Subcommittee on Consumer Protection, Product Safety, and Data Security of the Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation

Testimony of Travis T. Tygart Chief Executive Officer United States Anti-Doping Agency June 17, 2025 Madame Chairwoman, members of the Committee, good morning. My name is Travis T. Tygart, CEO of the United States Anti-Doping Agency (USADA), a 501(c)(3), not-for-profit, incorporated in Colorado. I want to thank this Committee for its interest in clean sport and for the opportunity to appear before you to discuss how we can better protect the rights of athletes and the fairness of Olympic and Paralympic sport competition around the world.

I want to speak to the Committee not only about the significant and urgent threat facing clean athletes and fair sport, but also the very feasible solutions to the current crisis.

Once again, we find ourselves at a critical juncture for the soul of sport. Fairness and integrity in athletic competition — two principles at the very heart of why we play sports — are under attack. We need to act now to ensure accountability, justice for athletes, and reforms at the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA). These reforms are necessary to protect the rights of clean American athletes and to preserve a level playing field. If we don't, we will be committing an unacceptable injustice to today's athletes, fans, and sponsors who believe in and invest in fair and clean competition. And equally intolerable, we risk undermining the dreams of tens of millions of youth all around the world who rely on the global anti-doping system to protect their ability to compete clean, safe, and on a fair playing field, not one stacked against them in favor of WADA's chosen few.

The urgency to act could never be greater given the collapse in confidence in WADA right as America is preparing to host many major international competitions over the next 10 years, including the 2026 FIFA World Cup, the 2028 LA Summer Olympic and Paralympic Games, and the 2034 Winter Olympic Games in Salt Lake City.

We all know a home-field advantage does not overcome a doped field advantage and we will get robbed again if we don't act now! America isn't just hosting competitions—it's setting the standard. This moment isn't just about medals and trophies; it's about showcasing American values and excellence, welcoming the world, and reaffirming our commitment to fairness, opportunity, and clean competition.

We view athletes — and their powerful stories — as USADA's guiding light, our North Star. Their stories give us hope, they remind us of our purpose, and they fuel us to continue to

advocate for their right to clean and fair competition. This is why we have been outspoken about the failures of the Chinese Anti-Doping Agency (CHINADA) and WADA more broadly. This is why we are here today pleading for help to fix this mess and allow all athletes to truly have a level playing field. The system meant to protect clean sport needs to regain the trust of athletes who compete clean. Athletes must believe that the global regulator will have their back and change the rules to make them fair for athletes, not secretly change how they apply the rules to serve their own interests.

Candidly, Madame Chairwoman, enough is enough. For clean athletes, it is yet again Groundhog Day, and this WADA horror show has run too long. As many of you may recall, in 2017, The House Energy and Commerce Subcommittee held a hearing where we, alongside Olympic medalists, Michael Phelps and Adam Nelson, testified about WADA's ineffectiveness, lack of leadership, and conflicted governance. We called for change then due to WADA's inept handling of the Russian state-sponsored doping scandal that robbed hundreds of athletes from around the world and stole their dream of Olympic and Paralympic success.

In that devastating Russian affair, which is still on-going, WADA hoped to simply limit the damage, pacify Russia, and put the whole corrupt scheme in the rearview mirror. At that 2017 hearing, WADA supplied excuse after excuse for not uncovering Russia's drug program earlier and then leaned on technical justification for its failure to handle it 'effectively' after courageous whistleblowers exposed it to the press.

Also, as you may recall, in early 2020, this Committee held a hearing to discuss what could be done to fix WADA to protect American athletes and ensure a fair and clean 2028 LA Olympic and Paralympic Games. And, today, here we are again seeking answers after another scandalous affair.

#### New Revelations of WADA's Failure.

Thanks again only to courageous whistleblowers and the media, the world has learned once again of WADA's failures and, that on the eve of the 2021 Olympic Games in Tokyo, WADA sat back and allowed China to disregard the rules and sweep 23 TMZ positive cases under the rug. These were not low-level athletes, these were the elite of the elite, the best of the best. And 13 of these swimmers who tested positive represented China in the 2021 Olympic

Games in Tokyo. The Chinese swimming team won 13 medals, including 8 gold, at these Games. Worse yet, 11 of the TMZ 23 competed as part of the Chinese Olympic swim team at the 2024 Paris Games. A total of 96 medals were potentially impacted by these Chinese swimmers in the 2021 and 2024 Olympic Games with 18 being from the United States including 14 potential gold medals. Clean American athletes trained for years, only to be potentially robbed on the world's biggest stage.

Make no mistake, TMZ or trimetazidine is a potent performance-enhancing drug. It is banned at all times, not just during competition, due to the benefits it can give athletes in recovery and training. The prescribed sanction for testing positive for TMZ is a 4-year sanction. It is a controlled prescription drug not available in many parts of the world, including in the United States. It is not found in the water supply, the environment, or in any food or food ingredient. And it is not given to cattle or other livestock in the meat supply.

At the 2017 House Energy & Commerce hearing, WADA testified that they needed an investigations team, using the lack of one as an excuse for failing to uncover the Russia statesponsored doping scheme. Well, they got their wish for a big investigations team and a 65% increase in their annual budget to help fund investigations. U.S. taxpayers provide a significant part of WADA's budget, more than \$3.6 million each year. In fact, the U.S. is the single-highest payor of all the public authorities. Despite this large and experienced investigations team and new funding, WADA's investigators did not lift a finger to investigate these Chinese TMZ positives even with glaring evidence staring them in the face.<sup>1</sup>

Shockingly, since 2018, China has paid an extra \$1.8 million, well over its required annual dues which are dramatically less than the U.S. annual dues. Out of the extra payments to WADA, China earmarked \$500K specifically for Investigations and Intelligence work. As of May 2023, WADA has also entered into a partnership agreement with ANTA, a Chinese sports equipment company, for an undisclosed amount. This Chinese company has been a key sponsor of the Chinese Olympic Committee and 25 Chinese national teams, including the Chinese National Swimming Team. WADA's relationship with China raises even deeper concerns given

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "It should be noted that at the time of the events (i.e. from March to August 2021) the I&I Department was not involved in the handling of the case." Cottier, Eric. *Final Report on the Case of 23 Chinese Swimmers*. Translated by World Anti-Doping Agency, 10, Sept. 2024, <u>www.wada-ama.org/sites/default/files/2024-</u>09/202408 final cottier report english translation.pdf.

that WADA's Vice President is a Chinese sport representative and just one day after CHINADA sent WADA their decision to disregard the rules and sweep the 23 TMZ positives under the rug, WADA's Director General and Senior Director of Science and Medicine had a phone call with the Chinese Vice Minister of Sport, a member of the WADA Foundation Board.<sup>2</sup> And, while no evidence of a quid pro quo has surfaced, the appearance of a conflict is quite troubling given these extra payments, WADA leadership's failure to involve its Intelligence and Investigations Team, and its obvious closeness with top leaders of Chinese sport and government.

On top of that, Madame Chairwoman, these 23 TMZ positive cases came on the heels of WADA deciding to close an investigation into allegations of systemic doping in China during which they found the whistleblower to be credible.<sup>3</sup> This whistleblower is a defector from China now living in Germany. She met with WADA investigators and informed them that, according to WADA's own investigations report, **China was giving its athletes <u>TMZ</u> for performance-enhancing purposes.** 

A little over 9 months after this report, WADA received notice of 23 Chinese athletes' positives for low levels of TMZ. And yet, WADA still claims to not have had enough evidence to even open an investigation. Incredible. It is the Keystone Cops at their worst. WADA handcuffed and blindfolded themselves. Their inaction will forever haunt athletes who competed against the 13 swimmers in the 2021 Tokyo Olympic Games, as well as those who competed against 11 of those same Chinese swimmers in the 2024 Paris Olympic Games.<sup>4</sup>

#### What Has Been WADA's Response to These Revelations?

Instead of acknowledging mistakes and failures, WADA dug in to protect the Chinese and WADA leaders' secret decision making. Shortly after the news broke, at WADA's global press

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Exhibit 1 - Cottier Interim Report Annex, Summary of the Main Investigative and Analytical Acts carried out by WADA from the receipt of CHINADA's decision to the decision not to file an appeal (15.06.2021 - 31.07.2021), 1, July 2024.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> <u>See Exhibit 2</u> - WADA Investigation and Intelligence Report on Allegations by Chinese Whistleblower of systemic doping in China.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> <u>See Exhibit 3</u> - Letter to CHINADA of June 5, 2024 in which USADA offered assistance to CHINADA for transparency in this matter. We have genuine empathy for the 23 Chinese athletes, as the system failed them and now they are under a cloud of suspicion. Also, those Chinese athletes that competed against the 23 rightfully deserved the wins and any associated money or prizes from the event at which the 23 tested positive. If the rules would have been enforced as required, and these positive tests truly resulted from contamination, the Chinese athletes- without positive tests- would have been reallocated to their rightful place in that event since disqualification of the 23 athletes was mandatory.

conference, WADA President and former Polish Sports Minister, Witold Banka stated, "at every stage, WADA followed all due process and diligently investigated every lead and line of inquiry in this matter. If we had to do it over again now, we would do exactly the same thing."<sup>5</sup>

However, facing a global demand for accountability by the United States and others, WADA scrambled to stage-manage its response, parading out what it boldly labeled an "independent prosecutor's report" on its handling of the Chinese TMZ positives. But the socalled independent investigation was stifled from the start. The scope of the investigation was severely restricted, and as the WADA investigator, Mr. Cottier even acknowledged in the report, **"the sense of justice or injustice, however, goes far beyond the scope of this investigation.**"<sup>6</sup> Even so, the information that Mr. Cottier gathered clearly showed that China did not follow the rules and WADA leaders stepped aside to allow this to happen. WADA's hand-picked investigator concluded:

> "CHINADA's handling of the case had deviated significantly and fundamentally from the procedures laid down in anti-doping standards, that these deviations were particularly serious given that they had enabled the athletes concerned – in the absence of an appeal by WADA – to benefit from an absence of an ADRV (as well as an absence of any consequences). ...<sup>77</sup>

On top of the failure to enforce the rules, any justification China gave for these cases being mass contamination is faulty at best and a complete lie at worst, one that WADA willingly accepted and regurgitated as it attempted to pull the wool over the world's eyes in an effort to defend why it allowed China to sweep these positives under the rug. However, the science did not solely justify this reasoning, anti-doping scientists called China's and WADA's conclusions "not intellectually honest," and Cottier's scientist said the following in his WADA funded report:

> "On the basis of these pharmacokinetic data alone, it is not possible to rule out intentional (or unintentional) intake of TMZ for doping or therapeutic purposes in the weeks leading up to the competition...I see no scientific

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> World Anti-Doping Agency. "WADA Publishes Media Conference Recording Regarding Environmental Contamination Case of Swimmers from China." *World Anti-Doping Agency*, 22 Apr. 2024, <u>www.wada-ama.org/en/news/wada-publishes-media-conference-recording-regarding-environmental-contamination-case-swimmers</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cottier, Eric. Final Report on the Case of 23 Chinese Swimmers. 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cottier, Eric. Final Report on the Case of 23 Chinese Swimmers. 32.

# argument of a pharmacokinetic nature in favor of one hypothesis over another."<sup>8</sup>

Unbelievably, WADA was telling the world a different story. In a CBS News report and elsewhere, WADA stated:

"compelling scientific evidence that pointed <u>EXCLUSIVELY</u> (emphasis added) to the fact that this was a case of no-fault contamination and not doping. WADA followed every process and line of inquiry when reviewing this file."

Further, WADA, by its letter of July 9, 2024, informed this Committee that the science, specifically the fluctuating positive-negative-positive (and, negative-positive-negative) of the Chinese athletes tests, confirmed contamination stating in this same letter, "the positive-negative fluctuations were also inconsistent with deliberate prior use and consistent with low-level food contamination."

However, even the scientist retained by WADA's self-selected reviewer found this false stating, the "sequence of positivity/negativity of each athlete's samples…makes it impossible to distinguish between athletes who may have intentionally taken TMZ in therapeutic doses well before the competition, and those who may have been contaminated in situ in the hotel by food/drink containing low doses of TMZ."<sup>9</sup>

No source of contamination was ever found by the Chinese.<sup>10</sup> And yet, WADA accepted this flimsy excuse and launched attacks on anyone brave enough to question the charade.

It would be easier to believe that WADA's failure was a mistake and not an intentional and systemic willingness to grant special treatment to China had WADA not done the same thing at least three other times for China in the last couple of years. As media also revealed, two separate elite Chinese swimmers tested positive for a banned substance in late 2022 and were secretly, in violation of the mandatory rules, cleared of doping based on a contaminated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cottier, Eric. Final Report on the Case of 23 Chinese Swimmers. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cottier, Eric. Final Report on the Case of 23 Chinese Swimmers. 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> "The Chinese had not found anyone on the kitchen or hotel staff taking TMZ...No traces of TMZ were found inside the containers, nor in the food itself." Cottier, Eric. *Final Report on the Case of 23 Chinese Swimmers*. 19.

hamburger theory.<sup>11</sup> One of these athletes went on to win a bronze medal in the Paris Olympic Games ahead of five Team Canada relay athletes who could potentially claim today that they are Olympic medalists.

Even more recently, WADA again showed its true colors by first appealing the case of Jannik Sinner, the world's number one ranked tennis player who tested positive for the anabolic agent clostebol. After rattling the saber and appealing for a sanction of 1-2 years under the rules, WADA capitulated and agreed at the final hour to drop its appeal and settle for a brief 3-month suspension through a rarely used provision allowing WADA to agree to resolutions otherwise outside the rules. This isn't justice—it's unfair and unequal enforcement by the global regulator. When defending itself from wide-criticism by the world's top tennis players, WADA revealed for the first time that this provision has been used at least 67 times.<sup>12</sup> These backroom deals—apparently close to 70 in just four years since the provision was enacted—barely, if ever, see daylight.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, even the WADA Executive Committee and Foundation Board are also left in the dark, with apparently only 13 of these cases disclosed in detail in their meeting documents. Transparency? Only when it suits them. Fairness? No, as a handful of people at WADA grant certain athletes, certain countries, secret and special treatment under the rules.

WADA lacks the will and determination to do things right.<sup>14</sup> In May of 2024, immediately prior to the 2024 Paris Olympic Games, WADA lawyers informed top management that massive database issues were plaguing WADA's system; more than 900 athlete testing results that showed the presence of a banned substance were not showing up in WADA's

<sup>12</sup> See Exhibit 5 - Nick Kyrgios called it a "sad day for tennis" and declared that "fairness in tennis does not exist." Stan Wawrinka was just as blunt, saying, "I don't believe in a clean sport anymore…" Daniil Medvedev said, "I hope everyone can discuss with WADA and defend themselves like Jannik Sinner from now on." And the Professional Tennis Players Association, co-founded by Novak Djokovic and Vasek Pospisil, issued a sharp statement: "Supposed case-by-case discretion is, in fact, merely cover for tailored deals, unfair treatment, and inconsistent rulings." ESPN News Services. "Jannik Sinner Doping Deal 'Sad Day for Tennis' – Nick Kyrgios." *ESPN*, 15 Feb. 2025, <u>www.espn.com/tennis/story/\_/id/43858770/jannik-sinner-doping-deal-sad-day-tennis</u>.
<sup>13</sup> See Exhibit 6 - Axon, Iain. "WADA Settlement on Three-Month Ban Not Unique to Sinner Case, Says Chief Counsel." *Reuters*, 19 Feb. 2025, <u>www.reuters.com/sports/tennis/wada-settlement-three-month-ban-not-unique-sinner-case-says-chief-counsel-2025-02-19/.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> <u>See Exhibit 4</u> - Schmidt, Michael S., and Tariq Panja. "Top Chinese Swimmers Tested Positive for Banned Drug, Then Won Olympic Gold." *The New York Times*, 20 Apr. 2024, <u>www.nytimes.com/2024/07/30/us/politics/china-</u> <u>swimmers-doping-food.html</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> <u>See Exhibit 7</u> - Schmidt, Michael S., and Tariq Panja. "WADA Faces Trust Crisis Amid Doping Database Concerns." *The New York Times*, 27 Sept. 2024, <u>www.nytimes.com/2024/09/27/world/wada-doping-database-crisis.html</u>.

database. Over 1,700 cases had information linking samples to individual athletes missing, and another 750 didn't have enough information to connect them with any athlete.<sup>15</sup> And yet, until the New York Times broke the story, leaders at WADA would have apparently continued to keep the world's athletes, the public, and even the WADA Executive Committee and Foundation Board in the dark. This cannot continue.

This level of disregard for athletes worldwide, and outright dereliction of their charter hasn't been the exception at WADA; recently, it has been the norm. Cottier, in his review of the TMZ 23 even found this to be true, stating that "Keeping track of the Agency's work and activities has been very complicated and tedious. Establishing a chronology has been a long and complex process, full of uncertainties."<sup>16</sup> He further criticized WADA's dysfunction:

"the non-existence of the file – is unsatisfactory...The Agency should formalize the handling of cases by creating files that include a structure, a nomenclature, a summary document, a "living chronology." This should cover everything from file opening to file closure. In particular, the latter should take the form of a formal memo, other than an email circulated by the Director of the Legal Department within the Agency."<sup>17</sup>

And though WADA hopes our memories are short, let us not forget WADA's egregious mishandling of cases in the sport of weightlifting which was also exposed by whistleblowers and the media. We know, based on the ITA Report on Anti-Doping Violations in the International Weightlifting Federation (IWF), that WADA failed to successfully follow up on <u>146</u> <u>international weightlifting cases between 2009-2019</u> such that elite level weightlifters competed at major international competitions including the Olympic Games and World Championships with pending positives. Some athletes escaped justice completely as a result of WADA's failure to oversee these cases which resulted in the tolling of the statute of limitations, giving cheating athletes a free pass.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Cottier, Eric. Final Report on the Case of 23 Chinese Swimmers. 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> International Testing Agency. *Final Report: Anti-Doping Rule Violations and related allegations of misconduct from 2009 to 2019.* 24 June 2021, <u>https://ita.sport/resource/ita-report-on-iwf-anti-doping-rule-violations-and-related-allegations-of-misconduct-from-2009-to-2019/</u>

It is even more shocking to know that the President of the IWF during this time, Tamás Aján, was also a founding WADA board member and sat on the WADA Foundation Board- the main decision-making body of WADA- from its inception until 2018.

## **Doping Threat is Universal.**

To be clear, the threat of doping is a global problem, and the U.S. is not immune. As a nation of laws established on the ideals of justice, fairness and equality, the United States Olympic and Paralympic movement must lead the way and ensure we are doing everything we can do to set an example and protect athletes so that their decision to compete by the rules is honored. And, so that they can be the true heroes that they are when competing here at home and representing America in competitions around the globe. Clean athletes in many ways are the best example of our values and the importance of our principles when they compete and win the right way. These are the same Olympic and Paralympic values and it's why we have asked for answers.

There are widely accepted core principles of an effective anti-doping program – the application of year- round, no-advance-notice, out-of-competition testing, certified labs, an active scientific research program to stay ahead of the cheaters, and a proactive, preventative education program for all athletes. But the most important part of the criteria is the idea that an effective anti-program must be free from the influence of sport and individual government interests. It must be independent.

The word 'independent' is thrown around a lot in the global Olympic and Paralympic movement. From our experience and perspective, however, the only true definition of 'independence' is that those who govern or otherwise make decisions affecting others cannot have any actual or perceived interest in the outcome of their decision. We are proud of the fact that no one on the USADA Board can also serve in a paid or voluntary governing or employment position for any organization for which we administer an anti-doping program or for the government. Many of you have heard me say that you cannot have the fox guarding the henhouse. It is a concept that is as simple as it is effective.

Unfortunately, WADA is not independent. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) pays half its budget; controls many governing seats and appointments and can essentially control

WADA's decisions. It is "pay to play" for sport. Governments of the world, including the U.S., pay the other half of WADA's budget.

As it stands, WADA's governance structure allows for its board members to serve in an executive capacity for sports organizations simultaneously. For example, during the Russian affair, WADA's President was also an IOC member and even served as an IOC Executive Board member while also serving as WADA President. WADA staff have admitted to not informing its Executive Committee of its decision to allow China to hide the 23 positive tests, acknowledging it did not do so to protect itself from public scrutiny. WADA has failed to answer whether the WADA President, or Vice President from China, were directly involved with the decision on the TMZ 23 and the more than 900 lost cases, or if the IOC, WADA's largest single-funder, was involved, or when they were made aware of decisions.

But at WADA, with last month's Presidential and vice-presidential process, there was no real election. There was only a coronation. No open, competitive election, no other candidates, no willingness to speak about the vision for the future. Just WADA extending the incumbents term in office and allowing the handpicked heirs to continue to refuse needed reform. Athletes deserve better.

With this election, WADA broke good governance practices and conned America and the entire world. As this Committee may recall from its 2020 hearing, U.S. Appropriators began to include legislative language accompanying the U.S. dues requiring WADA governing boards to become more independent and incorporate athletes' voice and vote. WADA also went through two formal, global 'reform processes' where a special governance working group was established to consult with stakeholders through surveys and in-person meetings. The sole purpose of these elaborate, expensive processes was to reform WADA to make it more effective and independent.

Arising out of these processes, sparked by the U.S. demands for independence, WADA agreed to change and make the WADA President and Vice President <u>independent</u> positions, not ones appointed from sport and governments, as was the status quo. This reform was applauded by stakeholders including the U.S. and was supposed to take effect at the start of 2026.

However, even after these lengthy 'reform processes' where agreement was had for WADA to become more independent by making the WADA President and Vice President

positions independent ones, in a closed-door meeting in May 2023, WADA leaders unilaterally disregarded the world's position and agreed to extend the term limits for the current government and sport appointed WADA President and Vice President. So, late last month, the former Polish Sports Minister and current WADA President and the Chinese sport appointment WADA Vice-President, will be appointed for another 3-years; thereby, delaying the installation of an independent President and Vice President until 2029, at the earliest.

WADA made an agreement to become more independent, received the U.S. funding at the time, and then backed out of the deal. Classic 'bait and switch'.

If the IOC were to remove themselves and other sports organizations from critical antidoping functions – the anti-doping landscape would be exponentially stronger. Clean athletes could trust the global system and be much better protected. Sport involvement in critical antidoping enforcement is a glaring conflict of interest, and we know from experience that it's too much to expect any organization to effectively promote <u>and</u> police itself.

There is renewed hope with Kirsty Coventry's recent election to lead the IOC - an indication that real change might still be possible - but only time will tell, and time has pretty much already run out for clean athletes.

### So, What can be Done?

USADA believes multiple solutions can be pursued to ensure accountability, transparency, and justice for athletes.<sup>19</sup> First and foremost, American tax dollars shouldn't fund secrecy and double standards. We must continue to demand real transparency and tie every penny of funding to truth and accountability, not polished PR and anti-American attacks. That is how we stand up for clean sport and for the values this country was built on. This starts with the China dossier. Congress must require the entire China dossier, with all of the testing and scientific documents be made public. There are no credible reasons the entire dossier cannot be published. Anything less than that will not satisfy those who want to ensure justice for all athletes involved.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> <u>See Exhibit 8</u> - Letters from U.S. Athlete Committees and ONDCP Director Dr. Gupta to WADA President Banka. All USADA's requests are consistent with what U.S. athletes and ONDCP have also asked for.

Second, the time for blind trust is over — WADA must also be audited, and the curtain pulled back on the performance behind the podium. As the global regulator, WADA has compliance powers and a large staff to perform audits, as it chooses, on other anti-doping organizations. WADA alone goes un-audited and unaccountable. Like athletes and anti-doping agencies around the world and throughout the WADA Code, including in Code Article 20.7, WADA has detailed roles and responsibilities. It has been over 25 years, and it is time for WADA to finally go through an independent, legitimate compliance audit of its roles and responsibilities under the WADA Code. Athletes and most anti-doping organizations are supposed to all be held to the strictest compliance standard by WADA, so it's time that WADA is also held to the standards in place for them.

For example, even though WADA admits that CHINADA did not follow mandatory rules of the World Anti-Doping Code in its handling of the TMZ 23 positives, shockingly, WADA did not appeal the cases wrongly handled or conduct a compliance investigation or otherwise hold CHINADA accountable for its deliberate and blatant failure to follow the mandatory rules as is WADA's role under the World Anti-Doping Code.

Third, the U.S. should not allow WADA to hustle us or the world by breaking its promise to install a truly independent WADA President and Vice President at the start of 2026. Allowing them to insult the world and good governance practices in this way should not be condoned but rejected. We should only restart our WADA dues payment when there is an independent WADA President and Vice President in the seats as was promised by WADA years ago.

Fourth, we should support the current Administration through ONDCP and the State Department and non-government partners like the United States Olympic and Paralympic Committee (USOPC) to collaborate with other willing national and international partners to unite behind requiring WADA to do the right thing for the right reasons for athletes in a fair, transparent, and accountable way as has been discussed today. Of course, we are for collaboration and working together with WADA to achieve a strong, fair, and effective global anti-doping system.

Up until late 2014, WADA and USADA worked hand and hand together and many of the successes were achieved in lock step with WADA and others around the world. We continue to stand ready to work with WADA and have reached out to them to have a constructive dialogue

on the Chinese file to attempt to find common ground and a way forward. Unfortunately, despite repeated requests, WADA leaders refuse to meet even with intermediaries present and instead, only attempt to rewrite history on the Chinese file, divert, attack, and refuse to answer basic questions.

Finally, WADA must set up an independent expert committee that makes the decision on all positive tests that do not result in an anti-doping rule violation and public announcement.<sup>20</sup> The rules require this in all positive cases of this type and WADA has now finally admitted that China should have determined these 23 TMZ cases to be violations and therefore should have announced them back in 2021. This is a necessary check, to balance the power.

Since WADA leadership did not inform the WADA Executive Committee about the decision to let China circumvent the rules, we should require that the WADA Executive Committee must be notified of all of these types of decisions. It can't be that a couple of WADA insiders in secret backrooms are allowed to pick and choose which countries and athletes have to follow the mandatory rules, and which ones get to follow an unwritten set of rules.

## Momentum for Reform but America Must Lead.

Despite global pleas and countless opportunities for accountability, WADA has slammed the door on transparency, deaf to the chorus of athletes and nations demanding the truth. If WADA truly believes in accountability and transparency, then an audit should be a welcome step, not a threat. Until then, every excuse sows more doubt across the world. The time for scripted statements is over. The world is watching and it's time for the truth.

With broad support in the U.S., including from USADA, ONDCP under the steadfast leadership of Dr. Rahul Gupta and professional staff, Debbie Seguin, Rich Baum, and Anthony Jones, the Biden White House did the right thing and made 2024 U.S. funding to WADA conditional on several important outcomes including: WADA submitting to an independent code compliance operational audit; WADA dropping the ethics complaint it filed against Dr. Gupta in his role as a WADA Executive Committee member and the defamation lawsuit against USADA; WADA attending an in-person meeting with U.S. sports and anti-doping stakeholders; WADA suspending efforts to issue sanctions and consequences for "Voluntary" Public Authorities' non-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See Exhibit 9- White Paper Written by Legal Expert, Steve Teitler from the Netherlands Anti-Doping Authority.

payment of WADA dues; and, WADA implementing the Executive Committee Working Group Recommendations following the release of the Cottier Report.

WADA did not agree, and the U.S. payment was rightfully withheld by the U.S. government for 2024.

We are all disappointed that WADA has continuously declined to testify before any U.S. Congressional Committee and continues to double, even triple down, on deflecting fault and pointing fingers at the United States. In response to the legitimate questions, WADA again levied allegations that those from the U.S. were politically motivated against WADA, implying that these facts of the Chinese 23 TMZ cases were somehow made up. There was a clear violation of the rules, and WADA chose to do the politically expedient, rather than their job, and avoid answering the basic questions. It is also disappointing to repeatedly hear comments by the WADA President where he has the audacity to throw U.S. athletes under the bus by attempting to discredit their hard work and integrity. WADA has gone so far as to throw baseless lawsuits and ethics complaints against USADA and the former White House Director of National Drug Control Policy, Dr. Gupta. Both of these were tactics to weaponize the legal process against truth seekers. These were new lows, especially for a supposed "values" based integrity organization. It seems clear that WADA will apparently stop at nothing to avoid accountability so that they can retain the power to decide which countries and athletes get special treatment.

The U.S. is not alone in this assessment and concern. In 2022, a multi-national group of National Anti-Doping Organizations (NADOs), recognized threats to the legitimacy and credibility of the anti-doping community as a result of WADA's governance failures and developed guiding principles for a more fair and just system. Not but a year later, more than 20 NADOs from the Latin American region wrote the Ibero-American Anti-Doping Network (RILD) Manifesto, aimed at bringing to WADA's attention issues of compliance and Code integration and recommending that WADA undergo an audit in order to improve the global anti-doping system.<sup>21</sup> WADA lashed out at this. More recently, an equally robust global group of over a dozen NADOs, including USADA, have requested to increase independence and facilitate more transparent preventive policies. Similarly, foreign governments are calling for change. A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> <u>See Exhibit 10</u> - Red Iberoamericana de Lucha contra el Dopaje ("RILD"), Manifesto of the Parties for the Improvement, Review, and Updating of the Global Anti-Doping System. October 6, 2023.

German Parliamentary State Secretary following a hearing similar to today's, stated that WADA is "gambling away all acceptance and right to exist." This year, Former WADA Vice-President and current Norwegian Parliamentary Member, Linda Helleland, stated:

"We have a global anti-doping organisation stripped of integrity and failing to fulfil its duties. Its role is to combat doping and ensure fair competition among athletes, yet it now appears more focused on protecting the interests of the dark forces undermining sports. As long as Wada fails to operate independently and transparently and shows no willingness for internal reform and change, Norwegian taxpayers should not contribute to the organisation. The government should follow the US lead and withhold our funding. Failing to support the Americans would mean siding with Wada and China."<sup>22</sup>

Additionally, Nordic Ministers have expressed concern with the recent cases, stating they undermine trust in anti-doping work which has now also influenced the newly established Parliamentary Alliance at the Council of Europe on Good Governance and Integrity in Sport. In response, WADA has either ignored its stakeholders or tried to pit them against each other.

Many have attempted to battle WADA's failures, sound the alarm, and push for reform, only to be stonewalled at every turn by powerful international sports politics. But the U.S. is uniquely positioned to affect change. As the single largest government contributor to WADA, withholding funds and advancing legislation like the Restoring Confidence in the World Anti-Doping Agency Act of 2025, shows how serious the U.S. is about change and the rights of all athletes. This effort for change doesn't impact our athletes' ability to compete internationally and it doesn't impact WADA's ability to serve athletes...only its leader's ability to take first-class flights and stay at five-star hotels. WADA will continue to say that withholding funds negatively affects athletes but there is nothing in their charter, statutes or Code to back it up. It's fearmongering, banking on confusion over facts. But if we give in and release funds, we're telling WADA and the world that they can take our money, fail to do the job which results in American athletes losing unfairly, and get away with it. We cannot condone this behavior.

With the golden age of sports coming to America, we must continue to support the united American stand against this misconduct. In its first administration, the Trump White House took

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Rob Draper. *UK and EU urged to follow US and block funding for World Anti-Doping Agency*. The Guardian. 15 Jan. 2025. <u>https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2025/jan/15/uk-and-eu-urged-to-follow-us-and-block-funding-for-world-anti-doping-agency</u>.

three decisive and impactful actions that reasserted American leadership in the global fight for clean sport. First, working with Congress, they secured authority to withhold U.S. funding for WADA unless meaningful reforms were implemented. This is a critical leverage point, and one that was utilized by the Biden administration last year. In 2018, the Trump White House also convened a landmark summit on WADA reform, bringing together athletes and Government Sports Ministers from around the globe, all working together to achieve accountability. And perhaps most importantly, President Trump signed into law the Rodchenkov Anti-Doping Act, establishing U.S. jurisdiction to prosecute international doping conspiracies. These actions send a clear message that the U.S. will not bankroll a broken system and we must not stop now.

Let me be very clear: athletes, sport, and the public need a strong and independent WADA. A fierce, fair, and effective global watchdog is absolutely essential to protecting the Olympic and Paralympic movement. But we need WADA to be a truly independent, global regulator, not merely the sport-controlled organization many want it to remain. WADA has the resources it needs to do right by athletes—now it just needs the will do the right thing.

That's what is so frustrating for us at USADA and for the athletes we serve. The solutions are reasonable and within reach but finding leaders with the political will to implement those solutions has, so far, proven to be out of reach. Passing legislation focused on continuous accountability and prudent money management could be the first wake-up call, moving WADA and the IOC from complacency to sustained relevancy.

With the Games coming to America, we have one shot to get it right. We cannot allow history to repeat itself, not on our watch, not in our country. This is our moment to protect clean athletes, uphold integrity, and show the world what fair, clean competition truly looks like.

To a large extent, the personal well-being of the next generation of athletes hangs in the balance. This is not just about elite Olympic and Paralympic athletes – this is about every kid on a playground who has an Olympic or Paralympic dream and asks, "What do I have to do to make my dreams come true and represent the U.S.A. on the biggest stage of competition?" And, the truth is, if we as a movement don't push, if we don't win on all the issues that affect athletes, we will likely find ourselves back in this same position, years from now, staring down another egregious scandal that has abused athletes and robbed another generation of athletes in the process.

And we will all be wondering why we didn't do more when we had the chance. Thank you for the invitation to appear before you today for your help in getting this right.

Thank you, I look forward to your questions.