# ORGAN HARVESTING OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DISSIDENTS BY THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

## JOINT HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND INVESTIGATIONS

AND THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA, GLOBAL HEALTH, AND HUMAN RIGHTS

OF THE

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# ORGAN HARVESTING OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DISSIDENTS BY THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

**WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 2012**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND INVESTIGATIONS,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
*Washington, DC.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:30 p.m., in room 2172 Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Dana Rohrabacher (chairman of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations) and Hon. Chris Smith (chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights) presiding.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. We call this hearing to order, and thank my colleague, Chairman Chris Smith, for agreeing to hold this hearing jointly between the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee and his Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights Subcommittee. I also want to thank ranking members, Congressman Russ Carnahan, Congresswoman Karen Bass.

The Chinese Communisty Party is a corrupt elite which aggressively claims territory in the South China Sea, pilfers U.S. intellectual property, steals American jobs, and conducts massive espionage against our Government and private enterprises. The CCP spends a vast amount of its time, energy and resources maintaining its grip on power by suppressing the rights of the Chinese people, ethnic groups such as the Tibetans, the Uighurs, and yes, religious practitioners and anyone who speaks up against the party's grip on power.

The CCP and its state security machine uses a wide range of repression techniques including, not only limited to, censorship, beatings, home imprisonment, forced labor camps, those labor camps called the Laogai of course. And the most ghoulish manifestation of this gangsterism is the forced harvesting of organs of the political prisoners and religious followers that it arrests, particularly of the Chinese religious movement known as the Falun Gong.

Last year, the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom found in their annual report that the Communist Party of China maintains an extra judicial security apparatus called the 6–10 office to persecute Falun Gong believers. It is estimated that over half of the 300,000 believed in the Laogai prisons are inmates who happen to be part of the Falun Gong.

Since the CCP began its crackdown in 1999, and began to call the peaceful practice of the Falun Gong an evil cult, thousands

have been killed and their organs ripped out of their body while they were still warm and transplanted into the bodies of rich Chinese and foreign accomplices. Members of the CCP do this in order to make themselves and their children rich, and because the Falun Gong was and remains a peaceful and indigenous movement which attracts tens of millions of followers in China. The CCP cannot allow any independent group in China to exist which can motivate so many people. Any group the CCP does not control is a threat and must be penetrated, subverted and destroyed. The Falun Gong has remained peaceful even in the face of unspeakable brutality. This unbridled obsession with destroying the Falun Gong unmasks the true nature of the CCP.

I look forward to hearing the comments of our panelists. And with us today we have Dr. Damon Noto, who is a spokesman for the organization, Doctors Against Forced Organ Harvesting. He graduated from Mt. Sinai Medical School and is currently an attending physician at Hackensack University Medical Center in New Jersey.

Then we have Dr. Gabriel Danovitch—I hope I am pronouncing that correctly—is a professor of medicine at the David Geffen School of Medicine at UCLA and medical director of the Kidney and Pancreas Transplant Program at the Ronald Reagan Medical Center, and is an expert on organ transplant tissues.

Then we have with us Dr. Charles Lee, who serves as the spokesman for the Global Center for Quitting the Chinese Communist Party. Sounds good to me. He was born in Communist China and lived through the Cultural Revolution. After 1989 he came to the United States. He is a Falun Gong practitioner, and when he traveled back to China in 2003 he was arrested at the airport and spent the next 3 years in a Chinese prison. This occurred despite the fact that he is a U.S. citizen. While in prison he was tortured and forced to make products, some of which were later exported for profit to this country.

Dr. Ethan Gutmann is an accomplished author and currently the adjunct fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies. He has written extensively on China including for the Weekly Standard, National Review and for World Affairs Journal. He is also the author of a book, "Losing the New China: A Story of American Commerce, Desire and Betrayal." He earned his bachelor and master degrees in international affairs from Columbia University.

I believe today's hearing is exceedingly important as we stand in moral witness to the ongoing crimes of the CCP and the possible accomplices that they have to these crimes right here in the United States.

We now have Ms. Bass, did you have an opening statement?

Ms. BASS. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Chairmen Rohrabacher and Smith, I want to thank you for holding this hearing, and I look forward to learning more about this horrific practice. I noted there is some differences in terms of the extent of this practice on the practitioners of Falun Gong, but to me, the idea that you would have the forced harvesting of human organs, regardless, is just really deeply troubling. I know that the March 2012 Wall Street Journal article notes that China recently indicated that it plans to abolish the practice of death row inmate organ harvesting over the next 5

years. I don't why we would do that over the next 5 years and not immediately.

And I would also like to know, and perhaps it will come out in the testimony, since this is a new issue to me, when they are harvesting these organs who are they for and who they go to, are they exported around the world? Is this a profit making business? All of that kind of information I look forward to learning about from our witnesses, and thank you for taking the time out to come.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. We also have with us Chris Smith, and let me just note that Chris and I have fought so many battles together over the years and I have always been very proud that these type of stands which—and let me just note, when you are a Member of Congress, no matter what, there is going to be somebody else that is trying to get your job in the next election. And a lot of times Members of Congress only want to tackle issues that are going to increase the number of contributions to their campaign war chest. Standing up for human rights does not increase the amount of money in your campaign war chest. Chris has been here all of these years and has been fighting the good fight, and it is an honor to have you here and co-chairing this hearing.

Mr. SMITH. Well, Mr. Chairman, thank you for inviting our subcommittee, Ms. Bass and I and members of the subcommittee to join you for this important hearing on the grave, but little publicized human rights abuse occurring in China today, and that has been for many years, organ harvesting.

I wanted to say very clearly for the record how grateful I am for your leadership on human rights in China. Again, very often there are far too few people willing to speak, not about the human rights abuses in China but to do so with such clarity. And I think as most of you know, as a former speechwriter for Ronald Reagan, Dana Rohrabacher knows how to phrase and how to cut right to the chase and has done so with excellence since I have been here. So I want to thank you for that extraordinary leadership.

What adjectives can be used to describe the Chinese doctors and hospitals engaging in large scale harvesting of human organs for profit? The ordinary words like concerned, disturbing, appalling or shocking are inadequate, yet our ordinary humanity shies away from words like barbaric. And in the absence of firm statistics, open waiting lists, tranparency, and the giving of consent, and even the number of Chinese who have been sentenced to death, or condemned prisoners who are said to have been the large number of organ donors, we can't know for sure. But we need to change that and the inquiry has to begin in earnest. All that has been done years to date has set a very, very terrible record for the Chinese Government's organ harvesting, but now we need to go and make this a premier human rights issue.

I want to thank Dr. Charles Lee. He has been tenacious in trying to get the Congress to focus on this important issue, and so I thank him and I look forward to his testimony.

I would add paranthetically that as far back as 1998, June 4th and June 16th, I chaired a hearing on the sale of body parts in the People's Republic of China, and we actually brought in a guard who brought in pictures, Harry Wu was the one who arranged it, and he authenticated, and we had everything he said and everything he

brought to us really raked over the coals to make sure it was accurate and there was absolutely no guile or mischief in his presentation. He sat right where you gentlemen sat and talked about how they would kill prisoners, mostly political and religious prisoners, but not execute them, not kill them immediately, but take out the desired organs and then finish the job of murdering that individual. And whatever was needed, kidneys—what is it that you need? They were able to put in the order, and then the wardens at various prisons would fill that order.

The international transplant community, aware that their life-extending skills might be abused or might set in motion sales of organs by the poor, or favor the rich, have over the years developed demanding protocols to assure that their donations conform to strict ethical and procedural guidelines. The Chinese Government says it is moving toward adherence of these standards. I would say, let us not hold our breath. Let us trust but verify, and in the absence of accurate information can these assurances even be a little bit believed?

All this so far describes the ordinary transplant of such organs as kidneys, livers, lungs, hearts, and corneas from those recently deceased to those who can use them. I am confident we will hear more from our witnesses about transplants in China and where that nation falls short of international standards and protocols.

Mr. Chairman, reports from India, Malaysia, and Israel, of their citizens who traveled to China for transplants that were botched, and the testimony of a few doctors and nurses now outside of China, give disturbing evidence that China has become a lawless zone where medical skills are for sale for huge sums, where organs are said to come from prisoners, and again we began documenting this back in 1998, and I am sure it preceded even then when high officials or transplant tourists with money need not wait for organs to become available, because it is available because they execute a prisoner, where profit and power run over the law or medical ethics, where pious pronouncements are made by the government that they are not doing this.

So far I have spoken of ordinary transplants, but there is a graver prospect, that the Chinese military doctors may be engaged in organ harvesting from living prisoners in Chinese camps and prisons. The charge is that many victims are ethnic minorities, and as Mr. Rohrabacher pointed out, members of the Falun Gong, members of the spiritual movement unjustly held, abused, subjected to psychological and physical torture for nothing more than fidelity to truthfulness, compassion, and forbearance. This possibility pushes, and this probability pushes us into the horrific beyond, beyond the challenges of our language making "barbaric" too calm of a word. If this is true, even the powerful fraught legal term "crimes against humanity" seems inadequate, leached of horror. For those who doubt that horror could be sanctioned by a modern state, I commend the recent article by one of today's witnesses, Ethan Gutmann, and I ask that it be appended to record of this hearing.

In the article of the Weekly Standard from last December, he describes Xinjiang's procedure, removal of organs by teams of surgeons in medical vans immediately after executions. One doctor told him that some of the transplants came from still living vic-

tims, and that comports with what we heard from witnesses back in 1998 and since. He said the stories point to systematic elimination of China's religious and political prisoners, and of course they are making huge profits by doing that.

Without objection, I would, since we were late in starting, ask that my full statement be made a part of the record.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Smith follows:]

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# Organ Harvesting of Religious and Political Dissidents by the Chinese Communist Party

*Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations &*
*Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health and Human Rights*
*Excerpts of Remarks by Chairman Chris Smith*
*September 12, 2012*

Mr. Chairman, thank you for inviting our Subcommittee to join you for this important hearing on a grave but little-publicized human rights abuse occurring in China – organ harvesting.

What adjectives can we use to describe the prospect that Chinese doctors and hospitals are engaged in large-scale harvesting of human organs for profit? The ordinary words like "concern," "disturbing," "appalling," or "shocking" are inadequate, yet our ordinary humanity shies away from saying words like "barbaric." And in the absence of firm statistics, open waiting lists, transparency in the giving of "consent," and even the number of Chinese who have been sentenced of death -- for condemned prisoners are said to be the largest number of organ donors -- we can't know for sure.

The international transplant community, aware that their life-extending skills might be abused, or might set in motion sales of organs by the poor, or favor the rich, have over the years developed demanding protocols to assure that donations conform to strict ethical and procedural guidelines. The Chinese government says it is moving toward adherence to these standards, but in the absence of accurate information, can their assurances be believed?

All of this, so far, describes the ordinary transplant of such organs as kidneys, livers, lungs, hearts, and corneas -- from those recently deceased to those who can use them. I am confident that we will hear more from our witnesses about transplants in China, and where that nation falls short of international standards and protocols.

Fragmentary reports from India, Malaysia, and Israel -- of their citizens who travelled to China for transplants that were botched -- and the testimony of a few doctors and nurses now outside China -- give disturbing evidence that China became a lawless zone. Where medical

skills are for sale for huge sums. Where organs are said to come from prisoners hoping to atone for their crimes. Where high officials or transplant tourists with money need not wait for organs to become available. Where profit and power run over the law, or medical ethics, or pious pronouncements by the government.

So far I have spoken of ordinary transplants. But there's a graver prospect. It is that Chinese military doctors may be engaged in organ harvesting from living prisoners in Chinese prisons and labor camps. The charge is that many victims are ethnic minorities, or members of Falun Gong -- members of the spiritual movement unjustly held, abused, subjected to psychological and physical torture for nothing more than fidelity to "truthfulness, compassion, and forbearance."

This possibility pushes us into a horrific beyond, a beyond that challenges our language, making "barbaric" too calm a word. If this is true, even the powerful, fraught legal term "crimes against humanity" seems inadequate, leached of horror.

For those who doubt that such horror could be sanctioned by a modern state, I commend the recent article by one of today's witnesses, Ethan Gutmann, and I ask that it be appended to the record of this hearing. In an article in an issue of The Weekly Standard last December, he described "the Xinjiang procedure," removal of organs by teams of surgeons in medical vans immediately after executions. One doctor told him that some of the transplants came from still-living victims. He said the stories point to "systematic elimination of China's religious and political prisoners."

These horrific reports of more-than-barbaric transplants beg for evidence, yet proof is in short supply. What we hear is disturbing. That those transplants are reportedly conducted by military doctors, part of a health system that is a "black box." That the victims come from China's prisons or from reeducation through labor camps, far from justice and investigation. That many victims may be Falun Gong practitioners who, when taken into custody, refused to reveal their names for fear of reprisal against relatives and co-religionists. And of course the victims are unable to escape and testify. Expeditious cremation destroys physical evidence.

We must acknowledge that much of the evidence is circumstantial. The few times that Chinese doctors or health officials have discussed China's transplant system at international meetings, the figures don't add up. The confessed failure of the authorities to set up a voluntary organ donor system, combined with estimates of the number of transplants, point in the direction of abuse. Some Falun Gong practitioners released from labor camps report that the camp doctors gave them frequent physical examinations, with special attention to their blood type and the health of their kidneys, livers, lungs, hearts, and eyes. Some specialists have concluded that the labor camp population is considered a pool of individuals whose organs are available on short notice whenever a transplant needs to be scheduled.

We all hope that these fragmentary reports and the circumstantial evidence do not add up to barbarism. Here, tragically, the evidence of other Chinese policies does not give confidence. This is where local officials steal the property of ordinary citizens under the guise of eminent domain to build hotels, factories, and malls. This is a nation where a mother protesting

inadequate sentences meted out to those who sold her daughter into sexual slavery was herself sentenced to reeducation through labor. This is a nation where women are forced to abort their children as routine policy, even in the third trimester. This is where the Communist Party stands above the law. Even so, we hope, we pray, that the stories have been misconstrued.

This is why the evidence of the experts before us today is so important. Humanity cries for us to piece together the truth. I look forward to hearing your testimony and your recommendations for U.S. policy.

Mr. SMITH. But again, Mr. Chairman, I thank you for pulling this hearing together because this barbaric human rights abuse must be stopped, but to stop it we first have to further expose it, which is why we have this panel. Thank you.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Ms. Bass, thank you for being here, and Chris, thank you for being here.

This hearing goes to the heart of what America is really all about, and if we don't care about things like this what kind of country and what kind of people have we become? So thank you to all the witnesses for coming here and helping to expose this horrendous part of what is going on in the world today.

What we are going to ask is each of the witnesses will have 5 minutes to summarize their position. If you have a longer statement you can submit it for the record, and then we will follow that with the questions from the committee to you after you all have finished your opening statements.

So Mr. Gutmann, you may proceed.

**STATEMENT OF MR. ETHAN GUTMANN, ADJUNCT FELLOW, FOUNDATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACIES, AND AUTHOR, "LOSING THE NEW CHINA"**

Mr. GUTMANN. Beginning in 2006, I began conducting comprehensive interviews with medical professionals, Chinese law enforcement personnel, and over 50 refugees from the Laogai System, in order to piece together the story of how mass harvesting from prisoners of conscience evolved in China. Based on my research, the practice began in Xinjiang in the 1990s. By 2001, the practice expanded nationwide, with Falun Gong providing a much larger, and frequently anonymous, pool of potential donors.

My time today is very short. I too was skeptical when I began my investigation. Some of you may be today. So instead of offering my conclusions, I invite you to draw your own conclusions from my evidence, 12 witnesses, each of whom fills in a critical piece of the puzzle.

Harry Wu's research shows that harvesting criminals began in the 1980s. By the early 1990s it had become systemic, a practice involving organ donation consent forms and mobile organ harvesting vans at execution sites. These donors were criminals. Whether or not the criminals signed the forms under duress, they had been convicted of capital crimes under Chinese law.

My first witness, Nijat Abdureyimu, special officer, 1st

Regiment, Urumqi Public Security Bureau, doesn't dispute that but he does note that by 1994, the doctors doing the harvesting had become increasingly uninhibited. A fellow officer, puzzled over the screams, "like from hell" that he heard coming from a harvesting van. Two years later the prison's medical director confessed to Nijiati that organ harvesting from living human beings—they would expire during the surgery of course—was now routine.

My second witness is Dr. Enver Tohti, general surgeon. Based in an Urumqi hospital, under his supervisor's firm direction, Enver performed a live surgical extraction of a man's liver and kidneys on an execution ground. This execution ground was commonly used for political prisoners. The man had long hair, rather than a convict's shaved head. But there are no fully credible allegations of

doctors harvesting political or religious prisoners until 1997, the year of the "Ghulja Incident."

My third witness, a nurse who worked in a Ghulja hospital in 1997, describes the hospital being turned upside down. Arrest of any doctor who dared to treat a Uighur protestor. The segregation of medical staff. Chinese doctors administering slow-acting lethal injections to any Uyghur baby who had the misfortune of being born a second child. Finally, she describes, 6 months after the Ghulja incident, the case of a 21-year-old Uighur protestor harvested for his kidneys by a Chinese military hospital.

This timing jibes with my fourth witness, a young doctor ordered to blood-test prisoners in the political wing of an Urumqi prison on behalf of six highly placed Party officials in search of healthy organs.

The next eight witnesses, and I am going to skip their names for the brevity, come from different backgrounds, were held as prisoners in strikingly different facilities, yet they all had two things in common. They were all practitioners of Falun Gong, and they were all given strikingly similar medical exams. The doctor would draw a large volume of blood, then a chest x-ray, then a urine sample, probing of the abdomen, and in most cases, a close examination of the corneas. Did the doctor ask any of them to trace the movement of his light? Did he wiggle his fingers to check their peripheral vision? No. Only the corneas. Nothing involving brain function. The doctors were checking the retail organs and nothing else.

Now I defy the Chinese authorities to furnish a plausible explanation for such tests, or why these tests were given to thousands of Falun Gong men and women, particularly women, often matched with an individual guard to prevent any disruption. Why were there special buses arranged to take Falun Gong practitioners away after extensive blood testing? Or why, as time progressed, "Eastern Lightning" Christians, or Tibetan activists were given the same exams? Now I can't supply a death count for those groups. But I estimate that 65,000 Falun Gong were murdered for their organs from 2000 to 2008.

Given my time limitations here, I request that you include my recent chapter in State Organs, which explicitly explains the methodology behind that number, along with two articles, "China's Gruesome Organ Harvest," and "The Xinjiang Procedure," in the record of today's hearings. Anyone who reads this material will quickly grasp the obvious, the demand for the harvesting of political prisoners came not from triads, but aging Party cadres. China is a surveillance state. It is aimed at observing Party members and the military. Wang Lijun himself was given an award for medical innovation in organ harvesting, so "Party Central" knew about this. This was state-run, and any reader will quickly grasp why the Quit-the-Party movement cannot be a Reform-the-Party movement.

Ultimately, my writing and my testimony cannot do justice to these 12 witnesses, but I can report one thing with certainty. Every one of these witnesses that I mentioned has consented to testify openly before this committee. Now the fact is, these witnesses have begun to realize there is strength in the collective narrative and in transparency, particularly in the West, and particular if the U.S. Government facilitates this transparency. Sadly, little support has

come forward in the 6 years since these first allegations have surfaced. Much more evidence has accumulated since that time but our Government has done little.

So I believe a tragedy is being played out, even in this hearing today, for in the final analysis these witnesses are the men and women who should be sitting in this chair today, not me.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Gutmann follows:]

Congressional Testimony

# Organ Harvesting of Religious and Political Dissidents by the Chinese Communist Party

Ethan Gutmann
Adjunct Fellow
Foundation for Defense of Democracies

**Hearing before House Committee on Foreign Affairs**
Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations

Washington, DC
September 12, 2012

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Ethan Gutmann September 12, 2012

Thank you for inviting me to participate in this profoundly important hearing. Beginning in 2006, I began conducting comprehensive interviews with medical professionals, Chinese law enforcement personnel, and over 50 refugees from the Laogai System, in order to piece together the story of how mass harvesting from prisoners of conscience evolved in China. Based on my research, the practice began in Xinjiang in the late 1990s. By 2001 the practice expanded nationwide, with Falun Gong providing a much larger, and frequently anonymous, pool of potential 'donors.'

Yet my time today is short. I too was skeptical when I began my investigation, as some of you may be today. So instead of offering my conclusions, I invite you to draw your own conclusions from my evidence—twelve witnesses, each of whom fills in a critical piece of the organ harvesting puzzle—before I speculate, briefly, on the implications and the full human cost. I'll also touch upon the potential function of the quit-the-CCP movement I think most people in this room are familiar with Harry Wu's research. Harvesting criminals began in the 1980s. By the early 1990s it had become systemic, a practice involving "organ donation" consent forms and mobile harvesting vans at execution sites. The donors were criminals. And whether or not the criminals signed the forms under duress, they had been convicted of capital crimes under Chinese law.

My first witness, Nijat Abdureyimu, special officer, 1st Regiment, Urumqi Public Security Bureau, doesn't dispute any of that. But he does note that by 1994, the doctors doing the harvesting became increasingly uninhibited. That's when his fellow officer puzzled over the screams—"like from hell"—that he heard coming from a harvesting van. Two years later the prison's medical director confessed to Nijiati that organ harvesting from living human beings—they would expire during the surgery of course—was now routine.

My second witness, Dr. Enver Tohti, general surgeon, based in an Urumqi hospital, recalls an execution ground outside the city in 1995: a prisoner shot in the chest, not to kill, but to send the body into deep shock, minimizing the squirming and contractions that could make harvesting problematic. Under his supervisor's firm direction, Enver performed a live surgical extraction of the man's liver and kidneys.

The execution ground was commonly used for political prisoners, and the man had long hair, rather than a convict's shaved head. But Enver will not speculate, nor will I: there are no fully credible allegations of doctors harvesting political or religious prisoners—who only very rarely can plausibly be sentenced to death under Chinese law—until 1997, the year of the "Ghulja Incident."

My third witness, a nurse who worked in a Ghulja hospital, describes a hospital turned upside down: arrest of any doctor who dared to treat a Uyghur protestor, forced segregation of Uyghur medical staff, and Chinese doctors administering slow-acting lethal injections to any Uyghur baby who had the misfortune of being a second child. Finally, she describes, six months after the Ghulja incident, the case of a 21-year-old Uyghur protestor, harvested for his kidneys by a Chinese military hospital.

That timing jibes with my fourth witness, a young doctor ordered to blood-test prisoners in the political wing of an Urumqi prison on behalf of six highly placed Party officials in search of healthy organs. As these political prisoners were not on death row, they panicked and had to be restrained. Against every fiber of conscience in his being, the young doctor played his part. "It's just for your health," he said, as he drew blood. Six months later there were six new Party cadres, and the cycle repeated.

The next eight witnesses—Qu Yangyao, Wang Yuzhi, Wang Xiaohua, Jing Tian, Dai Ying, Fang Siyi, Yu Xinhui, and Liu Guifu—come from different backgrounds and were held as prisoners in strikingly different facilities throughout the Chinese Laogai System. Yet all have two things in common: they are all practitioners of Falun Gong, and they were all given strikingly similar medical exams. The doctor, usually military, drew a large volume of blood. Then a chest x-ray. Then a urine sample, probing of the abdomen and, in most cases, a close examination of the corneas. Did the doctor ask any of them to trace the movement of his light? Did he wiggle his fingers to check the peripheral vision? No. Only the corneas. Nothing involving brain function, no hammer on the knee, no lymph nodes, no examination of ears or mouth or genitals—the doctors checked the retail organs and nothing else.

I defy the Chinese authorities to furnish a plausible medical explanation for such tests. Or why these tests were given to thousands of Falun Gong men and women—particularly women, often matched with an individual guard to prevent any disruption. Or why there were special buses arranged to take away Falun Gong practitioners after extensive blood testing. Or why, as time progressed, "Eastern Lightning" Christians, or Tibetan activists, were given the same exams.

I can't supply a death-count for House Christians, Uyghurs and Tibetans. But I estimate that 65,000 Falun Gong were murdered for their organs from 2000 to 2008. And given my time limitations here, I request that you include my recent chapter in State Organs (which explicitly explains the methodology behind that number) along with two articles, "China's Gruesome Organ Harvest," and "the Xinjiang Procedure," in the record of today's hearings. Anyone who reads this material will quickly grasp the obvious: The demand for the harvesting of political prisoners came not from triads, but aging party cadres. China is a surveillance state, aimed at observing party members and the military. Wang Lijun himself was given an award for medical innovation in organ harvesting. So "Party Central" knew about this. This was state-run. And any reader will quickly grasp why the quit-the-party movement cannot be a reform-the-Party movement.

But ultimately, my writing and my testimony cannot do justice to these twelve witnesses. I cannot replicate the sensation of a guard's tears falling on my arm as she says that she "can't bear to see… a living person about to be wiped out in front of my eyes." But there is one more thing that draws all twelve witnesses together: even if I have protected some of their identities today, I can report—with certainty—that every one of these witnesses has consented to testify openly before this committee. And if they do, a Taiwanese

surgeon who can indisputably verify that Falun Gong organs were being used for his aging patients is likely to step forward as well.

Testimony by such witnesses takes courage. It carries intense risks for their families. Shortly after Nijat first consented to an interview with a Swiss paper, his sister, back in Xinjiang, was arrested for three months. And yet, these witnesses have begun to realize that there is strength in the collective narrative and in transparency—particularly if the West, and in particular, the US government, facilitates this transparency. Sadly, no such support has come forward in the six years since the first allegations surfaced. Much more evidence has accumulated since that time, but our government has done little. A tragedy is being played out, even in this hearing today, for in the final analysis, these witnesses are the men and women who should be sitting in this chair today, not me.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much for that testimony.

Dr. Lee, you may proceed.

Dr. LEE. Can I testify after these two doctors on my left, please? Because I think that make more sense.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. That will be just fine. Thank you.

Dr. LEE. Thank you.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Doctor, would you like to proceed?

**STATEMENT OF GABRIEL DANOVITCH, M.D., PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE, UCLA MEDICAL SCHOOL**

Dr. DANOVITCH. Good afternoon, Honorable Chairman Rohrabacher, Mr. Smith, Ms. Bass, Members of Congress, congressional staff and guests. I am Gabriel Danovitch. I am a professor of medicine at UCLA. I am also the secretary of the international Transplantation Society (TTS), which is the NGO for the WHO for matters of transplantation.

TTS and the International Society of Nephrology (ISN) are cosponsors of the Declaration of Istanbul on organ trafficking and transplant tourism, a declaration that has been endorsed by over 100 governments and professional organizations around the world, and which works to support an end to the exploitation of vulnerable organ donors around the world and to put a stop to the use of organs of executed prisoners in China.

Let me say categorically that the recovery of organs for transplantation from executed prisoners is regarded internationally as an unacceptable abrogation of human rights. The Chinese Ministry of Health has also said repeatedly that it is not consistent with international standards, yet it continues.

There may be doubts about the number, but there can be no doubts about the Chinese own numbers that you can look up on the Chinese Ministry of Health own Web site, CLTR, the China Liver Transplant Registry, which as of August 2012, that is last month, gives over 21,000 executed prisoners for liver transplant. The numbers may be considerably more than that but they are unlikely to be less than the Chinese Government's own statistics. There was some dropoff in these numbers at the time of the Olympic Games in China in 2008, under the influence of Congress, but since that time those numbers seem to be increasing.

The ease in which these organs can be obtained and the manner that they may be allocated to wealthy foreigners has engendered a culture of corruption which also affects living donation where vending is rampant. Despite Chinese laws, there are Chinese laws to this effect which are often flouted, and statements by the Ministry of Health admit that their own laws are flouted. These Chinese organ recovery practices have wide implications beyond China. China has become a hub for wealthy foreigners seeking quick access to organs, and in doing so this has undermined the development of organ recovery in other countries. I include Americans who travel to China and other countries to purchase organs in numbers that we do not know, and I will come back to that in a moment why that is an important job for this group.

The medical outcome for recipients of these organs is often poor, both from executed prisoners and from vended donors. U.S. citizens returning from China and from other countries that have been in-

volved in organ vending often do so with life-threatening medical complications requiring prolonged hospital care, high mortality rate and significant public health risk. I have observed this personally in my own practice at the UCLA Ronald Reagan Medical Center and have published in this matter.

On the positive side, attempts are being made by the Chinese Ministry of Health to develop alternative organ recovery practices that are consistent with international standards. The Transplantation Society, and the Declaration of Instanbul Custodian Group (DICS) is actively engaged in trying to support the activities. With respect to the United States, this country has recently improved its public transparency and accountability regarding non-residents coming to the United States for transplants. However, there is no transparency or reliable information on U.S. citizens that travel to China and elsewhere, despite the medical risk and public health implication and tremendous cost involved in that. We just do not know. There is no information on that.

Organ vending does not only occur in China. The WHO has identified several hot spots in developing countries around the world. Organ vending in this country remains illegal according to NOTA, the National Organ Transplantation Act, yet it is not illegal for United States citizens to engage in vending abroad. The U.S. should take the lead in this regard in stopping its citizens from going abroad to break the laws in other countries. Other countries have passed such laws.

The Transplantation Society, and the DICG has made and will continue to make efforts to deny academic recognition to those whose practice is contrary to its ethical standards. We also are attempting to influence the behavior of pharmaceutical companies.

It is hard for us to control what goes on in China, but we do have some control about what goes on in this country and how we affect the behavior of Americans. It is not enough for us to express abhorence to this practice, Congress can tell Americans not to go to China or elsewhere to purchase organs from the living or the dead. We can do that. The U.S. should prohibit citizens from contravening organ transplant laws in other countries and should work to achieve international consensus. The National Organ Transplantation Act, NOTA, of which we are rightly proud in this country, should be given extra territorial jurisdiction.

All U.S. residents returning to this country after receiving an organ transplant performed legally or illegally in another country should be required to declare this fact on their return. Such a policy would permit transparency and protect public health. U.S. visa DS–160 now is a small step in that direction. When you fill in your customs form when you come into the United States you say whether or not you have been on a farm or you are bringing in nuts, but you don't have to say whether or not you purchased an organ in another country.

U.S. companies should be prohibited from undertaking organ transplant related clinical activities or benefiting from the sale of equipment or pharmaceuticals if the source of organs is executed prisoners or commercial organ donation. And we have tried to make some progress with pharmaceutical companies in that regard.

Human trafficking for organ removal, which occurs not only in China but in other countries in the world, should be added to the Trafficking Victim Protections Act, TVPA. The U.S. Organ and Procurement and Transplantation Network, which is a branch of the DHHS around the corner from here, has accepted the definitions of the Declaration of Istanbul, and UNOS has accepted, which is the organization which governs transplantation in the United States, has accepted the principles of this declaration. Several governments now include the declaration in their transplant regulations. The U.S. Government and the State Department should promote the principles of the Declaration of Istanbul and the World Health Assembly whose Guiding Principles now cover these principles.

Through its good offices in China and elsewhere, the U.S. Government and State Department should make it clear that the use of organs from executed prisoners and the buying and selling of organs from the living and the dead around the world is an unacceptable abrogation of human rights, and the U.S. should be prepared to offer the Chinese authorities assistance in the development of alternative, ethically acceptable organ retrieval practices. The U.S. professional transplant community is at the ready to help in that regard. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Danovitch follows:]

The Transplantation Society

The DECLARATION of ISTANBUL on ORGAN TRAFFICKING and TRANSPLANT TOURISM

Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations. Washington DC September 12 2102

Gabriel Danovitch MD
Distinguished Professor of Medicine, David Geffen School of Medicine at UCLA
Medical Director, Kidney and Pancreas Transplant Program,
Ronald Reagan Medical Center at UCLA

How should the US Government and medical community respond to the continued use of executed prisoners as a source of organs for transplantation in China and the abuse of vulnerable living organ donors elsewhere?

It is my privilege to address this committee. I do so in my personal capacity as a Professor of Medicine at UCLA with a long career engaged in clinical organ transplantation, as a representative of The Transplantation Society (TTS) for which society I am Secretary, and as a representative of the Custodian Group of the Declaration of Istanbul (DICG) whose Patient Affairs Committee I co-chair. TTS (www.tts.org) is an international organization founded in 1966 of more than 5000 members with activities in more than 100 countries with organ transplantation services around the world. TTS

together with the International Society of Nephrology (ISN) cosponsored a most important international forum on transplantation ethics in 2008 leading to the Declaration of Istanbul on Organ Trafficking and Transplant Tourism (www.declarationofistanbul.org) which has been endorsed by over a hundred professional organizations and governmental agencies around the world.
The Declaration of Istanbul called for a prohibition of organ trafficking and organ trade and transplant tourism. It rejected the use of organs from executed prisoners.

During the late 1980's and 1990's technical expertise in organ transplantation spread across the world from the originating centers of excellence here in the United States, from Europe and from a limited number of developed Western economies such as Australia, to less developed healthcare environments across Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Indian Sub-continent. The phenomena of transplant commercialism and human organ trafficking metamorphosed during this spread of expertise from a small, hidden and limited activity such that by the turn of the century it had become a prominent and pervasive influence on organ transplantation throughout the world. The prevailing view amongst transplant physicians and surgeons in developed countries during the 1980's and 1990's was that paid organ "donation" was mostly limited to surgery undertaken by some individual "bad apples' in India, Pakistan, China and perhaps some other smaller emerging economies. It became, in the early years of the 21st Century, evident that this limited perspective was incompatible with the enormous growth in organ transplantation as a commercial "for-profit activity" especially with the rise of transplantation from executed prisoners in China for profit from wealthy foreigners from rich counties with poor transplantation healthcare infrastructure such as in the Middle East or where transplantation was curtailed for cultural reasons such as in Japan..

The governments of Colombia and Spain called attention to the problem in 2003 and asked that the World Health Organization (WHO) to enquire into the issue and determine if a revision of the 1991 Guiding Principles for organ donation and transplantation was required (1). TTS, which is a non-government organization (NGO) in official relation with the WHO was part of the consultation from the start, and built a mirror-image

professional strategy to the governmental WHO processes. TTS, in concert with the International Society of Nephrology (ISN), also examined the data and asked questions of the field to understand the truths in global organ commercialism and human organ trafficking. The answers were not reassuring and confirmed – as did the WHO – that malpractices were rampant, transplant commercialism and human organ trafficking were indeed taking place in China, Colombia, Egypt, Pakistan, The Philippines, India and in Eastern Europe amongst other places. It was clear to TTS and ISN that a professional code of practice was required irrespective of any decisions by governments. The Declaration of Istanbul was thus borne from this determination in 2008. In 2010, the World Health Assembly (WHA) endorsed a revised version of the WHO Guiding Principles on Cell, Tissue and Organ Transplantation (2). These guiding principles uphold those of the Declaration

With respect to China specifically, the practice of obtaining organs for transplantation from executed prisoners has been widely regarded as an unacceptable abrogation of human rights for decades. It was not until 2007 that expression of abhorrence of the practice and a series of practical steps to respond were published in a respected academic journal on behalf of professional transplant society- The Transplantation Society which included specific reference to these steps in it membership ethics statement (3). Prior to the Olympic Games in China in 2008 members of the Congress communicated with Chinese government to clarify the role of the Falun Gong as forced donors. Yet despite international condemnation, including recognition by highly placed government officials of the People's Republic of China that the practice is unacceptable and does not conform to international standards, it continues (4). In addition, according to Chinese law, it is illegal for foreigners to undergo transplantation in China from a deceased donor. This law is being flouted and Americans and others exploit the laxity in the fulfillment of these regulations and the culture of corruption that accompanies them that are recognized publically by Chinese authorities.

Americans who travel to China and elsewhere to purchase organs also do so at great risk. It has been well-documented that the medical outcomes of such transplants are poor;

mortality and morbidity rates are unacceptable high, and on their return to the US many such transplant recipients require long and complex hospital admissions and medical care as a result of life-threatening surgical and infectious complications. My own personal experience in this regard has been published (5)

The last decade has seen a welcomed sea-change in the nature of interaction between China and the rest of the world on many levels, such that it is hard to recall the near isolation of that great country a mere generation ago. Medical research from China commonly reaches the English-speaking world, medical exchange and training is common, and pharmaceutical companies do business on a massive level and conduct drug-development and clinical research. These normative and welcome interactions are now accompanied for the first time by submission of reports of organ transplant-related clinical experience and clinical research where the "donor" source has been executed prisoners. Overtly benign statements of the source of transplanted organs obscure the fact that deceased donor organ recovery in China involves death by execution and that those euphemistically described as 'donating' their organs were prisoners, whose 'severe brain injury' was most likely a result of execution by a gun-shot to the head. It is difficult to know for sure how many such "donation by execution" take place in China but it is safe to say that the numbers provided by the official China Liver Transplant Registry (www.cltr.org.en), which reported over 21,000 cases in the period between January 1993 and August 2012, are likely to represent a low estimate: there may be many more.

**What can the US medical community do?**

The *American Journal of Transplantation* (AJT) is the official journal of the American Society of Transplantation (AST) and The American Society of Transplant Surgeons (ASTS). In an editorial commentary (6) in AJT on the publication of data obtained from transplants where executed prisoners were the donor source a series of options for action by the professional transplant community was proposed: these included

- International and national professional medical societies and journals should not accept abstracts, publications or presentations from Chinese transplant centers

unless the authors clearly indicate that the data presented is in concordance with the most recent Chinese government regulations regarding transplant tourism and that executed prisoners were not the source of organs.

- Membership of international professional societies by Chinese transplant professionals must be conditioned by acceptance of ethics policies that specifically express the unacceptability of executed prisoners as a source of organs.
- Pharmaceutical companies must ensure that no executed prisoners are the source of organs used in their studies and that Chinese government regulations regarding transplant tourism are adhered to rigorously.
- Training of Chinese transplant professionals by the international community must be conditioned on commitments that trainees will not engage, directly or indirectly, in the use of organs from executed prisoners.

Since May 2011, the *American Journal of Transplantation* routinely includes in the instructions to authors submitting manuscripts for publication the following statement:

> "The *American Journal of Transplantation* (AJT) will not accept manuscripts whose data derives from transplants involving organs obtained from executed prisoners. Manuscripts writing about this practice (e.g. an editorial or a report recounting the secondary consequences of this practice) may be considered at the discretion of the Editorial Board, but require a written appeal to the Board prior to submission of the manuscript."

The prestigious US Biomedical Research publication the *Journal of Clinical Investigation* published a specific editorial position statement regarding publication of articles on human organ transplantation opening with the following statement (7):

> "The practice of transplanting organs from executed prisoners in China appears to be widespread. We vigorously condemn this practice and, effective immediately, will not consider manuscripts on human organ transplantation for publication unless appropriate non-coerced consent of the donor is provided and substantiated".

Other steps have been taken. The website of the Declaration of Istanbul on organ Trafficking and Transplant Tourism (www.declarationofistanbul.org) includes a document on Policy for Meeting Content which includes the following statement

"All abstract submission forms should include a statement to the effect that 'The authors attest that (a) all data (clinical finding, description of clinical material, etc) were derived from research and clinical activities carried out in accordance with the Principles of the Declaration of Istanbul and (b) executed prisoners were not the source or organs and tissues in any of the activities reported'."

This policy was included in the instructions for abstract submission at the International Society for Organ Donation and Procurement (ISODP) meeting in Buenos Aires in November 2011 and at the World Transplant Congress in Berlin in July 2012.

**What can the US Government do?**

The new DS-160 US visa application form: "Security And Background : Part 3" includes the following new questions for all visa types: "Have you ever been directly involved in the coercive transplantation of human organs or bodily tissue?" Inclusion of this question represent official US Government recognition of the abrogation Human Rights that is intrinsic to commercial organ donation form both the living and the dead and that the use of organs and tissues from executed prisoners is intrinsically coercive. US law through the National Organ Transplant Act (NOTA (1984 Pub.L. 98-507) criminalizes commercial organ donation and the first prosecution under this Act has recently been successfully completed (8). Regulations of the United Network for Organ Donation (UNOS, available at www.unos.org) relating to the transplantation of non-US residents have been updated as of September 2012 and serve to increase the public transparency and accountability of this practice. Yet much remains to be done.

• NOTA criminalizes the buying and selling of organs in the US but says nothing of such practice outside of the US. Chinese Ministry of Health regulations officially prohibit the selling of both living and deceased donor organs to foreigners, yet

the practice continues. The US should prohibit US citizens from contravening the organ transplant laws of other countries and should work to achieve international consensus and agreement to that effect. NOTA should be given extraterritorial jurisdiction.

• All US residents returning to this country after receiving an organ transplant, performed, legally or illegally, in another country, should be required to declare this fact on their return. Such a policy would permit transparency and protect public health

• Through its good offices in China and elsewhere the US Government should make it clear that the use of organs form executed prisoners and the buying and selling of organs from the living and the dead, is an unacceptable abrogation of Human Rights.

• The US should be prepared to offer the Chinese authorities assistance in the developments of alternative, ethically acceptable, organ retrieval practice.

• The US Organ Procurement and Transplant Network (OPTN a branch of the Department of Health and Human Services) has accepted the Definitions of the Declaration of Istanbul and UNOS has accepted the Principles of the Declaration. Several governments now include reference to the Declaration in their transplant regulations. The US government should promote the Principles of the Declaration of Istanbul and the World Health Assembly both at home and abroad.

• Human trafficking for organ removal (HTOR) should be added to the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA)

• US companies should be prohibited from undertaking organ transplant-related clinical research activity or benefitting from the sale of equipment or pharmaceuticals if the source of the organs is from executed prisoners or commercial organ donation.

**Concluding comments**

Since the promulgation of the Declaration of Istanbul and under its influence positive changes have taken place in the organ transplant endeavors of several countries that were previously designated as "hotspots" of transplant tourism by the WHO; including India, Pakistan, Columbia, and the Philippines. Positive changes have also taken place in countries that had historically "exported" its citizens to receive organ transplant overseas; these include Israel, Gulf countries, and Japan (9). With respect to China, it should be emphasized that it is the intent of the suggestions listed in this document to provide succor to those in China and elsewhere who wish to see positive change. In this respect, to their credit, some Chinese Ministry of Health officials have indicated their intention to end the practice and pilot projects with the use of brain dead donors and are underway (10). TTS and DICG maintain active contact with colleagues in China who are working to develop ethically acceptable alternatives to the use of executed prisoner organs and commercial living donation. Yet the use of executed prisoner organs continues.

Expressions of good intentions are not enough. For the professional transplant community and government authorities it is not adequate to merely give lip service to our repugnance. We cannot control events in China, but:

- Professional organizations that control the content of their meetings and journals must continue to categorically insist that Chinese professionals apply internationally accepted ethical standards and work towards the day when Chinese organ transplantation will take its place as an honored and respected member of the international organ transplant community.
- Congress and can legislatively influence the behavior of US citizens.
- The State Department can call for a transparency of practice as it pertains to the products of human origin to make certain that the rights of individuals are not exploited through organ trade.

**The US Congress leads the world in effecting acceptable organ transplant practice. The US needs to provide an example in its own practice and demonstrate lack of acceptance of anyone within US jurisdiction profiteering from the desperation of patients in need of transplantation, or the poor and vulnerable of the world for money, or from prisoners whose body parts are worth large sums of money when they are executed. The Transplantation Society and the Declaration of Istanbul Custodian Group seek the help of Congress and the State Department to set the example for the rest of the world so that individuals not be victimized for their organs.**

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Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much.
Dr. Noto?

**STATEMENT OF DAMON NOTO, M.D., SPOKESMAN, DOCTORS AGAINST FORCED ORGAN HARVESTING**

Dr. NOTO. Thank you for allowing me to come to speak today on such an important topic. I am a spokesperson for an organization called, "Doctors Against Forced Organ Harvesting," and my purpose here today is to try and convey to you the information we have learned over the past decade.

Since the 1990s evidence has continued to mount which concern the medical community that Chinese transplant practices were just completely unethical. And this goes back to what he mentioned before, in 1998 when a prisoner guard testified here, and then in 2001, a Chinese medical doctor named Wang Guoqi fled to the United States, testified in front of Congress that China was organs from executed prisoners. This is something the Chinese Communist Party at the time completely denied.

Many doctors then started becoming very alarmed at the rapid exponential increase in transplantations that were taking place in China since 1999, and then the number of transplant centers just took off. Chinese tranplant centers went from 150 in 1999 to over 600 by early 2000. And according to the Chinese Vice Minister of Health, the number of transplants performed each year went from several hundred in 1999 to well over 10,000 a year by 2008. And the China Daily Newspaper reported that the actual number in 2006 was 20,000. And now it is widely recognized that China performs the second most amount of transplantations only second to the United States.

Even more troublesome was evidence that China seemed to have an overabundance of organs and that their medical tourism business was booming. They had hospitals advertising all over the internet that they could guarantee patients organs within the time frame of weeks, and they could even schedule them in advance. To put that in perspective, the United States waiting time for a kidney is over 3 years.

It became apparent that China's organ harvesting was an extremely profitable business, with the Chinese medical centers often saying that their number one source of revenue was their transplant unit, and that on their Web sites they were saying they were charging $30,000 for a cornea, $60,000 for a kidney, $150,000 for a heart. Imagine what one person was worth, in the hundreds of thousands.

Some people may think, ah, it makes sense. China is such a large country, so many people. But you really need to take a few factors into consideration. One, China does not have a formal public organ donation program, and two, they have no organized national distribution system. And even, even though they tried many times, the Beijing Red Cross themselves stated in 2011 that over the past 20 years only 37 people nationwide had registered to become an organ donor. Take that in comparison to the United Kingdom who has 18 million people as registered donors. Many people believe this is because the Chinese people believe, have a very

strong spiritual belief that they need to be buried with their organs intact.

So the question becomes, how does China become the number two transplant country in the world, and where are these organs coming from? Well, in 2005 the Vice Minister of Health of China admitted that over 95 percent of the organs transplanted come from executed prisoner. And then 2010, he stated again that between 1997 and 2008 China had performed more than 100,000 transplantations, and over 90 percent of the organs came from executed prisoners. This is China saying that themselves.

Although the Chinese Government admits the major source of organs is from executed prisoners, they don't actually give official numbers for either the amount of people they execute every year or the amount of people they transplant every year. If you look at many experts that try to estimate it, it is anywhere from about 2,000 to 8,000 executions a year takes place in China, which is more than all the world combined. But that still falls short of the 10,000 organs that they are saying they are transplanting every year. So the numbers that they are saying they are transplanting every year. So the numbers don't add up. Even if they executed 10,000 a year and transplanted 10,000 a year, there would still be a very large discrepancy. Why is that? It is simply impossible that those 10,000 people executed would match perfectly the 10,000 people that needed the organs.

You really have so many factors that go into play when you are transplanting somebody, and many times we will use the ratio of 10:1. It takes ten people to find a suitable donor for one person. So if we go by those numbers, they couldn't be just executing 10,000 people. Doing it the way they say they are doing, they would have to be executing around at least 100,000 people.

Then there is the factor of time, which needs to be really understood. Once you harvest someone's organs it is not that you can keep these organs around forever. There is a very short window of time. Take for example, a heart, which only has about 8 hours once removed from the body. And you have the fact that China's own state laws says that prisoners once sentenced to execution have to be executed within 7 days. And this almost happens automatically. So we don't have the situation in China where we have all these people on death row. It is just not like that.

So saying this, this means that the prisoners sentenced to death cannot fully account for all the transplantations that are taking place in China, especially when we talk about medical tourism patients. So how are they able to have this "on-demand" transplant system that is capable of extremely short times? The only way they can be doing this is if they have another source of living donors that are available on demand. And I say living donors. And this is where, in some cases, the actual transplant operation itself becomes the method of execution.

It has been through many different investigations that we now come to believe that it is prisoners of conscience, including Falun Gong practitioners, Tibetans, Uighurs, house Christians, who are being killed for their organs. And many of us now believe that the practioners of Falun Gong may be one of the worst victims because

they comprise by many, or are believed by many to be the largest population of prisoners of conscience in China today.

Also if you look at the timeline of the onset of China's boom in transplantations and the onset of the persecution of Falun Gong, it almost runs in complete parallel with both of them starting in 1999. Plus you have the fact that Falun Gong practitioners become particularly vulnerable because they often don't give their true identities while in prison to protect their family and loved ones. We also know that they are subjected to tests, like blood and urine tests, physical exams, ultrasound evaluations, multiple times while they are incarcerated.

How can all this be possible? Well, China has a very unique situation where the military controls the prison systems, the forced labor camps and the majority of the hospitals performing these transplantations. Therefore they are able to do all the coordinating to make it possible and they have the ability to do it secretively.

So where does this put us? Well, we have American doctors, we have American hospitals, we have American universities facing an extremely important dilemma, and we have a place where American doctors need to know what is going on. Currently, we have physicians, like Dr. Danovitch just said, have their patients going to China for organs. We have our own hospitals training these transplant surgeons from China. We have our universities participating in funding research in China on transplantation. We have our certain well-known pharmaceutical companies selling the transplant medications needed to do the transplants and even funding clinical trials in China to develop new ones.

If we look at the numbers, every day there is a few dozen people being killed for their organs, and if we wait another 5 years as the Chinese Medical Association has said it is going to take to stop this, there is a possibility of another 50,000 innocent lives that will be taken.

I stand before you today hoping that the U.S. Government will perform an official investigation into this matter and release all evidence it has about China's transplant practices. How can we expect our doctors and hospitals to make good decisions without all the information? In fact, our medical community have become accomplices to this horrible, terrific tragedy. I recommend also, Congress pass a resolution condemning China's forced organ harvesting from prisoners and prisoners of conscience. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Noto follows:]

Joint Hearing
Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee
Africa, Global Health and Human Rights Subcommittee
House Committee on Foreign Affairs

September 12, 2012

# Organ Harvesting of Religious and Political Dissidents by the Chinese Communist Party

Good afternoon,

Honorable Chairman Rohrabacher, Honorable Chairman Smith, members of the Subcommittee for Oversight and for Human Rights, members of Congress, and distinguished panelists.

Thank you for your invitation to this hearing today.

It is my honor and privilege to testify here before you in Congress.

My name is Damon Noto and I am a spokesperson for the organization Doctors Against Forced Organ Harvesting (DAFOH). The organization consists of Medical Professionals from around the world, who investigate the practice of illegal or unethical harvesting or transplantation of organs in countries all over the world. Since the start of our NGO the focus of our attention has been on China and this is for good reason. My purpose today is to convey to you the information the medical community has come to learn over the past decade.

Since the 1990's and early 2000's evidence has continued to mount, which concerns the medical community, and in particular, the transplant medical community that China's transplant practices were completely unethical. As early as 2001, the first solid evidence surfaced when a Chinese Medical Doctor named Wang Guoqi fled to the United States and testified in a U.S. Congressional hearing that China was transplanting organs from executed prisoners, which at the time the Chinese Communist Party vehemently denied.

Medical Doctors became further alarmed with the rapid **exponential increase in transplantations** that was occurring in China from 2000 onward. This plus the tremendous increase in the **number of transplant centers** in China was very concerning since no other country has ever grown so fast in this regard. China's transplant centers went from **150 in 1999** to over **600 by early 2007** showing the confidence that the transplant industry would continue to be viable for many years to come; not to mention the construction of the largest transplant center in all of Asia, the 16 Floor, 300 bed

Organ Transplant Center in Tianjin, which stated that they have performed transplants on tens of thousands of patients from abroad. According to China's Vice Minister of Health, the total number of transplantations performed each year went from several hundred transplantations in 1999 to well over **10,000 transplantations per year** in 2008. The China Daily newspaper reported that the actual transplant number was 20,000 in 2006. It is now recognized by the international transplant community that China now performs **the second most** amount of transplantations a year second only to the United States.

Even more troublesome was evidence that China began to have an **overabundance of organs** accessible for organ transplantation, and that their **Medical Tourism** for organ transplants was booming. Chinese Hospitals were all over the internet advertising that they could guarantee patients organs within the **timeframe of weeks** and they could even be **scheduled in advance**! Some Hospital websites were even bold enough to state that their transplant results were superior because they were able to test the living donor's kidney function prior to the harvesting. Furthermore, various types of transplants were possible including heart and liver transplants. In 2005 Doctor Jacob Lavee, Director of the Heart Transplant Unit at Sheba Medical Center of Isreal was told by his patient, who had been waiting for a heart transplant for over one year, that he was told by a hospital in China that he was scheduled for a heart transplant in two weeks time and he was scheduled for a specific date. That patient indeed went to China and underwent the operation on the exact date as promised ahead of time. To say the Doctor was shocked would be an understatement. How could someone be told that a heart could be available for him in two weeks time and **pre-schedule** the date for surgery?

It became apparent that organ harvesting became an **extremely profitable business** in China with some hospitals stating that their organ transplantation programs were their **#1 source of revenue**. The China International Transplantation Network Assistance Centre Website (http://en.zoukiishoku.com/) (Shenyang City) in 2006 displayed the following price list: Kidney: $62,000, Liver: $98,000-130,000, Liver-kidney: $160,000-180,000, Kidney-pancreas: $150,000, Lung: $150,000-170,000, Heart: $130,000-160,000, Cornea: $30,000 All of this was good timing for a health care system that had been failing severely since the 1980s when the Chinese government moved towards a more market-based system in which hospitals were left under funded by the government and forced to invent new ways to make sufficient revenue.

Some people might think it makes sense that China does so many transplantations every year, since China is such a large country with a huge population, but there are many factors that need to be considered. First, there is **no formal public organ donation program** in China and there is no organized national distribution system. This means hospitals are left to fend for themselves and have their own waiting times and organ supply. Although, several attempts to implement public organ donation programs have occurred they have all failed. This is including the Chinese Red Cross pilot program in 2011. The Beijing Red Cross stated in 2011 that only 3 people in Beijing had come forward to donate organs in the past 20 years and only 37 people nationwide had registered to become organ donors. This is in stark contrast to other countries such as the U.K. who has 18 million people as registered donors. Most experts attribute the failure to

**cultural reasons**, including the Chinese people's belief that one must have the body intact after death, making public organ donation programs very difficult to establish.

So the question is how has China become, in such a short period of time, second only to the United States in terms of the amount of organs transplanted each year, and where do all these organs being transplanted come from? In 2005 Dr. Huang Jiefu, China's Vice Minister of Health, admitted that **over 95%** of the organs transplanted in China came from executed prisoners. Then in 2006 the World Medical Association made a resolution demanding that China stop using prisoners as organ donors, and in 2007 the Chinese Medical Association agreed to stop. In 2010 at a transplant conference in Madrid, Dr. Jiefu stated that between 1997 and 2008 China had performed more than 100,000 transplantations with over 90% of the organs being from executed prisoners. Then in February of this year (2012) he again stated that the practice of organ harvesting from prisoners continues in China today, and they intend to abolish this practice **within the next five years.**

According to the ethical standards of the major medical associations, prisoners deprived of their freedom are not in the position to provide free consent to donate their organs. The World Health Organization's guiding principles on transplantation dictates all organs must be traceable back to their donor, and that both the donation and transplantation of the organ must be transparent and open to scrutiny. Hence, the over 20-year-long practice in China of harvesting organs from executed prisoners is already a breach from standards set by the international medical community.

Although the Chinese government admits that the major source of organs is from executed prisoners they still do not give official numbers for the amount of people executed each year or the amount of people given transplantation each year. China has 52 offenses that are punishable by death including petty crimes and prisoners being held for political and religious reasons. China also does not comply with international standards for fair trials. Although China **executes more prisoners** each year than all other countries in the world combined, the exact number of the executions is a closely guarded state secret. Most experts, however, put the number of executions each year anywhere from **2-8,000 per year,** which falls fall short of the numbers given by different sources in China including Dr. Jiefu of around 10,000 organ transplants each year. Furthermore, even if the numbers added up -- the number of people executed each year equaling the number of people receiving transplantations – there's still a large discrepancy. It is simply impossible with all of the variables that go into transplantation that the 10,000 people executed would match perfectly the 10,000 people needing transplantation. You need to have the correct blood type and tissue match. You also need the donor to be relatively healthy, free of contagious diseases and approximately the same size as the recipient. Although the numbers vary according to the type of organ transplanted and the patient's blood type, in general, there is at least a **10:1 ratio** needed to find a suitable donor. Meaning the actual number of executions would need to be exponentially greater then 10,000 to find suitable donors for the 10,000 transplantations taking place each year.

Another factor that needs to be taken into consideration is the **timing needs to be near perfect,** since once the organs are harvested they have a very short time before they are no longer useable for transplantation; with a heart lasting only 8 hours, livers lasting only 12 hours and kidneys lasting up to 48 hours. Meaning you cannot stock pile organs after execution to be used for future use. China's own laws state that prisoners once sentenced to execution must be executed within seven days. To illustrate this even further when the **Special Rapporteur on Torture to the United Nations, Manfred Nowak,** visited China to evaluate their prisons, he asked to see and speak to prisoners on Death Row and was told there are none since they are executed almost immediately after their sentencing. All of this suggests that prisoners sentenced to death cannot fully account for the transplantations taking place in China especially the type of scheduled transplantations that occur so frequently with medical tourism patients.

So how is China able to have an on-demand transplant system capable of extremely short wait times compared to every country around the world, including the United Sates where average wait times for a kidney is over three years? The only possible way China can transplant the number of organs they have been over the past 12 years, in the manner in which they do, is to have **another source of living donors** that is available on-demand. Several investigators have pointed to **Prisoners of Conscience** as the main source of organs being used with the practitioners of the spiritual movement **Falun Gong** being the most severely persecuted. Many experts believe Falun Gong practitioners are the largest population of prisoners of conscience in China today, and are commonly subjected to inhumane torture while incarcerated. To illustrate this I am reminded of an interview given by Rebiya Kadeer, a Uyghur human rights activist from the Xinjiang region who was jailed in China for over four years. I was quite surprised by her interview, because instead of talking about the inhumane treatment of her own people while in jail, she talked about how sorry she felt for the Falun Gong practitioners because of the severe torture she had witnessed them endure.

If you follow the timeline of China's transplant boom both the start of the persecution of Falun Gong in China in 1999 and the peak of their persecution, corresponds very well to the start of the tremendous rise seen in the transplantations performed in china and its continued growth. In addition, after the persecution of Falun Gong began in late 1999 the transplant numbers rose dramatically but the number of executions over the years has gone down according to China's government. The persecution against Falun Gong practitioners is official state policy in China, and not a single person since the start of the persecution has ever faced criminal charges for the torture or murder of practitioners. The lack of legal repercussion for the mistreatment or murder of Falun Gong practitioners enhances their vulnerability.

An investigation done in 2007 by David Kilgour and David Matas compiled 52 verifiable forms of proof that Falun Gong practitioners were being killed for their organs. There have also been other investigators who have come to the same conclusion including European Parliament Member Edward McMillan-Scott. Falun Gong practitioners are a particularly vulnerable population since they are often unwilling to give their true identities in order to protect their families from persecution. Furthermore,

a systematic propaganda campaign against the group has demonized and dehumanized them in order to incite hatred against them by the general public, and thus, furthering their vulnerability.

Medical doctors outside China have confirmed that their patients have gone to China and received organs from Falun Gong practitioners. At the same time, Falun Gong practitioners who have escaped China have testified that they often underwent blood and urine testing, had physically examinations and ultrasound evaluations multiple times while in prison while their fellow inmates did not. It is hard to believe that the expensive tests were being performed for the benefit of the health of the prisoner when so many of them also subjected to various forms of torture.

There has been interviews of surgeons and others stating they witnessed Falun Gong practitioners having their organs harvested. There have been several high level Chinese officials admitting over the phone that they are aware that Falun Gong practitioners are used as a source for organ donation. One reason this may all be possible is that in China they have the unique situation where the **military controls** the prison system, the forced labor camps and majority of hospitals performing the transplantations. Therefore, the coordination of all these factors is achievable and the ability to keep this information a secret is possible. Patients who went to China for transplantation often state their surgeries were performed very secretively by military doctors in military hospitals, and often in the middle of the night. Furthermore, military hospitals and military physicians are not under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health or the Chinese Medical Association. Although, non-military hospitals do perform transplants they are often affiliated with military hospitals or have their transplant departments headed by military doctors.

Perhaps some people may find this difficult to believe, as did Belgian Senator Patrik Vankrunkelsven who decided to do his own investigation. He pretended to be a patient in need of an kidney transplant and called two different hospitals in China inquiring about availability. Both hospitals offered him kidneys on the spot for 50,000 Euros, which, again, is only possible with a large supply of on-demand "donors" in the waiting. There was also Dr. Francis Navarro head of the Transplant Department of France's Montpellier University Hospital, who became compelled to conduct his own investigation after he stumbled upon disturbing information while in China training Chinese surgeons in organ transplantation techniques. His suspicions grew deeper when he heard the coordinator of the military hospital transplantation center say, "Hurry up, we have to proceed with all executions before the Chinese New Year." While still in China he decided to pretend to be a patient looking for an organ transplant. He too came to the conclusion that prisoners of conscience were being used as a source of organs for transplantation.

Currently, American doctors, American hospitals, American universities and American medical corporations are now facing an extremely important dilemma. How do we treat and handle China's transplant situation? Currently our physicians are **seeing patients travel** to China for organs, our **hospitals** are training China's medical doctors

on how to perform transplantations, our **universities** are participating and funding research, taking place in China regarding transplantations and our medical journals are accepting them. Many well-known **pharmaceutical companies** are selling medications needed for the transplantations and performing/funding clinical trials in China to develop new drugs to be used for transplantation. Regrettably, many U.S. transplant surgeons serve as advisors for Chinese transplant institutions and many of the leading Chinese transplant surgeons received their training in the United States.

Recently Wang Lijun – the right hand man to the recently-disgraced, high-ranking Chinese official Bo Xilai -- made international headlines after visiting a U.S. Embassy in China in February of 2012 attempting to defect to the U.S. but was denied asylum. This is a man who by his **own admission** witnessed and participated in experiments involving the harvesting of thousands of organs taken from "prisoners" and was even **given an award** for his services in 2006 by the Guanghua Science and Technology Foundation. Shortly after Wang left the U.S. Consulate, China's Vice Minister of Health declared China intended to end the practice of harvesting organs from prisoners within 3-5 years.

If we go by the numbers we can estimate that every day a few dozen people are executed and killed for their organs in China and if we wait another 5 years, there's the possibility that another 50,000 innocent lives may be taken. In light of this, I stand before you asking the American government to help us perform a further investigation and to release any evidence discovered about China's organ harvesting practices. Without all the information on hand, how can we expect our doctors, our hospitals, and our universities to make good decisions? Indeed, without this information we run the risk of making our medical community accomplices to one of the greatest tragedies of our time!

In light of all the information we have gathered, we offer the following recommendations:

1. Initiate a Congressional resolution to condemn China's forced organ harvesting from prisoners and prisoners of conscience.
2. Initiate a travel advisory for people traveling to China educating our citizens of China's forced organ harvesting practices.
3. Urge the United States government to start an official investigation into China's organ transplant system.
4. Urge the United States government to publicly release all evidence it has in regards to China's use of prisoners as a source of organ donation.

I would like to thank both Honorable Chairman Dana Rohrabacher and Honorable Chairman Chris Smith for the opportunity to address Congress today.

Damon Noto, M.D.
Spokesperson Doctors Against Forced Organ Harvesting

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you, Doctor.
Dr. Lee?

**STATEMENT OF CHARLES LEE, M.D., SPOKESMAN AND PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR, GLOBAL SERVICE CENTER FOR QUITTING THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY**

Dr. LEE. Thank you, Chairman and distinguished members of the committees for giving me the opportunity to testify today, and I also want to thank the gentlemen who were just speaking about the organ harvesting.

I myself was in prison in China for 3 years, and I forcibly had blood samples taken without being told the reasons. If it were not for my U.S. citizenship and the international support of people like those in this room, I could have been the victim of the organ harvesting as well.

But I want to touch some points regarding the Chinese Communist Party which may help us to understand better about this organ harvesting. The first thing is that the history of the killing by the CCP actually starting, the Communist Movement actually has caused 150 million people worldwide died, including 80 million people in China. There was one thing worth mentioning is that there was a big famine, manmade famine, during the year of 1959 to 1961, 40 million people starved to death in China. And what is more bizarre is that those starved people were not allowed to go out to beg. The armed forces locked them inside their villages.

So most recently they started the persecuting of Falun Gong practitioners in 1999. We have 3,599 deaths were documented with names and addresses and how they were tortured. But as these gentlemen said, as many as 65,000 people were killed for the organs.

Now such inconceivable deeds go beyond the routine suppression common to dictatorships, because the CCP is not a just average authoritarian regime. If you look at the history of the origin and their philosophy, and then we can find out that is very evident that the CCP is particularly malicious, inhumane and nefarious. In other words, it is evil. It has been like this since its very origin. Even though very few people in China right now believe in Communism, but their fundamental attributes like atheism and struggle continue to underpin the CCP's actions. And having destroyed traditional Chinese values like compassion, integrity and the respect for the divine that stabilized China for thousands of years, the CCP and its officials lack a moral baseline. Because of this absence of moral baseline, the Chinese officials, Communist officials, judges, and even doctors, they can participate or condone the heinous crimes like organ harvesting.

Then the second point I want to mention is that there is a movement called, "Quitting the Communist Party," also called a "Tuidang" in Chinese. There was a book called, "Nine Commentaries on the Communist Party," was published at the end of 2004. This books describes the true nature of the Communist Party, and it has called the Chinese Communist Party, the evil specter. And also Karl Marx, actually, he himself referred to the communism as a specter in his Communist Manifesto. The book actually spread wide in China like wildfire, and it started, arguably,

the world's largest grassroot human rights movement of, they started.

The first Tuidang statement actually was received by the Epoch Times in December 2004, and the months next the paper published a Solemn Declaration urging whoever had joined the CCP or its affiliated organizations to quit immediately and erase the stains on the conscience left by the CCP specter, in order to definitely break from the Party and avoid suffering from future retributions upon the CCP's demise. And then there was a Web site put out just for that.

With the help of Falun Gong practitioners inside China and abroad, this Tuidang movement has grown stronger and faster. Right now we have over 123 million people renounced the association with the Communist Party and affiliated organizations. Every day there are over 70,000 people doing this.

The Falun Gong activists involved in Tuidang movement are seeking to promote the movement not to catalyze the regime change, but to offer Chinese citizens a chance to understand the CCP's history of violence, and take a principled stand by choosing to no longer associate with it. And in the actual spiritual movement, meaning is fundamental. When we review these freedom movement statements, it is very quickly evident that people overwhelmingly frame their decision to withdraw from the Party in moral and spiritual terms.

The Tuidang movement is actually helping China to prepare for the post-CCP future. Right now, inside China they are like 180,000 mass incidents every year. This is like saying like 500 daily protests against the CCP's operation. And actually one paper published by the Minxin Pei, your Foreign Policy, he asked questions, are we obsessing about China's rise when we should be worried about its fall? So the Tuidang movement, it does not prescribe the specific institutional reforms for a post-CCP China, but it does provide a way out of the moral crisis. It offers hope for China as tens of millions of people not only reject the Party's culture of violence, lies and the struggles, but also embrace truth and integrity and free their conscience.

So what should the U.S. Government do then? The simple answer is to stand together with the people of China rather than with the CCP regime.

So I would like to stop here and just take more questions. Because there are a lot of things to cover if I had more time. Thank you very much again for giving me this opportunity. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Lee follows:]

**JOINT SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING**
**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**
*U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES*
*WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515-0128*

**Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations**
**Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA), Chairman**

**Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights**
**Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ), Chairman**

**"Organ Harvesting of Religious and Political Dissidents by the Chinese Communist Party"**

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# Testimony on the Movement of Quitting the CCP

**Charles Lee, MD,** Spokesman

Global Service Center
for Quitting the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)

September 12, 2012

Thank you, Mr. Chairmen and distinguished members of the committees for giving me the opportunity to testify today. Also, I would like to thank the gentlemen who have just spoken about the harvesting of organs from Falun Gong prisoners of conscience. I myself was imprisoned in China for three years and can confirm that during that time, I forcibly had blood samples taken from me without being told the reason. If it were not for the support of people like those in this room and the international attention given to my case, I could have also been at the victim of organ harvesting, like thousands of anonymous Falun Gong practitioners.

In my testimony today, I would like to touch on three points related to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) rule and a movement of Chinese people renouncing their affiliation with the CCP, referred to in Chinese as "Tuidang" that can help us better understand organ harvesting.

1. **The CCP has a long history of killing and its nature is fundamentally nefarious. Organ harvesting is the latest manifestation of this.**
2. **Through the Tuidang movement, Chinese people are finding a way out of the moral crisis that has engulfed China and are rejecting the CCP's culture of violence**
3. **The Tuidang movement is helping prepare China for a post-CCP future**

## 1. The CCP has a long history of killing and its nature is fundamentally nefarious. Organ harvesting is the latest manifestation of this.

The phenomenon of live organ harvesting illustrates a fundamental point about the Communist Party. It is the latest episode in the CCP's history of killing. Communist movements together have caused the deaths of 150 million people worldwide, including 80 million people in China. Since the CCP took power in China in 1949, it has subjected the Chinese people to one massive violent campaign after another, destroying China's traditional culture and values and causing permanent ruin to the environment. During the Great Leap Forward, an estimated 40 million Chinese people starved to death because Communist Party officials exaggerated the size of the grain harvests, confiscated grain, and then forced farmers to participate in steel production instead of harvesting food, causing a severe—and manmade—famine. The starved farmers were not even allowed to go out to beg for the reason that the Party's image could not be tarnished. During the Cultural Revolution, more than 8 million people were killed in a nationwide movement of struggle and turmoil. People were even forced to turn against their families, friends, and neighbors.

Most recently, in 1999, the CCP launched the campaign to persecute practitioners of Falun Gong—who at the time numbered 100 million—arresting, torturing, and killing innocent people for seeking to follow Truthfulness, Compassion, and Forbearance, improve their health, and uplift their morality. Over 3,500 deaths from torture have been documented, but as we've heard today, tens of thousands of others have been killed so that their organs could be sold for transplants.

**How could something like this happen?** Such inconceivable deeds go beyond the routine suppression common to dictatorships because the Chinese Communist Party is not just an average authoritarian regime. When we look at its behavior and philosophy from its origins to today, it is evident that the CCP is particularly malicious, inhumane, and nefarious, or in other words—evil. It has been like this since its very origins. They set a mission to conquer the world by deception and violence, to destroy all civilizations, social structures and moralities in human society. Communism and the theories of "Atheism and Dialectical Materialism" have been only tools they used for that purpose.

Although very few people in China today truly believe in Marxism or Communist theories, the CCP's fundamental attributes, like atheism and struggle, continue to underpin the CCP's actions. Having destroyed traditional Chinese values—like compassion, integrity, and respect for the divine—that provided social and political stability in China for thousands of years, the CCP and its officials lack a moral baseline. Worse still, they have worked tirelessly to infuse this moral depredation into Chinese society at large.

The result is the rampant corruption, tainted baby food products, and life-threatening environmental pollution that regularly feature in the headline news about China. It is the absence of this moral baseline that has also enabled CCP officials, as well as members of the police force, the courts, and even the medical profession, to participate or condone organ harvesting, such a heinous crime against humanity. Under its rule, the CCP has thus brought about the darkest page in China's glorious history and a profound moral crisis. The suffering of Chinese people seemed unendurable and endless.

However, in persecuting Falun Gong's principles of "Truthfulness, Compassion, and Tolerance," the CCP has driven the last nail into its coffin.

2. **Through the Tuidang movement, Chinese people are finding a way out of the moral crisis that has engulfed China and are rejecting the CCP as a whole**

**How did the Tuidang movement start?**

For the first several years of the persecution, Falun Gong practitioners repeatedly appealed to CCP officials to top the persecution, while enduring tremendous hardships to explain to the Chinese public that Falun Gong was not as the CCP's propaganda machine claimed. Yet the CCP responded by intensifying the brutal measures used in the persecution. Meanwhile, it also became clear that because of how the CCP shapes the thoughts of Chinese people through education and media control, many Chinese had difficulty believing the reality of what was happening to Falun Gong. Therefore, to open people's eyes to the abuses faced by practitioners, practitioners realized they first needed to free people from the CCP's mind-control.

As such, in late 2004, the overseas Chinese-language newspaper *Dajiyuan (Epoch Times)*, run by Falun Gong practitioners, published an editorial series called the "Nine Commentaries on the Communist Party." The commentaries detail the history of the Communist Party in China, with a particular focus on its human rights record and episodes like the above-mentioned violent political campaigns, including the crackdown on Falun Gong. It points out that the CCP is an evil specter and it is anti-human and anti-universe, which is why CCP advocates "fight with the heaven, fight with the earth and fight with human." Karl Marx himself also referred Communism a "specter" in the Communist Manifesto. The continuous and intentional accumulation of the evilness throughout the entire history has made the CCP the most wicked and destructive force on earth.

With the publication and wide spread of "Nine Commentaries on The Communist Party", the biggest grass-root human rights movement started. The first Tuidang statement was received by the Epoch Times in December 2004. Then on Jan. 1, 2005, 50 overseas Chinese scholars jointly renounced their memberships in the CCP and its affiliated organizations. On Jan. 12, 2005, The Epoch Times Solemn Declaration was published. The Declaration urged whoever has joined the CCP or its affiliated organizations should quit immediately and erase the stain on their conscience left by the CCP "specter" in order to definitively break from the party and avoid suffering future retribution upon the CCP's demise. On the same day, tuidang.epochtimes.com was established as a platform and a database to publish and record renunciation entries.

**Why are Falun Gong practitioners promoting Tuidang?**

With the help of Falun Gong practitioners inside China and abroad, the Tuidang movement has grown stronger and faster with time. Today, over 123 million renunciation statements have been received. Each day, 70,000 people choose to be freed from the mental control of the CCP. These people don't know each other. They aren't part of one organization. But they have all made the same personal choice – to reclaim their conscience.

The Falun Gong activists involved in Tuidang seek to promote the movement not to catalyze regime change per se, but to offer Chinese citizens a chance to understand the CCP's history of violence, and take a principled stand by choosing to no longer associate with it. In this process, Falun Gong practitioners often say they feel they are offering people a chance at moral redemption, healing, and inner peace. Indeed, when reviewing Tuidang statements, it is quickly evident that people overwhelmingly frame their decisions to withdraw from the party in moral and spiritual terms: they are making a decision to reclaim their conscience.

The spiritual meaning of this movement is fundamental. The Nine Commentaries empowers people with the true nature of the CCP. It provides explanations for the irrationality of CCP's actions. It melts away CCP's brainwash. It provokes soul searching that leads to spiritual awakening. Once a person is free from CCP's brainwash, one is no longer controlled by this evil specter, one is capable of independent and rational thinking. When more and more people's spirits are freed, the broader social/physical environment will change. The CCP will then lose its feeding ground and collapse.

Here are some examples of how people have made a decision to reclaim their conscience.

A man writing under the name of Chen Feng wrote that upon learning about the human rights abuses committed against Falun Gong, such as large-scale arbitrary imprisonment, torture, and organ harvesting, he realized clearly that "the true nature of the party is 'deceit, evil, and violence,'" that he was leaving this evil organization in order to "rebuilt an upright life, and speak the truth."

In another case, a group of 11 people from Chifeng in Inner Mongolia collectively wrote: "The Communist Party culture has poisoned the people, destroyed China's splendid civilization, and harmed countless innocent lives. They have launched numerous campaigns, such as the June 4th massacre, the unprovoked persecution of Falun Gong, and the organ removal from Falun Gong practitioners. It is extremely evil, it angers the heavens. We withdraw from the Communist Party, Youth League and affiliated organizations; we are determined not to associate with this evil party."

**3. The Tuidang movement is helping prepare China for a post-CCP future**

As more and more people's consciences are freed from the CCP's control, the broader social and political environment is changing. The CCP is losing the battle for the hearts and minds of the Chinese people, a process that will ultimately lead to the CCP's disintegration.

When we look at the news being reported from China, we see many reflections of these dynamics playing out. In some locations, local policemen have reportedly refused to use violence against fellow citizens. Meanwhile, Chinese people's human rights consciousness and courage to oppose the CCP has notably increased. Last year, there were an estimated 180,000 cases of "mass incidents" in which protestors abuses by CCP officials, an average of over 500 per day.

These events are happening at a time when the CCP is facing potential economic decline, internal fighting, and fragility within its upper ranks that ranges from the Wang Lijun-Bo Xilai

scandal to the rumors swirling in recent days regarding Xi Jinping's health. As these dynamics unfold, it is becoming clear that the CCP's rule may come to an end soon. As respected China scholar Minxin Pei recently wrote in *Foreign Policy*, "Are we obsessing about China's rise when we should be worried about its fall?"

Once the CCP is no longer governing China, the question emerges – what happens then? How does a society in the kind of moral crisis and with crimes of the scale that we're talking about today emerge to become stable and peaceful?

The Tuidang movement does not prescribe specific institutional reforms for a post-CCP China. But it does provide a way out of the moral crisis. The Tuidang movement offers hope for China, as tens of millions of Chinese people not only reject the Party's culture of violence, lies, and struggle, but also embrace truth, integrity, and conscience.

What should the US government do then? The simple answer is to stand together with the people of China rather than with the CCP regime.

Perhaps some of you in the audience may be thinking that the revelations about organ harvesting are so horrible, yet we must maintain strong ties with the Chinese government. But it is equally, if not more important to maintain strong ties with the Chinese people. As the Chinese people learn more about the human rights atrocities committed by the Communist Party, or encounter the party's repression themselves, they are rejecting it. The United States should support their courageous and inspired actions. Indeed, both the Senate and the House of Representatives recognized the Tuidang movement last year via Resolution 232 and Resolution 416.

In this context, I would respectfully recommend the following:

1. That the U.S. government publicly condemn human rights violations in China, including the persecution of Falun Gong.
2. That the U.S. government demand the release of all prisoners of conscience.
3. That the U.S. government continue to facilitate Chinese people's ability to obtain uncensored information.
4. That the U.S. government continue to pay attention, to support those who quit the CCP, to support the peoples' choice to be free of its hold.

Chinese people deserve the same freedoms that the American people have been enjoying for centuries and are greatly encouraged when the U.S. government stands with them. Moreover, a free China will also bring benefits to this country and the entire world.

Thank you again very much again, Mr. Chairman, for giving me this opportunity to testify. I look forward to working together more in the near future.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you for that testimony, and thank all of the witnesses. I understand Mr. Smith has another commitment, so what we would like to do is, I am going to permit—why don't you go first and then I will ask the questions I had afterwards.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I really do appreciate it. Just first of all, your testimonies are extraordinary, incisive, filled with information that is actionable, and I hope that the administration, as well as the Congress, does more.

I think Dr. Danovitch, your suggestion that we amend the National Organ Transplant Act of 1984 is a good one. We are going to scope out doing a bill, I think. It is a great idea. Just like sex tourism is criminalized and you can't go anywhere in the world and think if you are in Brazil abusing a little child you evade U.S. law, the same ought to hold true here. And thank you for that very important recommendation.

I guess just two basic questions. Mention was made about Manfred Nowak. I have read his report, the Special Rapporteur on Torture, and it was striking that he didn't get to talk to death row prisoners. I am wondering if he made any conclusions or has spoken out—he is not the Special Rapporteur on Torture anymore—about the organ issue? Did he understand, did any of the U.N. bodies, frankly, not just this specialist on torture, but the U.N. Human Rights Council, the Committee against Torture's, which has a panel of experts, has anybody weighed in and said, "What you are doing to individuals through execution, especially the Falun Gong?" It is barbaric and must stop.

Yes, please, Dr. Noto?

Dr. NOTO. Yes, Manfred Nowak himself actually stood up in front of the United Nations and said he believed that Falun Gong practitioners were being executed for their organs, and he had said at that time he was hoping this practice would stop immediately. So he was actually a very big believer.

Mr. SMITH. Did the U.N. do anything in follow-up, and did the U.S. Government do anything in follow-up?

Dr. NOTO. As far as I know, no.

Mr. SMITH. You mentioned, Mr. Gutmann, that our Government has done little. What do you think the Obama administration should be doing?

Mr. GUTMANN. I think you need a dual track approach in this, in the sense that on one side you need to pressure corporations. We don't really have any laws forbidding companies from doing say what Roche is doing, the pharmaceutical company in Switzerland. They are doing a testing of transplant patients on the mainland, currently, clinical testing. And similarly, Isotechnika Pharma of Canada is also doing that, for profit, on the Chinese mainland. These are transplant patients who obviously could well be carrying Falun Gong organs, Uighur organs, and so forth. There is a problem there. TFP Ryder Healthcare of the U.K. is trying to build a medical center, including a transplant center, inside Dalian, which was the epicenter of Falun Gong organ harvesting according to every witness I spoke to.

So I am not sure exactly what the mechanism that you would use for that to inhibit this kind of thing, but I think the Chinese listen

to this kind of stuff very closely. The Chinese leadership cares about money. They care about investment very, very much.

By doing this you would strengthen the reformers inside China. If Wen Jiabao indeed does have some sort of plan to come clean, about this you would at least, let us find out. Let us find out by putting him on the spot.

But the second prong to that, the second part of the attack is to bring these witnesses forward. Because you, by putting these witnesses on this kind of stand and putting them through the kind of cross-examination that only Congress can do, we would also strengthen those reformers in China. We would prevent what exactly is happening now, which is this attempt to bury the whole issue, to say, okay, within 3 to 5 years this whole issue is going to be gone and we will never have to look at it again.

Mr. SMITH. But again I would note for the record that we did have a series of hearings in the '90s and beyond, and we never seem to get anywhere with the Chinese Government even acknowledging it. So some of the acknowledgements of recent vintage certainly shows that they are aware. And maybe they are so brazen and arrogant now, they feel they can say it and who cares.

Let me ask you. Years ago I read a book about the Japanese Unit 731 operating in China which did horrific experimentation on a number of people, especially upon Chinese. I find it appalling that the Chinese Government could countenance this kind of torture when it sings out as it does and complains to this day about the abuses committed by the Japanese by way of torture, especially Unit 731.

And if I could, finally, because I am running out of time, Dr. Danovitch, you mentioned that, I believe it was you, it has been well documented that medical outcomes for such transplants are poor. I wonder if you might tell us why. Because if you can dry up demand or, just by talking about how they don't do it state-of-the-art-wise they might come at it at a different level.

Okay, Dr. Danovitch?

Dr. DANOVITCH. Can I answer you?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, please.

Dr. DANOVITCH. Yes, unethical medicine tends to be bad medicine. If you care only about the money and not about the outcome, medicine tends to be bad. So there are several reasons why. The most common reason are infectious complications, and in fact, the Chinese Ministry of Health has itself admitted that there are high incidences of infectious complications in people who undergo vended transplantation, around the world by the way, not just in China—that has been reported elsewhere—and in transplants from executed prisoners. And I, in my own practice at UCLA, have seen people arrive at LAX with vicious infections and be admitted to the hospital sometimes for weeks and months.

Also when livers are recovered from executed prisoners, for technical reasons I won't go into now, often complications occur 3 or 4 weeks later. That is when Americans go to China, get a liver from an executed prisoner and return, there are specific complications in the biliary tract that occur late because of the mechanism of recovery that then those patients end up spending months sometimes in U.S. hospitals suffering those complications. It is very dangerous.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much. And I guess I will proceed. We have been joined by Congressman Turner from New York, and if after my questions you have any questions to ask or an opening statement we will be happy to accommodate you at that time.

Mr. TURNER. Absolutely.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Okay. Let me just ask some specific things just so I will get this on the record. We have a Radio Free Asia and Voice of America and other organizations that are supposed to be representing the values of the American people. Have they been playing a positive or negative role in this whole issue of forced organ harvesting? Have there been interviews of the Voice of America? Have any of you been interviewed with the Voice of America or Radio Free Asia, and what kind of role are they playing?

No? Nobody has been interviewed?

Mr. GUTMANN. Can I take a shot at that?

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Please do.

Mr. GUTMANN. There is a long-standing taboo in the journalism community about Falun Gong, about this issue. To touch this issue is the Third Rail of journalism. If you touch it—if you are in Beijing, if you are based in China—you will not be given access to top leaders anymore. I can give you an example of this.

I had a friend who wrote for the South China Morning Post. He wrote a very powerful article about Falun Gong back in the early days. The South China Morning Post was blocked, the web version was blocked in China for 6 months. That was at a time when the South China Morning Post was desperately trying to get penetration of that market. This is common. And so there are many dangers for doing this for journalists, and I believe those extend across the board.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Not just journalists in general, I am talking about now, Radio Free Asia and Voice of America, is that included in, have any of you been interviewed on this issue on either one of these?

Dr. NOTO. I have never personally. I believe there was one Radio Free Asia interview, but I don't remember who was on. That was positive.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. So I know this never happens, but we have our journalists here. Is there a Radio Free Asia or Voice of America journalist with us today? Have you conducted any interviews on this issue before? All right. Well, we are going to put you under oath and get you right now.

I think this is very significant. I mean this is tantamount to one of the most hienous and ghoulish crimes that has been going on on this planet for the last 20 years, and yet the outlets that are supposed to be representing American values haven't bothered to do a story on it. I think that this is very significant. And I think it maybe sends an unfortunate message to other journalists throughout the world, and perhaps it sends the message that maybe Americans don't care. Maybe this is just a small group of troublemakers who are trying to cause a problem on this issue. So no, none of you have been—I think I will send a letter to Voice of America and Radio Free Asia to find out why this hasn't been covered as it should.

Now have the Governments of South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, these governments acknowledged China's forced organ harvesting program? What are the policies of those governments, or are they just looking the other way?

Dr. DANOVITCH. I can't answer for those countries. I can say that Malaysia now, where 75 percent of Malaysians go to China to get organs, have now introduced rules to hopefully diminish that. The Israelis now have laws that don't permit their insurance companies to pay for transplantation if those transplants are illegal elsewhere. That is a rule that could well be adopted by other countries. I can't answer for Taiwan and the other Asian countries that you mentioned.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. In Japan, Korea?

Dr. DANOVITCH. As far as I know, Japanese and Koreans still go to China for organs. I can't give you specific numbers.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Dr. Noto?

Dr. NOTO. I can't speak for those countries, but I can speak for Australia who passed a law that stops the training of Chinese transplant surgeons in Australia. If they come to Australia they need to sign a contract that says they won't participate in forced organ harvesting. And from what I have heard from physicians there it has basically stopped Chinese doctors from coming to be trained in Australia.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. All of this reflects a dehumanization of values. I know there is some sort of an art exhibit, plasticization or something like that. Do we have any evidence that those, I mean they are apparently made out of real bodies. Is there any indication that these are the bodies of religious prisoners or political prisoners?

Dr. NOTO. I can speak to there is one association where the companies that were doing these plasticizations was in Liaoning province. I don't know if I am pronouncing that correct, but that is where Wang Lijun, the police officer who came to the U.S. Embassy for asylum, he had stated that he had done thousands of transplants, surgeries and experiments in that same province around the same time that this company you are mentioning with the plasticization took off. So we think that there is a possibility some of these bodies did wind up there.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Again that is a reflection that such a monstrous thing can be looked at as art, and this just reflects a degeneration of values.

The Chinese Vice Minister of Health said earlier this year that within 5 years that the PRC would stop organ harvesting of prisoners. I think it has been commented on a little bit here. Maybe we can come down just officially one by one. Do you take that seriously, and do you think that this will indeed be phased out? Just right down the line.

Mr. GUTMANN. The sequence of events here is very interesting. I mean Wang Lijun made his break for the Chengdu consulate. Shortly after that the words, "live organ harvest" were available on Baidu, the search engine. Okay, this is after some back and forth. This is in the middle of the crisis. They have never been allowed before. It was a brief period where you could search those terms in China. It was a kind of brinkmanship as we could see it. This

is followed a few days later by the announcement, out of the blue, in a kind of case of "mentionitis" that they are going stop the organ harvesting of all criminals within 3 to 5 years. Not criminals of conscience, that is not mentioned of course. Nobody mentioned it. The Wall Street Journal didn't mention it. The Washington Post didn't mention it. Nobody brought up that issue. Again, the taboo held.

But the point is, clearly if you look at that sequence of events coming in the middle of one of the worst leadership crises China has had in years, this is playing a major issue. Now for once, I don't always agree with Falun Gong analysts, but I have to here. This is clearly organ harvesting, and the organ harvesting of Falun Gong in particular is playing a major role as a political football in this Chinese leadership transition.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. So you are optimistic that this could be a signal that something real is going to happen?

Mr. GUTMANN. I am optimistic in that sense, but as much as I think a terribly heinous crime has been committed and may well still being committed, I don't think the leadership has shown any sign of reform whatsoever. I think they are preparing to bury this most recent mass murder just the same way that Tiananmen was buried, the same way the Cultural Revolution was buried and the same way the Great Leap Forward was buried.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I see.

Dr. Lee, are you optimistic that this Chinese Vice Minister of Health is speaking policy that will be actually implemented in the elimination of this heinous activity?

Dr. LEE. Yes, I think in looking at the true nature of the CCP, I do not count on them at all. Because when this organ harvesting issue came out in 2006, and several months later China's health officials says that they took the organs from the executed prisoners, the reason is to cover up the actions on Falun Gong practitioners. So when things happen and then they took measures trying to cover up, but they have like signed agreements or make promise all these years, but a lot of times they just broke it.

So if you look in the future, the only thing you can count is that the change within China that the regime has less and less control over the society. Things will change for the better, and hopefully that Chinese people were leaving the Communist Party. By that time we can be more optimistic of that the government promise something, we can count on that. Thank you.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I didn't quite understand your answer.

Dr. LEE. I am sorry. What I am saying is that we cannot count on them. They make promises but they don't keep it at all.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Gutmann has some optimism. You have no optimism?

Dr. LEE. No optimism on them, but on the future——

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Oh yes. Well, we can all be positive about the future. But I was thinking mainly the future based on the statement by the Chinese Vice Minister of Health.

What about you?

Dr. DANOVITCH. I will try and be a realist. I have actually personally heard the Chinese Vice Minister of Health, Jiefu Huang, in an international forum, admit that their behavior of the Chinese,

the ongoing use of executed prisoners is an embarrassment to them. He admitted that in an international forum. That is quite something.

I do believe that there are forces in China that generally want to see improvement. But I do also agree that they may not have full control, and there are also forces that enjoy the money chain and corruption that comes along with the ongoing abuse of executed prisoners and of vending. I think it is our job, since we can't control what goes on in China, what is our job in the United States is to do our best to make our absolute abhorence——

Mr. ROHRABACHER. You are giving me one of these "on the other hand" answers where they say, well, on the other hand this. If you had to come down are you an optimist of this?

Dr. DANOVITCH. I am more optimistic now than I was several years ago.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Good.

Dr. Noto?

Dr. NOTO. I am not very optimistic. If history teaches us anything it told us twice before the Chinese Medical Association said they would stop. Both in 2001 and 2007 they said they would stop. Again this year they keep saying it is still happening. So if we go by their word I have very little faith, plus the Chinese Medical Association themselves has no power over the military, which we believe is playing a major role here. So they can say whatever they want, but if they can't get the military to take action it is not going to stop them.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. All right. And how many Falun Gong practitioners have had their organs harvested, and how many political prisoners, et cetera, and Tibetans? How many are we talking about? I heard the number 65,000 victims over a few year period. What are we talking about here?

Mr. GUTMANN. A number I come up with, and it is an estimate with a huge range possibility in there, it is based on a survey method at 65,000 over an 8-year period essentially.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Okay.

Dr. Lee, do you have another estimate?

Dr. Danovitch?

Dr. DANOVITCH. No, but I can just give you the Chinese Liver Transplant Registry. The Ministry of Health own registry gave a number of 21,000 liver transplants from executed prisoners up until August of this year. That is likely to be a minimal number but that is the thought.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. And we also heard that to get that number of organs transplanted you have to have 100,000, perhaps, operations to——

Dr. DANOVITCH. I am not sure that is correct.

Mr. ROHRABACHER [continuing]. Achieve that. Well, yes.

Dr. Noto, what do you estimate?

Dr. NOTO. After looking at everybody's different investigations I would put the number at least at 50,000.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Okay. This is obviously what we are talking about is a monstrous crime. To tear open the body of someone who has been incarcerated for any reason is very questionable. I mean

even if the person is a murderer, if someone has ripped open the body of someone else and killed them.

But to rip open the body of someone who is simply involved in a religious or personal or political idea that is contrary to the wishes of the ruling elite, to rip a body open of someone like that especially if that person's religious or political beliefs are pacifistic and not a physical threat to the regime, this is about the most monstrous crime that I can conceive of. And yet the Voice of America and Radio Free Asia haven't done any stories about it, yet we have major journalists in this country and countries throughout the West who have not done stories about this. Shame on our journalist community. I am a former journalist. That is how I earned by living before I went into politics. Shame.

There were many people who were being slaughtered during the second World War, not just the Jews by the Nazis but many different peoples, and that slaughter was quite often just ignored. And this is, the fact that we are having a hearing today is an attempt to try to encourage a look at this issue, and for the American people and other peoples to hear about this, so that perhaps with a loud voice we can say together that decent people do not put up with this type of activity in their country, nor should they allow their fellow countrymen to purchase the organs of people who are being subjected to this ghoulish, horrible, criminal behavior against them.

I appreciated the exact, the specific suggestions that have been made here. We will study those suggestions.

Mr. Turner, do you have a statement or a question you would like to ask?

Mr. TURNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Just one question. Do we know the number of foreign nationals on an annual basis that travel to China as patients? Do we have an estimate perhaps?

Dr. DANOVITCH. No, we don't. And that is an extraordinary fact. We do know about people coming into this country to get organs, but we don't know how many people go outside. I don't think the numbers are very large, but we don't know those numbers and we certainly should. Not just from the ethical point of view, from the medical, public health and cost point of view. No, we don't. There is no documentation. You can get the data in a kind of background way by looking about people who are in Medicare and whether they get medications afterwards, but it is very, very indirect. We have no precise numbers.

Mr. TURNER. And do we know if any of this is done on demand? That is, someone on the internet contacts the Chinese, I need a liver, 2 weeks, and say well, it might take us three but we will find one.

Dr. DANOVITCH. Well, I had a specific patient of mine who went to China, despite my request that she not do so, and basically got a kidney more or less on demand. I have a colleague in Israel who had a patient had a heart transplant at a given date, which someone must have been executed for that very purpose, and it is well known that that happens. There are proliferation of internet sites that are looking for foreigners to come to China to get organs from executed prisoners contrary to Chinese law. The Chinese do have laws, but those laws are often flouted and ignored.

Mr. TURNER. And are these operations all run by military units?

Dr. DANOVITCH. Not necessarily. Some are by military units and some are in——

Mr. TURNER. Political?

Dr. DANOVITCH [continuing]. So-called academic centers.

Mr. TURNER. Yes, sir?

Mr. GUTMANN. Can I just mention something? There is a doctor, a surgeon in Taiwan who I spoke to in a reasonably confidential manner who initially was very standoffish, but then he revealed to me that he had been taking his patients over to the mainland for a long time to receive organs, to get new kidneys and livers and so on, aging patients. And he had negotiated for the Chinese price, not to pay the foreigner price, pay the Chinese price. And so he had gotten to know these doctors very well in the karaoke bars and all the stuff that you do when you negotiate in China. At the end of this negotiation period they said, hey, you know what. We are not only going to give you the Chinese price but you are getting the best of the best. You are getting all Falun Gong organs.

Now this is a top surgeon in Taiwan. He is an incredibly credible witness. If your committee were to call him it is possible that he would testify to this, and I think he could explain a lot about this business. He was basically doing it right up until the Olympics, so we would have some fairly, reasonably current information on this. And I think he is quite credible.

Mr. TURNER. Thank you.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. All right, we are going to adjourn in a moment. And let me just note that organ transplanting in and of itself is not evil. Organ transplanting in and of itself, I certainly think that we should encourage people in this country to participate in organ donating if they are in a car accident or something like that, that is something that is laudatory and speaks well of people who are involved in organ transplanting in that way.

But what we have focused on today is an evil manifestation of something that is good that has been perverted into being something that is probably one of the most evil activities on this planet today. And that is taking people who are being incarcerated for their political beliefs or their religious beliefs, people who are in no way engaged in a violent activity against any other human being, and murdering them in the process of stealing their body organs. This is a crime against humanity. We should do our best to identify those specific individuals who are engaged in this and put them on the list of people to observe to be brought to justice. And specifically, that does not exclude Americans who are willing accomplices to this crime against humanity.

We will have further discussions on this as time goes on, and hopefully next year we will be able, in the next session, be able to have a hearing, and call to task some of the Americans who are engaged in this activity at least as accomplices to this crime.

I want to thank each of our witnesses for coming today. Thank you, Mr. Turner. This hearing is now adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:38 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

# APPENDIX

## Material Submitted for the Hearing Record

**JOINT SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE**
**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS**
*U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES*
*WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515-0128*

**Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations**
**Dana Rohrabacher (R-CA), Chairman**

**Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights**
**Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ), Chairman**

September 11, 2012

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, and the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights to be held in Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building **(and available live via the Committee website at http://www.hcfa.house.gov)**:

**DATE:** Wednesday, September 12, 2012

**TIME:** 2:30 p.m.

**SUBJECT:** Organ Harvesting of Religious and Political Dissidents by the Chinese Communist Party

**WITNESSES:** Damon Noto, M.D.
Spokesman
Doctors Against Forced Organ Harvesting

Gabriel Danovitch, M.D.
Professor of Medicine
UCLA Medical School

Charles Lee, M.D.
Spokesman and Public Relations Director
Global Service Center for Quitting the Chinese Communist Party

Mr. Ethan Gutmann
Adjunct fellow
Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, and Author, *Losing the New China*

**By Direction of the Chairman**

*The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202/225-5021 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.*

## COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON *Oversight and Investigations with Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights* HEARING

Day *Wednesday* Date *9/12/12* Room *2172 RHOB*

Starting Time *3:24 pm* Ending Time *4:38pm*

Recesses *n/a* (__ to __) (__ to __) (__ to __) (__ to __) (__ to __) (__ to __)

Presiding Member(s)

*Chairman Dana Rohrabacher with Chairman Chris Smith*

*Check all of the following that apply:*

Open Session [✓]
Executive (closed) Session [ ]
Televised [✓]

Electronically Recorded (taped) [✓]
Stenographic Record [✓]

TITLE OF HEARING:

*Organ Harvesting of Religious and Political Dissidents by the Chinese Communist Party*

SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

*Chairman Dana Rohrabacher, Chairman Chris Smith, Ranking Member Karen Bass, and Congressman Robert Turner.*

NON-SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT: *(Mark with an * if they are not members of full committee.)*

HEARING WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes [✓] No [ ]
*(If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)*

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: *(List any statements submitted for the record.)*

*Prepared Statement of Damon Noto, MD*
*Prepared Statement of Gabriel Danovitch, MD*
*Prepared Statement of Charles Lee, MD*
*Prepared Statement of Mr. Ethan Gutmann*
*"How Many Harvested? A Survery-based Estimate of Falun Gong Murder from 2000 to 2009" by Ethan Gutmann*
*"The Xinjiang Procedure: Beijing's 'New Frontier' is ground zero for the organ harvesting of political prisoners," by Ethan Gutmann, The Weekly Standard, December 5, 2011.*

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____
or
TIME ADJOURNED *4:38pm*

Subcommittee Staff Director

# The Xinjiang Procedure

*Beijing's 'New Frontier' is ground zero for the organ harvesting of political prisoners.*

BY ETHAN GUTMANN

To figure out what is taking place today in a closed society such as northwest China, sometimes you have to go back a decade, sometimes more.

One clue might be found on a hilltop near southern Guangzhou, on a partly cloudy autumn day in 1991. A small medical team and a young doctor starting a practice in internal medicine had driven up from Sun Yat-sen Medical University in a van modified for surgery. Pulling in on bulldozed earth, they found a small fleet of similar vehicles—clean, white, with smoked glass windows and prominent red crosses on the side. The police had ordered the medical team to stay inside for their safety. Indeed, the view from the side window of lines of ditches—some filled in, others freshly dug—suggested that the hilltop had served as a killing ground for years.

Thirty-six scheduled executions would translate into 72 kidneys and corneas divided among the regional hospitals. Every van contained surgeons who could work fast: 15-30 minutes to extract. Drive back to the hospital. Transplant within six hours. Nothing fancy or experimental; execution would probably ruin the heart.

With the acceleration of Chinese medical expertise over the last decade, organs once considered scraps no longer went to waste. It wasn't public knowledge exactly, but Chinese medical schools taught that many otherwise wicked criminals volunteered their organs as a final penance.

Right after the first shots the van door was thrust open and two men with white surgical coats thrown over their uniforms carried a body in, the head and feet still twitching slightly. The young doctor noted that the wound was on the right side of the chest as he had expected. When body #3 was laid down, he went to work.

**Once medical authorities found a matching blood type, they would move to tissue matching. Then the political prisoner would get a bullet to the right side of the chest.**

Male, 40-ish, Han Chinese. While the other retail organs in the van were slated for the profitable foreigner market, the doctor had seen the paperwork indicating this kidney was tissue-matched for transplant into a 50-year-old Chinese man. Without the transplant, that man would die. With it, the same man would rise miraculously from his hospital bed and go on to have a normal life for 25 years or so. By 2016, given all the anti-tissue-rejection drug advances in China, they could theoretically replace the liver, lungs, or heart—maybe buy that man another 10 to 15 years.

Body #3 had no special characteristics save an angry purple line on the neck. The doctor recognized the forensics. Sometimes the police would twist a wire around a prisoner's throat to prevent him from speaking up in court. The doctor thought it through methodically. Maybe the police didn't want this prisoner to talk because he had been a deranged killer, a thug, or mentally unstable. After all, the Chinese penal system was a daily sausage grinder, executing hardcore criminals on a massive scale. Yes, the young doctor knew the harvesting was wrong. Whatever crime had been committed, it would be nice if the prisoner's body were allowed to rest forever. Yet was his surgical task that different from an obstetrician's? Harvesting was rebirth, harvesting was life, as revolutionary an advance as antibiotics or steroids. Or maybe, he thought, they didn't want this man to talk because he was a political prisoner.

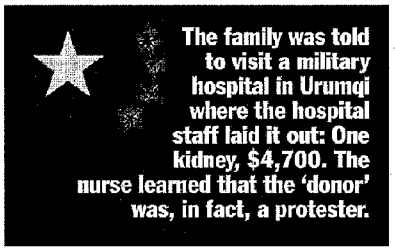
Nineteen years later, in a secure European location, the doctor laid out the puzzle. He asked that I keep his identity a secret. Chinese medical authorities admit that the lion's share of transplant organs originate with executions, but

GARY LOCKE

*Ethan Gutmann, an adjunct fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, wishes to thank Jaya Gibson for research assistance and the Peder Wallenberg family for research support.*

no mainland Chinese doctors, even in exile, will normally speak of performing such surgery. To do so would remind international medical authorities of an issue they would rather avoid—not China's soaring execution rate or the exploitation of criminal organs, but rather the systematic elimination of China's religious and political prisoners. Yet even if this doctor feared consequences to his family and his career, he did not fear embarrassing China, for he was born into an indigenous minority group, the Uighurs.

Every Uighur witness I approached over the course of two years—police, medical, and security personnel scattered across two continents—related compartmentalized fragments of information to me, often through halting translation. They acknowledged the risk to their careers, their families, and, in several cases, their lives. Their testimony reveals not just a procedure evolving to meet the lucrative medical demand for living organs, but the genesis of a wider atrocity.




Behind closed doors, the Uighurs call their vast region in China's northwest corner (bordering on India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Mongolia) East Turkestan. The Uighurs are ethnically Turkic, not East Asian. They are Muslims with a smattering of Christians, and their language is more readily understood in Tashkent than in Beijing. By contrast, Beijing's name for the so-called Autonomous Region, Xinjiang, literally translates as "new frontier." When Mao invaded in 1949, Han Chinese constituted only 7 percent of the regional population. Following the flood of Communist party administrators, soldiers, shopkeepers, and construction corps, Han Chinese now constitute the majority. The party calculates that Xinjiang will be its top oil and natural gas production center by the end of this century.

To protect this investment, Beijing traditionally depicted all Uighur nationalists—violent rebels and nonviolent activists alike—as CIA proxies. Shortly after 9/11, that conspiracy theory was tossed down the memory hole. Suddenly China was, and always has been, at war with al Qaeda-led Uighur terrorists. No matter how transparently opportunistic the switch, the American intelligence community saw an opening for Chinese cooperation in the war on terror, and signaled their acquiescence by allowing Chinese state security personnel into Guantánamo to interrogate Uighur detainees.

While it is difficult to know the strength of the claims of the detainees' actual connections to al Qaeda, the basic facts are these: During the 1990s, when the Chinese drove the Uighur rebel training camps from neighboring countries such as Kazakhstan and Pakistan, some Uighurs fled to Afghanistan where a portion became Taliban soldiers. And yet, if the Chinese government claims that the Uighurs constitute their own Islamic fundamentalist problem, the fact is that I've never met a Uighur woman who won't shake hands or a man who won't have a drink with me. Nor does my Jewish-sounding name appear to make anyone flinch. In one of those *vino veritas* sessions, I asked a local Uighur leader if he was able to get any sort of assistance from groups such as the Islamic Human Rights Commission (where, as I found during a brief visit to their London offices, veiled women flinch from an extended male hand, drinks are forbidden, and my Jewish surname is a very big deal indeed). "Useless!" he snorted, returning to the vodka bottle.

So if Washington's goal is to promote a reformed China, then taking Beijing's word for who is a terrorist is to play into the party's hands.

Xinjiang has long served as the party's illicit laboratory: from the atmospheric nuclear testing in Lop Nur in the mid-sixties (resulting in a significant rise in cancers in Urumqi, Xinjiang's capital) to the more recent creation in the Tarim Desert of what could well be the world's largest labor camp, estimated to hold 50,000 Uighurs, hardcore criminals, and practitioners of Falun Gong. And when it comes to the first organ harvesting of political prisoners, Xinjiang was ground zero.

In 1989, not long after Nijat Abdureyimu turned 20, he graduated from Xinjiang Police School and was assigned to a special police force, Regiment No. 1 of the Urumqi Public Security Bureau. As one of the first Uighurs in a Chinese unit that specialized in "social security"—essentially squelching threats to the party—Nijat was employed as the good cop in Uighur interrogations, particularly the high-profile cases. I first met Nijat—thin, depressed, and watchful—in a crowded refugee camp on the outskirts of Rome.

Nijat explained to me that he was well aware that his Chinese colleagues kept him under constant surveillance. But Nijat presented the image they liked: the little brother

with the guileless smile. By 1994 he had penetrated all of the government's secret bastions: the detention center, its interrogation rooms, and the killing grounds. Along the way, he had witnessed his fair share of torture, executions, even a rape. So his curiosity was in the nature of professional interest when he questioned one of the Chinese cops who came back from an execution shaking his head. According to his colleague, it had been a normal procedure—the unwanted bodies kicked into a trench, the useful corpses hoisted into the harvesting vans, but then he heard something coming from a van, like a man screaming.

"Like someone was still alive?" Nijat remembers asking. "What kind of screams?"

"Like from hell."

*Nijat Abdureyim: 'It's so you won't feel pain when they shoot you.'*

Nijat shrugged. The regiment had more than enough sloppiness to go around.

A few months later, three death row prisoners were being transported from detention to execution. Nijat had become friendly with one in particular, a very young man. As Nijat walked alongside, the young man turned to Nijat with eyes like saucers: "Why did you inject me?"

Nijat hadn't injected him; the medical director had. But the director and some legal officials were watching the exchange, so Nijat lied smoothly: "It's so you won't feel much pain when they shoot you."

The young man smiled faintly, and Nijat, sensing that he would never quite forget that look, waited until the execution was over to ask the medical director: "Why did you inject him?"

"Nijat, if you can transfer to some other section, then go as soon as possible."

"What do you mean? Doctor, exactly what kind of medicine did you inject him with?"

"Nijat, do you have any beliefs?"

"Yes. Do you?"

"It was an anticoagulant, Nijat. And maybe we are all going to hell."

ANNA GIBSON / 3 LOTUS MEDIA

I first met Enver Tohti—a soft-spoken, husky, Buddha of a man—through the informal Uighur network of London. I confess that my first impression was that he was just another emigré living in public housing. But Enver had a secret.

His story began on a Tuesday in June 1995, when he was a general surgeon in an Urumqi hospital. Enver recalled an unusual conversation with his immediate superior, the chief surgeon: "Enver, we are going to do something exciting. Have you ever done an operation in the field?"

"Not really. What do you want me to do?"

"Get a mobile team together and request an ambulance. Have everyone out front at nine tomorrow."

On a cloudless Wednesday morning, Enver led two assistants and an anaesthesiologist into an ambulance and followed the chief surgeon's car out of Urumqi going west. The ambulance had a picnic atmosphere until they realized they were entering the Western Mountain police district, which specialized in executing political dissidents. On a dirt road by a steep hill the chief surgeon pulled off, and came back to talk to Enver: "When you hear a gunshot, drive around the hill."

"Can you tell us why we are here?"

"Enver, if you don't want to know, don't ask."

"I want to know."

"No. You don't want to know."

The chief surgeon gave him a quick, hard look as he returned to the car. Enver saw that beyond the hill there appeared to be some sort of armed police facility. People were milling about—civilians. Enver half-satirically suggested to the team that perhaps they were family members waiting to collect the body and pay for the bullet, and the team responded with increasingly sick jokes to break the tension. Then they heard a gunshot, possibly a volley, and drove around to the execution field.

Focusing on not making any sudden moves as he followed the chief surgeon's car, Enver never really did get a good look. He briefly registered that there were 10, maybe 20 bodies lying at the base of the hill, but the armed police saw the ambulance and waved him over.

"This one. It's this one."

Sprawled on the blood-soaked ground was a man, around 30, dressed in navy blue overalls. All convicts were shaved, but this one had long hair.

"That's him. We'll operate on him."

"Why are we operating?" Enver protested, feeling for the artery in the man's neck. "Come on. This man is dead."

Enver stiffened and corrected himself. "No. He's not dead."

"Operate then. Remove the liver and the kidneys. Now! Quick! Be quick!"

Following the chief surgeon's directive, the team loaded the body into the ambulance. Enver felt himself going numb: Just cut the clothes off. Just strap the limbs to the table. Just open the body. He kept making attempts to follow normal procedure—sterilize, minimal exposure, sketch the cut. Enver glanced questioningly at the chief surgeon. "No anaesthesia," said the chief surgeon. "No life support."

The anaesthesiologist just stood there, arms folded—like some sort of ignorant peasant, Enver thought. Enver barked at him. "Why don't you do something?"

"What exactly should I do, Enver? He's already unconscious. If you cut, he's not going to respond."

But there was a response. As Enver's scalpel went in,

*Enver Tohti:* I am a killer, *he screamed inwardly.*

the man's chest heaved spasmodically and then curled back again. Enver, a little frantic now, turned to the chief surgeon. "How far in should I cut?"

"You cut as wide and deep as possible. We are working against time."

Enver worked fast, not bothering with clamps, cutting with his right hand, moving muscle and soft tissue aside with his left, slowing down only to make sure he excised the kidneys and liver cleanly. Even as Enver stitched the man back up—not internally, there was no point to that anymore, just so the body might look presentable—he sensed the man was still alive. *I am a killer*, Enver screamed inwardly. He did not dare to look at the face again, just as he imagined a killer would avoid looking at his victim.

The team drove back to Urumqi in silence.

On Thursday, the chief surgeon confronted Enver: "So. Yesterday. Did anything happen? Yesterday was a usual, normal day. Yes?"

Enver said yes, and it took years for him to understand that live organs had lower rejection rates in the new host, or that the bullet to the chest had—other than that first sickening lurch—acted like some sort of magical anaesthesia. He had done what he could; he had stitched the body back neatly for the family. And 15 years would elapse before Enver revealed what had happened that Wednesday.

As for Nijat, it wasn't until 1996 that he put it together.

It happened just about midnight, well after the cell block lights were turned off. Nijat found himself hanging out in the detention compound's administrative office with the medical director. Following a pause in the conversation, the director, in an odd voice, asked Nijat if he thought the place was haunted.

"Maybe it feels a little weird at night," Nijat answered. "Why do you think that?"

"Because too many people have been killed here. And for all the wrong reasons."

Nijat finally understood. The anticoagulant. The expensive "execution meals" for the regiment following a trip to the killing ground. The plainclothes agents in the cells who persuaded the prisoners to sign statements donating their organs to the state. And now the medical director was confirming it all: Those statements were real. They just didn't take account of the fact that the prisoners would still be alive when they were cut up.

"Nijat, we really are going to hell."

Nijat nodded, pulled on his beer, and didn't bother to smile.

On February 2, 1997, Bahtiyar Shemshidin began wondering whether he was a policeman in name only. Two years before, the Chinese Public Security Bureau of the Western city of Ghulja recruited Bahtiyar for the drug enforcement division. It was a natural fit because Bahtiyar was tall, good-looking, and exuded effortless Uighur authority. Bahtiyar would ultimately make his way to Canada and freedom, but he had no trouble recalling his initial idealism; back then, Bahtiyar did not see himself as a Chinese collaborator but as an emergency responder.

For several years, heroin addiction had been creeping through the neighborhoods of Ghulja, striking down young Uighurs like a medieval plague. Yet inside the force, Bahtiyar quickly grasped that the Chinese heroin cartel was quietly protected, if not encouraged, by the authorities. Even his recruitment was a bait-and-switch. Instead of sending him after drug dealers, his Chinese superiors ordered him to investigate the Meshrep—a traditional Muslim get-together promoting clean living, sports, and Uighur music and dance. If the Meshrep had flowered like a traditional herbal remedy against the opiate invader, the Chinese authorities read it as a disguised attack on the Chinese state.

In early January 1997, on the eve of Ramadan, the

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entire Ghulja police force—Uighurs and Chinese alike—were suddenly ordered to surrender their guns "for inspection." Now, almost a month later, the weapons were being released. But Bahtiyar's gun was held back. Bahtiyar went to the Chinese bureaucrat who controlled supplies and asked after it. "Your gun has a problem," Bahtiyar was told.

"When will you fix the problem?"

The bureaucrat shrugged, glanced at his list, and looked up at Bahtiyar with an unblinking stare that said: It is time for you to go. By the end of the day, Bahtiyar got it: Every Chinese officer had a gun. Every Uighur officer's gun had a problem.

Three days later, Bahtiyar understood why. On February 5, approximately 1,000 Uighurs gathered in the center of Ghulja. The day before, the Chinese authorities arrested (and, it was claimed, severely abused) six women, all Muslim teachers, all participants in the Meshrep. The young men came without their winter coats to show they were unarmed, but, planned or unplanned, the Chinese police fired on the demonstrators.

Casualty counts of what is known as the Ghulja incident remain shaky. Bahtiyar recalls internal police estimates of 400 dead, but he didn't see it; all Uighur policemen had been sent to the local jail "to interrogate prisoners" and were locked in the compound throughout the crisis. However, Bahtiyar did see Uighurs herded into the compound and thrown naked onto the snow—some bleeding, others with internal injuries. Ghulja's main Uighur clinic was effectively shut down when a squad of Chinese special police arrested 10 of the doctors and destroyed the clinic's ambulance. As the arrests mounted by late April, the jail became hopelessly overcrowded, and Uighur political prisoners were selected for daily executions. On April 24, Bahtiyar's colleagues witnessed the killing of eight political prisoners; what struck them was the presence of doctors in "special vans for harvesting organs."

In Europe I spoke with a nurse who worked in a major Ghulja hospital following the incident. Nervously requesting that I provide no personal details, she told me that the hospitals were forbidden to treat Uighur protesters. A doctor who bandaged an arm received a 15-year sentence, while another got 20 years, and hospital staff were told, "If you treat someone, you will get the same result." The separation between the Uighur and Chinese medical personnel deepened: Chinese doctors would stockpile prescriptions rather than allow Uighur medical staff a key to the pharmacy, while Uighur patients were receiving 50 percent of their usual doses. If a Uighur couple had a second child, even if the birth was legally sanctioned, Chinese maternity doctors, she observed, administered an injection (described as an antibiotic) to the infant. The nurse could not recall a single instance of the same injection given to a Chinese baby. Within three days the infant would turn blue and die. Chinese staffers offered a rote explanation to Uighur mothers: Your baby was too weak, your baby could not handle the drug.

Shortly after the Ghulja incident, a young Uighur protester's body returned home from a military hospital. Perhaps the fact that the abdomen was stitched up was just evidence of an autopsy, but it sparked another round of riots. After that, the corpses were wrapped, buried at gunpoint, and Chinese soldiers patrolled the cemeteries (one is not far from the current Urumqi airport). By June, the nurse was pulled into a new case: A young Uighur

*Chinese police inspect the bodies of executed prisoners, 1994.*

ASSOCIATED PRESS

protester had been arrested and beaten severely. His family paid for his release, only to discover that their son had kidney damage. The family was told to visit a Chinese military hospital in Urumqi where the hospital staff laid it out: One kidney, 30,000 RMB (roughly $4,700). The kidney will be healthy, they were assured, because the transplant was to come from a 21-year-old Uighur male—the same profile as their son. The nurse learned that the "donor" was, in fact, a protester.

In the early autumn of 1997, fresh out of a blood-work tour in rural Xinjiang, a young Uighur doctor—let's call him Murat—was pursuing a promising medical career

in a large Urumqi hospital. Two years later he was planning his escape to Europe, where I met him some years after.

One day Murat's instructor quietly informed him that five Chinese government officials—big guys, party members—had checked into the hospital with organ problems. Now he had a job for Murat: "Go to the Urumqi prison. The political wing, not the criminal side. Take blood samples. Small ones. Just to map out the different blood types. That's all you have to do."

"What about tissue matching?"

"Don't worry about any of that, Murat. We'll handle that later. Just map out the blood types."

Clutching the authorization, and accompanied by an assistant from the hospital, Murat, slight and bookish, found himself facing approximately 15 prisoners, mostly tough-guy Uighurs in their late twenties. As the first prisoner sat down and saw the needle, the pleading began.

"You are a Uighur like me. Why are you going to hurt me?"

"I'm not going to hurt you. I'm just taking blood."

At the word "blood," everything collapsed. The men howled and stampeded, the guards screaming and shoving them back into line. The prisoner shrieked that he was innocent. The Chinese guards grabbed his neck and squeezed it hard.

"It's just for your health," Murat said evenly, suddenly aware the hospital functionary was probably watching to make sure that Murat wasn't too sympathetic. "It's just for your health," Murat said again and again as he drew blood.

When Murat returned to the hospital, he asked the instructor, "Were all those prisoners sentenced to death?"

"That's right, Murat, that's right. Yes. Just don't ask any more questions. They are bad people—enemies of the country."

But Murat kept asking questions, and over time, he learned the drill. Once they found a matching blood type, they would move to tissue matching. Then the political prisoner would get a bullet to the right side of the chest. Murat's instructor would visit the execution site to match up blood samples. The officials would get their organs, rise from their beds, and check out.

Six months later, around the first anniversary of Ghulja, five new officials checked in. The instructor told Murat to go back to the political wing for fresh blood. This time, Murat was told that harvesting political prisoners was normal. A growing export. High volume. The military hospitals are leading the way.

By early 1999, Murat stopped hearing about harvesting political prisoners. Perhaps it was over, he thought.

Yet the Xinjiang procedure spread. By the end of 1999, the Uighur crackdown would be eclipsed by Chinese security's largest-scale action since Mao: the elimination of Falun Gong. By my estimate up to three million Falun Gong practitioners would pass through the Chinese corrections system. Approximately 65,000 would be harvested, hearts still beating, before the 2008 Olympics. An unspecified, significantly smaller, number of House Christians and Tibetans likely met the same fate.

By Holocaust standards these are piddling numbers, so let's be clear: China is not the land of the final solution. But it is the land of the expedient solution. Some will point to recent statements from the Chinese medical establishment admitting the obvious—China's medical environment is not fully ethical—and see progress. Foreign investors suspect that eventually the Chinese might someday—or perhaps have already—abandon organ harvesting in favor of the much more lucrative pharmaceutical and clinical testing industries. The problem with these soothing narratives is that reports, some as recent as one year ago, suggest that the Chinese have not abandoned the Xinjiang procedure.

In July 2009, Urumqi exploded in bloody street riots between Uighurs and Han Chinese. The authorities massed troops in the regional capital, kicked out the Western journalists, shut down the Internet, and, over the next six months, quietly, mostly at night, rounded up Uighur males by the thousands. According to information leaked by Uighurs held in captivity, some prisoners were given physical examinations aimed solely at assessing the health of their retail organs. The signals may be faint, but they are consistent, and the conclusion is inescapable: China, a state rapidly approaching superpower status, has not just committed human rights abuses—that's old news—but has, for over a decade, perverted the most trusted area of human expertise into performing what is, in the legal parlance of human rights, targeted elimination of a specific group.

Yet Nijat sits in refugee limbo in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, waiting for a country to offer him asylum. He confessed to me. He confessed to others. But in a world eager not to offend China, no state wants his confession. Enver made his way to an obscure seminar hosted by the House of Commons on Chinese human rights. When the MPs opened the floor to questions, Enver found himself standing up and speaking, for the first time, of killing a man. I took notes, but no British MP or their staffers could be bothered to take Enver's number.

The implications are clear enough. Nothing but self-determination for the Uighurs can suffice. The Uighurs, numbering 13 million, are few, but they are also desperate. They may fight. War may come. On that day, as diplomats across the globe call for dialogue with Beijing, may every nation look to its origins and its conscience. For my part, if my Jewish-sounding name tells me anything, it is this: The dead may never be fully avenged, but no people can accept being fatally exploited forever. ♦

[NOTE: The survey-based estimate of Falun Gong Murdered from 2000 to 2008, "How Many Harvested?" by Mr. Ethan Gutmann, submitted for the record by the Honorable Christopher H. Smith, is not repinted here due to length limitations but is available in committee records.]

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