

A MARKET BUILT ON VICTIMS: STOPPING ILLEGAL ORGAN TRAFFICKING IN CHINA AND BEYOND

HEARING BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS SECOND SESSION

MAY 14, 2026

Printed for the use of the Congressional-Executive Commission on China



Available at www.cecc.gov or www.govinfo.gov

U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLISHING OFFICE

63-846 PDF

WASHINGTON : 2026

CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH COMMISSIONERS

Senate

DAN SULLIVAN, Alaska, *Chair*
TOM COTTON, Arkansas
JEFF MERKLEY, Oregon
TAMMY DUCKWORTH, Illinois
ANDY KIM, New Jersey
LISA BLUNT ROCHESTER, Delaware

House

CHRIS SMITH, New Jersey, *Co-chair*
ZACHARY NUNN, Iowa
ELISE STEFANIK, New York
DALE STRONG, Alabama
JEN KIGGANS, Virginia
JAMES P. McGOVERN, Massachusetts
THOMAS SUOZZI, New York
SUHAS SUBRAMANYAM, Virginia
JAMES WALKINSHAW, Virginia

EXECUTIVE BRANCH COMMISSIONERS

Not yet appointed

SCOTT FLIPSE, *Staff Director*
MARY VIGIL, *Deputy Staff Director*

C O N T E N T S

STATEMENTS

Opening Statement of Hon. Chris Smith, Co-chair, Congressional-Executive Commission on China	1
Statement of Ethan Gutmann, senior research fellow in China Studies, Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation; author of “The Xinjiang Procedure” and “The Slaughter”	4
Statement of Ambassador Sam Brownback, senior fellow, Pepperdine University; former U.S. Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, former U.S. Senator and Governor of Kansas, and author, “China’s War on Faith”	7
Statement of Jan Jekielek, senior editor, <i>The Epoch Times</i> , host of “American Thought Leaders,” and author, “Killed to Order”	9
Statement of Kalbinur Sidik, survivor of China’s genocide and eyewitness to forced labor camps; author of the forthcoming book “Heart Full of Light: Love, Loss, and Survival Inside China’s Gulags”	13

APPENDIX

PREPARED STATEMENTS

Gutmann, Ethan	31
Brownback, Sam	32
Jekielek, Jan	33
Sidik, Kalbinur	36
Smith, Hon. Chris	39

SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

Submission of Seyed Alireza Motevalian	41
Submission of Levi Browde and James Yu, Falun Dafa Information Center	45
CECC Truth in Testimony Disclosure Form	54
Witness Biographies	55

A MARKET BUILT ON VICTIMS: STOPPING ILLEGAL ORGAN TRAFFICKING IN CHINA AND BEYOND

THURSDAY, MAY 14, 2026

CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE
COMMISSION ON CHINA,
Washington, DC.

The hearing was held from 10:00 a.m. to 11:48 a.m., in Room 2247, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC, Representative Chris Smith, Co-chair, Congressional-Executive Commission on China, presiding.

Also present: Representatives Strong, Stefanik, and Walkinshaw.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CHRIS SMITH, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM NEW JERSEY AND CO-CHAIR, CONGRESSIONAL- EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

Co-chair SMITH. Last September, the world heard something chilling. As Xi Jinping, Vladimir Putin, and Kim Jong-un walked together in Beijing, a hot mic picked up an unguarded conversation about organ transplants and the possibility of living up to 150 years. This was not macabre small talk among aging dictators. It was a glimpse behind the curtain, a glimpse into a world where human beings can be treated as interchangeable parts to prolong the lives of autocrats.

But forced organ harvesting is not healing. It is murder masquerading as medicine. Today this Commission examines one of the most barbaric human rights atrocities of our time, the forced harvesting of organs from prisoners of conscience, death row inmates, and other vulnerable people, especially in communist China. Let me be clear—ethical organ transplantation is noble and life-saving. What we are examining today is the polar opposite. It is the conversion of the imprisoned and persecuted into inventory— hearts, livers, kidneys, lungs, corneas—taken from the living, sold to the desperate, hidden behind hospital walls, protected by secrecy, corruption, fear, and state power.

I've chaired several hearings on forced organ harvesting, the first being 30 years ago on June 18th, 1996. And as Jan knows, we had many hearings focusing especially on what was being done, horribly, to the Falun Gong. And since then, the evidence has become even more disturbing, more detailed, and more compelling. The most persistent allegations in China centered first on the Falun Gong practitioners—peaceful men and women targeted by the Chinese Communist Party for eradication, genocide. Later came

mounting evidence concerning Uyghurs, already victims of genocide in the Uyghur region, Tibetans, Christians, death row inmates, and others treated as property of the state. Experts like Ethan Gutmann have documented how this atrocity expanded from death row prisoners to prisoners of conscience and religious detainees.

The China Tribunal concluded that forced organ harvesting has been committed in China for years on a significant scale. Witnesses at previous hearings have warned us about military hospitals, impossibly short wait times in order to procure an organ, organs available on demand, and a transplant system that cannot withstand scrutiny. And yet Beijing now asks the world to believe that the problem has somehow been solved. It says the transplant system now meets international standards and once again, the disappointing and corrupt WHO takes Beijing's claims at face value, just as they did in the early days of COVID.

But today this Commission has received rare and extraordinary eyewitness accounts from inside the Chinese gulag itself. Ali Motevalian's written submission details his incarceration in a PLA-linked prison hospital near Shanghai, and Kalbinur Sidik's provides testimony from the detention camps in the Uyghur region. Together their accounts shatter Beijing's fiction that its transplant system is voluntary, transparent, and compliant with international standards. Ali Motevalian has spent years inside China's prison system. His submission describes coerced thumbprints on so-called consent forms, bondage, tranquilizers, last rooms of terminal patients, prisoners taken into surgery and not returned, mobile freezer carts, and bodies moved toward incineration.

His account strikes at the heart of Beijing's favorite defense. The Chinese Communist Party told the world it had ended the use of executed prisoners' organs. And I just point out, parenthetically—and Sam will remember this, Sam Brownback—Harry Wu brought over a guard who brought evidence that was absolutely compelling. He testified in the late 1990s. He pointed out that the ambulances would be lined up one after the other. They would shoot the prisoner, not to kill, but just to put them into a coma, take their organs, and then that individual would die. And you know, that was almost 30 years ago. The hearing 30 years ago didn't have that, but Harry Wu was just amazing, what he brought forward. There were people in the administration then that didn't want to hear that, and we tried, but they didn't want to hear it.

Inside the prison hospital system in 2020 and 2021, years after the world was told that China had stopped taking organs from prisoners, Ali says he saw unconscious, shackled men, known as sleepers, brought by armed personnel directly into the surgery rooms. They never returned. My God, what a nightmare. This is not voluntary donation. This is execution by organ extraction. Ms. Sidik brings us inside another part of the Chinese gulag, the camps of the Uyghur region. I will not summarize her testimony in detail because in just a few minutes she will speak for herself. Her account shows a system where human beings are reduced to commodities, where the state controls the body as well as the mind, and where coercion and fear are used to destroy dignity. The prison hospitals and gulags described in this testimony are not places of care, rehabilitation, or education. They are crime scenes, part of a system of

coercion, medical abuse that knows no parallel, and genocide in China.

Organ crimes are not just a Chinese problem. It is a global one that flourishes wherever coercion, poverty, corruption, secrecy, and demand intersect. That's why Congress must act. The House has twice passed my legislation with overwhelming bipartisan support. Most recently, H.R. 1503, the Stop Forced Organ Harvesting Act, passed the House 400 to 1, a full year ago, and it's still languishing in the Senate. But it passed a full year ago. It would criminalize forced organ trafficking, impose serious sanctions, require reporting, deny visas, and create penalties of up to 20 years in prison and up to \$1 million for knowingly being complicit in this crime. The bill is not a press release. It is enforceable policy. It says to brokers, traffickers, corrupt officials, complicit doctors, hospitals, researchers, insurers, and middlemen, if you profit from coerced transplants directly or indirectly, you are risking your money, your visa, your access to the U.S., and your freedom. Because if we can get you, you're going to jail for these heinous practices.

The Senate has not yet acted on the bill. And I appeal to them. I believe that they must. Delay is denial for that poor 25- to 30-year-old—as Ethan Gutmann has told us over and over again, average age 28—who is killed, murdered just for their organs. Every day without consequences is another day of perpetrators operating in the shadows. Witnesses are intimidated, evidence disappears, and families never learn what happened to their loved ones. Forced organ harvesting is barbaric. It is systematic. It has stayed enabled. It's a big business. And speaking frankly, no one wants Xi Jinping or Vladimir Putin to live forever. I suspect on this point there would be broad bipartisan agreement. But behind that dark money is a deadly serious point. No dictator, no party boss, no wealthy patient, and no broker should be able to purchase longevity with the organs of the poor and the persecuted. That is all the more reason to pass the Stop Forced Organ Harvesting Act and make unmistakably clear that the United States will not stand by in the face of such cruelty, not with our expertise, not with our money, not with one dollar of American complicity. Thank you.

I would now like to introduce our very distinguished panel. And let me just say, parenthetically, I'm grateful that C-SPAN is here. You know, they can go to any hearing they want. They are private, as you know. They have chosen to be here. And this is a story that they now will be telling the entire American public. I'm very grateful that they give these distinguished witnesses the opportunity to be heard, again, throughout this country. Hopefully that leads to greater mobilization to stop this.

We will start with Ethan Gutmann, senior research fellow in China studies at the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation, and co-founder of the International Coalition to End Transplant Abuse in China. He is the author of "The Slaughter"—I've read that book—co-author of the influential 2016 investigative report "Bloody Harvest/The Slaughter: An Update," and author of the newly published book "The Xinjiang Procedure," based on interviews with Uyghur and Kazakh refugees throughout Central Asia. His work has been essential to exposing the scale and brutality of

forced organ harvesting in China. We are extremely grateful for his continued leadership.

We'll then hear from my good long-term friend Ambassador Sam Brownback, who served in the House, the Senate, he was a Governor, he was Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, and just a force for good in the world, especially religious freedom. He just today, or in the last couple days, released his brand-new book, and I'm looking forward to reading it, called "China's War on Faith." Thank you, Sam, for that tenacious leadership for all these years. You just never quit. You are a national treasure. I am very grateful to you. Ambassador Brownback and Ethan Gutmann have testified multiple times before this Commission and multiple committees of Congress on issues related to forced organ harvesting, human trafficking, and, of course, religious freedom.

Then we'll hear from Jan Jekielek, senior editor of *The Epoch Times* and host of "American Thought Leaders." He is a journalist, documentary filmmaker, and author of the new book "Killed to Order: China's Organ Harvesting Industry & the True Nature of America's Biggest Adversary." And I encourage people to read that. I've started it. I haven't finished it yet, but I am looking forward to reading it in its entirety. His work has helped bring wider public attention to forced organ harvesting and the dangers of continued international complicity. We welcome him to the Commission, thank him for his great leadership for these many years—and we've known each other for a lot of years now—on this and so many other issues. He's a great friend of the China Commission.

We'll then hear from Kalbinur Sidik, a survivor of China's genocide and an eyewitness to the forced labor and internment camp system in the Uyghur region. Of Uzbek ethnicity, she served for many years as an elementary school teacher before being forced to work as a Chinese language instructor in internment camps. She's testified several times—including before the Uyghur Tribunal in London. I want to thank her for being here. She'll be coming in through Zoom, right? Yes. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Co-chair Smith appears in the Appendix.]

So Mr. Gutmann, please. The floor is yours.

STATEMENT OF ETHAN GUTMANN

Mr. GUTMANN. In the Chinese transplant industry, humans are the only element that can't be fully controlled. That's why I swear by field research. And over time I've learned that all testimony, even that which doesn't support my ongoing thesis at any given time, is valuable. Yet I've also been observing the often skeptical Western world. That includes me, back in 2006. And all witnesses are taking a big risk. Camp refugees who observed the organ harvesting selection process or were nearly harvested themselves, as I guess we're going to be hearing from some of those today—they matter. But the testimony of a medical practitioner who is directly involved in the transplant process has a more complex level of risk. And they may matter more, in some respects.

Now I'll briefly focus on these medical witnesses, because there's a continuity there that's very interesting, over time. I'm going to recap current harvesting rates one more time with feeling; I'm

sorry about that. I'm going to touch on Uyghur deportation from Central Asia. And I'll close with a few personal thoughts on policy.

Now regarding "The Slaughter," we have two witnesses from that—15 years ago in a Westminster hearing, Enver Tohti, a former Uyghur 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 agreed that I could publish the story of his quest for organs on behalf of his Taiwanese patients. This happened 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 would come from Falun Gong.

"The Xinjiang Procedure"—I just have to promote these things, I'm sorry—adds to this collection. In 2007, an accidental witness, Cat—that's 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 and sedated young man, wrist and ankle tendons severed. A Chinese surgeon soothingly explained to Cat that 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 checkmark next to blood results signaled that the individual had been preselected for harvesting. Several camp refugees that I interviewed recalled guards imposing color coding, from pink vests to wristbands, a few nights before the actual disappearances.

In 2018, Samal, an ethnic Kazakh woman—that is a pseudonym—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 substandard ventilation. And an update: While Dr. Ko of Taipei knew that the Falun Gong were being harvested, according to his Chinese colleagues, Ko became "the teacher of ECMO to mainland China." That was—let me translate that—that is directly instructing Chinese surgeons to exploit an off-label procedure for live organ harvesting.

As mayor of Taipei and as a Presidential candidate for the Taiwan presidency, Ko could have been the ultimate medical witness. Instead, Ko was recently sentenced to 17 years in Taiwanese prison on corruption charges. And I'd love to see a plea deal there. Along with a hunger for medical witnesses, there is a hunger for scale. And the full publication of witness evidence in chapter 5 concludes: 2.5 to 5 percent forced disappearance rate in the camps, average age 28 to 29, specifications taken at night, final blood DNA test to establish health and identity. Assuming 1 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 requirements for China's transplant industry volume, 60,000 successful transplants per year. That means a minimum cumulative death total in Xinjiang of over 200,000 now, and counting.

Now some analysts recently speculated that the camps are closing, and it may be inside baseball, but I would welcome a question on that. Either way, forced labor organs are the same as concentration camp organs. And per capita, the medical attention that Xinjiang receives is extraordinary. Beijing recently pledged six more human organ transplantation medical institutions in the region by 2030. Now the roundup of Uyghurs from China's neighbors is also extraordinary. My interviews established that 88 percent of Tajikistan's Uyghurs and 87 percent of Kyrgyzstan's Uyghurs have been deported back to Xinjiang. I also documented a new Chinese military base just north of Tajikistan's Qolma Pass, about 30 miles from a Tajik mine speculated to contain 50 percent of the world's uranium. The energy and mineral reserves of the Pamir and Kyrgyz Mountain ranges are the South China Sea of China's western frontier. With Russia at war, without a U.S. presence, a new nine-dash line is theoretically possible.

Regarding policy—I'll close with this. 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 by the political side should now be immediate and comprehensive. Nothing changes without embarrassment and trauma. One day after my press conference on Dr. Ko, Taiwanese medical authorities withdrew immunosuppressive drug coverage for Taiwanese patients who received 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. We've seen this in forced labor. Beijing loves games. So we might need to consider changing the stakes of the game. I don't have a 20-point plan here, just a parting thought. Falun Gong is a Han Chinese-majority Chinese spiritual movement. And 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. The potato famine, Ireland; 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. And the liberation of Central Asia is also 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 stanch the bleeding, apply immediate and consistent pressure: pass this bill. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ethan Gutmann appears in the Appendix.]

Co-chair SMITH. Mr. Gutmann, thank you so very much for your testimony. And your expertise enlightens this committee, and really enlightens all that we do. Thank you so much.

Ambassador Brownback.

STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR SAM BROWNBACK

Ambassador BROWNBACK. Thank you, Chairman Smith, Senator. Good to see all of you. And thank you for doing this, particularly today when the summit is taking place in China. I think this is just such an incredibly timely thing. And while these are hearings and things that you're familiar with and have been familiar with for years, the public is not familiar with these topics. Unfortunately, in my experience in social movements, you've got to really rub the public's face in this stuff for them to get it. And once they do, then they'll kind of, Okay, what should we do? And thank you for rubbing people's face in this stuff that you've known about and heard about for 20–30 years, as have I.

Even just yesterday, I was with Mihrigul Tursun. She's featured in our book, "China's War on Faith." She's a Uyghur. She was told, finally, toward the very end of her incarceration—Okay, you can pick the way you die. We'll either shoot you three times, three bullets, or you can sign your life and your organs away to us. Now, if you pick the three bullets, we're going to charge you for each of these bullets a very large sum of money and you can do it for free this other way. And how cynical can a group of people be? This is her speaking yesterday about the technique that was used. Her children, who were born in Egypt, ultimately actually were the tool that got her out.

Disfavored religious communities are particularly targeted by the perpetrators of forced organ harvesting schemes. Falun Gong practitioners—which we've heard about—systematically catalogued based on biometric markers and then murdered for their organs; Uyghur Muslims—and you've heard this before, their organs harvested and marketed to wealthy Middle Easterners as halal, in an unimaginably cynical way. I don't like even repeating this because these charges are so horrific that people have a hard time even getting their mind around it. But this is happening, and has been happening, and continues to happen. And it's an evil regime that perpetrates it.

We have here today, and Mr. Chairman if I could take just a moment to introduce Peter Xu. You may remember his name. You advocated for him, as I did, a number of years ago. He spent five different times in Chinese prisons. He's been out here helping promote the book. He was considered the Billy Graham of China. They nearly killed him when they took him down from—they put him in a cross formation till he nearly died, then they took him down. They said to him, Okay, sign the confession that God's a hoax, Jesus doesn't exist. And he looks at the warden, and he says, Thank you for allowing me to participate in the sufferings of Christ. This is amazing testimony of an individual who is here—I've got to recognize Peter Xu. [Applause.]

And then the other person—Bob Fu is hosting these gentlemen. You know Bob. But Pastor Pan of the Mayflower Church, that got all 64 members of theirs out in a daring episode that I believe

should be a Hollywood movie, is here with us as well. Pastor Pan. [Applause.] Wonderful men. They bear witness, and as they bear witness, they get family members persecuted back home. These are not free shots that people get to take. They get hit. Pastor Pan has relatives still in China being threatened. I would ask our State Department to allow them to come if they're allowed out of China. Allow them to come here to the United States. Here's a brave man being willing to speak out and the family members back home are still persecuted. I hear this constantly from members of this persecuted community—of the various religious persecuted communities.

You have experts that know more of the specifics of it. I want to talk mostly about policy. No. 1, the United States should lead a global coalition of governments, academics, medical, financial institutions, and religious groups to openly condemn forced organ harvesting and take concrete steps to end the international complicity in this practice. We need a big coalition to come together to say, This is horrific. It deserves no place in a modern world. And we should condemn it. The White House or Congress should host a global summit of religious, democratic, and political leaders calling for religious freedom for everyone everywhere, including in China. This is a hallmark issue for us. And on our 250th birthday, the founding of the country is based, the early settlers, primarily on seeking religious freedom. It's still a hallmark human right of the soul, the right that's closest to who we are as beings. And these are the people who are the most persecuted. It would help—and it would help them substantially.

We asked President Trump to raise with Xi Jinping the release of Pastor Ezra Jin. And he said that he's going to seek that release. Jimmy Lai. I would add the nine Catholic bishops currently in detention in China that we don't know their whereabouts—nine Catholic bishops. We don't know where they are. They're incarcerated. I would ask as well that Pope Leo criticize China publicly for the ongoing genocides in that country—of the Muslim Uyghurs, of Falun Gong, of the Tibetan Buddhists, and seek the release of these nine Catholic bishops that are detained in China. And Mr. Chairman, I've got another set of additional recommendations that I want to submit for the record.

One of them—we host the G-20 summit this year. We should have in that a major section on religious freedom. As we bring these world leaders of the top countries here, we should be talking about religious freedom and publicly condemning forced organ harvesting at that event. This would be something that—Dr. Gutmann points out the embarrassment factor. It's a true issue, and you and I both know it. You've got to raise the profile of these issues to the point that governments are embarrassed before something happens. We should do that at the G-20 summit as well. And then finally, our media, Hollywood, academia, big business, must start shining a light on these horrific practices being conducted by the Chinese government, and no longer look the other way. We cannot look the other way.

Now, we've got such an integrated economy with China. And I hope and pray we're in the process of breaking that apart, and breaking our supply chains, and moving them to other places. I'm

seeing positive trends on foreign direct investment in China going down substantially, and a lot of that coming to the United States and other places, going up, which is favorable toward us. That's the right trend. It's going to take several years to disentangle these two economies, but we really have got to be clear-minded that we have to move this way. This is a communist regime in China that seeks our removal from leadership on the world stage.

Whichever one of these systems—and I contend that—and I'm going to end with this point—that we're in a clash of civilizations now. And one point of that is the communist group and authoritarians that look at the world and individuals as tools to be controlled, or economic entities alone. And they are pushing aggressively and attacking us today. On the other side is Western civilization, the United States leading a Western civilization that's built on a Judeo-Christian ethic that everybody is created in the image of God. They are entitled to incredible dignity. They have inherent worth of who they are. And they have rights by virtue of who they are as an individual. They have rights. These two systems are in conflict and clashing.

I think we've just got to start being much more clear-eyed about what the stakes are, because whichever of these systems wins will direct how societies move over the rest of this century. And we're in this fight. And we're in it now. And we've got to sound the alarm to the public and move forward aggressively to win this fight. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Brownback appears in the Appendix.]

Co-chair SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Ambassador, for your very eloquent and powerful statement and testimony. I'd now like to recognize Jan Jekielek for such time as he may consume.

Mr. JEKIELEK. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Co-chairman, distinguished members of the Commission, I want to thank you for the opportunity to testify today.

STATEMENT OF JAN JEKIELEK

Mr. JEKIELEK. How many of us in the United States would knowingly participate in a system that rips organs from unwilling donors and treats human lives as disposable commodities? It should be zero, but it's not. What is happening in China is something far more systemic and industrialized than the organ trafficking in black markets that one might normally think about. It is communist China's state-sponsored killing of its own citizens on demand to supply a multi-billion-dollar transplant industry.

I'll start with a telling example from my book, "Kill to Order: China's Organ Harvesting Industry & the True Nature of America's Biggest Adversary." "An affluent German woman with a rare AB blood type struggled with alcoholism for years and faced liver failure. In systems like Germany's, finding a match might take years or not happen at all. Yet she obtained three livers in China around 2015 to 2019, each in just months, for approximately \$400,000, involving a visit to China for each procedure. Her continued drinking combined with antirejection medications led to quick rejections of each liver—one about every 2 years." In any ethical transplant system, such as that of the United States, vital organs

typically come from catastrophic accidents. To reduce the chance of rejection, blood type and histology are also matched. Thus the supply of organs is always much less than the demand. Yet wait times in China are often measured not in years, not in months, but in weeks or even days.

In another well-documented case, an American man traveled to China and received a perfectly matched kidney in just 2 weeks. According to the 2009 book “Larry’s Kidney,” he was aware someone was killed for it. Now compare that to here, where the average wait time for a new kidney isn’t 2 weeks, but 156 to 260 weeks. This is only possible because of two essential tools the Chinese Communist Party that governs China has refined over decades. No. 1, it’s the regime’s creation of what are called black classes, designated enemy groups that the rest of the population is taught to hate, fear, and even see as subhuman. First it was the landowners, then counterrevolutionaries, and then the intellectuals during the Cultural Revolution, with others following. This is the pattern—designate a group as subhuman, flood the information space with propaganda, and the population becomes psychologically prepared for atrocities against the target group.

The second key tool is the infrastructure to incarcerate a large number of people at will. Prisons, black jails, reeducation camps, and forced labor camps are just part of an incarceration system that has the capacity for millions. In 1999, the CCP designated Falun Gong practitioners as a black class targeted for eradication, setting the stage for this kill-to-order forced organ harvesting.

Falun Gong, or Falun Dafa, is an ancient Qigong or slow-motion exercise practice rooted in the principles of truthfulness, compassion, and forbearance. This is also translated as being true, good, and enduring. Falun Gong features extensive teachings by its founder, Master Li Hongzhi. It’s also characterized by an unusual lack of organizational structure, no collection of funds, no roster, no hierarchy, and no worship of a deity. It spread by word of mouth in the 1990’s in China, growing, by government estimate, to 70 to 100 million people from all walks of life doing it.

There are different theories as to why then-leader Jiang Zemin of China ordered the persecution of Falun Gong. Perhaps it was because the sheer number of practitioners had grown greater than Communist Party membership. Perhaps he was jealous of the founder. Or perhaps the CCP, with its decades of totalitarian rule, simply couldn’t abide the individual agency that practicing Falun Gong fostered in people. If one were to design a system that could withstand totalitarian control and overreach, I believe it might look something like Falun Gong. Large numbers of Falun Gong practitioners refused to be reeducated. And this happened at a scale that had never happened before in this black class creation mechanism. And this is what caused the mass incarceration of Falun Gong practitioners.

This is happening in 1999–2000. In 2005, the U.S. State Department estimated that half of all the people in China’s reeducation-through-labor camp system were Falun Gong. In 2006, the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Torture, Manfred Nowak, reported that Falun Gong practitioners accounted for 66 percent of torture cases that he documented. I recount in chapter 5 of “Kill to Order” all

sorts of evidence, like that gathered by Ethan Gutmann here, among others, research over 20 years by many, many different experts. And the regime basically took a massive population of healthy people and dehumanized them, incarcerated them, and started blood typing, tissue typing, and organ scanning them, and creating a data base. When a transplant is needed, whether for a Chinese elite or a foreign transplant tourist, a match can be made and a victim killed to order.

The years 2000 to 2005 saw a massive surge in growth of transplant hospitals in China. Falun Gong refugees who fled to the United States have given harrowing accounts of blood tests and other costly and suspicious medical exams while detained in China. A recent survey identified 113 facilities across China in which these health screenings took place, with the most recent incident reported in 2024. Shockingly, one respondent described how, even in 2023, even non-detained practitioners in Anqing City, Anhui Province, were summoned for these detailed exams.

We now have the first known survivor. Cheng Pei Ming, a Falun Gong practitioner, was taken for surgery against his will while detained, and awoke with a 14-inch gash in his side. This was back in 2004. He was later rescued to America through a series of unlikely events—kind of a miracle that he survived. But basically our own medical scans showed that he’s missing part of his liver and part of his lung. The liver has since regenerated. So after years of very little, frankly, there’s been some amazing resolutions that have been put forth—that Co-chair Smith has put forward, and so forth. But really, internationally, there’s been very little meaningful action. The CCP extended this atrocity—now we’re looking at 2015-ish—to another group. As mentioned, they further dehumanized the Uyghur Muslim population and mass incarcerated them. Up in Xinjiang, they’ve even gone door to door to people’s homes collecting DNA and blood samples.

Compounding this danger is new technology. Now there’s technology that can perfuse organs for extended periods, basically in a box, potentially for days instead of hours. This is a revolutionary breakthrough. For us, you know, this will save a great many lives, but from the perspective of the Chinese, this is a way potentially to even export forced organs out of the country, if they get their hands on it. This is why I titled my book “Kill to Order.” This is a deadly boutique selection and delivery of human body parts, organs matched in advance, delivered on schedule, extracted from living human beings, who are then discarded for the purposes of power, profit, and elite longevity.

Yet American universities and hospitals continue to partner with Chinese transplant centers, train Chinese transplant surgeons, conduct joint research. NIH has funded such projects. American companies supply critical immunosuppressive drugs and medical technologies used in these procedures. And many American media continue to ignore, even whitewash, these crimes. Perhaps most prominently, a former *New York Times* correspondent testified at the 2019 China tribunal, that the Co-chair mentioned earlier, that she was prevented from pursuing evidence of forced organ harvesting by her editors at the *Times*. Now this is not an isolated crime. It’s part of a much broader pattern of egregious abuses. The

U.S. Government has determined that the CCP is committing genocide against Uyghurs, and several international legal experts have concluded that the campaign against Falun Gong also demonstrates genocidal intent.

So what can be done here? I want to take this moment to commend Co-chair Smith for your tremendous persistent efforts over many decades confronting China's large-scale forced organ harvesting from prisoners of conscience and for championing China's persecuted innocents even longer than that. You grasped the totalitarian nature of the CCP long before most people did. This is manifested in your bill, H.R. 1503, the Stop Forced Organ Harvesting Act of 2025, which passed the House last year nearly unanimously. This is powerful, important legislation that should be passed. Another commissioner here, Senator Merkley, is co-sponsoring S. 4009, the Falun Gong and Victims of Forced Organ Harvesting Protection Act, a Senate update of H.R. 1540, which passed the House unanimously. This is likewise critical legislation that will make a real difference.

The Senate has a historic opportunity now to pass two bills to finally confront this egregious crime. Eight countries have enacted binding national laws addressing this issue. It's time for the United States to finally do the same. I have a number of additional recommendations across the board, but in the interest of time perhaps we can do them in the question and answer. Happy to discuss. I also wanted to mention that now we have many think tanks in Washington, DC, and civil society organizations; there's even a satellite Rotary Club dedicated entirely to ending forced organ harvesting. There's kind of a broad civil society interest in this. And as mentioned earlier, the International Society for Heart and Lung Transplantation has barred all Chinese submissions involving transplants from human donors. You know, this is finally getting traction at that level, thankfully.

So to conclude, here we're on the eve of the 250th anniversary of America's founding. And we should remember that this country was built on a foundational belief in the God-given rights of every individual and the inherent dignity of every human being. The Chinese Communist Party rejects this truth at its core. It views its own citizens not as people with innate dignity but as a collection of extractable body parts. And here's the hard truth: The CCP looks at America and Americans through exactly the same lens. Just as it calculates the value of a prisoner's cornea or kidney or heart, it calculates how to extract America's technology, markets, its alliances, and ultimately its sovereignty.

Earlier today in Beijing, Secretary of State Marco Rubio, who has championed earlier versions of S. 4009 as senator, said China's rise cannot come at our expense. The lesson of the CCP's decades of kill-to-order forced organ harvesting is that the regime is capable of anything at others' expense. Let us honor the 250th anniversary of this nation's founding by confronting this atrocity. Thank you. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Jan Jekielek appears in the Appendix.]

Chair SMITH. Jan, thank you so very much for your leadership over the many decades as well, and for your new book, which I

think will open up many eyes, and again, for being here today and sharing your expertise with the Commission.

I'd now like to ask Ali to translate. We will be hearing from Ms. Sidik, she's in the Netherlands, by way of Zoom. So if that could be arranged for her to come in now. Remember, she's an eyewitness to China's genocide and to the internment camp system. You know, here's somebody who lived it—like many people who have testified in the past, and like some people who are actually in this audience—and suffered. And just let me say one brief thing about Bob Fu while she's coming on. Bob Fu has been a mentor to so many of us for so long. I've been to China, along with Frank Wolf and along with my good friend the Ambassador, many, many times. And again and again, Bob provided unbelievable insight to us on the house church movement and all the rest. So thank you, Bob, for that with ChinaAid. Is she ready?

STATEMENT OF KALBINUR SIDIK

Ms. SIDIK [through Translator]. Honorable Chair, distinguished members, and respected committee members, thank you for giving me the opportunity to testify today. My name is Kalbinur Sidik. I am from Urumqi. Our homeland is Turkestan. I'm a witness to the detention camps and I am ethnically Uzbek.

For 20 years, I worked as a Chinese language teacher and held important administrative positions at Urumqi No. 24 elementary school. Never did I imagine that one day I would be forced to teach inside a detention camp or that I would become a witness to the crimes committed by the Chinese Communist Party against Uyghurs and other minority peoples. Today I stand before you to speak about atrocities, including the possibility of organ harvesting. I'll tell you only the truth, only what I personally witnessed and experienced.

In March 2017, I was sent under a six-month contract to teach in a men's camp located on a mountain in No. 5 Sangfanggou Village, Urumqi City. The authorities told us we would be teaching students in a literacy training course. But they were not students. They were prisoners. They were fathers, young men, businessmen, religious figures, intellectuals, people from all walks of life. They were ordinary citizens. There were also elderly men among them. They had been taken from their homes, imprisoned behind barbed wire, triple iron gates, surveillance cameras, armed guards, and locked cells.

Every Monday, no classes were held for the detainees. Instead, blood was drawn from them. They were given unidentified injections. Afterwards, they were given small white pills. Chinese nurses told me these are vitamins or calcium supplements . . . since the detainees never see sunlight, the government ordered us to take care of them this way. But I did not believe them. How could the government that imprisoned, starved, tortured, and humiliated these people suddenly care about their vitamins? No. That was impossible. At that time and even now I believe there was another purpose behind it.

I also witnessed healthy men disappearing. I clearly remember one man named Ozman. He was active in class and eager to learn. He was a wealthy businessman and appeared very strong and

healthy, at first. Among hundreds of people, I could easily recognize his face. Then one day, he disappeared. When I asked what happened to him, I was told he suffered from high blood pressure and diabetes and had died on the way to the hospital. There was another man who sat at the far end of the first row in the classroom. He too was hard working. And I still remember his face vividly. Later he also disappeared. I was told he died from kidney poisoning. I did not believe these explanations. Every day in the classroom detainees were constantly replaced. Older and stronger prisoners were taken away while new ones arrived. A familiar face disappeared and we were expected to accept whatever explanation the guards gave us.

Later, when I testified before parliaments in various countries, I was asked about the disappearance of detainees and organ harvesting. I told them what I had heard while working in the camps. The special police driver who transported me and the police officer assigned to accompany me often talked among themselves. They said, Right now in our country the halal organ trade is booming. The detoxification center in Miquan County, Urumqi has now become an organ transplant center. I did not witness the surgeries. I did not personally see organs being removed. But I heard these conversations.

Later, after hearing my testimony, a close relative and friend of mine living in Europe, and married to a foreigner, spoke to me on the condition of anonymity. She personally told me that Miquan's detoxification center had indeed been transformed into an organ extraction hospital. In 2018, she and her foreign husband were sent there for medical examinations before leaving for Europe. During that process, she saw many young detainees wearing prison uniforms, lined up under heavy Chinese police supervision, entering designated rooms. She also observed that the number of doctors had increased greatly and that doctors were carrying unusual containers in their hands as they exited the rooms.

She told me this and begged me to speak about it in my testimony. So for the second time, I heard directly from someone I personally knew, someone who claimed to have seen with her own eyes that this place had become an organ harvesting hospital. In the camps, I witnessed blood collections from detainees, injections, forced medications, disappearances, and secrecy surrounding everything. Therefore, if you ask me today whether I believe the Chinese Communist Party turned Uyghurs in the camps into a source of profit through so-called halal organ trade, my answer is, yes. Yes. A hundred times, yes.

While I was in those camps, I witnessed horrors beyond words. Chinese police humiliated detainees to a level no human being should endure. They stripped them of their humanity. They did not call them by their names, but by numbers. They tried to break their minds, destroy their faith, and erase their destiny. Let me tell you more about what I witnessed, so the world will never forget about the genocide that's taking place in East Turkestan.

When I first entered the men's camp, I walked into a building surrounded by barbed wire, electric doors, armed police, soldiers, locked gates. The detainees were brought out from their cells. Chains and shackles were on their hands and feet. Many still had

unshaven beards because they had only recently arrived. Their eyes looked at me with desperation, as if I had come to save them. But I could not save them. I could not even help them. Guards surrounded me everywhere. The cells were dark. The windows were still shut. The detainees slept on bare concrete floors with only a thin blanket. For all three meals they received only a small Chinese bun and watery rice soup. They were allowed to use the toilet only for a very short period of time.

During the entire six months I was there they were never once allowed to bathe. Their bodies were weakened. Their faces changed. Healthy people became thin, pale, and exhausted. I taught four hours in the morning, two hours in the afternoon, sometimes even for additional hours during inspection periods. But gradually I realized the purpose there was not education. The purpose was control. Later, detainees were forced to memorize red songs, patriotic songs praising the Chinese Communist Party and Xi Jinping, and political slogans. The detainees were forced to praise the same Communist Party that had imprisoned them. They were forced to express gratitude toward the very system destroying them.

During lessons, police would call detainees out not by name, but by number, then take them for interrogation. The interrogation room was next to the classroom. Shortly after they were taken away, heartbreaking screams could be heard. They were tortured with devices such as electric batons, electric tiger chairs, electric gloves, and electric helmets. After my six-month assignment in the men's camp ended, I was sent to a women's camp located at Tugong, Saybagh District, Urumqi. There I saw many women and girls. Most were highly educated. Their hair had been cut short. They wore gray prison uniforms with blue numbered vests over them. Their faces were pale and lifeless.

About 90 percent of these detainees were between 18 and 40 years old. The remaining 10 percent were older women, some even in their seventies and eighties. These women and girls were also given medication and unidentified injections. As a result, many of them completely stopped menstruating. Some had studied abroad. During lessons, they were forced first to thank the Chinese Communist Party and the government before telling their stories. One woman said she had recently given birth and still had a nursing baby, but her breast milk had stopped. Another young woman said she had been preparing for marriage when she was suddenly taken to the camp. And she no longer even knew where her fiancé was. Yet she was forced to thank the government for providing such a great opportunity to learn the national language.

Others said they had been taken directly to the camp immediately after returning from studies abroad. From the way these women painfully sat and stood, I could sense the severe abuse they had suffered. Tears constantly streamed from their eyes. In this camp, I heard about rape and sexual violence committed by Chinese police. I heard that guards use electric batons and other weapons to abuse these detainees. I personally witnessed the body of a young girl around 18 to 20 years old being carried away before my eyes. I later heard that she had bled to death. Outside the camps, the control continued. The Chinese government placed so-called Chinese parent relatives, Han Chinese men, inside the homes of

Uyghur women, especially in homes where husbands had been taken to the camps. Even in their own homes, these women faced various forms of abuse and humiliation.

People are afraid to speak. Phones were monitored. Relatives abroad became a source of danger. My daughter, at the time, was in the Netherlands. And we lived constantly in fear and anxiety, under pressure from neighborhood committees, assigned police officers. We were also forced to undergo sterilization procedures at Changleyuan Hospital in Tianshan District. Even though I did not want this, I had no choice. My safety and the safety of my family depended on obeying government demands. That's why I say we no longer had ownership over our bodies. I am one of the fortunate few who managed to escape after enduring tremendous suffering. The people inside the camps cannot speak to you. They have no way to make their voices heard. I'm standing here today, and at enormous personal cost, to tell you this truth—because the men who disappeared, the women who were abused, and the mothers separated from their children, and the families destroyed by this genocide, need witnesses.

Honorable Chair, distinguished members of the committee, I ask you not to turn away—turn your eyes away—from this tragedy. The horrific violence taking place in East Turkestan is not merely a crime. It's part of the system that sees Uyghurs, the original inhabitants of this land, as less than human. This is genocide. The world once said, never again. Yet in East Turkestan, it is happening again. I ask the U.S. Congress never to forget the Uyghur genocide. I urge you to continue your investigations and hold the Chinese Communist Party accountable. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Kalbinur Sidik appears in the Appendix.]

Co-chair SMITH. Thank you very much for that very powerful testimony. It's shocking. And it hopefully is a wake-up call to even more people who will hear it today. And we will amplify it through this Commission, I can assure you.

I'll ask my questions last, but I'd like to yield to my good friend and colleague, Mr. Strong of Alabama, and then to Congresswoman Elise Stefanik from New York.

Representative STRONG. Thank you, Representative Smith, for holding this hearing. Thank you to the staff for their hard work. Thank you to all the witnesses for being here today, for bringing attention to China's forced organ harvesting and trafficking.

This first question is for any of the witnesses that would like to answer. Can you provide an assessment of whether any U.S. entities, such as hospitals, universities, or research partners, have collaborated with the CCP transplant institutions engaging in illegal organ harvesting and trafficking practices?

Mr. JEKIELEK. I can speak to it briefly, but in terms of the details, probably afterwards. I understand that there is actually information that has been gathered at HHS. There's some sort of report that's been gathered by HHS that touches on this question, that you know, perhaps needs to be dislodged from under a lot of bureaucracy. That's one quick answer. There's an example. The Select Committee wrote a letter to Harvard University about a number of

research partnerships that they had. I believe that was last year, or within the last couple of years. We trained over a hundred transplant surgeons here in the United States from different institutions. That's an obvious connection. I think it would be an amazing effort to try to catalog all of this. This is something that I'm actually in the process of trying to do, but obviously institutions are uninterested in being terribly cooperative and in providing that information, if they can avoid it. So that's a roundabout answer for you. Perhaps some of the others here can provide some more exact specifics.

Representative STRONG. Any other insight from any of the other witnesses?

Mr. GUTMANN. You know, I did mention Thermo Fisher, because they stand out. What our witness here was talking about really didn't begin in 2016 or 2017. It was signaled in 2013 by an unusual tactic, which the police of China used on Falun Gong, actually, initially. And they were coming into people's homes. These were people not in detention. But they were coming into their homes and doing a blood test and a DNA cheek swab. This happened in five to six provinces. There's a little dispute about the sixth. The point is that the DNA cheek swab indicated a new method. Human Rights Watch interpreted it as a surveillance tool. I think that's probably right. But it's also completely compatible with tissue matching—tissue typing and cross matching. So that is followed by Thermo Fisher supplying the DNA kits for testing the entire Uyghur and Kazakh population of Xinjiang. Now this is not something that Han Chinese—they were exempt. And they're practically half the population. But the entire population, everybody above the age of 12, had to be tested. And the DNA kits, apparently, were all supplied by Thermo Fisher. They made a killing in this market.

Representative STRONG. Let me ask you this right here. Do any of the witnesses have factual data related to how these body parts are coming to America? And, you know, they've got to get here somehow. Any of that going on?

Mr. GUTMANN. Can I just jump in on that? I don't believe parts are coming to America really. I mean—

Representative STRONG. There are people that believe they are.

Mr. GUTMANN. Well, that's fine, but it's certainly not my experience in China on the ground, as they like to have complete control of organ harvesting. And I've never seen absolutely persuasive evidence, other than certainly there's good speculation, and probably correct, about fetal body parts or fetal tissue being sold to our great universities. I don't think there's any question that they've moved on from Planned Parenthood and China's the supplier. Proving that conclusively, of course, is very important.

Representative STRONG. Absolutely. Okay. Do you believe the existing U.S. safeguards are enough to prevent American institutions from indirectly endorsing or profiting from these practices? Or should the U.S. Government explore further measures, such as increased transparency, reporting, or funding restrictions?

Mr. BROWNBACK. I think those are absolutely necessary and totally plausible. And they are things that we should be doing in the face of this documentation, eyewitnesses, of what's taking place. I mean, that's what Congress should be doing. And passing the bills,

like the Stopping Forced Organ Harvesting Act, and including these types of provisions in that type of bill, broad support. And I think it also is a moral stand for people in this country to take, through their Members of Congress, to pass such legislation. We will not participate in any way, shape, or form in this type of horrific practice. And here's how we're expressing that.

Representative STRONG. Thank you. Mr. Gutmann, in your estimation what is the scale and scope of illegal sourced organs in China?

Mr. GUTMANN. I'm not there with a clipboard, but—and my work has concentrated on the Uyghurs—but I do believe that this is the main source now. Our 2016 report was done with David Kilgour and David Matas, and a team of Falun Gong researchers who spent 5 years collecting the data. Now we came up with the idea that organs were basically—the transplant hospitals had been rationed to about 150, or now it's more like 200, and that they were doing at least one transplant per day, based on their capabilities. That quickly leads you to a number at least of 60,000. Personally, I believe that it's closer to 100,000.

Representative STRONG. Thank you, Mr. Gutmann.

Mr. Brownback, can you elaborate on how religious freedom can play a strategic role in our diplomatic engagement strategy with the CCP? And how would you recommend that tool be wielded to strengthen U.S. leadership and diplomacy?

Mr. BROWNBACK. You could just watch and study what Ronald Reagan did in the faceoff with the Soviet Union. It was the same godless, atheistic society. He traveled across the country. He pointed this out. He said—and then he also talked about the treatment of Jews in the country and evangelicals, the Jewish refuseniks. He brought the American public into it. And that's what has to be done. I think we can, as—and I think this is a critical piece of our theater engagement strategy with the CCP, which we're now engaged in, how we're going to fight with this group—is religious freedom. They can't tolerate it. They can't stand it. The American public strongly supports it. Western civilization does.

So we need to start talking about that differentiation. And we need to start thinking about it in those sorts of strategic engagement ways. We ought to invite Chinese dissidents that have been persecuted for their faith to the White House to meet with the President, the Vice President, to meet with the Secretary of State as a show. They ought to invite the person that started Falun Gong, Li Hongzhi, see if he would come to the White House to meet with the President. He's exiled in the United States in New York. And this is a group that's been decimated, slaughtered, in the most vile of ways, because they can't tolerate this indigenous faith that is so natural to China.

It's a blended kind of faith of Buddhism, Taoism, Confucian thought, but it's very natural to China. And it was a complete threat to the Chinese Communist Party. And all that Falun Gong wants is a return to the old Chinese civilization that existed before the communists took over. That's really all they want. So bring them in—and then I also think it would be wise for us to start talking with Tibetan individuals and Tibet authorities about the future of Tibet. This is a place that's never been a part of China. We

should be—we should be bringing those individuals in and talking with them as well. I've got a list of other specific items in my testimony.

Representative STRONG. Thank you. Mr. Brownback, this will be my final question. How has intimidation against religious groups outside of China impacted these groups, their worship, their advocacy, their personal lives?

Mr. BROWNBACK. Oh, horribly. Most Uyghurs I talked to and work with have had family members back home that have disappeared, been killed. Falun Gong members that will cite those. I've had people in this country who have been tracked, shot at, that have testified to me, that have been open people that have testified against what's going on in the CCP—tracked, marked, tires slashed, in this country. This is transnational oppression—or another person referred to it as transnational terrorism. I think we've really got to be much more aggressive at prosecuting these cases when they happen in this country.

Representative STRONG. Thank you. I thank each of our witnesses for being here today, and also Peter and Bob. It's an honor to have each of you here.

Mr. JEKIELEK. Could I answer your earlier question, Congressman? Just one thing that the U.S. Government—one way in which we've interacted with Communist China in the past is—you know, there's all these methods that were set on autopilot. For example, we're still transferring technology to Communist China as a matter of policy in different places, like in embassies. One example of this in this context is these Federal-wide assurances that HHS grants to different bodies around the world. And basically, it's sort of—it's been described to me by someone as kind of a rubber stamp in some terms. Basically, what it says is, from the perspective of the U.S. Government, this institution is okay to work with.

We know some number of these transplant hospitals—we should make sure that none of them have one of these Federal-wide assurances. I mean, again, there's a whole bunch of different specific policy recommendations that can help us cut off all relationships with their transplant system. Obviously, if we accept that this is real, which I hope we can—we can finally put it into law sometime soon. Why are we working with any institutions that are involved with this?

Representative STRONG. Thank you. Chairman Smith, I yield back.

Co-chair SMITH. Thank you very much.

I'd now like to yield to the distinguished gentlewoman from New York. I want to thank her as well for her new book, "Poisoned Ivies," which is a really, really incisive book about antisemitism and the Ivy League. And, you know, Sam Brownback, before I yield, made a very good point about Reagan and what he did vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. He raised human rights, and did it tenaciously, as did Shultz, his Secretary of State, and others. He always named names. And that's what President Trump was trying to do with Jimmy Lai and others. And both the House and the Senate passed resolutions to that effect, and named names that hopefully can effectuate or help them gain their freedom. But China has always gotten a bye. Years ago, there was a book called "China

Misperceived.” And Steven Mosher wrote it and how they always are given a bye when it comes to human rights. Well, that has to end. It is ending. Your testimony and your great work, and your books, have made a difference. And I want to thank my good friend for her new book and for her leadership.

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you so much, Chairman Smith. And thank you to the Chairman for his extraordinary decades of leadership on human rights issues and so many other important issues. Thank you to each of you for testifying today. Incredibly disturbing testimony, but important to hear this in Congress and for the American people to hear this.

I want to start with you, Mr. Jekielek. In your testimony you mentioned American universities partnering with CCP transplant centers to train transplant surgeons and conduct joint research. You also mentioned that some of these partnerships received NIH funding. Do you have a comprehensive list that you can provide this Commission of instances where there are U.S. Government-funded American universities that are funding transplant research supported by the CCP? I know you mentioned you’re putting together that list.

Mr. JEKIELEK. Correct. I will—I don’t know if I can provide a comprehensive list, because it’s a process, but I will provide the best list I can.

Representative STEFANIK. I recently introduced legislation to ban Federal funding to universities that employ foreign researchers who were previously employed by the Chinese Communist government, specifically those that work in sensitive research areas. Do you agree that U.S. taxpayer dollars should not go to universities that financially, directly or indirectly, support the Chinese government facilitating illegal organ harvesting?

Mr. JEKIELEK. This is a complete no-brainer. Absolutely. As a matter of fact, even people that come here—there are people that come here that want freedom, that are not wanting to work for the Chinese Communist Party. But their national intelligence law demands that they do, that they provide—that they basically spy, and not admit that they’re doing so. So it’s a very difficult situation people are put in. But I would say any sensitive area—forced organ harvesting, absolutely—but any sensitive area, it doesn’t make sense.

Representative STEFANIK. One other concern that I have raised is some American universities, as we know, operate branch campuses in communist China. And I recently introduced legislation to stop the flow of taxpayer dollars to these institutions that, frankly, are profiting off of our adversaries. Are you concerned that these universities, and therefore American taxpayers, could be directly or indirectly implicated in cases of organ harvesting?

Mr. JEKIELEK. I’m absolutely concerned. I don’t know of specific instances of this, but again, you can sort of imagine, this is the thesis, I guess, of my book—the true nature of America’s biggest adversary. You have to understand the Communist Party—this is a group—this is a regime that does these sorts of horrible things to people. Imagine how they view, you know, sort of gullible or financially incentivized Americans who have set up a campus in communist China. It’s not good intent, let’s say.

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you. Ambassador Brownback, thank you for your leadership. You mentioned a number of actions the U.S. should take on the world stage to raise this issue. And yet we have seen in international organizations like the U.N. they have been incredibly uncooperative, despite the fact that American taxpayers are footing the majority of the bill. Do you think—let me ask it this way—how can the U.S. strongly lead on these issues of human rights? And—I think I know the answer to this—do you think the U.N. can be a reliable partner of the United States when it comes to addressing this? I certainly do not think it's a reliable partner.

Mr. BROWNBACK. I think they've proven, no, they're not interested. But I think more than that, they're so infiltrated by the Chinese Communist Party, the U.N. is, and so many of the various branches and entities of it, even if they wanted to I don't think they could get it—I don't think they could get it done. But that's why it's incumbent upon us. And we're the only country in the world that can do this. Nobody else. So at the G-20, religious freedom should be front and center. And remember, they fear religious freedom more than they fear our aircraft carriers or nuclear weapons. This goes right at control to them. And they've got the fastest growing Christian population in the world. So they know this. And they're looking and saying, We've got to hold this down. And these are people we should be standing with and backing aggressively everywhere that we can. And we've got a lot of tools so we can do that, as I mentioned some of those already.

Representative STEFANIK. Thank you very much. Again, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for conducting this very important hearing. I yield back.

Co-chair SMITH. Thank you very much, Ms. Stefanik. Again, good luck on your book. I think everyone needs to read it.

Just a couple of thoughts. And again, I want to thank you all for your brilliant testimony. Just on the point of universities and colleges, because I held a whole series of hearings on the soft power of trying to get these colleges to conform to the CCP's will. I had a hearing with the head of NYU. I had the top person there, the chancellor, testify. I invited myself to go, because I'm barred from going, like you, Sam, and like our—you know, I'm on their hit list. And I actually got a visa when he said I could come.

But what shocked me about NYU is that they get a campus in Shanghai, fully paid for by the Chinese Communist Party. I asked them about if somebody raises Tibet or Falun Gong on the campus, or they go online and they—because obviously the internet is completely policed, or if a woman gets pregnant and she's single, did not get permission by the government—and this is in 2016 when I had this hearing—is she forcibly aborted? Because we know that forced abortion is absolutely one of the most horrendous things. It was a crime against humanity at Nuremberg against the Nazis. And it's no less by the Chinese Communist Party.

Scott Flipse and I went on that trip. The students seemed eager to hear about human rights. Not so much so with some of the other people, particularly the Chinese top people who were teaching at that institution. But I was shocked that they were charging an enormous amount of money to go there. I asked, who picks who

gets in here? You know, what kind of selection process? I only say this because there has been shameless complicity on the part of our universities and colleges. Some may have stood up.

Steven Mosher exposed forced abortion in China in the early 80's. And then I started, I did an amendment on it in 1984, to stop any funding to the UNFPA or anybody else. Based on his research—Michael Weisskopf wrote a great piece for the *Washington Post* on that very thing, three-part series about how horrible it was—but Stanford then went to him and said, You're out. You're not getting your doctorate. Because they wanted access. So I hope that our universities, if there's any complicity—and I'm sure there is—with this terrible cruelty of forced organ harvesting, will absolutely disassociate, call it out. You know, maybe you're going to be denied some access. And we see what the business is. Sam, you remember—Mr. Ambassador—just how conforming American corporations are and continue to be to what the mantra is being spread by China and by Beijing, because they don't want to lose access. They don't want to lose their market. We saw it even during the most recent Olympics.

So my thought is—again, Scott and I went over there. I gave a major speech on human rights. And I saw people grimacing. And it was a one and done. They didn't invite me back. But I'm just so worried about this complicity. Our bill will say anybody in that supply chain for forced organ harvesting, we're going to come after you and we're going to prosecute you. You know, you can't let these Falun Gong practitioners continue to be killed, and Uyghurs and others. Twenty-eight years old, as you said, 29 years old. And maybe Mr. Gutmann, you could further elaborate on what—and any of you—what do they go through? You know, when you're strapped down, given an anesthetic, and you know that they're going to kill you to take your organs, I don't know if there's a greater horror. I mean, all torture is horror, but this is a particularly cruel manifestation of torture. And it's going on right now.

And as you know, Mr. Gutmann, they're talking about expanding, for the Uyghurs, the number of facilities available for this by 2030. They're not going in the direction of, Hey, we need to stop this. They're expanding it. I think this bill has to pass. The State Department, I love them, but they're not doing due diligence on this the way they could. This will empower State, HHS, the Justice Department, give them brand new tools to go after this horrific supply chain. And again, Americans go there. They get their, whatever it is, heart, liver, whatever it might be, facilitated by brokers. Let's put them behind bars as well. I just brought up the college because, again, Elise has done yeoman's work on how our higher ed has just been shameless when it comes to human rights with regard to Jews, the antisemitism that is rife there in many of those places. So if anybody would like to comment on that, I would appreciate it.

Mr. GUTMANN. I would like to mention one thing. I've made this point before, so I apologize, but I still think it's valid. You know, when we discovered in the 1960's that the Soviet Union was torturing dissidents by putting them into mental hospitals, the world psychiatric association responded by banning any contact with the Soviet psychiatrists, or any of their institutions. And that meant

everything. It was a complete ban. There was no work on psychoactive drugs together or anything like that. Now we're looking at a very different situation. I mean, someone like Pfizer goes into China and tests Chinese citizens who've had transplants, and they're probably carrying around a Falun Gong or a Uyghur organ, or possibly even a house Christian church organ. This absolutely should not be defended in any way.

And of course, from the academic perspective, they've absolutely not responded at all to this. This should be a blanket ban. That's what we had in the 1960's. I'm not saying it worked perfectly. I don't think it really changed Soviet behavior on how many dissidents got thrown into mental hospitals, but at the end of the day, we made a point. The world made a point, and today we're just looking at a kind of chaotic situation, I think, on contact with China.

Mr. JEKIELEK. Co-chair Smith, we've gotten into this habit—I remember I interviewed you some years ago. We talked about how this linkage of human rights and trade was broken during the Clinton administration. And basically ever since then human rights have been off the table. They've been in these off-the-books or quiet dialogues, which basically both sides, from what we learned on reporting subsequently, viewed cynically. They were purely performative, basically. It makes no sense, because if you're—as a regime, you're treating your people in a particular way, in this particular egregious way, the Chinese Communist Party has treated hundreds of thousands of its people, how do they view Americans?

This is somehow lost on people. We've gotten into this habit of saying, Okay, the human rights, just keep that off the table, got to keep it quiet, got to keep it—of course, I understand that the U.S. Government is raising these things in the appropriate venue and so forth, but—as Ambassador Brownback has talked about as well—it's their huge Achilles heel. They're doing terrible things to their own people, and we should make our own population here in America as aware as possible of that, and not play to the platitudes, or their propaganda—that this is all kind of false and just attacks on China and so forth. So I think human rights is the key.

Ambassador BROWNBACK. I was just going to say, Mr. Chairman, I thought you said something earlier that I want to double back to. For years China has been given a bye on this, and they really have, for decades. Really until President Trump. He's the first President since Kennedy to actually take them on. Now, you know, today saying all these things about Xi Jinping that I'm kind of questioning about, but maybe that's part of the negotiating tactic. I hope it is. It seems to me like that bye is starting to be pulled off. And they're not getting a bye as much anymore. And we need to get to the point where they don't get a bye at all. I think a key piece of this is just really following the money.

As Governor I saw that our universities in our state, the university heads, their primary concern every morning they got up, was money. Money coming into the place, make sure the doors were operating, and I don't begrudge them that. They've got big institutions to run. They've got to make sure we've got plenty of money coming in here to run this place. That's what they're thinking about. And so China comes along and says, Here, we've got re-

sources that you can use. That's why you've got to break these two economies apart. That's why the key piece of this actually—I think two key pieces. One, breaking the economies apart. And second, us standing up for human rights, particularly religious freedom because it's such a weakness on their part.

This is one of those things, it's kryptonite to them, and they do everything they can to suffocate it and hold it out of the room. When they bring up Taiwan, we should bring up religious freedom. When they bring up any of these issues, we should bring these, because this is just something they cannot tolerate. It's just such an effective tool. Finally, I think we ought to also double back and really press about opening up the great internet firewall that China has. The second-largest economy in the world and you've got an internet firewall around your people? Come on. That's not leadership. That's suffocation. And we really should embarrass them about it.

Co-chair SMITH. You know, very interesting point about the internet. On one of my trips when I still could get a visa—I went to an internet café, I typed in “torture,” and I got everything about what Imperial Japan did vis-à-vis torture, and George Bush at Gitmo, which was false, in my opinion, but it was still there. Then I put in “Manfred Nowak.” He was mentioned earlier, because he did a tremendous job at exposing, on behalf of the United Nations, the torture there. And nothing. Nothing. I put in “Tiananmen Square.” I got nothing but pretty pictures of people smiling in Tiananmen Square. No tanks, no Tank Man, no anything. It was really amazing. And so we really have to find our voice more than ever right now.

I remember meeting Wei Jingsheng after he was allowed out in 1994. The Chinese Communist Party thought they would get Olympics 2000 by doing that. They didn't get it. They rearrested him. But while he was out I was in Beijing. We had dinner together. And he says, please, will you Americans understand this? When you kowtow and you weakly approach the Chinese Communist Party, they beat us more in prison. And he's the father of the Democracy Wall Movement. He suffered almost death at the hands of his torturers. And it's like, we've got to find our voice and stop saying, Oh, by the way, human rights. It doesn't work that way. We have to be so upfront.

And this issue of killing people—you know, I read a book before I came to Congress about Unit 731, where Imperial Japan did horrific torture against people, mostly servicemembers during World War II, in China. And I look at that, then I look at what they're doing now, and say, you know, You hated what happened to you. And I do too. But why are you replicating it in very large numbers beyond that?

But I would like to ask, Mr. Gutmann, if you don't mind, walk us through, if you could, or any of you, what a victim goes through. They've already been typed—you know, for their blood type and all the other things, so that a match can immediately be made. You have said before that there's pretty much an equal male to female—number of women that are being—average age 28 to 29—being slaughtered, murdered for their organs, as well as men, young men. And if you could just—what is this like?

Mr. GUTMANN. I would—this is perhaps not the answer people want to hear, in a way, but it's actually less painful than it used to be. Partly because of Dr. Ko Wen-je, who pioneered this technique of using ECMO. That meant—originally what you would have to do is do very light anesthesia, because you don't want to put a sluggish organ into another human being. So the anesthesia had to be very light. And it was actually a very painful procedure, according to Nijat, who was a Uyghur who worked with the PSB. Now when he put in this new technique it basically meant you could put the person under full—pretty much full anesthesia, and you'd have the oxygenated organ. It would be kind of running through, so you had constant, kind of in a loop. You go into slow motion, but not that bad. And basically that meant that you could take out the organs in a much more rational way, and you could take them out slower, and one after the other, and finally the heart's the last to go.

I don't think the person is actually feeling that much. I think we're—you know, if you want, we've made improvements in this area. Now, the problem with that is that it also means that the person who was worth—you could only get an organ or two out of them and plausibly get it to the destination—this is something Didi Kirsten Tatlow from the *New York Times* worried about a lot—that person is now worth a lot more money because you can take out maybe up to five organs successfully, or four organs. Before it was only one or two. Now we're in a very different situation, because you've got, like, 16 hours, 24 hours to work with, with this perfusion method.

I'm not saying it's ECMO right now. By the way, I went to Taiwan for six months to try to figure this out and I don't know which perfusion method they are using. I know it started with ECMO. And ECMO—this is an off-label use. For any doctors out there listening, I am not criticizing ECMO. It's a lifesaving device. It's fantastic. But this is the way it's been used. And we're looking at a very kind of "Brave New World" situation. I was saying that they don't take organs around the world. That's now possible. I'm not saying they're doing it, because I see no actual evidence of that, but it could happen.

Co-chair SMITH. But people go there to get the organs.

Mr. GUTMANN. Well, right now people go to China. But increasingly these techniques have led to a different world, where it is possible for them to fly organs out, say, to Saudi or somewhere like that, or Russia, or Berlin. You know, this is what we're kind of looking at. And it also means new populations are potentially at risk. I don't want to—we don't see the evidence for this now. As far as I'm concerned, the Chinese are a lot like the old Soviet Union. They like to keep their rocket ships landing right in the country, not in international waters.

Co-chair SMITH. And the average cost? How much do they make, like, for a liver or some other organ?

Mr. GUTMANN. Well, it depends on who's buying it. Obviously, if it's a foreigner it's going to be about, you know, \$100,000 for a liver these days, or something like that. And more like \$200,000 for a heart or lungs. Or you sometimes get a package deal. Now if you're Japanese and don't want to negotiate, you might end up paying a

million. So there's a huge difference between, say, Koreans, Japanese, Germans, Americans, and so forth. But we are still talking about huge profit potential on every individual who's healthy and is done correctly. Thanks.

Mr. JEKIELEK. Co-chair Smith, I just wanted to comment on these—the new populations. One of the things I noticed, kind of anecdotally, I'm very sensitive to this dehumanizing rhetoric that's used to target the population first, to get the rest of the population to kind of accept horrible things being done. It looked to me, anecdotally, that there's this uptick of that against Christians in China. And I actually talked with Bob Fu over here on “American Thought Leaders,” on my show, about this. And this sort of thing isn't studied empirically, but it really does look like, as there's this increased incarceration of Christians with the Zion Church, these restrictions on Catholic clergy and so forth, that there's this increase in dehumanizing rhetoric as well. I would love it if someone would study that empirically. But that's a big concern, because it's always this dehumanization that is a prequel to inclusion as a group for forced organ harvesting.

Co-chair SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. Walkinshaw.

Mr. WALKINSHAW. Thank you, Co-chair Smith. First, I just want to thank you for your many years of principled commitment to human rights issues and to this Commission. I'm new here but look forward to working with you. And thank you all for being here. As we sit here today, the PRC human rights atrocities such as forced organ harvesting—the President is participating in the U.S.-China summit. I think it's unfortunate that human rights issues don't seem to be high on the list of agenda topics in that summit, because for years folks here before us, researchers, ethics experts, survivors, and human rights advocates have raised alarming evidence—presented, I should say—alarming evidence that the PRC has systematically targeted Uyghurs, Falun Gong practitioners, and other religious and ethnic minorities for forced organ harvesting.

As we've heard today, detainees have been subject to unexplained blood testing and medical screening while in detention camps and prisons, and many later disappeared. Researchers estimate that tens of thousands of individuals, perhaps more, have been killed to supply China's transplant industry. This is a profound moral crisis. And I thank all of our witnesses for your commitment to addressing it. This Commission, thanks to Co-chair Smith's leadership, has documented evidence showing that Uyghurs and other Turkic minorities detained may now be a primary source of organs within China's transplant system. The targeting of Falun Gong practitioners and Uyghurs reflects, as we've heard today, a broader campaign of religious persecution that includes Christians in China, ethnic repression, and dehumanization carried out by the PRC. And this Commission has to continue examining these allegations and working to ensure that the abuses are documented, and pushing for them to come to an end.

Ms. Sidik—she can hear? Okay. Ms. Sidik, here in America folks might hear terms like “detention camp” or “forced labor,” but they might not understand what daily life is like in those camps and

under this system. Can you just describe for us the atmosphere—the atmosphere of fear inside and outside the camps that we’ve heard about today?

Ms. SIDIK [through translator]. When I was sent to the men’s camp for six months, I saw horrific atrocities in those camps. One example is just in a little cell, 30 to 40 men are locked up. They sleep on very thin blankets. The detainees had to crawl in and crawl out. And the interrogation room is right next to the classroom. So usually they take detainees out for half an hour, an hour-ish. We hear these extreme screams from these detainees. And these detainees are all chained and shackled. They are given little, tiny chairs to sit down. You could see from their faces how scared, desperate they are. And that they are also—you could see crying, tears streaming from their eyes, but there is nothing I can do. I have to be very careful, because it’s all cameras. And so I have to watch every word and my action in the class.

And in the women’s prison, you can see all these women are like robots. You know, no hope, no life in their faces. The toilet is just a bucket in the cell. You know, they only dumped it once every 24 hours—their life is really, really horrible—the cell and the corridors stink because of that. All these women’s hair is shaved. And they all have vests with numbers, so they are called not by name but by the vest number. And I could see when I was teaching them—they were sitting down—getting up is extremely difficult. You could see clear torture marks. And at times, you know, I hear they were abused and raped. And every Monday those women were given unidentified medications, so mothers who are nursing, their milk stops, and women’s menstruation stops.

At one class I taught about the motherland, meaning China. Then one lady stood up and thanked the Chinese Communist Party and the government for giving her the opportunity to study the Chinese language there in the camp. And at the same time, she talked about that she just had a baby and in the camp her milk stopped. Another young woman also said, you know, I was supposed to get married a week later before I was taken, all the wedding invitations were sent out. But I’m grateful for the Chinese Communist Party for bringing me here for education, even though I don’t know where my fiancé is. And some others, who came straight from studying overseas, despite their parents telling them not to come back, they returned out of love for their parents, their homeland. But they were taken from the airport, sent straight to the camps. And there they also had no choice but to thank the Chinese Communist Party for their treatment.

Representative WALKINSHAW. Thank you, Ms. Sidik, for sharing, and for your courage in speaking out. That’s all I have, Mr. Co-chair. Thank you.

Co-chair SMITH. Thank you, my good friend and colleague.

I’ll just conclude—and anything you would like to add, please do—but first I want to thank Scott Flipse for his incredible leadership on this Commission, on human rights in general. Scott and I, and Frank Wolf, back in 1986 went to Perm Camp 35 in the Ural Mountains, where Sharansky—and pushed for the release of prisoners there. Took us two years to get into it. We lobbied like crazy when Gorbachev was saying, you know, glasnost and perestroika,

all these buzzwords, that they were opening. And what seemed absolutely impossible, we went to the Ural Mountains, to this horrible place where all these prisoners were. Scott was indispensable to that effort, as he has been in Romania when we fought against Nicolae Ceausescu, and we had many trips there as well.

Even the Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act, which I introduced and got passed in the House and passed in the Senate under Marco Rubio. It is the law. It was his idea. He never wants to take any credit. But I just want to say how grateful I am for all these years of not only never-ending pushing—you know, Sam, how important it is to have a staffer like Scott—but also to be so creative. The Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act—a bill that is law right now and that has made a difference. This is the guy that did it. So I just want to thank him. [Applause.] He'll get mad at me later and say I shouldn't have done that, but I am so grateful for his leadership. And on this issue, it's just been incredible as well. So Scott, thank you for all your work on helping to put this very important hearing together.

I just want to say, when our bill passed on March 27th, 2023—the Stop Forced Organ Harvesting Act—it went nowhere in the Senate, and then passed a year ago, May 7th of 2025, when it passed, the Chinese embassy went into overdrive to say what a liar I was, that I'm making it all up—overdrive. And then almost at the same time, their foreign ministry said, anybody who wants to go to Xinjiang, nothing to hide, come on. So we did a letter that night when they said that and I said: I want to lead a congressional delegation there. I want to go to the camps. I want to—you know, we've done it, and we've done it many times. I even met with Xanana Gusmão when he was in an Indonesian jail, you know, way back. You can do it. And I re-offer that hope again, that the Chinese will let Members of Congress travel to China to go to places.

You know, if you go over there and talk trade and say, Let's make a deal, you know, the doors are wide open. But when you go over there and say, Human rights matter—religious freedom, as Sam Brownback says, is at the very top of our concerns, the door is slammed shut. So I reiterate that request to the Chinese embassy, to allow me and others to travel to Xinjiang and to China. But also, we need to pass this bill. We need to pass it yesterday, for all those victims. And this atrocity must end. If anyone would like to add anything before we close? Again, your testimony really shows us the way. I thank you for that.

All members have five legislative days to revise and extend and to add extraneous matter if they would like. If there are any additional questions from the commissioners, we will give them to you. And please get back to us as quickly as you can. The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 11:48 a.m., the hearing ended.]

A P P E N D I X

PREPARED STATEMENTS

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ETHAN GUTMANN

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":

Fifteen 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 checkmark 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," an ethnic Kazakh 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 5 concludes:

- 2.5 to 5 percent 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 percent of Tajikistan’s Uyghurs and 87 percent of Kyrgyzstan’s Uyghurs have been deported back to Xinjiang. I also documented a new Chinese military base, just north of Tajikistan’s Qolma Pass—about 30 miles from a Tajik mine speculated to contain 50 percent 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 U.S. 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; 1 day after my press conference on Ko, Taiwanese medical authorities withdrew immunosuppressive 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 stanch the bleeding, apply immediate and consistent pressure. Pass this bill.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR BROWNBACK

We are in a clash of civilizations between the democratic West and its allies versus the Chinese Communist Party with its evil alliance of communist, authoritarian, and totalitarian regimes. The winner will establish how societies are conducted now and in the future.

Western civilization is built on the Judeo-Christian ethic that every person has an eternal soul with immeasurable worth and dignity. It believes that all are endowed with inalienable natural rights that come from God, not government.

Communism, on the other hand, boils man down to an economic being and denies the existence of these divine rights. In the Communist framework, all power is derived from and controlled by the government. It cannot and will not tolerate a power above itself.

In pursuit of this absolute power, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) today is ruthlessly crushing every religion. Their methods are unfathomable to most in the West, including the mass deployment of crimes such as forced organ harvesting.

Disfavored religious communities are particularly targeted by the perpetrators of the forced organ harvesting scheme, with Falun Gong practitioners systematically catalogued based on biometric markers and then murdered for their organs. The organs of Uyghur Muslims are marketed to wealthy Middle Easterners as “halal,” in an unimaginably cynical perversion of their Muslim faith.

Decades of careful research has shown that this issue is not merely contained within China—it’s a moral blight that involves “medical tourists” from dozens of countries around the world, including the U.S. and its allies in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. Chinese transplant institutions openly market organs to customers

around the world in a global scheme that relies on the financial infrastructure operated by the West.

The CCP is conducting three religious genocides as we speak—against Tibetan Buddhists, Uyghur Muslims, and Falun Gong practitioners.

In addition, the CCP is training and resourcing other authoritarian regimes around the world with the latest in surveillance technology, enabling them to be better dictators by crushing non-compliant people of faith in their countries.

As the leading Western civilization nation in the world, on our 250th anniversary and founded on the principle of religious freedom for all, the United States must courageously stand in opposition to this fundamental assault on liberty. This is why I wrote the book, “China’s War on Faith.”

The U.S. must embrace a policy stance that reflects the importance of religious freedom and China’s hostility toward it:

1. We must act on the reality that the CCP is at war with us.
2. We should stand on our core principles, including defending religious freedom for everyone.
3. Religious freedom should be viewed as not only a human right, but as a strategic weapon we use in our theater engagement strategy with the CCP, just as President Reagan did with the USSR.
4. The President, Vice President, and Secretary of State should host public meetings with Chinese exiles of all religions who have been persecuted for their faith.
5. The White House or Congress should host a global summit of religious, democratic, and political leaders calling for religious freedom for everyone, everywhere, all the time—including in China.
6. The United States should lead a global coalition of governments, academics, and medical and financial institutions to openly condemn forced organ harvesting and take concrete steps to end international complicity in the practice.
7. We ask the President to seek from Xi Jinping the release of Pastor Ezra Jin, Jimmy Lai, and the nine Catholic bishops currently detained in China.
8. We ask Pope Leo to criticize China for its three ongoing genocides and to publicly seek the release of the nine detained Catholic bishops, Pastor Ezra Jin, and Jimmy Lai.
9. We should send the Vice President or Secretary of State to Dharamshala, India to meet with the Dalai Lama to discuss the future of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism.
10. We should make religious freedom a major policy focus at the G20 Summit we host this year.
11. The President should include, in his speeches commemorating the 250th anniversary of our Nation’s founding, the central role religious freedom played in it and call for religious freedom around the world.
12. Our media, Hollywood, academia, and big business must start shining a light on these horrific practices being conducted by the Chinese government and no longer look the other way.

President Trump can be the first president since President Kennedy to effectively confront the Chinese government. This must be a sustained U.S. policy, similar to our long-term policy of confronting the USSR, conducted by both political parties over four decades.

We must tell the world how ruthless and barbaric the CCP is and how far they are willing to go to control their own people. Our most effective weapon to confront totalitarians is a free religious people. It is a weapon that the CCP fears more than our aircraft carriers or even our nuclear weapons.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAN JEKIELEK

Chairman, Co-Chairman, and distinguished members of the Commission, thank you for the opportunity to testify today.

If there’s one thing we can all agree on in America, it is this: the United States should not fund, enable, or participate in any system that rips organs from unwilling donors and treats human lives as disposable commodities.

What I am about to describe is not the black-market organ trade run by cartels we most typically hear about. This is something far more systematic, and far more industrialized. It is state-sponsored killing of innocents, on demand, to supply a

multi-billion-dollar transplant industry. I'll start with a telling example detailed in my book, *Killed to Order: China's Organ Harvesting Industry & the True Nature of America's Biggest Adversary*:

"An affluent German woman from Mönchengladbach, with the rare AB blood type, struggled with alcoholism for years, and faced liver failure. In systems like Germany's, finding a match might take years, or not happen at all. Yet she obtained three livers in China around 2015–2019, each in just months, for approximately \$400,000, involving a visit to China for each procedure. Her continued drinking, combined with anti-rejection medications, led to quick rejections of each liver—one about every 2 years."

How did this happen? It appears to have been indirectly facilitated by a major transplant center in the Eurotransplant zone which had listed partnerships with China on liver donor research and anti-rejection work as recently as 2025.

This demand extends to Americans as well. In one well-documented case, a man traveled to China for a kidney transplant. He received a perfectly matched organ in 2 weeks, then he returned home. He was aware someone was killed for this purpose. We know this because his cousin documented the trip in the 2009 book *Larry's Kidney*.

Now compare that to the United States, where the average wait time for a new kidney is three to five years.

To understand how this is possible, we must begin with two essential tools the Chinese Communist Party has perfected over decades.

First, the creation of what the regime itself calls a "black class," a designated enemy group that the rest of the population is taught to hate, fear, and see as subhuman through relentless, state-controlled propaganda. In the early years after 1949, the landowners became one of the first black classes. They were portrayed as parasites who had stolen from the people. The regime flooded the country with this message until ordinary citizens accepted, and in many cases participated in, the confiscation of their property and often their lives. During the Cultural Revolution, the educated and keepers of traditional culture were targeted for vilification. This is the pattern: designate a group as subhuman, flood the information space with propaganda, and the population becomes psychologically prepared for atrocities against the target group. The persecution of each black class also serves as a stark reminder to the entire population of the raw power of the Communist state, and what can happen to anyone who dares to challenge it.

The second key tool is the infrastructure to incarcerate massive numbers of people at will.

Prisons, black jails, re-education camps, and forced labor camps are just part of an incarceration system with capacity for millions.

It was the Chinese communist regime's designation of Falun Gong practitioners as a black class in 1999, and a directive to "eradicate" them, that set the stage for "killed to order" forced organ harvesting. Falun Gong, also known as Falun Dafa, is an ancient qigong, or slow motion exercise practice that resembles Tai Chi, rooted in the principles of Truthfulness, Compassion, and Forbearance. (Another way to translate this is being True, Good and Enduring). Falun Gong features extensive teachings written by its founder, Master Li Hongzhi. It's also characterized by an unusual lack of organizational structure: no collection of funds, no roster (you don't "join" anything, you're a practitioner if you decide to live by its principles), no hierarchy, and no worship of a deity. It spread by word of mouth in the 1990's in China, growing, by government estimate, to an estimated 70 million–100 million people practicing. This included people of all walks of life, from high-level CCP officials to migrant field workers, and everyone in between.

There are different theories about why the Chinese paramount leader at the time, Jiang Zemin, ordered the persecution of Falun Gong practitioners. Perhaps it was because the number of practitioners had grown greater than communist party members; perhaps it was because they were from a broad cross section of society; perhaps because he was jealous of Li Hongzhi, which ample evidence shows he was. Or perhaps it was because the Chinese Communist Party, with its decades of totalitarian rule, simply couldn't abide how much individual agency practicing Falun Gong fostered in people. If one were to design a system that could withstand totalitarian control and overreach, it might look something like Falun Gong.

Unlike previous black classes, large numbers of Falun Gong practitioners refused to be re-educated. They resisted at a scale the regime had never before encountered. As a result, the CCP incarcerated a massive number of them, and enacted an unwritten rule: all Falun Gong deaths in China's massive incarceration system would be considered suicides. In 2005, the U.S. State Department estimated that roughly half of all people in China's Reeducation Through Labor (RTL) system were Falun

Gong practitioners. In 2006, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture, Manfred Nowak, reported that Falun Gong practitioners accounted for 66 percent of the torture cases he documented during his visit to China.

This created the perfect supply for an organ industry that was ready to grow but needed a reliable, on-demand source.

In any ethical transplant system such as that of the United States, vital organs typically come from catastrophic accidents. To reduce the chance of rejection, blood type and histology are also matched. Thus the supply of organs is always much less than the demand. Patients must wait months or years. The system is conditioned on tragedy. This creates a pool of people willing to go to great lengths for a second chance at life.

The Chinese Communist Party saw this as an opportunity. As I recount in Chapter 5 of *Killed to Order*, bringing together the evidence gathered by different researchers and groups over the last 20 years, the regime took the massive population of healthy, dehumanized and incarcerated Falun Gong practitioners, and started blood-typing, tissue-typing, and organ-scanning them, and creating a data base. So when a patient, whether Chinese super-elite or foreign transplant tourist, needs a heart, liver, or kidney, a match could be quickly found and the prisoner killed to order. One of the earliest whistleblowers exposing this was a transplant surgeon, Dr. Jacob Lavee, whose patient in 2005 had a heart transplant scheduled and then enacted within 2 weeks' time.

The years 2000–2005 saw a massive surge in growth of transplant hospitals in China. Ethan Gutmann, who is also testifying today, estimated in congressional testimony in 2016 that there were 60 thousand to 100 thousand transplants being done in China annually.

Tragically, after years of little to no meaningful international action on forced organ harvesting of Falun Gong, it was around this time that the Chinese Communist Party also expanded this atrocity to another group. They dehumanized the Uyghur Muslim population in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, incarcerated a massive number of them, and proceeded to use them in “killed to order” fashion. In Xinjiang, which now operates as a high-tech police state, authorities have gone door-to-door collecting blood and tissue samples from ordinary citizens in their own homes, expanding the pool of potential organ donors. As noted in a 2022 European Parliament resolution, a Beijing hospital actually advertised “‘halal organs’ from Uyghurs and Muslim minorities.”

The overall number of transplant hospitals has only grown, substantially, since then.

It is important to note that China did not even have a nationwide public donor registry until 2014 and even today, it only claims about 7 million registered donors—less than 5 percent of the United States' more than 170 million.

This is why I titled my book *Killed to Order*. Because that is exactly what it is: organs delivered on a schedule, matched in advance, extracted from living human beings who are then discarded. It is industrialized forced organ harvesting made possible by the CCP's unique combination of totalitarian control, mass dehumanization, and the willingness to turn human beings into spare parts for profit, power and elite longevity.

Unfortunately, the United States is not innocent in this atrocity. American universities and hospitals have partnered with Chinese transplant centers, trained hundreds of Chinese transplant surgeons, and conducted joint research. The NIH has funded projects involving Chinese transplant institutions. American companies supply critical immunosuppressive drugs and medical technologies used in these procedures. American patients have traveled to China for transplants. Just last year, the House Select Committee on the Strategic Competition Between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party sent a letter to Harvard University raising serious concerns about its collaboration with Chinese entities implicated in forced organ harvesting.

It is critical to understand that the systematic forced organ harvesting of Falun Gong practitioners, and members of other persecuted groups such as the Uyghurs, is not an isolated crime, but part of a far more comprehensive pattern of abuses that are inflicted on believers as the final stage of a violent suppression campaign.

The official position of the U.S. Government is that the Chinese Communist Party is enacting a genocide against its Uyghur Muslim population. A number of international legal experts, including Caylan Ford, have concluded that these atrocities against Falun Gong also demonstrate genocidal intent. Communist Party documents explicitly call for the “complete eradication” of Falun Gong. The Party's 610 Office has directed a nationwide apparatus of persecution involving mass imprisonment without due process, forced ideological conversion, dehumanization through state media, social and economic isolation, torture, and extrajudicial killing.

These actions precisely fulfill the legal definition of genocide under the Genocide Convention: the deliberate infliction of serious bodily and mental harm, conditions calculated to bring about physical destruction, and the targeted killing of members of the group. The systematic harvesting of organs from living prisoners represents one of the clearest manifestations of this intent to destroy Falun Gong in a biological and physical sense.

As Ms. Ford so aptly concludes, China's persecutory campaign that includes, indeed features, forced organ harvesting, constitutes genocide.

So what can be done?

First, end all American participation in and cooperation with China's organ transplant system. Congress should direct the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), in coordination with the State Department and NIH, to conduct a full audit of any U.S. ties, including funding, research collaborations, physician training programs, data sharing, or procurement partnerships, with China's organ transplant system. Further, HHS should immediately cease issuing or recognizing Federalwide Assurances (FWAs) for any Chinese institutions connected to organ transplantation. The FWA is the formal process by which HHS certifies that a foreign institution meets U.S. ethical standards for human subjects research. Once granted, this certification allows the institution to receive Federal funding and collaborate with American universities, hospitals, and researchers. Revoking FWAs for transplant-related Chinese entities would be a direct and effective way to cut off U.S. support.

The International Society for Heart and Lung Transplantation has formally declared that they will not accept submissions related to organ or tissue transplantation from human donors in China.

Second, sanction those involved. There are two bipartisan pieces of legislation that address this specifically—S. 4009 (Falun Gong and Victims of Forced Organ Harvesting Protection Act, a Senate-modified version of H.R. 1540) and H.R. 1503 (Stop Forced Organ Harvesting Act). Both have passed the U.S. House near-unanimously and now await Senate confirmation.

Third, expand state laws banning insurance reimbursements or public funding for organ transplants linked to forced harvesting in China. Six states have already done so—Texas, Arizona, Idaho, Tennessee, Utah, and Arkansas—which leaves forty-four left to go.

Federally, the Block Organ Transplant Purchases from China Act of 2025 (H.R. 2114, "BLOCK Act"), still in committee, would bar Federal funds (Medicare, Medicaid) from covering transplants sourced in China, shutting down any American complicity through transplant tourism.

Eight countries have enacted binding national laws addressing China-related organ trafficking and transplant tourism.

Fourth, at the grassroots level, I hope Americans can spread the word, like through the End Forced Organ Harvesting satellite Rotary Club, so their fellow Americans and beyond know not to go to China for any more organ transplants.

On the eve of the 250th anniversary of America's founding, it's appropriate to remember that this country was built on a foundational belief in the God-given rights of every individual and the inherent dignity of every human being. That forged the ethical principles that still define America: the sacred right to bodily autonomy, and the moral imperative to oppose any regime that treats people as harvestable resources.

It is why America has already taken concrete steps to investigate at least two transplant systems that have allegedly repeatedly violated the dead donor rule. Yet we still cooperate with one on the other side of the globe that commits atrocities on an industrial scale. Let's take immediate action to stop that.

Thank you. I look forward to your questions.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KALBINUR SIDIK

Honorable Chair, distinguished members, and respected committee members:

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to testify. My name is Kalbinur Sidik. I am from our homeland, Uyghuristan (East Turkestan), from the city of Ürümqi. I am a witness to the detention camps, and I am ethnically Uzbek.

For 28 years, I worked as a Chinese language teacher and held important administrative positions at Ürümqi City No. 24 Elementary School. Never did I imagine that one day I would be forced to teach inside a detention camp, or that I would become a witness to the crimes committed by the Chinese Communist Party against Uyghurs and other minority peoples.

Today, I stand before you to speak about atrocities, including the possibility of forced organ harvesting. I will tell you only the truth—only what I personally witnessed and experienced.

In March 2017, I was sent under a 6-month contract to teach in a men's camp located on a mountain in Sangfanggou Village No. 5, Ürümqi City. The authorities told us we would be teaching "students" in a literacy training course. But they were not students. They were prisoners.

They were fathers, young men, businessmen, religious figures, intellectuals, people from all walks of life, and ordinary citizens. There were also elderly men among them. They had been taken from their homes and imprisoned behind barbed wire, triple iron gates, surveillance cameras, armed guards, and locked cells.

Every Monday, no classes were held for the detainees. Instead, blood was drawn from them. They were given unidentified injections. Afterwards, they were given small white pills. Chinese nurses told me, "These are vitamins or calcium supplements. Since the detainees never see sunlight, the government ordered us to take care of them this way."

But I did not believe them.

How could a government that imprisoned, starved, tortured, and humiliated these people suddenly care about their vitamins? No, that was impossible. At that time, and even now, I believe there was another purpose behind it.

I also witnessed healthy men disappearing. I clearly remember one man named Osman. He was active in class and eager to learn. He was a wealthy businessman and appeared very strong and healthy at first. Among hundreds of people, I could easily recognize his face. Then one day, he disappeared. When I asked what had happened to him, I was told he suffered from high blood pressure and diabetes and had died on the way to the hospital.

There was another man who sat at the far end of the first row in the classroom. He too was hardworking, and I still remember his face vividly. Later, he also disappeared. I was told he died from "kidney poisoning."

I did not believe these explanations.

Every day in the classroom, detainees were constantly replaced. Older and stronger prisoners were taken away, while new ones arrived. Familiar faces disappeared, and we were expected to accept whatever explanation the guards gave us.

Later, when I testified before parliaments in various countries, I was asked about the disappearance of detainees and organ harvesting. I told them what I had heard while working in the camps.

The special police driver who transported me, and the police officer assigned to accompany me, often talked among themselves. They said: "Right now in our country, the 'halal organ trade' is booming. The detoxification center in Michuan, Ürümqi, has now become an organ transplant center."

I did not witness the surgeries. I did not personally see organs being removed. But I heard these conversations.

Later, after hearing my testimony, a close relative and friend of mine living in Europe—married to a foreigner—spoke to me on the condition of anonymity. She personally told me that the Michuan "detoxification center" had indeed been transformed into an organ extraction hospital.

In 2018, she and her foreign husband were sent there for medical examinations before leaving for Europe. During that process, she saw many young detainees wearing prison uniforms lined up under heavy Chinese police supervision, entering designated rooms. She also observed that the number of doctors had increased greatly and that doctors were carrying unusual containers in their hands as they exited the rooms. She told me this with her own mouth and begged me to speak about it in my testimony.

So for the second time, I heard directly from someone I personally knew—someone who claimed to have seen with her own eyes that this place had become an organ harvesting hospital.

In the camps, I witnessed blood collection from detainees, injections, forced medication, disappearances, and the secrecy surrounding everything.

Therefore, if you ask me today whether I believe the Chinese Communist Party turned Uyghurs in the camps into a source of profit through a so-called "halal organ trade," my answer is: "Yes. Yes. A hundred times yes."

While I was in these camps, I witnessed horrors beyond words. Chinese police humiliated detainees to a level no human being should endure. They stripped them of their humanity. They did not call them by their names, but by numbers. They tried to break their minds, destroy their faith, and erase their dignity.

Let me tell you more about what I witnessed, so that the world will never forget the genocide taking place in East Turkestan.

When I first entered the men's camp, I walked into a building surrounded by barbed wire, electric doors, armed police, soldiers, and locked gates. The detainees were brought out from their cells. Chains and shackles were on their hands and feet. Many still had unshaven beards because they had only recently arrived. Their eyes looked at me with desperation—as if I had come to save them.

But I could not save them. I could not even help them. Guards surrounded me everywhere. The cells were dark. The windows were sealed shut. The detainees slept on bare concrete floors with only a thin blanket. For all three meals, they received only a small Chinese bun and watery rice soup. They were allowed to use the toilet only for very short periods of time. During the entire 6 months I was there, they were never once allowed to bathe.

Their bodies weakened. Their faces changed. Healthy people became thin, pale, and exhausted.

I taught 4 hours in the morning and 2 hours in the afternoon—sometimes even 4 additional hours during inspection periods. But gradually I realized the purpose there was not education. The purpose was control.

Later, detainees were forced to memorize “red songs,” patriotic songs praising the Chinese Communist Party and Xi Jinping, and political slogans. The detainees were forced to praise the same Communist Party that had imprisoned them. They were forced to express gratitude toward the very system destroying them.

During lessons, police would call detainees out not by name, but by number, and take them for interrogation. The interrogation room was next to the classroom. Shortly after they were taken away, heartbreaking screams could be heard. They were tortured with devices such as electric batons, electric “tiger chairs,” electric gloves, and electric helmets.

After my 6-month assignment in the men's camp ended, I was sent to a women's camp located in Tugong, Saybagh District, Ürümqi. There I saw many women and girls. Most were highly educated. Their hair had been cut short. They wore gray prison uniforms with blue numbered vests over them. Their faces were pale and lifeless.

About 90 percent of these detainees were between 18 and 40 years old. The remaining 10 percent were older women, some even in their seventies and eighties. These women and girls were also given medication and unidentified injections. As a result, many of them completely stopped menstruating.

Some had studied abroad. During lessons, they were forced first to thank the Chinese Communist Party and government before telling their stories.

One woman said she had recently given birth and still had a nursing baby, but her breast milk had stopped.

Another young woman said she had been preparing for marriage when she was suddenly taken to the camp, and that she no longer even knew where her fiancé was. Yet she was forced to thank the government for providing such a “good opportunity” to learn the “national language.” Others said they had been taken directly to the camp immediately after returning from studies abroad.

From the way these women painfully sat and stood, I could sense the severe abuse they had suffered. Tears constantly streamed from their eyes.

In this camp, I heard about rape and sexual violence committed by Chinese police. I heard that guards used electric batons and other weapons to abuse detainees. I personally witnessed the body of a young girl, around 18 to 20 years old, being carried away before my eyes. I later heard that she had bled to death.

Outside the camps, the control continued. The Chinese government placed so-called “Chinese paired relatives”—Han Chinese men—inside the homes of Uyghur women, especially in homes where husbands had been taken to camps. Even in their own homes, these women faced various forms of abuse and humiliation. People were afraid to speak. Phones were monitored. Relatives abroad became a source of danger.

My daughter was in the Netherlands, and we lived constantly in fear and anxiety. Under pressure from neighborhood committees and assigned police officers, we were also forced to undergo sterilization procedures at Changleyuan Hospital in Tianshan District. Even though I did not want this, I had no choice. My safety and the safety of my family depended on obeying government demands. That is why I say: we no longer had ownership over our own bodies.

Because of time limitations, I will end my testimony here.

I am one of the fortunate few who managed to escape after enduring tremendous suffering. The people inside the camps cannot speak to you. They have no way to make their voices heard. I am standing here today, at enormous personal cost, to tell you this truth—because the men who disappeared, the women who were abused, the mothers separated from their babies, and the families destroyed by this genocide need witnesses.

Honorable Chair, distinguished leaders, and committee members: I ask you not to turn your eyes away from this tragedy.

The horrific violence taking place in East Turkestan is not merely a crime. It is part of a system that sees Uyghurs—the original inhabitants of that land—as less than human. This is genocide. The world once said, “Never again.” Yet in East Turkestan, it is happening again. I ask the U.S. Congress never to forget the Uyghur genocide. I urge you to continue investigations and hold the Chinese Communist Party accountable.

Thank you.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. CHRIS SMITH

Last September, the world heard something chilling.

As Xi Jinping, Vladimir Putin, and Kim Jong Un walked together in Beijing, a hot mic picked up an unguarded conversation about organ transplants and the possibility of living to 150 years old.

That was not macabre small talk among aging dictators. It was a glimpse behind the curtain—a glimpse into a world where human beings can be treated as interchangeable parts to prolong the lives of autocrats. But forced organ harvesting is not healing. It is murder masquerading as medicine.

Today, this Commission examines one of the most barbaric human rights atrocities of our time: the forced harvesting of organs from prisoners of conscience, death row inmates, and other vulnerable people—especially in Communist China.

Let me be clear: ethical organ transplantation is noble and lifesaving. But what we are examining today is the opposite. It is the conversion of the imprisoned and persecuted into inventory. Hearts. Livers. Kidneys. Lungs. Corneas. Taken from the living. Sold to the desperate. Hidden behind hospital walls. Protected by secrecy, corruption, fear, and state power.

I chaired my first hearing on forced organ harvesting thirty years ago, on June 18, 1996. Since then, the evidence has become more disturbing, more detailed, and more compelling.

The most persistent allegations in China centered first on Falun Gong practitioners—peaceful men and women targeted by the Chinese Communist Party for eradication. Later came mounting evidence concerning Uyghurs, already victims of genocide in the Uyghur region; Tibetans; Christians; death row inmates; and others treated as property of the state.

Experts, like Ethan Gutmann, have documented how this atrocity expanded from death row prisoners to prisoners of conscience and religious detainees. The China Tribunal concluded that forced organ harvesting has been committed in China for years, on a significant scale. Witnesses at previous hearings have warned us about military hospitals, impossibly short wait times, organs available on demand, and a transplant system that cannot withstand scrutiny.

And yet Beijing now asks the world to believe the problem has been solved. It says its transplant system now meets international standards. And once again, the disappointing and corrupt WHO takes Beijing’s claims at face value—just as it did in the early days of COVID.

But today, this Commission has received rare and extraordinary eyewitness accounts from inside the Chinese gulag itself: Ali Motevalian’s written submission details his incarceration in a PLA-linked prison hospital near Shanghai, and Kalbinur Sidik’s testimony from the detention camps of the Uyghur region. Together, their accounts shatter Beijing’s fiction that its transplant system is voluntary, transparent, and compliant with international standards.

Ali Motevalian spent years inside China’s prison system. His submission describes coerced thumbprints on so-called consent forms, bondage, tranquilizers, “last rooms of terminal patients,” prisoners taken to surgery and not returned, mobile freezer carts, and bodies moved toward incineration. His account strikes at the heart of Beijing’s favorite defense. The Chinese Communist Party told the world it had ended the use of executed prisoners’ organs. Ali says otherwise.

Inside the prison hospital system, in 2020 and 2021—years after Beijing told the world it had stopped taking organs from prisoners—Ali says he saw unconscious, shackled men, known as “sleepers,” brought by armed personnel directly into surgery rooms. They never returned. That is not voluntary donation. That is execution by organ extraction.

Kalbinur Sidik brings us inside another part of the Chinese gulag: the camps of the Uyghur region. I will not summarize her testimony in detail, because in just a few minutes she will speak for herself. But her account shows a system where

human beings are reduced to numbers, where the state controls the body as well as the mind, and where coercion and fear are used to destroy dignity.

The prison hospitals and gulag described in these testimonies are not places of care, rehabilitation, or education. They are crime scenes—part of a system of coercion, medical abuse, and genocide in China.

Organ crimes are not just a China problem. It is a global one that flourishes wherever coercion, poverty, corruption, secrecy, and demand intersect.

That is why Congress must act.

The House has twice passed my legislation with overwhelming bipartisan support. H.R. 1503, the Stop Forced Organ Harvesting Act of 2025, passed the House 406 to 1.

It would criminalize forced organ trafficking, impose serious sanctions, require reporting, deny visas, and create penalties of up to 20 years in prison and up to a \$1 million fine for knowing complicity.

This bill is not a press release. It is enforceable policy. It says to brokers, traffickers, corrupt officials, complicit doctors, hospitals, researchers, insurers, and middlemen: if you profit from coerced transplants, directly or indirectly, you should risk your money, your visa, your access to the United States, and your freedom.

The Senate has not acted on the bill, but they must. Delay is denial.

Every day without consequences is another day perpetrators operate in the shadows, witnesses are intimidated, evidence disappears, and families never learn what happened to their loved ones.

Forced organ harvesting is barbaric. It is systematic. It is state-enabled. And it is big business.

And, speaking frankly, no one wants Xi Jinping or Vladimir Putin to live forever. I suspect on this point there would be broad bipartisan agreement. But behind that dark irony is a deadly serious point: no dictator, no party boss, no wealthy patient, and no broker should be able to purchase longevity with the organs of the poor and persecuted.

That is all the more reason to pass the Stop Forced Organ Harvesting Act and make unmistakably clear that the United States will not stand by in the face of such cruelty. Not with our expertise. Not with our money. Not with a dollar of American complicity.

Thank you.

SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

STATEMENT OF SEYED ALIREZA MOTEVALIAN

Chinese Prisons and Organ Harvesting

My name is Seyed Alireza Motevalian, commonly known as Ali. I am an Iranian-born refugee and a victim of wrongful imprisonment in the People's Republic of China. I lived in China as a businessman from 2009 until 2023. I was arrested in Shanghai with my Chinese wife, Jessica Liu Zhiyu, on May 2, 2013. We were formally arrested on June 8, 2013, tried in 2014, and convicted under Article 225 of the Chinese Criminal Code for alleged illegal business operations outside the scope of our business license.

My sentence was 10 years. My wife was sentenced to 8 years. Several of our staff received shorter sentences. I maintained my innocence throughout my imprisonment and served my full sentence. My wife was released earlier but was not allowed to leave China after her release.

I am submitting this statement because during my incarceration I spent extended periods inside Shanghai Prison's General Hospital, located within the Nanhui Prison campus in Shanghai's Pudong District. There, I observed a repeated institutional pattern that I understood to be non-consensual organ procurement from prisoners. My observations were not based on one incident. They came from repeated hospital stays, repeated transfers through the building, views from hospital-room windows, encounters in corridors and controlled areas, and conversations with convict orderlies, doctors, and other prisoners.

My imprisonment and transfer to the prison hospital

After our conviction and the rejection of our appeal in 2015, I was transferred to Shanghai's Qingpu Prison in 2016. My wife was transferred to Shanghai Women's Prison.

After exhausting legal remedies, I began a hunger strike in Qingpu Prison in March 2018. By May 2018, my health had deteriorated badly, and I was sent to Shanghai Prison's General Hospital at Nanhui Prison. From 2018 to 2021, because of my hunger strikes and related medical problems, I was moved repeatedly between Qingpu Prison and Nanhui. I describe this as 13 round trips, or 26 transfer legs. I spent much of that period inside the prison hospital and became familiar with its layout, personnel, routines, and movement patterns.

During this period, I suffered kidney failure and immune-system failure. I required dialysis, IV fluids, antibiotics, tube feeding, and other treatment. I believe the prison authorities kept me alive in part because consular officials visited me. Chinese prisoners did not have that protection.

Coerced consent and restraints

As soon as a prisoner was admitted into the hospital, he was required to thumbprint a consent form. When I refused, I was placed in bondage, injected with a tranquilizer, and my thumbprint was taken while I was immobilized.

This was not an isolated method used only against me. In the hospital, prisoners who did not respond to commands could be put in bondage. This included the deaf, the mentally ill, prisoners who had lost cognitive function, prisoners who refused food, Uyghur prisoners, and prisoners facing death sentences.

Bondage meant being strapped by all four limbs to a bed, with another strap across the chest. Prisoners were tube-fed, attached to IV lines, placed in diapers, and sometimes catheterized so that they could remain strapped down for long periods. After extended bondage, the body became stiff and wasted. When my straps were opened to send me back to Qingpu, I could not move and had to be taken by wheelchair.

I saw many immobilized prisoners. In the second room next to what prisoners called the "last room," all nine patients were strapped down. In the last room itself, at any given time, I usually saw at least two or three of the nine patients strapped down. Bondage was a regular part of the hospital's control system.

The daily care and control of these prisoners was carried out largely by convict laborers, known as laodong. They were selected from younger, stronger prisoners and worked as orderlies. They wore white overalls, carried notepads, had watches, moved around the building, and were trained by nurses. They also enforced discipline. They had privileges ordinary prisoners did not have, including better food,

more movement, and contact with doctors and nurses. Patients, by contrast, often could not move, speak, write, read, or contact the outside world.

The hospital did not function like a normal hospital

The facility did not operate like an ordinary hospital with meaningful specialist care. Dr. Liu, who was head of the doctors, told me there were no specialists when I asked to see one. I saw no specialist wards such as cancer, cardiovascular, kidney, ophthalmology, or other ordinary treatment departments.

The building had approximately five patient wings, each with around 100 beds, or roughly 500 beds total. Yet I understood there were only about eight doctors, and from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. only one doctor was on duty for the whole facility. There was no proper ventilation and no shower. There was a dentist, but the only dental procedure available was extraction. There was no eye doctor. No new spectacles entered the prison or hospital for years; even a foreign consulate might have to press for a year to obtain new glasses for a prisoner.

Several doctors, including Dr. Liu and others, told me they were military-trained or assigned through the military or prison medical system. I observed medical personnel wearing white coats over uniforms.

What made the hospital especially strange was the contrast between the lack of normal specialist care and the size and activity of the surgery area. The facility did not function like a hospital designed to cure prisoners. It functioned like a prison holding-and-surgery facility.

The fourth-floor surgery area

I have drawn a sketch of the fourth-floor layout from memory. The fourth-floor surgery area occupied a large, controlled section of the building near the elevator and away from ordinary visitor access. Visitors were generally kept on the first floor and did not go upstairs.

Based on the symmetry of the east and west wings, and my experience moving through both wings on the third floor, I estimated that the surgery area could contain at least seven rooms. The exact number is less important than the fact that the surgery area was large, active, controlled, and hidden from ordinary visitors.

The “last room”

As my condition deteriorated, I was moved to what prisoners called the “last room.” This room was for prisoners who could no longer be cured enough to return to manual labor. Many were elderly, terminally ill, or severely disabled. Others were younger prisoners whose illnesses had been left untreated until they could no longer work.

The turnover in the last room was constant. Patients were taken out and replaced by others. Every morning, I could hear which bed numbers were scheduled for surgery. At first, I thought the surgery was a final attempt to save their lives. When I asked whether the surgery had succeeded, I was told yes. When I asked why the patient did not return to the room, I was told the patient was “back there,” with staff or laodong pointing to the rear of the building.

Laodong orderlies identified the rear area as an incineration or cremation area. I saw smoke coming from the chimney in the area they identified.

The surgery pattern and freezer cart

The pattern I observed was repeated. A prisoner would be selected for surgery. Doctors would meet about the subject patient. In the early morning, the prisoner would receive a tranquilizing injection. Laodong orderlies would press the prisoner’s thumb onto a red ink pad and thumbprint a consent form. The prisoner would then be rushed to the surgery area.

By around noon, a mobile freezer cart would emerge from the surgery area and be transferred by elevator to a van waiting in the yard. The cart was moved quickly and under guard. The body or coffin was handled separately and later moved toward the rear incineration area by laodong workers.

This separation was important. The freezer cart was not treated like an ordinary body. It was rushed, guarded, and moved to a waiting vehicle. The body or coffin followed a different route and was handled with far less urgency. From the repeated sequence—surgery, non-return of the patient, guarded freezer-cart transfer, and separate body disposal—I understood the freezer cart to be carrying organs or other valuable biological material.

This same process applied to female prisoners as well. I saw women taken from the fifth floor to the surgery area, and they did not return. There were four “last rooms” that I knew of: two on the third floor, one on the fourth floor closest to the surgery area, and one for female prisoners on the fifth floor.

The “sleepers” brought from outside

In addition to the moribund prisoners already inside the hospital, I saw unconscious or deeply sedated prisoners brought from outside on rolling stretchers. Their limbs were restrained to the stretcher rails. They were accompanied by armed People’s Armed Police personnel. The prisoners were taken quickly through the elevator and toward the surgery area.

I witnessed this in several ways. I was repeatedly transferred through the hospital and more than once crossed paths with these unconscious, restrained prisoners. My room also had windows on both sides. From one side, there was a view toward the gate; from the other, I could glimpse internal traffic toward the surgery area.

I recognized the role of the People’s Armed Police because I had previously worked in Qingpu Prison’s death-row cell block, Block Number Nine. In Qingpu, I had seen PAP personnel come to take death-row prisoners away in vehicles. I later saw similar PAP personnel in the prison hospital bringing unconscious, restrained prisoners toward surgery. Their uniforms, weapons, behavior, and the reaction of other prisoners and staff made clear that these were not ordinary hospital patients.

Based on what I saw in Qingpu’s death-row block and later inside Nanhui, I understood these “sleepers” to be death-row or execution-related prisoners being brought into the surgery process.

Known deaths of prisoners

I also personally knew foreign prisoners who died in custody. Two of my former Qingpu cellmates, Steven Lien from Canada and Francisco Rondon from Colombia, died after becoming seriously ill. I had shared a prison room with them and was present when they died.

Their deaths shaped my understanding that seriously ill foreign prisoners were not meaningfully protected by medical parole or by the fact that foreign consulates knew about their cases. I believed medical parole should have been available to such prisoners. In practice, I did not see it operate meaningfully for foreign prisoners.

Broader prison conditions

In Qingpu Prison, I saw many elderly, disabled, and seriously ill prisoners. All prisoners were required to work if they were physically able, and even severely weakened prisoners were expected to report to the labor area rather than remain in bed during work hours. At various times, I remember making greeting cards for the UK store Tesco and packaging for Quaker Oats. Some prisoners had to push other prisoners in wheelchairs to the labor area because prisoners were generally not allowed simply to remain in bed during work hours. A prisoner had to be almost unable to work before being sent to Nanhui.

I also saw prisoners at Nanhui who appeared to have been brought from outside Shanghai, including from Fujian Province. From this, I believed Nanhui served more than one prison or locality. I cannot say how many provinces used it, but it appeared to function as a central prison hospital facility for seriously ill or selected prisoners.

My release and continuing hardship

After I was released and deported at the end of my sentence, I had nowhere to go. I served my sentence in full because I never accepted the verdict and insisted on my innocence.

Although my wife had already been released from prison, she was not allowed to leave China and was not allowed to have a passport. This was like continued punishment after serving the sentence. I went first to Sri Lanka and then to Vietnam to wait for her to somehow flee China. I was robbed several times by people in Vietnam and Cambodia who claimed they could help bring my wife out but failed to do so.

Conclusion

I understand that what I describe is grave. I am giving this statement because I lived inside this system and saw its routines over time.

The organ-harvesting pattern I observed was repeated and institutional. Prisoners were restrained or incapacitated, thumbprinted, taken to surgery, and did not return. A freezer cart then moved quickly from the surgery area to a waiting van, while the body or coffin was handled separately toward the rear incineration area. Unconscious restrained prisoners were also brought from outside under armed PAP escort and taken directly toward surgery.

Based on the repetition, the layout, the behavior of guards and laodong workers, the separate handling of the freezer cart and body, the lack of ordinary specialist medical care, and the large, controlled surgery area, I understood this as non-consensual organ procurement inside the prison hospital.

I hope my statement helps the Congressional-Executive Commission on China understand what occurs inside Chinese prison hospitals and why these facilities require urgent investigation.



Written Testimony for the Record

Congressional-Executive Commission on China
Hearing entitled: ***“A Market Built on Victims: Stopping Illegal Organ Trafficking in China and Beyond”***

Levi Browde, Executive Director at the Falun Dafa Information Center
James Yu, Senior Director at the Falun Dafa Information Center

May 6, 2026

Honorable Chairman Sullivan, Co-Chairman Smith, and distinguished members of the Commission, thank you for holding a hearing on the crucial issue of stopping illegal organ trafficking in China. We appreciate the opportunity to provide additional testimony.

The body of evidence documenting forced organ harvesting in China is already vast, encompassing analyses of transplant volumes and wait times indicating on-demand organ procurement, independent analyses of official transplant data revealing figures irreconcilable with voluntary donation rates, and firsthand accounts from former detainees of suspicious medical exams while in custody.

In this submission, we offer a new set of evidence: testimony from Falun Gong practitioners formerly detained in China and now living throughout the United States, whose accounts reveal blood tests or suspicious medical exams at facilities across China. Specifically, we hope to share information on three key points:

- Over one-third of respondents to a recent survey of Falun Gong practitioners in the United States had previously been detained in China. Among them, **more than one-half reported being subjected to blood tests or suspicious medical exams** in Chinese custody.
- Drawing on these responses, we offer additional details on their experiences, including a **list of 113 facilities** where these tests occurred or where the individuals were being held at the time of the testing.
- To assist with U.S. policymaking and legislative action, we provide an updated list of **14 legally binding laws** adopted by U.S. states and other countries to combat organ transplant abuses in China.

I. Background and Context

The forced harvesting of organs from prisoners of conscience in China has been documented by independent investigators, international tribunals, national governments, and leading human rights bodies for nearly two decades. Since this Commission’s last hearing on the issue in 2024, a wave of new legislative action, survivor testimony, congressional hearings, and expert analysis has brought the issue into sharper international focus.

Most significantly, the international community now has its first survivor testimony—that of Cheng Peiming, a Falun Gong practitioner who escaped to the United States from China and went public with his experience in July 2024.¹ His testimony and CT scans that confirm the removal of portions of Cheng’s liver and lung constitute direct medical evidence that the atrocities of forced organ harvesting are real, rendering blanket denials by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and its defenders untenable.²

Since 2006, mounting evidence has revealed that Chinese hospitals, in coordination with law enforcement and the judiciary, unlawfully detain prisoners of conscience, screen them for organ compatibility, and extract viable organs to supply a booming transplant tourism trade. Falun Gong practitioners have been the principal victims of forced organ harvesting in China, according to the 2019 China Tribunal, with the estimated death toll potentially reaching tens of thousands each year.³

Falun Gong, also known as Falun Dafa, is a spiritual practice in the Buddhist tradition that combines meditation and gentle exercises with a moral philosophy centered on the tenets of truthfulness, compassion, and tolerance.⁴ Descending from an ancient lineage and introduced publicly in China in 1992, Falun Gong is now practiced in more than 100 countries, although the largest contingent of believers—estimated at tens of millions—remains in China.⁵ Since July 1999, the CCP has engaged in a systematic and unlawful effort to eradicate Falun Gong, deploying arbitrary detention, torture, extrajudicial killings, and forced organ harvesting.⁶ This policy remains one of the most widespread campaigns of persecution in China today.⁷

A key feature of the organ harvesting system is involuntary blood tests and physical examinations routinely conducted on detained Falun Gong practitioners, which are consistent with tissue-typing and organ-compatibility screening.⁸ This submission presents new evidence on these practices, drawn from an online survey of Falun Gong practitioners in the United States conducted by the Falun Dafa Information Center (FDIC) from September 2025 to March 2026. See Appendix A for the methodology used in this survey.

II. Survey Findings

The survey recently conducted by the Falun Dafa Information Center yielded 1,080 responses from across 41 states, representing an estimated 10 percent of the Falun Gong community in the United States. Reflecting the direct impact that the regime’s persecution has had on American Falun Gong practitioners, **over one-third of total respondents reported having been detained or imprisoned in China.** From among this segment:

¹ <https://thediplomat.com/2024/08/first-known-survivor-of-chinas-forced-organ-harvesting-speaks-out/>

² <https://faluninfo.net/first-known-survivor-of-forced-organ-harvesting-comes-forward/>

³ David Matas & David Kilgour, “Bloody Harvest: Revised Report into Allegations of Organ Harvesting of Falun Gong Practitioners in China”, January 31, 2007.

⁴ http://organharvestinvestigation.net/report0701/report20070131.htm#_Toc160145138

⁵ <https://faluninfo.net/what-is-falun-gong-falun-dafa/>

⁶ <https://faluninfo.net/key-statistics-related-to-falun-gong/>

⁷ <https://faluninfo.net/violent-suppression-of-100-million-people/>

⁸ <https://freedomhouse.org/report/2017/battle-china-spirit-falun-gong-religious-freedom>

⁹ <https://faluninfo.net/falun-gong-25-years-of-persecution-25-years-too-long/>

1. **Over half (56%) of these 330 formerly detained Falun Gong practitioners were subjected to blood tests or suspicious medical examinations** while in custody in China.
2. **113 facilities were named** by respondents as locations where Falun Gong detainees were subject to involuntary blood tests or physical exams. See Appendix A for the full list.
3. **20 provinces and municipalities across China** were mentioned.
4. **The most recent physical exam reportedly occurred in 2024; the earliest in 1999.** Among the documented responses, 34 occurred in the last decade—*after* Chinese officials claimed that sourcing of organs from prisoners had ceased, and only voluntary donations were now acceptable.
5. Organ donation requires extensive physical exams, including blood tests to determine and match a donor's blood type to a prospective recipient. Despite being tortured in prison, Falun Gong practitioners were subjected to these physical exams. **Blood tests were mentioned most frequently by respondents.** Some practitioners also reportedly underwent X-ray scans, heart exams, vision exams, ultrasounds and DNA collection.

Taken together, the results above corroborate existing reports of extensive blood tests and medical examinations targeting Falun Gong practitioners in custody in China, alluding to reverse and unethical donor matching. **The fact that 1 in 2 former detainees reported being subjected to the tests demonstrates how widespread the practice has been in China.** The tests and examinations span widely both in time and geographically, indicating that such practice results from long-standing, state-level policies, consistent with our 2024 testimony before this Commission⁹.

Targeting Practitioners Beyond Detention

In recent years, there have also emerged reports of Falun Gong practitioners outside of custody being compelled to undergo blood tests by local police in 2014 and in 2021.¹⁰ These reports indicate that the target of forced organ harvesting in China may not be limited to those in detention. Our survey results offer additional evidence consistent with this conclusion.

One respondent's account, from Anqing City, Anhui province, from 2023 is especially alarming. It describes non-detained Falun Gong practitioners being summoned by local police for blood tests and physical examinations that may have served organ-matching purposes:

Between March and June in 2023, some local fellow practitioners were called by local police to conduct blood tests and physical examination, as I was told by some of them about this. Shortly afterwards, I was summoned to the police station for questioning and happened to meet the Chief of the Public Order Section of the local Public Security Sub-bureau of our city in the hallway... I greeted him and asked: 'Chief, recently some fellow practitioners were called for physical exams. Why haven't I been called?' He answered: 'Did you think that physical exams are a good thing?' Then he quickly walked away.

⁹ <https://www.cecc.gov/sites/evo-subsites/cecc.house.gov/files/documents/Cynthia%20Sun--Forced%20Organ%20Harvesting%203.20.24.pdf>

¹⁰ <https://en.minghui.org/html/articles/2014/7/19/2101.html>;
<https://en.minghui.org/html/articles/2021/8/9/194526.html>

With the CCP's long-standing policy of eradicating Falun Gong nationwide, China's Falun Gong practitioners, even those living at home, remain at risk of forced organ harvesting because they could be subject to arbitrary arrest and detention at any time, in any place. Ensuring their safety warrants close oversight by the international community, given their vulnerability as potential victims of forced organ harvesting.

III. Recommendations

Given the above findings and broader information about organ transplant abuses in China, we would like to offer the following three recommendations to the commission and U.S. government:

1. **Advance protective legislation:** Congress should immediately mark up and pass the **Falun Gong and Victims of Forced Organ Harvesting Protection Act (S. 4009)**, which would require the U.S. government to impose sanctions on foreign persons who have knowingly and directly engaged in or facilitated forced organ harvesting in China. Fourteen jurisdictions—including Israel, the United Kingdom, Canada, and six U.S. states—have already enacted binding laws against forced organ harvesting or transplant tourism (see Appendix B).
2. **Raise the persecution of Falun Gong and forced organ harvesting in bilateral diplomacy:** During President Trump's upcoming visit to China, the Administration should formally raise the issue of forced organ harvesting with Chinese authorities, call for an immediate halt to the practice against Falun Gong practitioners and other victim groups, and demand the release of all prisoners of conscience, including Falun Gong practitioners and particularly those with family residing in the United States.
3. **Meet regularly with recently arrived former prisoners of conscience:** U.S. officials, congressional staff, and researchers should regularly meet with former prisoners of conscience, including Falun Gong practitioners, who are able to arrive in the United States. As evident from the above survey findings and other details often revealed in interviews, such individuals can provide up-to-date, first-hand accounts of conditions in China's notoriously opaque and secretive network of detention centers and prisons. This includes on topics like medical exams or forced labor that are directly relevant to U.S. policy and the potential complicity of American entities.

Appendix A: Survey methodology and geographic distribution of reported blood tests and medical exams

Methodology

The findings presented in this statement are based on an online survey conducted by the Falun Dafa Information Center among Falun Gong practitioners living in the United States from September 2025 to March 2026. The study employs a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative findings with select qualitative data and case studies, drawing on quotes from respondents and interviewees.

The survey contained 43 questions, combining multiple-choice or yes/no questions with open-ended queries. The questionnaire was distributed in both English and Chinese to ensure accessibility for the bilingual Falun Gong community. Topics covered included respondent demographics, history of persecution in China, direct experiences with transnational repression in the United States, and practitioners' sense of comfort and safety when practicing Falun Gong. The full survey results will be published in the coming weeks.

The online questionnaire was distributed with the assistance of local Falun Dafa associations throughout the United States. These associations are volunteer-run, non-profit organizations that teach and promote the practice to the public and coordinate scripture reading and experience sharing sessions for local Falun Gong practitioners. This distribution method helped ensure that respondents were genuine Falun Gong practitioners, drawing on the long-standing trust between the associations, the FDIC, and the practitioner community.

A total of 1,080 responses were received, representing an estimated 10% of the Falun Gong community in the United States. All responses were closely reviewed by the FDIC research team. Duplicate or incomplete responses were excluded where they undermined data integrity. Only clear, specific, and credible accounts were retained for analysis. Given the topic's sensitivity, the survey was voluntary and by default anonymous, but respondents were given an option at the end to provide contact information for follow-up questions.

Specifically, the findings in this statement are based on the results of Questions 25 and 27, and the follow-up to Question 27:

- Question 25: Were you detained or imprisoned in China for practicing Falun Gong?
- Question 27: Were you subjected to blood tests or suspicious medical examinations while in custody in China?
- Follow-up of Question 27: If yes, please provide the location and year where these blood tests or suspicious medical examinations occurred.

Questions 25 and 27 were yes/no questions, and the follow-up to Question 27 was an optional open-ended prompt in which respondents who answered "yes" could describe the blood tests or medical examinations they experienced.

Geographic Distribution of Reported Forced Blood Draws and Suspicious Medical Examinations of Falun Gong Practitioners in the People's Republic of China, by Province and Identified Facility

The following table summarizes reported locations where Falun Gong practitioners were detained when they were subjected to forced blood draws and suspicious medical examinations in the People's Republic of China, by province and named facility; in many cases, the examinations also took place at these facilities.

- Column 1 — Province / Municipality where the examination was reported.
- Column 2 — Number of respondents referencing that province. A respondent may reference more than one province or facility.
- Column 3 — Named facilities. A parenthetical number indicates how many respondents named that facility (facilities named by only one respondent appear without a parenthetical); place names in parentheses identify the city or district. Some respondents named only a province or municipality without identifying a specific facility. Please note that some of these facilities—specifically former “re-education through labor” camps—are no longer in operation after the closure of that system in 2013.

Region	Times Referenced	Specific Facilities Named
Beijing	24	Beijing Women's Forced Labor Camp (4); Beijing Forced Labor Dispatch Division (3); Beijing Xin'an Forced Labor Camp (3); Changping Detention Center (2); Beijing Public Security Hospital (2); Beijing Armed Police General Hospital; Beijing Daxing Juvenile Detention Center; Beijing Legal Training Center (Brainwashing Camp); Beijing No. 6 Hospital (Mental Health Institute); Chaoyang Detention Center (Beijing); Dongcheng Detention Center (Beijing); Haidian Detention Center (Beijing); Tiantanghe Women's Forced Labor Camp (Daxing, Beijing); Tuanhe Forced Labor Camp
Liaoning	17	Masanjia Forced Labor Camp (5); Dalian Detention Center / Prison-affiliated Hospital; Dalian Forced Labor Camp; Dalian New-Inmate Intake Prison; Fushun Mining Bureau Hospital; Huludao Municipal Hospital; Huludao Re-education Center; Liaoning Provincial Women's Prison; Shenyang No. 1 Detention Center; Shenyang Prison; Shenyang Women's Prison; Wujiabao Re-education Center (Fushun); Zhangshi Re-education Center
Guangdong	14	Sanshui Forced Labor Camp (4); Chahuo Forced Labor Camp (Guangzhou); Chatou Forced Labor Camp (Guangzhou); Foshan Detention Center; Guangdong Women's Forced Labor Camp; Guangzhou Huangpu Hospital; Guangzhou Legal Education Brainwashing Center; Guangzhou Tianhe District Brainwashing Center; Huadu Forced Labor Camp (Guangzhou); Sanshui District

		Daling 1st Brigade 2nd Squad (Foshan); Sanshui Forced Labor Camp Hospital; Sanshui Legal Education School; Shenzhen Detention Center
Shandong	13	Shandong No. 2 Forced Labor Camp (Wangcun) (2); Shandong Provincial Prison (2); 83 Hospital (Wangcun Labor Camp Hospital); 83 Hospital (Zibo Labor Camp Area); Gaomi Brainwashing Center; Jinan Custodial Hospital; Jinan Detention Center; Pudong Detention Center (Qingdao); Qihe Criminal Police Squad; Shandong No. 1 Women's Forced Labor Camp; Shandong Women's Forced Labor Camp; Shandong Women's Prison; Weibei Prison; Zibo Forced Labor Camp
Shanghai	12	Shanghai Women's Prison (3); Tilanqiao Prison (3); Julianting Police Station (Songjiang, Shanghai); Pudong Detention Center (Shanghai); Shanghai Detention Center; Shanghai Songjiang Women's Prison; Wujiaochang Police Station (Yangpu Branch, Shanghai PSB)
Tianjin	12	Banqiao Women's Forced Labor Camp (Dagang, Tianjin) (3); Tianjin Gangbei Prison (2); Beicang Police Station (Beichen District, Tianjin); Hexi Detention Center (Tianjin); Shuangkou Forced Labor Camp; Tianjin Binhai Prison; Tianjin Jianxin Forced Labor Camp; Tianjin No. 5 Central Hospital (Tanggu Hospital); Tianjin Port Hospital; Tianjin Women's Forced Labor Camp; Tianjin Women's Prison
Jiangsu	7	Wuxi Prison (2); Baotiaoqiao Police Station (Nanjing); Binjiang Police Station (Nanjing); Fangqiang Forced Labor Camp (Jiangsu); Shanghai Forced Labor Camp at Dafeng (Jiangsu); Shanghai No. 1 Forced Labor Camp at Dafeng (Jiangsu)
Hunan	5	Xinkaipu Forced Labor Camp (Changsha, Hunan) (2); Hanshou County Detention Center; Hunan Provincial Women's Prison
Hebei	4	Handan City Forced Labor Camp; Hebei Provincial Legal Education Training Center
Jilin	4	Changchun Chaoyang District Hospital; Changchun Forced Labor Camp; Jilin Prison; Jilin Provincial Public Security Hospital; Jilin Provincial Women's Forced Labor Camp
Henan	4	Shibalihe Women's Forced Labor Camp (Zhengzhou) (2); Henan Provincial Women's Prison
Sichuan	4	Chengdu Qingyang District Hospital; Fuji Hospital (Luxian, Luzhou); Guixi Police Station (Chengdu); Luzhou Detention Center; Nanmusi Forced Labor Camp (Zizhong, Sichuan)
Anhui	3	Hefei City Detention Center; Nanhu Forced Labor Camp (Anhui); Suzhou Women's Prison (Anhui)

Hubei	3	Hewan Forced Labor Camp (Wuhan) (2); Wuhan Women's Prison
Yunnan	3	Yunnan Women's No. 2 Prison (2); Wuhua Detention Center (Kunming)
Inner Mongolia	3	Hohhot Women's Forced Labor Camp; Tumuji Women's Forced Labor Camp; Wuyuan Forced Labor Camp
Chongqing	2	Chongqing Prison; Dayanggou Police Station (Yuzhong District, Chongqing)
Heilongjiang	2	Harbin Public Security Hospital; Harbin Qianjin Forced Labor Camp; Shuanghe Forced Labor Camp (Qiqihar)
Zhejiang	2	Shilipping Men's Forced Labor Camp (Zhejiang); Shuguang Road Police Station (Xihu District, Hangzhou)
Shaanxi	1	Taoyuan Road Police Station (Lianhu District, Xi'an)
TOTAL	139	

Appendix B: National and sub-national laws against forced organ harvesting and transplant tourism (2008–2025)

The following table lists fourteen binding laws enacted across fourteen jurisdictions between 2008 and 2025 to prohibit forced organ harvesting and commercial transplant tourism, including six pieces of legislation adopted in U.S. states since June 2023.

Every law is in force and carries criminal sanctions, civil penalties, or mandatory insurance prohibitions, including imprisonment of up to 20 years (Belgium), fines of up to EUR 300,000 (Italy), USD 10,000 per violation (Arkansas) and USD 100,000 per violation (Tennessee), extraterritorial jurisdiction over nationals and/or residents (United Kingdom, Canada, Norway), and statutory bans on health-insurance coverage of transplants linked to designated forced-organ-harvesting countries (six US states).

Date	Country / Government	Name of Law
2008	Israel	Organ Transplant Act 2008
2010	Spain	Criminal Code Amendment — Article 156 bis (Organic Law 5/2010)
2015 (June 12)	Taiwan	Human Organ Transplantation Act Amendment — Organ Trafficking Law
2016 (December)	Italy	Law n. 236/2016 — Illegal Organ Trafficking
2017 (June 8)	Norway	Transplantasjonsloven Amendment (Organ Transplant Act Amendment)
2019 (April 25)	Belgium	Belgian Penal Code Amendment — Van Peel Law
2022 (April / July)	United Kingdom	Health and Care Act 2022 — Sections 170–171 (Organ Trafficking)
2022 (December 14)	Canada	Bill S-223 — Act to amend the Criminal Code and the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (Trafficking in Human Organs)
2023 (June 18)	United States — Texas	Texas SB 1040 — Ch. 1380, Insurance Code
2024 (March 14)	United States — Utah	Utah S.B. 262 — Organ Transplant Amendments
2024 (April 8)	United States — Idaho	Idaho HB 670 — End Organ Harvesting Act
2025 (March 28)	United States — Tennessee	Tennessee Genomic Security and End Organ Harvesting Act
2025 (April 18)	United States — Arkansas	Arkansas SB 311 — End Organ and Genomic Harvesting Act
2025 (May 6)	United States — Arizona	Arizona End Organ Harvesting Act (HB 2109)



**United States House of Representatives
Congressional-Executive Commission on China**

"Truth in Testimony" Disclosure Form

In accordance with Rule XI, clause 2(g) of the Rules of the House of Representatives, witnesses are asked to disclose the following information. Please complete this form and attach it to your written testimony and it may be made publicly available in electronic format.

1. Date of Hearing:
2. Hearing Title:
3. Your Name:
4. Organization, organizations, or government entity you are representing:
5. Position title:
6. Are you an active registrant under the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA)?
_____ Yes _____ No

False Statement Certification:

Knowingly providing material false information to this commission, or knowingly concealing material information from this commission, is a crime (18 U.S.C. 1001). This form may be made part of the hearing record.

Witness Signature

Date

Witness Biographies

Ethan Gutmann, senior research fellow in China Studies at the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation

Ethan Gutmann is a senior research fellow in China Studies at the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation and co-founder of the International Coalition to End Transplant Abuse in China. He is the author of “The Slaughter,” co-author of the influential 2016 investigative report “Bloody Harvest/The Slaughter: An Update,” and author of the newly published “The Xinjiang Procedure,” based on interviews with Uyghur and Kazakh refugees throughout Central Asia.

Ambassador Sam Brownback, U.S. Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, 2018–2021

Ambassador Sam Brownback is a former United States Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom, a former United States Senator, and the 46th Governor of Kansas. He has spent decades advancing human dignity and religious freedom around the world. He currently serves as co-chair of the International Religious Freedom Summit and chairman of the National Committee for Religious Freedom. He is also the author of “China’s War on Faith,” which examines the Chinese Communist Party’s campaign against people of faith.

Jan Jekielek, senior editor, *The Epoch Times* and host, “American Thought Leaders”

Jan Jekielek is senior editor at *The Epoch Times* and host of “American Thought Leaders.” He is a journalist, documentary filmmaker, and author of “Killed to Order: China’s Organ Harvesting Industry & the True Nature of America’s Biggest Adversary.”

Kalbinur Sidik, eyewitness to the forced labor and internment camp system in the Uyghur region, and author of the forthcoming book “Heart Full of Light: Love, Loss, and Survival Inside China’s Gulags”

Kalbinur Sidik is a survivor of China’s genocide and an eyewitness to the forced labor and internment camp system in the Uyghur region. Of Uzbek ethnicity, she served for many years as an elementary school teacher before being forced to work as a Chinese-language instructor in internment camps. She has testified before Western parliaments and the Uyghur Tribunal in London and is the author of the forthcoming book “Heart Full of Light: Love, Loss, and Survival Inside China’s Gulags.”

