

119TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION H. R. 4140

To provide protection, support, and humanitarian assistance to Rohingya refugees and internally displaced people in Burma as well as promote accountability and a path out of genocide and crimes against humanity for Rohingya.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

June 25, 2025

Mr. Meeks (for himself, Mr. McCaul, Mr. Bera, and Mr. Huizenga) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

A BILL

To provide protection, support, and humanitarian assistance to Rohingya refugees and internally displaced people in Burma as well as promote accountability and a path out of genocide and crimes against humanity for Rohingya.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
- 4 This Act may be cited as the "Burma Genocide Ac-
- 5 countability and Protection Act" or the "Burma GAP
- 6 Act''.

1 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

- 2 Congress finds the following:
- 3 (1) In its report dated September 17, 2018, the 4 United Nations Independent International Fact-5 Finding Mission on Myanmar (FFM) found that impunity was a "root cause of continued human rights 6 7 violations in Myanmar' that "has significantly and 8 demonstrably contributed to the validation of deeply oppressive and discriminatory conduct, enabled re-9 10 currence of human rights violations and atrocity 11 crimes, and emboldened perpetrators and silenced 12 victims", and concluded that "ensuring accountability for crimes" was "the key to disrupting pat-13 14 terns of oppression and cycles of violence" as well as 15 a legal obligation for Burma.
 - (2) On December 13, 2018, the United States House of Representatives passed H. Res. 1091, by an overwhelming majority of 394 to 1, expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that atrocities committed against Rohingya by members of the Burma military and security forces since August 2017 constitute crimes against humanity and genocide.
 - (3) On September 16, 2019, the FFM reported that it "has reasonable grounds to conclude that the evidence that infers genocidal intent on the part of

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- the state, identified in its last report, has strengthened that there is a serious risk that genocidal actions may occur or recur'.
 - (4) On February 1, 2021, the Burma military conducted a coup d'état, derailing Burma's transition to democracy and disregarding the will of the people of Burma.
 - (5) Since the February 2021 military coup, the Burma military and certain local armed groups have continued to commit crimes and abuses against Rohingya. In Rakhine state, over 600,000 Rohingya, including at least 130,000 confined in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps face heightened risks. The military continues to target Rohingya with laws and policies that criminalize the exercise of human rights, as well as with arbitrary arrest and detention, torture, sexual violence, and murder.
 - (6) On March 21, 2022, Secretary of State Antony Blinken announced the Secretary had determined that "members of the Burmese military committed genocide and crimes against humanity against Rohingya".
 - (7) The United States has been the leading contributor of humanitarian assistance in response to the Rohingya crisis.

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- (8) The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights said in a June 2023 report that the Burma military's restrictions on aid access by local and international organizations seeking to respond to Cyclone Mocha in Rakhine state in May 2023 may amount to gross violations of international human rights law, and serious violations of inter-national humanitarian law.
 - (9) According to the World Food Program, over 15 percent of young children in the Rohingya refugee camps in Bangladesh are suffering from malnutrition. The World Food Program estimates that it needs another \$83,000,000 in funding to maintain full rations and meet the basic minimum nutritional needs of refugees through May 2026.
 - (10) Funding cuts and rising commodity prices have exacerbated protection concerns for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh, especially with respect to gender-based violence and child protection, worsening health outcomes and fueling unsafe and irregular migration throughout the surrounding region.
 - (11) Combined with rising food insecurity, Rohingya are increasingly unsafe in Bangladesh as a result of growing competition between armed and criminal groups in the refugee camps. These factors

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- have driven thousands of Rohingya to flee to maritime Southeast Asia by boat only to face obstacles from regional navies and growing resentment from local populations.
- 5 (12) The long, systemic denial of the exercise of 6 certain rights, including education, freedoms of ex-7 pression, movement, and rights related to nationality 8 have had enduring effects on many Rohingya per-9 sons' mental and physical well-being and perpetuate 10 the risk of future genocidal violence until these root 11 causes are addressed.

12 SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

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- It is the policy of the United States—
 - (1) to uphold Article I of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, to which the United States is a party, to prevent the crime of genocide and punish its perpetrators;
 - (2) to prevent and end atrocities committed against Rohingya by addressing the root causes of the genocide and crimes against humanity committed against them, holding the perpetrators of these crimes accountable, supporting solutions to respect the human rights and uphold the dignity of Rohingya, and to ensure Rohingya involvement and

- representation in decision making and implementation processes to address these needs;
 - (3) to support the empowerment of Rohingya civilian leadership in diaspora communities, refugee camps in Bangladesh, and inside Burma through consultation and collaboration with Rohingya community representatives;
 - (4) to provide holistic support to the Rohingya community to overcome decades of systematic persecution and discrimination and to best support the desires of all communities in Burma to achieve lasting peace and an inclusive, Federal democracy including through credible transitional justice processes;
 - (5) to collaborate with other countries to pursue and implement coordinated, comprehensive, and sustained measures for upholding the dignity and protecting the human rights of Rohingya;
 - (6) to engage in a coordinated manner with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees other relevant United Nations agencies, governments, and intergovernmental entities to establish protocols and respond to protection concerns and to prevent and protect Rohingya from further atrocities; and

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1	(7) to isolate the Burma military junta dip-
2	lomatically and economically until such time that
3	there is a return to civilian rule in Burma.
4	SEC. 4. SENSE OF CONGRESS.
5	It is the sense of Congress that—
6	(1) the United States has a moral and legal re-
7	sponsibility to prevent and punish genocide, includ-
8	ing against Rohingya;
9	(2) the Secretary of State's determination in
10	March 2022 that genocide and crimes against hu-
11	manity have been committed against Rohingya by
12	members of the Burma military should lead to sup-
13	port for Rohingya to overcome decades of systemic
14	persecution, marginalization, and violence;
15	(3) the Rohingya crisis and the broader Burma
16	crisis must be addressed simultaneously to ensure
17	that history does not repeat itself;
18	(4) the United States should work with other
19	donor nations to ensure that Rohingya refugees in
20	refugee camps in Bangladesh receive a ration suffi-
21	cient to meet the humanitarian minimum standards
22	for food and nutrition needs;
23	(5) the United States should encourage other
24	countries to contribute additional assistance and fol-

low United States leadership in protecting Rohingya

- 1 through humanitarian assistance, political and eco-2 nomic empowerment, accountability for genocide, 3 crimes against humanity, and any other inter-4 national crimes committed by the Burma military 5 and other armed groups in Burma, as well as sup-6 porting the voluntary resettlement or eventual safe 7 repatriation of Rohingya refugees to Burma when conditions allow; and 8
- 9 (6) the United States should continue not to 10 recognize the Burma military junta as the legitimate 11 political representative of the Burmese people given 12 the genocide, crimes against humanity, and coup 13 that it has perpetrated.
- 14 SEC. 5. UNITED STATES SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND 15

POLICY COORDINATOR FOR BURMA.

- 16 (a) IN GENERAL.—In the absence of a United States
- 17 Ambassador to Burma, the Secretary of State is author-
- ized to appoint a career Foreign Service Officer of Senior
- Foreign Service rank as Special Representative and Policy
- 20 Coordinator for Burma.
- 21 (b) Duties.—The Special Representative shall—
- 22 (1) promote a comprehensive international ef-23 fort, including multilateral sanctions, direct dialogue 24 with all parties, including democracy advocates, and
- 25 support for nongovernmental organizations operating

- in Burma and neighboring countries, designed to restore civilian democratic governance to Burma and address the urgent humanitarian needs in the region;
 - (2) consult broadly, including with the Governments of Thailand, Bangladesh, India, the Republic of Korea, Japan, the member states of ASEAN, the European Union, and other nations to coordinate policies toward Burma;
 - (3) assist efforts by the United Nations Special Envoy to secure the release of all political prisoners in Burma and to promote dialogue among all parties, including leaders of Burma's democracy movement;
 - (4) consult with Congress on policies relevant to Burma and the future and welfare of all the Burmese people, including refugees;
 - (5) coordinate multilateral sanctions efforts against Burma among United States allies and partners; and
 - (6) support protection, humanitarian assistance, and accountability efforts for Rohingya and other Burmese ethnic minorities in Burma and the surrounding region.

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1	(c) SUNSET.—This section shall terminate on the
2	date that is 5 years after the date of the enactment of
3	this Act.
4	SEC. 6. SUPPORT FOR PROTECTION EFFORTS AND DURA-
5	BLE SOLUTIONS WITH RESPECT TO
6	ROHINGYA.
7	(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State, in con-
8	sultation with the Special Representative (if so designated
9	under section 5(a)), should support efforts to protect
10	Rohingya and prevent further atrocities against Rohingya
11	and other Burmese ethnic minorities.
12	(b) PROTECTION EFFORTS.—In carrying out sub-
13	section (a), the Secretary should seek to engage in crisis
14	response efforts and efforts to maximize the safety, secu-
15	rity, and well-being of Rohingya in Burma and throughout
16	South Asia and Southeast Asia, by—
17	(1) supporting Rohingya refugees access to
18	international protection as well as international asy-
19	lum and refugee mechanisms, and preventing indefi-
20	nite detention and nonrefoulement;
21	(2) facilitating greater access for Rohingya fac-
22	ing ongoing abuse, including human trafficking and
23	gender-based violence, to appropriate legal support
24	services:

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- (3) supporting a monitoring mechanism, rapid response team, legal assistance, and communication mechanisms to overcome military-imposed internet and telecommunication restrictions for Rohingya living in Burma;
 - (4) working with other governments in the region to strengthen regional mechanisms and overall coordination on lifesaving search and rescue, safe disembarkation, effective receiving and comprehensive assistance for Rohingya refugees;
 - (5) supporting host communities to facilitate a safer, more supportive, and welcoming environment for Rohingya refugees through the provision of technical assistance and cooperation with local organizations and governments; and
 - (6) engaging the Government of Bangladesh and the international community to establish the necessary mechanisms for Rohingya refugees to file protection claims, and seek accountability by—
 - (A) improving Rohingya refugees ability to access justice within Bangladesh through legal aid, simplifying the process for filing cases, facilitating the access of lawyers involved in international legal proceedings involving Rohingya,

1	and enabling Rohingya to travel abroad to par-
2	ticipate in legal proceedings in other courts;
3	(B) supporting enhanced coordination
4	among Bangladesh security forces on investiga-
5	tions and accountability;
6	(C) supporting training for Bangladesh's
7	Armed Police Battalion (APBn) and any other
8	units providing security for Rohingya refugee
9	camps on humanitarian protection principles
10	and community safety; and
11	(D) encouraging the Government of Ban-
12	gladesh and other host governments to allow
13	safe houses for Rohingya human rights activ-
14	ists, as well as defectors, insider witnesses to
15	atrocities against Rohingya and other refugees
16	facing imminent threats.
17	(c) Promoting Durable Solutions.—In carrying
18	out subsection (a), the Secretary should seek to promote
19	durable solutions with respect to Rohingya by-
20	(1) supporting the inclusion of Rohingya across
21	various sectors in Burma;
22	(2) facilitating training and capacity building
23	on atrocity prevention for the National Unity Gov-
24	ernment (NUG), the National Unity Consultative
25	Council (NUCC), the Committee Representing

1	Pyidaungsu Hluttaw (CRPH), ethnic armed organi-
2	zations, and other political stakeholders;
3	(3) in consultation with Rohingya community
4	representatives, including women and civil society
5	leaders, collaborating with and supporting key non-
6	military stakeholders to take preparatory steps for-
7	(A) ensuring the safe and voluntary return
8	of Rohingya, which should include those individ-
9	uals displaced in the 1990s or born as inter-
10	nally displaced persons or refugees to their
11	places of origin in Burma;
12	(B) restoring and protecting Rohingyas
13	rights and providing them full and equal citi-
14	zenship;
15	(C) recognizing Rohingya as an official
16	ethnic group in Burma, and securing equal so-
17	cial and political power sharing under a Federal
18	democratic Constitution;
19	(D) promoting convenings and engagement
20	among Rohingya, non state actors, civil society
21	groups, and other key stakeholders in Rakhine
22	state to promote trust building and reconcili-
23	ation:

1	(E) including Rohingya across administra-
2	tion and governance mechanisms of Burma, in-
3	cluding Rakhine state; and
4	(F) developing a comprehensive transi-
5	tional justice strategy;
6	(4) working with United States allies and part-
7	ners to broaden resettlement programs and sup-
8	porting the voluntary resettlement of the most vul-
9	nerable individuals within Rohingya populations, as
10	well as defectors, deserters, and insider witnesses
11	participating in justice processes; and
12	(5) supporting repatriation of Rohingya refu-
13	gees only when conditions are conducive for a safe,
14	voluntary, and sustainable return with full rights re-
15	stored.
16	SEC. 7. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT FOR
17	ROHINGYA REFUGEES AND INTERNALLY DIS-
18	PLACED PERSONS.
19	(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State, in con-
20	sultation with the Special Representative (if so designated
21	under section 5(a)) and other relevant United States Gov-
22	ernment agencies, should continue to provide assistance
23	to Rohingya refugees, internally displaced persons, and
24	host communities receiving such refugees and persons.

- 1 (b) ACTIVITIES SUPPORTED.—Assistance provided 2 under subsection (a) shall include the following:
- (1) Protection programming, including interven tions focused on Rohingya civil society leaders,
 human rights activists, and others threatened by
 armed groups.
 - (2) Support for Rohingya civil society and community-based organizations, including diplomatic engagement to encourage the Government of Bangladesh to allow the operation of Rohingya-led civil society and community-based organizations in the refugee camps in Bangladesh.
 - (3) Programs to prevent and respond to genderbased violence, trafficking, forced marriage, as well as specialized training programs for vulnerable groups.
 - (4) Support for education, including higher education, for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.
 - (5) Support for displaced Rohingya to access livelihoods through vocational training and volunteer programs organized by international organizations and nongovernmental organizations.
- 23 (6) Support for meeting basic needs, including 24 food, nutrition, health care, protection, shelter, 25 water, sanitation, and hygiene support.

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1	(7) Support to Rohingya in Burma, refugee
2	camps in Bangladesh, and the diaspora to preserve
3	Rohingya culture, history, and memory.
4	SEC. 8. PROMOTING ACCOUNTABILITY FOR GENOCIDE AND
5	CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY COMMITTED
6	AGAINST ROHINGYA IN BURMA.
7	(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State, in con-
8	sultation with the Special Representative (if so designated
9	under section 5(a)) and other relevant United States Gov-
10	ernment agencies, should take the actions described in
11	subsection (b) to promote accountability for genocide and
12	crimes against humanity committed against Rohingya in
13	Burma.
14	(b) ACTIONS DESCRIBED.—The actions described in
15	this subsection are the following:
16	(1) Support comprehensive justice and account-
17	ability for genocide and crimes against humanity
18	committed against Rohingya, including through con-
19	sultation with and participation by the Rohingya
20	community.
21	(2) Support for the efforts of entities, including
22	the Independent Investigative Mechanism for
23	Myanmar, in their work to safely collect and pre-
24	serve evidence of genocide and crimes against hu-
25	manity committed against Rohingya including

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- through open-source research and by cultivating insider, defector, deserter, and survivor witnesses, and to develop the chain of evidence, for potential use in prosecutions in domestic, hybrid, and international courts.
 - (3) Provide assistance, particularly financial and technical assistance, to efforts led by Rohingya to monitor and document evidence to lead, assist, or inform other investigative mechanisms and justice processes.
 - (4) Encourage the development of an intergovernmental fund to support reparative justice for Rohingya victims and survivors and identify sources of funding from foreign governments and within the United States Government that have already been appropriated.
 - (5) Engage with Burma's civilian leadership and any subsequent democratic leadership in Burma to officially acknowledge genocide and crimes against humanity committed by members of the Burma military, restore Rohingya's citizenship and equal rights in Burma, and ensure compensation by the Government of Burma and restitution for their land and property, and by providing support, including technical and financial assistance, for efforts to memori-

- alize genocide and crimes against humanity in Burma, particularly those efforts led by the affected communities.
 - (6) Provide support for institutional reform and other guarantees of nonrecurrence by civilian leadership in Burma, including the security sector, legislature, and education system, and the inclusion and equal participation of Rohingya in all areas of administration and governance, under an eventual Federal democratic system.
 - (7) Use convening authority to directly bring together various ethnic groups and other related stakeholders in Burma to promote truth, justice, nonrecurrence, and reconciliation, to support facilitation of related efforts by civilian leadership in Burma, and to provide both technical and financial support to entities, especially the civil society of Burma, to implement work aimed at strengthening rule of law and initiatives aimed at atrocity prevention.

21 SEC. 9. REPORT.

- 22 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the
- 23 date of the enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter
- 24 for 5 years, the Secretary of State, in consultation with
- 25 the Special Representative (if so designated under section

1	5(a)), shall submit to the appropriate congressional com-
2	mittees a report that includes—
3	(1) a description of and an assessment of the
4	effectiveness of the efforts of the United States Gov-
5	ernment, during the year prior to the submission of
6	such report, to—
7	(A) identify and respond to atrocity risk
8	factors that concern Rohingya;
9	(B) deter future atrocities against
10	Rohingya and other Burmese ethnic minorities;
11	(C) respond to the need for humanitarian
12	assistance for and protection of Rohingya and
13	other Burmese ethnic minorities;
14	(D) document the nature of and responsi-
15	bility for atrocity crimes committed against
16	Rohingya and other Burmese ethnic minorities;
17	and
18	(E) promote justice and accountability for
19	atrocity crimes committed against Rohingya
20	and other Burmese ethnic minorities;
21	(2) a detailed description of the actions taken
22	pursuant to sections 6, 7, and 8;
23	(3) an assessment of the effect of the actions
24	described in paragraph (2) on the advancement of
25	the policies described in section 3;

1	(4) a list of activities and programs initiated
2	pursuant to this Act;
3	(5) the number of Rohingya refugees resettled
4	in the United States in the year preceding the sub-
5	mission of such report, segmented by the country
6	from which such refugees were resettled;
7	(6) the number of Rohingya refugees resettled
8	in countries other than the United States in the year
9	preceding the submission of such report;
10	(7) a description of any new challenges facing
11	Rohingya in Burma or in refugee camps in the year
12	preceding the submission of such report, including
13	an assessment of early warning indicators and risk
14	factors for atrocities; and
15	(8) a list of recommendations to facilitate the
16	implementation of this Act and advance the policies
17	described in section 3, which may include rec-
18	ommended—
19	(A) legislative action;
20	(B) administrative action; and
21	(C) provision of additional resources.
22	(b) Report Form.—
23	(1) CLASSIFICATION.—The report required
24	under subsection (a) shall be submitted in unclassi-
25	fied form and may contain a classified annex

1	(2) Public availability of information.—
2	Not later than 45 days after the date on which the
3	appropriate congressional committees received such
4	report, the unclassified portion of such report shall
5	be made publicly available on the website of the De-
6	partment of State.
7	SEC. 10. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.
8	(a) GENERAL AUTHORIZATIONS.—For each of fiscal
9	years 2026 through 2030, there are authorized to be ap-
10	propriated, from amounts made available to carry out the
11	Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.),
12	such sums as may be necessary to carry out sections 6,
13	7, and 8 of this Act.
14	(b) Specific Authorizations of Appropria-
15	TIONS.—For each of fiscal years 2026 through 2030,
16	there are authorized to be appropriated—
17	(1) \$5,000,000 for the Department of State to
18	support atrocity crime investigations, documentation,
19	and casework, transitional justice and accountability
20	mechanisms, witness protection measures, and tech-
21	nical support related to Rohingya and other Bur-
22	mese ethnic minorities; and
23	(2) \$4,000,000 to support programs that cap-
24	ture, analyze, and make widely available evidence of
25	the ongoing atrocities against the people of Burma

1	through the documentation, verification, and dis-
2	semination of open-source evidence.
3	SEC. 11. DEFINITIONS.
4	In this Act:
5	(1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-
6	TEES.—The term "appropriate congressional com-
7	mittees' means—
8	(A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of
9	the House of Representatives; and
10	(B) the Committee on Foreign Relations of
11	the Senate.
12	(2) GENOCIDE.—The term "genocide" means
13	any offense described in section 1091(a) of title 18,
14	United States Code.
15	(3) Special representative.—The term
16	"Special Representative" means the United States
17	Special Representative and Policy Coordinator for
18	Burma designated by the President pursuant to sec-
19	tion 5(a).
20	(4) Burma military junta.—The term
21	"Burma military junta" means the State Adminis-
22	trative Council of Burma or any successor to such
23	entity.