

Remarks at the "Understanding the Chinese Leadership" Seminar – Jan Jekielek

The Wilson Room, Portcullis House, Parliament of the UK

Wednesday, 8 July, 2026

Thank you very much. It is my honour to have this opportunity to speak here today.

In the West we believe that the primary duty of a government is to ensure the security and protection of its citizens. The mindset of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leadership, however, is different.

I'll start with an example from my recent book, *Killed to Order*:

"An affluent German woman...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."[1]

In any ethical transplant system, vital organs typically come from catastrophic accidents. To reduce the chance of rejection, blood type and histology are also matched. Thus the supply of organs is always much less than the demand. Yet wait times in China are often measured not in years, or months—but in weeks or even days. [2]

Evidence of forced organ harvesting in China has been extensively documented by David Matas, David Kilgour, Ethan Gutmann, Matthew Robertson, many other investigatory groups, and includes key testimony, for example, of a Chinese surgeon who directly participated in forced organ harvesting, Enver Tohti – who is attending here today.

The landmark 2019 China Tribunal, chaired by Sir Geoffrey Nice KC reviewed the vast amount of evidence and concluded:

"The Tribunal's members are certain – unanimously, and sure beyond reasonable doubt –that in China forced organ harvesting from prisoners of conscience has been practiced for a substantial period of time involving a very substantial number of victims" and that "Falun Gong practitioners have been one – and probably the main – source of organ supply."[3]

Just to understand the scale, this "substantial number" they say is "hundreds of thousands of victims"[4]

Mainstream media have largely failed on reporting this issue. Some, such as The New York Times, have even actively downplayed atrocities committed by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), dismissed the crimes of organ harvesting, and amplified CCP propaganda against the victim group, Falun Gong.[5]

A former New York Times correspondent testified to the 2019 China Tribunal that she was prevented from pursuing evidence of forced organ harvesting by her editors at the New York Times.[6] Her testimony reflects broader concerns that many major media organisations have continued to ignore, minimise, or in some cases effectively whitewash these crimes.

Forced organ harvesting in China has been uncovered primarily through human rights groups or investigators.

In 1994, it was Human Rights Watch that reported: “Political offenders and other non-violent criminals” were being executed in China and used as sources for organ transplantation. [7]

As of 1999, however, this landscape changed dramatically and China’s transplantation industry boomed.

To help us understand how this could happen, I first want to highlight two essential tools that the CCP has refined over decades.

The first is the regime’s creation of “black classes,” designated enemy groups that the rest of the population is taught to hate, fear, and see as subhuman. First it was the landowners, then the “counter-revolutionaries,” then the intellectuals during the Cultural Revolution, with others following. This is the pattern: designate a group as subhuman, flood the information space with propaganda, and the population becomes psychologically prepared to tolerate or even support atrocities against the target group.

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

What happened in 1999 was that the CCP designated Falun Gong as a black class targeted for eradication, setting the stage for killed-to-order forced organ harvesting.

Falun Gong, or Falun Dafa, is an ancient spiritual discipline of mind and body. It has a physical aspect of slow-moving exercises, and moral teachings based on Truthfulness, Compassion, and Forbearance (also translated as being good, true and enduring). Falun Gong is also characterized by an unusual lack of organizational structure: no collection of funds, no roster, no hierarchy, and no worship of a deity. It was introduced to the public in 1992 and spread by word of mouth, growing very quickly in popularity. Within a few years, the government estimated 70-100 million people were practicing Falun Gong in China.

There are different theories about why then-Chinese leader Jiang Zemin ordered Falun Gong to be persecuted. Perhaps it was because the number of practitioners had exceeded the communist party membership. Perhaps it was because Falun Gong spread by word of mouth in a grassroots fashion, with people from all walks of life practicing, from migrant field workers to high level Party officials. Or perhaps the CCP, with its decades of totalitarian rule, simply couldn’t abide the individual agency that practicing Falun Gong fostered in people. I believe if one were to design a system that could withstand totalitarian control and overreach, it might look something like Falun Gong.

As a result, in 1999, tens of millions of citizens were targeted for eradication by the state. This was such a huge task that a new government department was created. This department, called the 610 Office, had extra-legal powers to take control of other Party and government organs do anything they wanted to Falun Gong practitioners.

The CCP incarcerated a massive number of Falun Gong practitioners and enacted an unwritten rule: all Falun Gong deaths in detention would be considered suicides.[8] So, if a Falun Gong practitioner died, no one was held accountable for their death.

In 2005, the U.S. State Department estimated that half of all people in China's vast Reeducation Through Labor camp system were Falun Gong practitioners.[9]

The regime took this massive population of healthy, dehumanized and incarcerated Falun Gong practitioners, and started blood-typing, tissue-typing, scanning their organs, and creating a database with this information. It was just the Falun Gong prisoners who went through these medical procedures. They were never told the results of the exams and at the same time they were being tortured while detained so it was obvious their well-being was not a concern. With this medical information, however, when a transplant was needed, whether for a Chinese elite or foreign transplant tourist, a match could be found and the victim killed to order.

In just a few short years, from 1999 to 2004, the number of transplant centers in China grew almost fourfold.[10] China developed national financial plans, projects and programmes related to organ transplantation, and defined it as one of China's emerging industries displaying confidence and building hundreds of transplant centres despite not having a voluntary donor programme.[11]

A China public donor registry did not even exist until 2014.[12] And there are legitimate doubts about this registry. Namely, a study published in BMC Medical Ethics found that China's new official public donor datasets conformed almost perfectly to a mathematical formula, indicating that the numbers were likely systematically falsified to appease the WHO and the international community.[13]

Even after the CCP's claims of donor reforms, Chinese hospitals continue to promise astonishingly short wait times—although they do so less publicly than before.[14]

In an investigation by a South Korean undercover film crew in 2017, one of China's largest transplant centers promised organ wait times from days to weeks and offered expedited transplants in exchange for a monetary "donation" of 10,000 yuan (roughly \$1,500).[15]

The film crew also traveled to the Chongqing hospital and research lab supervised by Wang Lijun, who oversaw research methods that would better preserve organ conditions. On the wall were blueprints for a machine that would inflict brain-stem injuries that would cause brain death. When the reporter asked about the machine's purpose, the lab staff confirmed that the machine could be used on a human to render him brain dead while simultaneously keeping all other organs of the body healthy and viable for harvesting.[15]

In August 2016, a Canadian patient waited a mere three days for a kidney transplant during his trip to China.[16] In November 2016, an Australian Senator Derryn Hinch said he was encouraged to seek an organ in China: "I was told by a senior businessman in Melbourne that I could go to Shanghai and for \$150,000 get a new liver next week." [17]

This is why I titled my book *Killed to Order*. It's deadly, boutique selection and delivery of human body parts: organs matched in advance, delivered on a schedule, 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 amorality to turn human beings into spare parts for profit, power and elite longevity.

Falun Gong refugees who fled to the West continue to give accounts of blood tests and other medical procedures while detained in China. A recent survey identified 113 facilities across China in which these health screenings took place, with the most recent incident reported in 2024.

Shockingly, one respondent described how even non-detained Falun Gong practitioners in Anqing City, Anhui Province, were summoned for these chilling exams.[18]

Tragically, after years of little meaningful international action, the CCP expanded this atrocity to another group. They used the same tools as they used on Falun Gong. They dehumanized the Uyghur Muslim population, mass-incarcerated them, and have even gone door-to-door to people's homes in Xinjiang collecting DNA and blood samples.[19]

This is a form of what researcher Matthew Robertson has dubbed “extractive repression”: the CCP monetizes the bodies of Falun Gong practitioners, Uyghurs and other prisoners of conscience through forced organ harvesting, killing them to order to supply organs, extending the lives of Chinese super elites and profiting from wealthy transplant tourists, all while advancing the regime's goal of eradicating these targeted groups.

It is critical to understand that these organ harvesting procedures serve as part of a far more comprehensive pattern of abuses that are inflicted on these “Black Classes” as end stages of violent suppression campaigns.

Conclusion

Until there is evidence that the Chinese Communist Party has stopped organ transplant abuse or until they allow independent scrutiny of their organ transplant program it would not be reasonable to presume that they have stopped extracting organs from prisoners of conscience.

What can we do about this? The first step is to officially, publicly recognise and condemn China's transplant system as unethical.

If we value an ethical transplant system in our own country then we need to disengage our medical transplantation community from China's, which would include academic exchange, collaborations, conferences and training.

The CCP leadership does not follow our assumption that a government should protect its citizens. It is clear that the Chinese Communist Party does not value the rule of law, human rights, or even basic human life. We should not be under the delusion that they will suddenly change and become moral or ethical.

As the Communist Party becomes more aggressive and openly asserting influence and interference in the West, we should recognise that this undermines our own laws, values, and principles.

We should view the Communist Party leadership clearly and judge them by their deeds and actions.

From the China Tribunal, Sir Geoffrey Nice KC put this very succinctly. He said: “Governments and any who interact in any substantial way with the PRC ... should now recognise that they are, ..., interacting with a criminal state.”

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