

Sir Iain Duncan Smith
8 July 2026, 5-6pm
Wilson Room, Portcullis House
Ethan Gutmann statement

I'll begin by repeating some points I made in my recent testimony to the Congressional Executive Commission on China hearing on Capitol Hill. Apologies to those who have read it already – especially to Jan, who had no choice because he was testifying too.

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

Yet I've also been observing the often-skeptical Western world - that includes myself, back in 2006. All witnesses are taking a big risk. Camp refugees who observed the organ harvesting selection process, or were nearly harvested themselves, matter. But the testimony of a medical practitioner – or anyone who was directly involved in the transplant process has a more complex level of risk – and their testimony matters most.

I'll briefly focus on these medical witnesses because there's an interesting continuity over time. Then I'm going to tell you how the recent Uyghur investigation evolved, and how I came up with current harvesting rates. I'll touch on Uyghur deportation from Central Asia, and I'll close with a few personal thoughts on policy.

Regarding my previous book, THE SLAUGHTER:

- 15 years ago, in a Westminster hearing, Enver Tohti, a former Urumqi hospital surgeon, confessed that he used his “own hands,” to extract the kidneys and liver of a wounded, but salvageable, human being on a Xinjiang execution ground in 1995. Some of you know Enver. Some of you know how much we owe Enver for standing up alone, at a critical time for this investigation.

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

My new book, THE XINJIANG PROCEDURE adds to this collection:

- In 2007, an accidental witness: "Cat" - that's Mr. Sugawara - was assisting his Yakuza Chieftain prepare for a liver transplant in a Beijing Police hospital. Wandering into the wrong room, Cat found a bound, sedated young man - wrist and ankle tendons severed. A Chinese surgeon soothingly explained to Cat that it was okay because the young "liver donor" was Falun Gong.
- In 2017, Sayragul Sauytbay, a teacher in a Kazakh and Uyghur camp, gained exclusive access to organize the camp's medical files. A red-check mark next to blood results signaled the individual had been pre-selected for harvesting. Several camp refugees that I interviewed recalled guards imposing color-coding - from pink vests to wristbands, a few nights before the actual disappearances.
- In 2018, "Samal," a Kazakh-ethnic woman, was recruited by a Uyghur veterinarian to extract human intestines in preparation for the systematic extraction of organs. Why intestines? Because their workspace was in a secret medical compound, four floors under a Uyghur and Kazakh concentration camp with sub-standard ventilation.
- And an update: While Dr. Ko of Taipei knew that Falun Gong were being harvested, according to his Chinese colleagues, Ko became the "teacher of ECMO to Mainland China." Let me translate that. That meant directly instructing Chinese surgeons to exploit an off-label procedure for live organ harvesting. As mayor of Taipei and as a presidential candidate for the Taiwan presidency, Ko could have been the ultimate medical witness, an insider exposing the inner workings of China's transplant system. Instead, Ko tried to lie and obfuscate. Ko was recently sentenced to 17 years in

Taiwanese prison on corruption charges – and I'd love to see a plea deal there.

Now I want to turn to the Uyghur investigation.

There was only sketchy evidence of harvesting. Yet the signs were there:

- 2013: Home blood/DNA testing of FG in five provinces, suggesting a gap in supply, or competition between armed police and PSB factions for profits. It did confirm a growing Chinese medical consensus: DNA plus blood creates the most accurate cross matching for a successful transplant.
- 2014 to 2015: mandatory mass blood/DNA testing of entire Uyghur population above age of 12 - approximately 10 million people. No health follow-ups. No Han Chinese: exempt from all testing.
- 2016: CCP constructs camps throughout Xinjiang.
- 2017: US State department estimates 1 to 3 million Uyghurs/Kazakhs in camps.

What was different from the FG persecution? The party learned from previous mistakes.

- No romantic names for torture centers.
- No website information from hospitals.
- No one gets past Chinese border. Less than 10 Uyghurs in the West.

What we had instead:

- Wraparound surveillance. An end to public communication.
- Reports of mass sterilization.

This was not an inquisition - a convert or die scenario - but a racial purge.

(Hui Muslim example. Stricter Muslims than the Uyghurs. But: They speak Chinese and look Chinese. Result? Few represented in the camps.)

And in the modern world, attacks on people of faith may be met with Western indifference, but actual racial purges must be carried out in secrecy.

From nuclear testing to the first live organ harvesting for Party cadres, Xinjiang has always been China's secret laboratory. My entry into China was not only blocked but could lead to death for witnesses. However, there is one bordering country where camp refugees go. Perhaps even in the low thousands: Kazakhstan.

The Problem put bluntly - for me to cross into Kazakhstan, a police state with Russian standard surveillance, interview, on a medium scale, and get out without getting anyone killed, represented a singular challenge, mainly involving subtraction:

- Don't fly from Europe to Kazakhstan, drive, using a 2003 no-chip vehicle.
- Don't use Google Earth, use a map and a compass.
- Don't use cards, use cash.
- No photography unless it requires a darkroom and specialized photographic chemicals to develop.
- No connectivity, no communication, other than face to face. No exceptions.

This strategy yielded twenty interviews - all with Xinjiang refugees. All from different camps.

The process:

Start with this: *the construction of the human stable*: When the individual enters the camp, they are tested, with a particular emphasis on their retail organs. A file is drawn up, a red check mark is applied.

Selection: When a consumer is online, the individual is tested again, but this time only blood and DNA. They may be given a red, pink, or orange bracelet, probably to prevent damaging the goods, or a final mix-up of identities.

Extraction: The chosen disappear in the middle of the night as if they had never existed. If their toothbrush is still there when the prisoners wake, by mid-morning, the toothbrush will be gone.

Most of these missing people are, on average, 28 years old. The exact age that the Chinese transplant industry prefers.

The results were surprisingly consistent:

2.5% to 5% go missing this way every year. Fully half of the witnesses came up with numbers within this range. The other half came in lower or higher, but even outlier interviews cast light on the camp procedures such as psychoactive drugs, sex slavery, forced labor recruitment, and PTSD.

With one million in the camps, a 2.5% disappearance rate means 25,000 dead per year. 5% means 50,000 dead per year. We are looking at, at a minimum, a quarter of a million dead Uyghurs and Kazakhs - and counting.

And with each dead Uyghur or Kazakh supplying 2 or 3 usable organs, Xinjiang alone can supply China's transplant volume. Matas and I estimated that annual volume ranges between 60,000 to 100,000 transplants.

Now the official line from China is that the Xinjiang camps closed years ago. Yet the evidence suggests the Party simply sent the old and infirm home and built factories for the camps. We have a name for such combined facilities: prisons. And prison labor. The kind of labor that the Western press doesn't care about.

More relevant here: the vulnerable, those who are reaching the 28 year-old range, are still represented in force within these facilities. And forced labor organs are the same as concentration camp organs.

Xinjiang's population might as well be the Sahara Desert by Chinese standards, yet the per-capita medical construction that Xinjiang receives is extraordinary: Nine crematoriums built in Xinjiang. Three to four export-only human organ fast lanes in the airports. In December last year, Beijing pledged "six more human organ transplantation medical institutions in the region by 2030."

The round-up of Uyghurs from China's neighbors is also extraordinary. My on-the-ground interviews establish that 88% of Tajikistan's Uyghurs and 87% of Kyrgyzstan's Uyghurs have been deported back to Xinjiang.

I've also documented a new Chinese military base, just north of Tajikistan's Kulma Pass - about 30 miles from a Tajik mine speculated to contain 50% of the world's uranium.

The energy and mineral reserves of the Pamir and the Kyrgyz mountain ranges are the "South China Sea" of China's Western frontier.

Out of time here, so a quick word on policy:

S. 4009, the Falun Gong and Victims of Forced Organ Harvesting Protection Act is currently positioned for a vote in the US Senate. It won't be easy to reconcile it with the Stop Organ Harvesting act that the house has, nearly unanimously, supported for three years, but some sort of bill seems likely.

Either way, I personally think that *Thermo Fisher Medical created a human rights catastrophe by supplying what appears to be 10 million DNA kits for the party to use on the Uyghurs and Kazakhs*. I don't like to make holocaust comparisons, but the IBM punch card system created for the Nazis comes to mind – and Cisco systems' special firewall boxes designed for the Chinese PSB to catch Falun Gong.

We simply can't repeat history here.

And we don't have to. There is a schism in the transplant community between The Transplantation Society's increasingly faith-based defense of engagement with the Chinese transplant industry, and International Society of Heart and Lung Transplantation's academic boycott of China, beginning in late 2022.

In other words, there's a policy vacuum. And you who occupy the political sphere? You have the whip hand, should you dare to use it.

I've given you a lot of condensed information. I sincerely welcome your questions - and even your skepticism. My new book is over 400 pages. There's probably a text or a footnote to address your concerns, yet we can streamline that. I'll be in London tomorrow. All day. Or, you know, dinner. Maybe Indian. If you want a frank and confidential discussion, please talk to me here, or contact me at theoldbamboo@protonmail.com.

Thank you.