

CECC Draft Upcoming Testimony - Jan Jekielek

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

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

What I am about to describe is not the black-market organ trade run by cartels we most typically hear about. This is something far more systematic, and far more industrialized. It is state-sponsored killing of innocents, on demand, to supply a multi-billion-dollar transplant industry. I'll start with a telling example detailed in my book, *Killed to Order: China's Organ Harvesting Industry & the True Nature of America's Biggest Adversary*:

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

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

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

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

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

First, the creation of what the regime itself calls a “black class,” a designated enemy group that the rest of the population is taught to hate, fear, and see as subhuman through relentless, state-controlled propaganda. In the early years after 1949, the landowners became one of the first black classes. They were portrayed as parasites who had stolen from the people. The regime flooded the country with this message until ordinary citizens accepted — and in many cases participated in: the confiscation of their property and often their lives. During the Cultural Revolution, the educated and keepers of traditional culture were targeted for vilification. This is

the pattern: designate a group as subhuman, flood the information space with propaganda, and the population becomes psychologically prepared for atrocities against the target group. The persecution of each black class also serves as a stark reminder to the entire population of the raw power of the Communist state, and what can happen to anyone who dares to challenge it.

The second key tool is the infrastructure to incarcerate massive numbers of people at will. Prisons, black jails, re-education camps, and forced labor camps are just part of an incarceration system with capacity for millions.

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

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

Unlike previous black classes, large numbers of Falun Gong practitioners refused to be re-educated. They resisted at a scale the regime had never before encountered. As a result, the CCP incarcerated a massive number of them, and enacted an unwritten rule: all Falun Gong deaths in China's massive incarceration system would be considered suicides. In 2005, the U.S. State Department estimated that roughly half of all people in China's Reeducation Through Labor (RTL) system were Falun Gong practitioners. In 2006, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture, Manfred Nowak, reported that Falun Gong practitioners accounted for 66 percent of the torture cases he documented during his visit to China.

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

In any ethical transplant system such as that of the United States, vital organs typically come from catastrophic accidents. To reduce the chance of rejection, blood type and histology are also matched. Thus the supply of organs is always much less than the demand. Patients must wait

months or years. The system is conditioned on tragedy. This creates a pool of people willing to go to great lengths for a second chance at life.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

serious concerns about its collaborations with Chinese entities implicated in forced organ harvesting.

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

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

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

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

So what can be done?

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

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

Second, sanction those involved. There are two bipartisan pieces of legislation that address this specifically, S4009 (Falun Gong and Victims of Forced Organ Harvesting Protection Act, a

Senate-modified version of HR1540) and HR1503 (Stop Forced Organ Harvesting Act). Both have passed the U.S. House near-unanimously, and now await Senate confirmation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you.

I look forward to your questions.