

**Cong. Smith/CECC Hearing - "A Market Built on Victims: Stopping  
Illegal Organ Trafficking in China and Beyond"**

**May 14, 2026, 10 am – 12pm, 2247 Rayburn House Office Building**

**Statement of Ethan Gutmann, Senior Research Fellow in China  
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XINJIANG PROCEDURE**

In the Chinese transplant industry humans are the only element that can't be fully controlled. That's why I swear by field research. Over time, I have learned that *all* testimony – even that which doesn't support my ongoing thesis – is valuable.

Yet I've also been observing the often-skeptical Western world. Camp refugees who observed the organ harvesting selection process, or were nearly harvested themselves, matter. But the testimony of a medical practitioner who was directly involved in the transplant process clearly matters more. I'll briefly focus on these *super witnesses*, recap current harvesting rates, touch on Uyghur deportation from Central Asia, and close with a few personal thoughts on policy.

From THE SLAUGHTER:

15 years ago, in a Westminster hearing, Enver Tohti, a former Urumqi hospital surgeon, confessed that he used his "own hands," to extract the kidneys and liver of a wounded, but salvageable, human being on a Xinjiang execution ground.

In 2013, Dr. Ko Wen-je of National Taiwan University Hospital agreed that I could publish the story of his quest for organs on behalf of his Taiwanese patients in a Mainland hospital (probably Wuxi People's Hospital). When Ko expressed doubts about the quality of executed prisoner organs, his Mainland counterparts assured him that "all the organs will come from Falun Gong."

THE XINJIANG PROCEDURE adds to this collection.

In 2007, an accidental witness: “Cat,” (Mr. Sugawara), was assisting his Yakuza Chieftain prepare for a liver transplant in a Beijing Police hospital. Wandering into the wrong room, Cat found a bound, sedated young man - wrist and ankle tendons severed. A Chinese surgeon soothingly explained the young “liver donor” was Falun Gong.

In 2017, Sayragul Sauytbay, a teacher in a Kazakh and Uyghur camp, gained exclusive access to organize the camp’s medical files. A red-check mark next to blood results signaled the individual had been pre-selected for harvesting. Several camp refugees recalled guards imposing color-coding - from pink vests to wristbands, a few nights before the actual disappearances.

In 2018, "Samal," a Kazakh-ethnic woman, was recruited by a Uyghur veterinarian to extract human intestines in preparation for the systematic extraction of organs. Why intestines? Because their workspace was in a secret medical compound, four floors under a Uyghur and Kazakh concentration camp with sub-standard ventilation.

And an update: While Dr. Ko knew that Falun Gong were being harvested, according to his Chinese colleagues, Ko became the “teacher of ECMO to Mainland China” - directly instructing Chinese surgeons to exploit an off-label procedure for live organ harvesting. As mayor of Taipei and a presidential candidate for the Taiwan presidency, Ko could have been the ultimate super witness. Instead, Ko was recently sentenced to 17 years in Taiwanese prison on corruption charges.

Along with a hunger for medical witnesses, there is a hunger for scale. The full publication of witness evidence in Chapter five concludes:

- 2.5 to 5% forced disappearance rate in the camps. (Average age 28-29. Specifications: taken at night, final blood/DNA test to establish health and identity).
- Assuming one million in the Xinjiang camps, forced labor factories, and other carceral environments, that's 25,000 to 50,000 Uyghurs, Kazakhs and other Turkic groups harvested per year.
- Two to three organs extracted per individual to reach the minimum requirement for China's transplant industry volume: 60,000 successful transplants per year.
- Minimum cumulative death total in Xinjiang: over 200,000 minimum and counting.

Some analysts recently speculated that camps are closing (it may be inside baseball, but I would welcome a question on this). Either way, forced labor organs are the same as concentration camp organs, and the per-capita medical attention that Xinjiang receives is *extraordinary*. Beijing recently pledged "six more human organ transplantation medical institutions in the region by 2030."

The round-up of Uyghurs from China's neighbors is also extraordinary. My interviews establish that 88% of Tajikistan's Uyghurs and 87% of Kyrgyzstan's Uyghurs have been deported back to Xinjiang. I also documented a new Chinese military base, just north of Tajikistan's Kulma Pass - about 30 miles from a Tajik mine speculated to contain 50% of the world's uranium.

The energy and mineral reserves of the Pamir and the Kyrgyz mountain ranges are the "South China Sea" of China's Western frontier. With Russia at war, without a US presence, a new nine-dash line is theoretically possible.

Regarding policy: I like *all* the bills. But I support passing the Stop Forced Organ Harvesting Act first because it follows the surgical lead; the

International Society for Heart and Lung Transplantation put the Chinese transplant industry (and implicitly, The Transplantation Society) on notice with an academic boycott of China in 2022. Withdrawal of legitimacy should now be immediate and comprehensive.

Nothing changes without embarrassment and trauma; one day after my press conference on Ko, Taiwanese medical authorities withdrew immuno-suppressive drug coverage for Taiwanese patients who receive Chinese organs. We could do that here. And instead of attempting to police the entire import/export medical industry, we could immediately investigate Thermo Fisher for providing the DNA tests used on an estimated 10 million Uyghurs and Kazakhs.

A word on limitations. The Party responds to embarrassment by hiding, adapting, altering the production process, and adding new layers of complexity. *Beijing loves games*. So we might need to consider changing the stakes of the game.

I don't have a 20-point plan, just a parting thought. Falun Gong is a majority Han Chinese spiritual movement. They have no choice; their sacred mission is to change China. And they deserve our support.

Yet small nations rise – often it's a delayed response - when mass murder and wanton neglect have placed their future survival as a people in question. Ireland, the potato famine. Ukraine, Stalin's mass starvation. Israel, the gas chambers. East Turkestan, organ harvesting.

Re-entering history is a bloody affair, yet these nations came back from the dead. Even if it begins as a cynical negotiation tactic, a tacit threat, a Uyghur state, even a democratic Uyghur state, *is possible*. The liberation of Central Asia is possible. For the Party, that's the nightmare scenario.

And the most improbable scenario of all is the systematic reform of the Chinese transplant system. But if our first objective is to staunch the bleeding, apply immediate and consistent pressure. Pass this bill.