a fighter with an undercard fight if the main event is cancelled or postponed?

k. Does not guarantee payment immediately after a fight is over?

l. Does not provide a minimum purse for a fighter if they lose a fight?

m. Does not guarantee sharing of event specific revenue generated by an event which that fighter participates in?

Answers for 2 and 3. The *Guardian* article is not accurate in many respects. As you point out, the article relies on secondhand information. It is also worth observing that journalistic standards and practices differ between U.K. and U.S. publications, particularly with respect to anonymous sourcing and verification requirements. The article appears to rely on anonymous sources without corroboration, and while such issues can arise in any publication, they are evident here making it per se inaccurate.

Zuffa Boxing's contracts with boxers are fully compliant with Federal and state laws. Contract terms are negotiated with each boxer. Boxers are often represented by managers and/or lawyers during those negotiations. Zuffa Boxing pays for its boxers' medical exams and tests. Boxers will receive the guaranteed amounts set forth in their contracts—whether they win or lose, whether the event generates revenue or not—immediately after the fight. Boxers do not bear the financial risks of an event and know exactly what they are making when they step into the ring. Currently, Zuffa Boxing operates in compliance with the Professional Boxing Safety Act and the Muhammad Ali Boxing Reform Act (together 15 USC § 6301 *et seq.*). If Congress enacts MAABRA, Zuffa Boxing will comply with the new rules applicable to UBOs.

Question 4. You described the September 13, 2025, fight between Canelo Alvarez and Terrence Crawford as a successful fight, given that boxing fans could view the fight on Netflix, and merchandising deals that fighters received proceeds from.

a. Was this fight organized within the rules of the *Ali Act*?

Answer. Yes, the Ali Act applied to the Canelo v. Crawford fight. This was a one-off "super fight" (billed as "once-in-a-lifetime" fight) within the current sanctioning organization model. To be clear, if Congress enacts MAABRA, super fights will continue to take place and be successful under the current system, as well as the UBO model, as both will continue to exist in parallel.

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