

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.

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## 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

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## 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 im-  
6       punity was a “root cause of continued human rights  
7       violations in Myanmar” that “has significantly and  
8       demonstrably contributed to the validation of deeply  
9       oppressive and discriminatory conduct, enabled re-  
10      currence of human rights violations and atrocity  
11      crimes, and emboldened perpetrators and silenced  
12      victims”, and concluded that “ensuring account-  
13      ability for crimes” was “the key to disrupting pat-  
14      terns of oppression and cycles of violence” as well as  
15      a legal obligation for Burma.

16               (2) On December 13, 2018, the United States  
17      House of Representatives passed H. Res. 1091, by  
18      an overwhelming majority of 394 to 1, expressing  
19      the sense of the House of Representatives that  
20      atrocities committed against Rohingya by members  
21      of the Burma military and security forces since Au-  
22      gust 2017 constitute crimes against humanity and  
23      genocide.

24               (3) On September 16, 2019, the FFM reported  
25      that it “has reasonable grounds to conclude that the  
26      evidence that infers genocidal intent on the part of

1       the state, identified in its last report, has strength-  
2       ened that there is a serious risk that genocidal ac-  
3       tions may occur or recur”.

4                 (4) On February 1, 2021, the Burma military  
5       conducted a coup d'état, derailing Burma's transi-  
6       tion to democracy and disregarding the will of the  
7       people of Burma.

8                 (5) Since the February 2021 military coup, the  
9       Burma military and certain local armed groups have  
10       continued to commit crimes and abuses against  
11       Rohingya. In Rakhine state, over 600,000 Rohingya,  
12       including at least 130,000 confined in internally dis-  
13       placed persons (IDP) camps face heightened risks.  
14       The military continues to target Rohingya with laws  
15       and policies that criminalize the exercise of human  
16       rights, as well as with arbitrary arrest and deten-  
17       tion, torture, sexual violence, and murder.

18                 (6) On March 21, 2022, Secretary of State  
19       Antony Blinken announced the Secretary had deter-  
20       mined that “members of the Burmese military com-  
21       mitted genocide and crimes against humanity  
22       against Rohingya”.

23                 (7) The United States has been the leading  
24       contributor of humanitarian assistance in response  
25       to the Rohingya crisis.

1                         (8) The United Nations High Commissioner for  
2 Human Rights said in a June 2023 report that the  
3 Burma military's restrictions on aid access by local  
4 and international organizations seeking to respond  
5 to Cyclone Mocha in Rakhine state in May 2023  
6 may amount to gross violations of international  
7 human rights law, and serious violations of inter-  
8 national humanitarian law.

9                         (9) According to the World Food Program, over  
10 15 percent of young children in the Rohingya ref-  
11 ugee camps in Bangladesh are suffering from mal-  
12 nutrition. The World Food Program estimates that  
13 it needs another \$83,000,000 in funding to maintain  
14 full rations and meet the basic minimum nutritional  
15 needs of refugees through May 2026.

16                         (10) Funding cuts and rising commodity prices  
17 have exacerbated protection concerns for Rohingya  
18 refugees in Bangladesh, especially with respect to  
19 gender-based violence and child protection, wors-  
20 ening health outcomes and fueling unsafe and irreg-  
21 ular migration throughout the surrounding region.

22                         (11) Combined with rising food insecurity,  
23 Rohingya are increasingly unsafe in Bangladesh as  
24 a result of growing competition between armed and  
25 criminal groups in the refugee camps. These factors

1 have driven thousands of Rohingya to flee to mari-  
2 time Southeast Asia by boat only to face obstacles  
3 from regional navies and growing resentment from  
4 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.**

13 It is the policy of the United States—

14 (1) to uphold Article I of the Convention on the  
15 Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Geno-  
16 cide, to which the United States is a party, to pre-  
17 vent the crime of genocide and punish its perpetra-  
18 tors;

19 (2) to prevent and end atrocities committed  
20 against Rohingya by addressing the root causes of  
21 the genocide and crimes against humanity com-  
22 mitted against them, holding the perpetrators of  
23 these crimes accountable, supporting solutions to re-  
24 spect the human rights and uphold the dignity of  
25 Rohingya, and to ensure Rohingya involvement and

1 representation in decision making and implementa-  
2 tion processes to address these needs;

3 (3) to support the empowerment of Rohingya  
4 civilian leadership in diaspora communities, refugee  
5 camps in Bangladesh, and inside Burma through  
6 consultation and collaboration with Rohingya com-  
7 munity representatives;

8 (4) to provide holistic support to the Rohingya  
9 community to overcome decades of systematic perse-  
10 cution and discrimination and to best support the  
11 desires of all communities in Burma to achieve last-  
12 ing peace and an inclusive, Federal democracy in-  
13 cluding through credible transitional justice proc-  
14 esses;

15 (5) to collaborate with other countries to pursue  
16 and implement coordinated, comprehensive, and sus-  
17 tained measures for upholding the dignity and pro-  
18 tecting the human rights of Rohingya;

19 (6) to engage in a coordinated manner with the  
20 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees  
21 other relevant United Nations agencies, govern-  
22 ments, and intergovernmental entities to establish  
23 protocols and respond to protection concerns and to  
24 prevent and protect Rohingya from further atroci-  
25 ties; and

#### **4 SEC. 4. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

5 It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the United States has a moral and legal responsibility to prevent and punish genocide, including against Rohingya;

15 (3) the Rohingya crisis and the broader Burma  
16 crisis must be addressed simultaneously to ensure  
17 that history does not repeat itself;

23                         (5) the United States should encourage other  
24                         countries to contribute additional assistance and fol-  
25                         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  
8 conditions allow; and

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-  
18 ized to appoint a career Foreign Service Officer of Senior  
19 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

1       in Burma and neighboring countries, designed to re-  
2       store civilian democratic governance to Burma and  
3       address the urgent humanitarian needs in the re-  
4       gion;

5               (2) consult broadly, including with the Govern-  
6       ments of Thailand, Bangladesh, India, the Republic  
7       of Korea, Japan, the member states of ASEAN, the  
8       European Union, and other nations to coordinate  
9       policies toward Burma;

10              (3) assist efforts by the United Nations Special  
11       Envoy to secure the release of all political prisoners  
12       in Burma and to promote dialogue among all par-  
13       ties, including leaders of Burma's democracy move-  
14       ment;

15              (4) consult with Congress on policies relevant to  
16       Burma and the future and welfare of all the Bur-  
17       mese people, including refugees;

18              (5) coordinate multilateral sanctions efforts  
19       against Burma among United States allies and part-  
20       ners; and

21              (6) support protection, humanitarian assistance,  
22       and accountability efforts for Rohingya and other  
23       Burmese ethnic minorities in Burma and the sur-  
24       rounding region.

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;

1                             (3) supporting a monitoring mechanism, rapid  
2 response team, legal assistance, and communication  
3 mechanisms to overcome military-imposed internet  
4 and telecommunication restrictions for Rohingya liv-  
5 ing in Burma;

6                             (4) working with other governments in the re-  
7 gion to strengthen regional mechanisms and overall  
8 coordination on lifesaving search and rescue, safe  
9 disembarkation, effective receiving and comprehen-  
10 sive assistance for Rohingya refugees;

11                             (5) supporting host communities to facilitate a  
12 safer, more supportive, and welcoming environment  
13 for Rohingya refugees through the provision of tech-  
14 nical assistance and cooperation with local organiza-  
15 tions and governments; and

16                             (6) engaging the Government of Bangladesh  
17 and the international community to establish the  
18 necessary mechanisms for Rohingya refugees to file  
19 protection claims, and seek accountability by—

20                                 (A) improving Rohingya refugees ability to  
21 access justice within Bangladesh through legal  
22 aid, simplifying the process for filing cases, fa-  
23 cilitating the access of lawyers involved in inter-  
24 national 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;

(E) including Rohingya across administration and governance mechanisms of Burma, including Rakhine state; and

(F) developing a comprehensive transitional justice strategy;

(4) working with United States allies and partners to broaden resettlement programs and supporting the voluntary resettlement of the most vulnerable individuals within Rohingya populations, as well as defectors, deserters, and insider witnesses participating in justice processes; and

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:

3                 (1) Protection programming, including interven-  
4 tions focused on Rohingya civil society leaders,  
5 human rights activists, and others threatened by  
6 armed groups.

7                 (2) Support for Rohingya civil society and com-  
8 munity-based organizations, including diplomatic en-  
9 gagement to encourage the Government of Ban-  
10 gladesh to allow the operation of Rohingya-led civil  
11 society and community-based organizations in the  
12 refugee camps in Bangladesh.

13                 (3) Programs to prevent and respond to gender-  
14 based violence, trafficking, forced marriage, as well  
15 as specialized training programs for vulnerable  
16 groups.

17                 (4) Support for education, including higher edu-  
18 cation, for Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh.

19                 (5) Support for displaced Rohingya to access  
20 livelihoods through vocational training and volunteer  
21 programs organized by international organizations  
22 and nongovernmental organizations.

23                 (6) Support for meeting basic needs, including  
24 food, nutrition, health care, protection, shelter,  
25 water, sanitation, and hygiene support.

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

1 through open-source research and by cultivating in-  
2 sider, defector, deserter, and survivor witnesses, and  
3 to develop the chain of evidence, for potential use in  
4 prosecutions in domestic, hybrid, and international  
5 courts.

6                 (3) Provide assistance, particularly financial  
7 and technical assistance, to efforts led by Rohingya  
8 to monitor and document evidence to lead, assist, or  
9 inform other investigative mechanisms and justice  
10 processes.

11                 (4) Encourage the development of an intergov-  
12 ernmental fund to support reparative justice for  
13 Rohingya victims and survivors and identify sources  
14 of funding from foreign governments and within the  
15 United States Government that have already been  
16 appropriated.

17                 (5) Engage with Burma's civilian leadership  
18 and any subsequent democratic leadership in Burma  
19 to officially acknowledge genocide and crimes against  
20 humanity committed by members of the Burma mili-  
21 tary, restore Rohingya's citizenship and equal rights  
22 in Burma, and ensure compensation by the Govern-  
23 ment of Burma and restitution for their land and  
24 property, and by providing support, including tech-  
25 nical and financial assistance, for efforts to memori-

1 alize genocide and crimes against humanity in  
2 Burma, particularly those efforts led by the affected  
3 communities.

4 (6) Provide support for institutional reform and  
5 other guarantees of nonrecurrence by civilian leader-  
6 ship in Burma, including the security sector, legisla-  
7 ture, and education system, and the inclusion and  
8 equal participation of Rohingya in all areas of ad-  
9 ministration and governance, under an eventual  
10 Federal democratic system.

11 (7) Use convening authority to directly bring  
12 together various ethnic groups and other related  
13 stakeholders in Burma to promote truth, justice,  
14 nonrecurrence, and reconciliation, to support facilita-  
15 tion of related efforts by civilian leadership in  
16 Burma, and to provide both technical and financial  
17 support to entities, especially the civil society of  
18 Burma, to implement work aimed at strengthening  
19 rule of law and initiatives aimed at atrocity preven-  
20 tion.

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.

## **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—

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.

