

## Calendar No. 134

115TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

S. 905

To require a report on, and to authorize technical assistance for, accountability for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in Syria, and for other purposes.

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

April 7, 2017

Mr. Cardin (for himself, Mr. Rubio, Mr. Corker, Mrs. Shaheen, Mr. Menendez, Mr. Young, Mr. Merkley, Mr. Coons, Mr. Kaine, Ms. Warren, Ms. Klobuchar, Mr. Peters, Mr. Blumenthal, Mr. Booker, Mrs. Feinstein, Mr. Markey, Mrs. Gillibrand, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Leahy) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

June 12, 2017

Reported by Mr. Corker, with amendments

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

# A BILL

To require a report on, and to authorize technical assistance for, accountability for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in Syria, and for other purposes.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- 2 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the
- 3 "Syrian War Crimes Accountability Act of 2017".
- 4 (b) Table of Contents for
- 5 this Act is as follows:
  - Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
  - Sec. 2. Findings.
  - Sec. 3. Sense of Congress.
  - Sec. 4. Definitions.
  - Sec. 5. Report on accountability for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in Syria.
  - Sec. 6. Transitional justice study.
  - Sec. 7. Technical assistance authorized.
  - Sec. 8. State Department Rewards for Justice Program.
  - Sec. 9. Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic.

#### 6 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

- 7 Congress makes the following findings:
- 8 (1) March 2017 marks the sixth year of the on-
- 9 going conflict in Syria.
- 10 (2) As of February 2017—
- 11 (A) more than 600,000 people are living
- 12 under siege in Syria;
- (B) approximately 6,300,000 people are
- displaced from their homes inside Syria; and
- 15 (C) approximately 4,900,000 Syrians have
- fled to neighboring countries as refugees.
- 17 (3) Since the conflict in Syria began, the
- 18 United States has provided more than
- \$5,900,000,000 to meet humanitarian needs in
- 20 Syria, making the United States the world's single

- largest donor by far to the Syrian humanitarian response.
- 3 (4) In response to growing concerns over sys-4 temic human rights violations in Syria, the Inde-5 pendent International Commission of Inquiry on the 6 Syrian Arab Republic (referred to in this section as 7 "COI") was established on August 22, 2011. The 8 purpose of COI is to "investigate all alleged viola-9 tions of international human rights law since March 10 2011 in the Syrian Arab Republic, to establish the 11 facts and circumstances that may amount to such 12 violations and of the crimes perpetrated and, where 13 possible, to identify those responsible with a view to 14 ensuring that perpetrators of violations, including 15 those that may constitute crimes against humanity, 16 are held accountable".
  - (5) On December 21, 2016, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution to establish the International, Impartial and Independent Mechanism to Assist in the Investigation and Prosecution of Those Responsible for the Most Serious Crimes under International Law Committed in the Syrian Arab Republic since March 2011.
  - (6) The 2016 United States Commission on International Religious Freedom Annual Report

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- states that in Syria "[r]eports have emerged from all groups, including Muslims, Christians, Ismailis, and others, of gross human rights violations, including beheading, rape, murder, torture of civilians and religious figures, and the destruction of mosques and churches.".
  - (7) On February 7, 2017, Amnesty International reported that between 5,000 and 13,000 people were extrajudicially executed in the Saydnaya Military Prison between September 2011 and December 2015.
    - (8) In February 2017, COI released a report—
    - (A) stating that a joint United Nations-Syrian Arab Red Crescent convoy in Orum al-Kubra, Syria, was attacked by air on September 19, 2016;
    - (B) explaining that the attack killed at least 14 civilian aid workers, injured at least 15 others, and destroyed trucks, food, medicine, clothes, and other supplies; and
    - (C) concluding that "the attack was meticulously planned and ruthlessly carried out by the Syrian air force to purposefully hinder the delivery of humanitarian aid and target aid workers, constituting the war crimes of delib-

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1	erately attacking humanitarian relief personnel,
2	denial of humanitarian aid and targeting civil-
3	ians.".
4	(9) On October 21, 2016, the Organization for
5	the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons-United Na-
6	tions Joint Investigative Mechanism transmitted its
7	fourth report, which concluded that the Syrian Arab
8	Armed Forces and the Islamic State in Iraq and
9	Syria (ISIS) have both used chemical weapons
10	against villages in Syria.
11	(10) On August 11, 2016, COI released a re-
12	port stating that certain offenses, including delib-
13	erately attacking hospitals, executions without due
14	process, and the massive and systematized nature of
15	deaths in state-controlled detention facilities in
16	Syria, constitute war crimes and crimes against hu-
17	manity.
18	(11) Physicians for Human Rights reported
19	that, between March 2011 and the end of July
20	2016, Syrian government and allied forces—
21	(A) had committed 362 attacks on medical
22	facilities (including through the use of indis-
23	eriminate barrel bombs on at least 74 occa-
24	sions); and
25	(B) had killed 768 medical personnel.

1	(11) Physicians for Human Rights reported that,
2	between March 2011 and the end of December 2016,
3	Syrian government and allied forces—
4	(A) had committed 412 attacks on medical
5	facilities (including through the use of indis-
6	criminate barrel bombs on at least 80 occasions);
7	and
8	(B) had killed 735 medical personnel.
9	(12) The Department of State's 2016 Country
10	Reports on Human Rights Practices—
11	(A) details President Bashar al-Assad's
12	use of "indiscriminate and deadly force against
13	civilians, conducting air and ground-based mili-
14	tary assaults on cities, residential areas, and ci-
15	vilian infrastructure";
16	(B) explains that "these attacks included
17	bombardment with improvised explosive devices,
18	commonly referred to as 'barrel bombs'";
19	and
20	(C) reports that "[t]he government [of
21	Syria] continued the use of torture and rape,
22	including of children".
23	(13) On March 17, 2016, Secretary of State
24	John Kerry stated: "In my judgment, Daesh is re-
25	sponsible for genocide against groups in areas under

- its control, including Yezidis, Christians, and Shia
  Muslims. . . . The United States will strongly support efforts to collect, document, preserve, and analyze the evidence of atrocities, and we will do all we
  can to see that the perpetrators are held accountable.".
  - (14) In February 2016, COI reported that—
    - (A) "crimes against humanity continue to be committed by [Syrian] Government forces and by ISIS";
    - (B) the Syrian government has "committed the crimes against humanity of extermination, murder, rape or other forms of sexual violence, torture, imprisonment, enforce disappearance and other inhuman acts"; and
    - (C) "[a]countability for these and other crimes must form part of any political solution".
  - (15) Credible civil society organizations collecting evidence of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in Syria report that at least 12 countries in western Europe and North America have requested assistance on investigating such crimes.

### 1 SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

2	Congress—				
3	(1) strongly condemns—				
4	(A) the ongoing violence, use of chemical				
5	weapons, targeting of civilian populations with				
6	barrel, incendiary, and cluster bombs and				
7	SCUD missiles, and systematic gross human				
8	rights violations carried out by the Government				
9	of Syria and pro-government forces under the				
10	direction of President Bashar al-Assad; and				
11	(B) all abuses committed by violent ex-				
12	tremist groups and other combatants involved				
13	in the civil war in Syria;				
14	(2) expresses its support for the people of Syria				
15	seeking democratic change;				
16	(3) urges all parties to the conflict—				
17	(A) to immediately halt indiscriminate at-				
18	tacks on civilians;				
19	(B) to allow for the delivery of humani-				
20	tarian and medical assistance; and				
21	(C) to end sieges of civilian populations;				
22	(4) calls on the President to support efforts in				
23	Syria, and on the part of the international commu-				
24	nity, to ensure accountability for war crimes, crimes				
25	against humanity, and genocide committed during				
26	the conflict; and				

1	(5) supports the request in United Nations Se-				
2	curity Council Resolutions 2139 (2014), 2165				
3	(2014), and 2191 (2014) for the Secretary-General				
4	to regularly report to the Security Council on imple-				
5	mentation on the resolutions, including of paragraph				
6	2 of Resolution 2139, which "demands that all par-				
7	ties immediately put an end to all forms of violence				
8	[and] cease and desist from all violations of inter-				
9	national humanitarian law and violations and abuses				
10	of human rights".				
11	SEC. 4. DEFINITIONS.				
12	In this Act:				
13	(1) Appropriate congressional commit-				
14	TEES.—The term "appropriate congressional com-				
15	mittees" means—				
16	(A) the Committee on Foreign Relations of				
17	the Senate; <del>and</del>				
18	(B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of				
19	the House of Representatives.				
20	(B) the Committee on Armed Services of the				
21	Senate;				
22	(C) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the				
23	House of Representatives; and				
24	(D) the Committee on Armed Services of the				
25	House of Representatives.				

1	(2) GENOCIDE.—The term "genocide" means
2	any offense described in section 1091(a) of title 18
3	United States Code.
4	(3) Hybrid tri-The term "hybrid tri-
5	bunal" means a temporary criminal tribunal that in-
6	volves a combination of domestic and international
7	lawyers, judges, and other professionals to prosecute
8	individuals suspected of committing war crimes
9	crimes against humanity, or genocide.
10	(4) Transitional Justice.—The term "tran-
11	sitional justice" means the range of judicial, non-
12	judicial, formal, informal, retributive, and restorative
13	measures employed by countries transitioning out of
14	armed conflict or repressive regimes—
15	(A) to redress legacies of atrocities; and
16	(B) to promote long-term, sustainable
17	peace.
18	(5) WAR CRIME.—The term "war crime" has
19	the meaning given the term in section 2441(c) of
20	title 18, United States Code.
21	SEC. 5. REPORT ON ACCOUNTABILITY FOR WAR CRIMES
22	CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY, AND GENOCIDE
23	IN SYRIA.
24	(a) In General.—The Secretary of State shall sub-
25	mit a report on war crimes crimes against humanity and

1	genocide in Syria to the appropriate congressional commit-				
2	tees not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment				
3	of this Act and another such report not later than 180				
4	days after the Secretary of State determines that the vio-				
5	lence in Syria has ceased.				
6	(b) Elements.—The reports required under sub-				
7	section (a) shall include—				
8	(1) a description of alleged war crimes, crimes				
9	against humanity, and genocide perpetrated during				
10	the civil war in Syria, including—				
11	(A) incidents that may constitute war				
12	crimes, crimes against humanity, or genocide				
13	committed by the regime of President Bashar				
14	al-Assad and all forces fighting on its behalf;				
15	(B) incidents that may constitute war				
16	crimes, crimes against humanity, or genocide				
17	committed by violent extremist groups, anti-				
18	government forces, and any other combatants in				
19	the conflict;				
20	(C) any incidents that may violate the				
21	principle of medical neutrality and, if possible,				
22	the identification of the individual or individuals				
23	who engaged in or organized such incidents;				
24	and				

1	(D) if possible, a description of the conven-
2	tional and unconventional weapons used for
3	such crimes and the origins of such weapons;
4	and
5	(2) a description and assessment by the Depart-
6	ment of State Office of Global Criminal Justice, the
7	United States Agency for International Develop-
8	ment, the Department of Justice, and other appro-
9	priate agencies of programs that the United States
10	Government has undertaken to ensure accountability
11	for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and geno-
12	cide perpetrated against the people of Syria by the
13	regime of President Bashar al-Assad, violent extrem-
14	ist groups, and other combatants involved in the
15	conflict, including programs—
16	(A) to train investigators within and out-
17	side of Syria on how to document, investigate,
18	develop findings of, and identify and locate al-
19	leged perpetrators of war crimes, crimes against
20	humanity, or genocide, including—
21	(i) the number of United States Gov-
22	ernment or contract personnel currently
23	designated to work full-time on these
24	issues; and

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1	(ii) the identification of the authori-
2	ties and appropriations being used to sup-
3	port such training efforts;
4	(B) to promote and prepare for a transi-
5	tional justice process or processes for the per-
6	petrators of war crimes, crimes against human-
7	ity, and genocide in Syria beginning in March
8	2011;
9	(C) to document, collect, preserve, and pro-
10	tect evidence of war crimes, crimes against hu-
11	manity, and genocide in Syria, including sup-
12	port for Syrian, foreign, and international non-
13	governmental organizations, and other entities
14	including the International, Impartial and Inde-
15	pendent Mechanism to Assist in the Investiga-
16	tion and Prosecution of Persons Responsible for
17	the Most Serious Crimes under International
18	Law Committed in the Syrian Arab Republic
19	since March 2011 and the Independent Inter-
20	national Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian
21	Arab Republic; and
22	(D) to assess the influence of account-
23	ability measures on efforts to reach a nego-
24	tiated settlement to the Syrian conflict during

the reporting period.

- 1 (c) FORM.—The report required under subsection (a)
- 2 may be submitted in unclassified or classified form, but
- 3 shall include a publicly available annex.
- 4 (d) Protection of Witnesses and Evidence.—
- 5 The Secretary shall take due care to ensure that the iden-
- 6 tification of witnesses and physical evidence are not pub-
- 7 licly disclosed in a manner that might place such persons
- 8 at risk of harm or encourage the destruction of evidence
- 9 by the Government of Syria, violent extremist groups,
- 10 anti-government forces, or any other combatants or par-
- 11 ticipants in the conflict.

#### 12 SEC. 6. TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE STUDY.

- Not later than 180 days after the date of the enact-
- 14 ment of this Act, the Secretary of State (acting through
- 15 appropriate officials and offices, which may include the
- 16 Office of Global Criminal Justice), after consultation with
- 17 the Department of Justice, the United States Agency for
- 18 International Development, and other appropriate Federal
- 19 agencies, shall—
- 20 (1) complete a study of the feasibility and desir-
- 21 ability of potential transitional justice mechanisms
- for Syria, including a hybrid tribunal, to address
- 23 war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide
- perpetrated in Syria beginning in March 2011; and

1	(2) submit a detailed report of the results of				
2	the study conducted under paragraph (1), including				
3	recommendations on which transitional justice mech-				
4	anisms the United States Government should sup-				
5	port, why such mechanisms should be supported,				
6	and what type of support should be offered, to—				
7	(A) the Committee on Foreign Relations of				
8	the Senate;				
9	(B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of				
10	the House of Representatives;				
11	(C) the Committee on Appropriations of				
12	the Senate; and				
13	(D) the Committee on Appropriations of				
14	the House of Representatives.				
15	SEC. 7. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AUTHORIZED.				
16	(a) In General.—The Secretary of State (acting				
17	through appropriate officials and offices, which may in-				
18	clude the Office of Global Criminal Justice), after con-				
19	sultation with the Department of Justice and other appro-				
20	priate Federal agencies, is authorized to provide appro-				
21	priate assistance to support entities that, with respect to				
22	war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide per-				
23	petrated by the regime of President Bashar al-Assad, all				
24	forces fighting on its behalf, and all non-state armed				

groups fighting in the country, including violent extremist 2 groups in Syria beginning in March 2011— 3 (1) identify suspected perpetrators of war 4 crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide; 5 (2) collect, document, and protect evidence of 6 crimes and preserve the chain of custody for such 7 evidence; 8 (3) conduct criminal investigations; 9 (4) build Syria's investigative and judicial ca-10 pacities and support prosecutions in the domestic 11 courts of Syria, provided that President Bashar al-12 Assad is no longer in power; 13 (5) support investigations by third-party states, 14 as appropriate; or 15 (6) protect witnesses that may be helpful to 16 prosecutions or other transitional justice mecha-17 nisms. 18 (b) Additional Assistance.—The Secretary of 19 State, after consultation with appropriate Federal agen-20 cies and the appropriate congressional committees, and 21 taking into account the findings of the transitional justice 22 study required under section 6, is authorized to provide

assistance to support the creation and operation of transi-

tional justice mechanisms, including a potential hybrid tri-

bunal, to prosecute individuals suspected of committing

- 1 war crimes, crimes against humanity, or genocide in Syria
- 2 beginning in March 2011.
- 3 (c) Briefing.—The Secretary of State shall provide
- 4 detailed, biannual briefings to the appropriate congres-
- 5 sional committees describing the assistance provided to en-
- 6 tities described in subsection (a).
- 7 SEC. 8. STATE DEPARTMENT REWARDS FOR JUSTICE PRO-
- 8 GRAM.
- 9 Section 36(b)(10) of the State Department Basic Au-
- 10 thorities Act of 1956 (22 U.S.C. 2708(b)(10)) is amended
- 11 by inserting "(including war crimes, crimes against hu-
- 12 manity, or genocide committed in Syria beginning in
- 13 March 2011)" after "genocide".
- 14 SEC. 9. INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF
- 15 INQUIRY ON THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC.
- 16 The Secretary of State, acting through the United
- 17 States Permanent Representative to the United Nations,
- 18 should use the voice, vote, and influence of the United
- 19 States at the United Nations to advocate that the United
- 20 Nations Human Rights Council, while the United States
- 21 remains a member, annually extend the mandate of the
- 22 Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the
- 23 Syrian Arab Republic until the Commission has completed
- 24 its investigation of all alleged violations of international

- 1 human rights laws beginning in March 2011 in the Syrian
- 2 Arab Republic.

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