

119TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 3452

To codify the Six Assurances to Taiwan, provide congressional review of the Six Assurances, protect Taiwan from coercion, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 15, 2025

Mr. KRISHNAMOORTHY (for himself, Mr. MEEKS, Mr. STANTON, Mrs. KIM, Mr. NUNN of Iowa, and Ms. MALLIOTAKIS) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Rules, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

A BILL

To codify the Six Assurances to Taiwan, provide congressional review of the Six Assurances, protect Taiwan from coercion, 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,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Six Assurances to Tai-
5 wan Act”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 Congress finds the following:

1 (1) Taiwan is a free and prosperous democracy
2 of more than 23,000,000 people and an important
3 economic partner to the United States.

4 (2) The People’s Republic of China (PRC) has
5 long sought to subjugate Taiwan and has not re-
6 nounced the use of force to do so.

7 (3) The United States longstanding One-China
8 Policy, which is guided by the Taiwan Relations Act,
9 the three United States-China Joint Communiqués,
10 and the Six Assurances, has guided United States-
11 Taiwan relations across successive administrations
12 and contributed to peace and stability in the Indo-
13 Pacific.

14 (4) From July to August 1982, before and im-
15 mediately after the release of the United States-
16 China Joint Communiqué on United States Arms
17 Sales to Taiwan (“the 1982 Joint Communiqué”) on
18 August 17, 1982, the Reagan Administration articu-
19 lated six key foreign policy principles regarding
20 United States-Taiwan relations.

21 (5) On July 10, 1982, then-Under Secretary of
22 State Lawrence Eagleburger sent a cable to James
23 Lilley, then-director of the American Institute in
24 Taiwan, detailing what the United States had not
25 agreed to in its negotiations with the People’s Re-

1 public of China over the 1982 Joint Communiqué.

2 He wrote—

3 (A) “We have not agreed to set a date cer-
4 tain for ending arms sales to Taiwan”;

5 (B) “We have not agreed to prior consulta-
6 tion on arms sales”;

7 (C) “We have not agreed to any mediation
8 role for the U.S.”;

9 (D) “We have not agreed to revise the Tai-
10 wan Relations Act”;

11 (E) “We have not agreed to take any posi-
12 tion regarding sovereignty over Taiwan”; and

13 (F) “The PRC has at no time urged us to
14 put pressure on Taiwan to negotiate with the
15 PRC; however, we can assure you that we will
16 never do so”.

17 (6) On August 17, 1982, then-Secretary of
18 State Geroge Shultz provided Lilley with a version
19 of the Six Assurances for Taiwan’s government to
20 release, stating that the United States—

21 (A) “has not agreed to set a date for end-
22 ing arms sales to Taiwan”;

23 (B) “has not agreed to consult with the
24 PRC on arms sales to Taiwan”;

1 (C) “will not play any mediation role be-
2 tween Taipei and Beijing”;

3 (D) “has not agreed to revise the Taiwan
4 Relations Act”;

5 (E) “has not altered its position regarding
6 sovereignty over Taiwan”; and

7 (F) “will not exert pressure on Taiwan to
8 enter into negotiations with the PRC”.

9 (7) On August 17, 1982, then-Assistant Sec-
10 retary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs
11 John H. Holdridge testified on behalf of the execu-
12 tive branch before the Senate Committee on Foreign
13 Relations about the 1982 Joint Communiqué that—

14 (A) “[W]e did not agree to set a date cer-
15 tain for ending arms sales to Taiwan”;

16 (B) “[The 1982 Joint Communiqué]
17 should not be read to imply that we have
18 agreed to engage in prior consultations with
19 Beijing on arms sales to Taiwan”;

20 (C) “[W]e see no mediation role for the
21 United States”;

22 (D) “We have no plans to seek any such
23 revisions [to the Taiwan Relations Act]”;

1 (E) “[T]here has been no change in our
2 longstanding position on the issue of sov-
3 ereignty over Taiwan”; and

4 (F) “[N]or will we attempt to exert pres-
5 sure on Taiwan to enter into negotiations with
6 the PRC”.

7 (8) On August 18, 1982, Holdridge testified on
8 behalf of the executive branch before the House
9 Committee on Foreign Affairs about the 1982 Joint
10 Communiqué that—

11 (A) “[W]e did not agree to set a date cer-
12 tain for ending arms sales to Taiwan”;

13 (B) “[The 1982 Joint Communiqué]
14 should not be read that we have agreed to en-
15 gage in prior consultations with Beijing on
16 arms sales to Taiwan”;

17 (C) “[W]e see no mediation role for the
18 United States”;

19 (D) “We have no plans to seek any such
20 revisions [to the Taiwan Relations Act]”;

21 (E) “[T]here has been no change in our
22 longstanding position on the issue of sov-
23 ereignty over Taiwan”; and

1 (F) “[N]or will we attempt to exert pres-
2 sure on Taiwan to enter into negotiations with
3 the People’s Republic of China”.

4 (9) These six foreign policy principles, as ar-
5 ticulated by Eagleburger, Shultz, and Holdridge,
6 have collectively come to be known as the Six Assur-
7 ances.

8 (10) The House of Representatives and Senate
9 passed a concurrent resolution “reaffirming the Tai-
10 wan Relations Act and the Six Assurances as corner-
11 stones of United States-Taiwan relations” on May
12 16, 2016, and July 6, 2016, respectively.

13 (11) The Asia Reassurance Initiative Act of
14 2018 (Public Law 115–409) states that it is the pol-
15 icy of the United States “to faithfully enforce all ex-
16 isting United States Government commitments to
17 Taiwan, consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act of
18 1979 (Public Law 96–8), the [three Joint
19 Communiqués], and the Six Assurances”.

20 (12) The National Defense Authorization Acts
21 for Fiscal Years 2019 through 2025 (Public Laws
22 115–232, 116–283, 116–92, 117–81, 117–263,
23 118–31, and 118–159) each recognized the impor-
24 tance of the Six Assurances to United States-Taiwan
25 relations.

1 (13) The Taiwan Assurance Act of 2020 (Pub-
2 lic Law 116–260) states that “[i]t is the policy of
3 the United States to reinforce its commitments to
4 Taiwan under the Taiwan Relations Act in a manner
5 consistent with the ‘Six Assurances’ and in accord-
6 ance with the United States ‘One China’ policy”.

7 **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

8 It is the sense of Congress that—

9 (1) the maintenance of peace and stability
10 across the Taiwan Strait is in the political, security,
11 and economic interests of the United States and is
12 a matter of international concern;

13 (2) any unilateral change to the status quo
14 from either side or negotiated settlement of the
15 question of Taiwan’s status without the consent of
16 both sides of the Strait is unacceptable;

17 (3) the future of Taiwan must be determined by
18 peaceful means; and

19 (4) the maintenance of the Six Assurances con-
20 stitutes a stabilizing and necessary component of
21 United States policy toward Taiwan.

22 **SEC. 4. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

23 It is the policy of the United States to reaffirm that,
24 in the context of the 1982 Joint Communiqué, the United
25 States—

1 (1) did not agree to set a date for ending arms
2 sales to Taiwan;

3 (2) did not agree to consult with the People's
4 Republic of China on arms sales to Taiwan;

5 (3) did not and will not agree to play any medi-
6 ation role;

7 (4) did not agree to revise the Taiwan Relations
8 Act;

9 (5) did not take any position regarding the
10 issue of sovereignty over Taiwan; and

11 (6) will not exert pressure on Taiwan to enter
12 into negotiations with the People's Republic of
13 China.

14 **SEC. 5. CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW OF CERTAIN ACTIONS RE-**
15 **LATING TO THE SIX ASSURANCES TO TAIWAN.**

16 (a) SUBMISSION TO CONGRESS OF PROPOSED AC-
17 TION.—

18 (1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other
19 provision of law, before taking any action described
20 in paragraph (2), the President shall submit to the
21 appropriate congressional committees and leadership
22 a notification that describes the proposed action and
23 the reasons for that action.

24 (2) ACTIONS DESCRIBED.—

1 (A) IN GENERAL.—An action described in
2 this paragraph is an action—

3 (i) to pause or terminate the provision
4 of arms of a defensive character to Tai-
5 wan;

6 (ii) to negotiate with the People’s Re-
7 public of China about the provision of
8 arms of a defensive character to Taiwan;

9 (iii) to mediate between Taiwan and
10 the People’s Republic of China regarding
11 the issue of sovereignty over Taiwan;

12 (iv) to change the United States long-
13 standing position on the issue of the sov-
14 ereignty over Taiwan; or

15 (v) to exert pressure on Taiwan to
16 enter into negotiations with the People’s
17 Republic of China.

18 (3) DESCRIPTION OF TYPE OF ACTION.—Each
19 notification submitted under paragraph (1) with re-
20 spect to an action described in paragraph (2) shall
21 include a description of whether the action is or is
22 not intended to significantly alter United States for-
23 eign policy with respect to Taiwan or the People’s
24 Republic of China.

1 (4) INCLUSION OF ADDITIONAL MATTER.—Each
2 notification submitted under paragraph (1) that re-
3 lates to an action that is intended to significantly
4 alter United States foreign policy with respect to
5 Taiwan or the People’s Republic of China shall in-
6 clude a description of—

7 (A) the significant alteration to United
8 States foreign policy with respect to Taiwan or
9 the People’s Republic of China;

10 (B) the anticipated effect of the action on
11 the economic and national security interests of
12 the United States; and

13 (C) the anticipated effect of the action on
14 the issue of the sovereignty over Taiwan.

15 (b) PERIOD FOR REVIEW BY CONGRESS.—

16 (1) IN GENERAL.—During the period of 30 cal-
17 endar days beginning on the date on which the
18 President submits a notification under subsection
19 (a)(1), the appropriate congressional committees
20 should hold hearings and briefings and otherwise ob-
21 tain information in order to fully review the notifica-
22 tion.

23 (2) EXCEPTION.—The period for congressional
24 review under paragraph (1) of a notification re-
25 quired to be submitted under subsection (a)(1) shall

1 be 60 calendar days if the notification is submitted
2 on or after July 10 and on or before September 7
3 in any calendar year.

4 (3) LIMITATION ON ACTIONS DURING INITIAL
5 CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW PERIOD.—Notwithstanding
6 any other provision of law, during the period for
7 congressional review provided for under paragraph
8 (1) of a notification submitted under subsection
9 (a)(1) proposing an action described in subsection
10 (a)(2), including any additional period for such re-
11 view as applicable under the exception provided in
12 paragraph (2), neither the President nor any other
13 officer or employee of the United States may expend
14 any appropriated funds in furtherance of that action
15 unless a joint resolution of approval with respect to
16 that action is enacted in accordance with subsection
17 (c).

18 (4) LIMITATION ON ACTIONS DURING PRESI-
19 DENTIAL CONSIDERATION OF A JOINT RESOLUTION
20 OF DISAPPROVAL.—Notwithstanding any other pro-
21 vision of law, if a joint resolution of disapproval re-
22 lating to a notification submitted under subsection
23 (a)(1) proposing an action described in subsection
24 (a)(2) passes both Houses of Congress in accordance
25 with subsection (c), neither the President nor any

1 other officer or employee of the United States may
2 expend any appropriated funds in furtherance of
3 that action for a period of 12 calendar days after
4 the date of passage of the joint resolution of dis-
5 approval.

6 (5) LIMITATION ON ACTIONS DURING CONGRES-
7 SIONAL RECONSIDERATION OF A JOINT RESOLUTION
8 OF DISAPPROVAL.—Notwithstanding any other pro-
9 vision of law, if a joint resolution of disapproval re-
10 lating to a notification submitted under subsection
11 (a)(1) proposing an action described in subsection
12 (a)(2) passes both Houses of Congress in accordance
13 with subsection (c), and the President vetoes the
14 joint resolution, neither the President nor any other
15 officer or employee of the United States may take
16 that action or expend any appropriated funds in fur-
17 therance of that action for a period of 10 calendar
18 days after the date of the President’s veto.

19 (6) EFFECT OF ENACTMENT OF A JOINT RESO-
20 LUTION OF DISAPPROVAL.—Notwithstanding any
21 other provision of law, if a joint resolution of dis-
22 approval relating to a notification submitted under
23 subsection (a)(1) proposing an action described in
24 subsection (a)(2) is enacted in accordance with sub-
25 section (c), neither the President nor any other offi-

1 cer or employee of the United States may take that
 2 action or expend any appropriated funds in further-
 3 ance of that action.

4 (c) JOINT RESOLUTIONS OF DISAPPROVAL OR AP-
 5 PROVAL.—

6 (1) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

7 (A) JOINT RESOLUTION OF APPROVAL.—

8 The term “joint resolution of approval” means
 9 only a joint resolution of either House of Con-
 10 gress—

11 (i) the title of which is as follows: “A
 12 joint resolution approving the President’s
 13 proposal to take an action relating to the
 14 Six Assurances to Taiwan.”; and

15 (ii) the sole matter after the resolving
 16 clause of which is the following: “Congress
 17 approves of the action relating to the ac-
 18 tion with respect to the Six Assurances to
 19 Taiwan proposed by the President in the
 20 notification submitted to Congress under
 21 section 2(a)(1) of the Six Assurances to
 22 Taiwan Act on _____ relating
 23 to _____.”, with the first
 24 blank space being filled with the appro-
 25 priate date and the second blank space

1 being filled with a short description of the
2 proposed action.

3 (B) JOINT RESOLUTION OF DIS-
4 APPROVAL.—The term “joint resolution of dis-
5 approval” means only a joint resolution of ei-
6 ther House of Congress—

7 (i) the title of which is as follows: “A
8 joint resolution disapproving the Presi-
9 dent’s proposal to take an action relating
10 to the Six Assurances to Taiwan.”; and

11 (ii) the sole matter after the resolving
12 clause of which is the following: “Congress
13 disapproves of the action relating to the
14 Six Assurances to Taiwan proposed by the
15 President in the notification submitted to
16 Congress under section 2(a)(1) of the Six
17 Assurances to Taiwan Act on
18 _____ relating to
19 _____.”, with the first blank
20 space being filled with the appropriate date
21 and the second blank space being filled
22 with a short description of the proposed
23 action.

24 (2) INTRODUCTION.—During the period of 30
25 calendar days provided for under subsection (b)(1),

1 including any additional period as applicable under
2 the exception provided in subsection (b)(2), a joint
3 resolution of approval or joint resolution of dis-
4 approval may be introduced—

5 (A) in the House of Representatives, by
6 the majority leader or the minority leader; and

7 (B) in the Senate, by the majority leader
8 (or the majority leader's designee) or the mi-
9 nority leader (or the minority leader's des-
10 ignee).

11 (3) FLOOR CONSIDERATION IN HOUSE OF REP-
12 RESENTATIVES.—If the appropriate congressional
13 committee of the House of Representatives has not
14 reported the joint resolution within 10 legislative
15 days after the date of referral, that committee shall
16 be discharged from further consideration of the joint
17 resolution.

18 (4) CONSIDERATION IN THE SENATE.—

19 (A) COMMITTEE REFERRAL.—A joint reso-
20 lution of approval or joint resolution of dis-
21 approval introduced in the Senate shall be re-
22 ferred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

23 (B) REPORTING AND DISCHARGE.—If the
24 committee to which a joint resolution of ap-
25 proval or joint resolution of disapproval was re-

ferred has not reported the joint resolution within 10 calendar days after the date of referral of the joint resolution, that committee shall be discharged from further consideration of the joint resolution and the joint resolution shall be placed on the appropriate calendar.

(C) PROCEEDING TO CONSIDERATION.—Notwithstanding Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, it is in order at any time after the Committee on Foreign Relations reports a joint resolution of approval or joint resolution of disapproval to the Senate or has been discharged from consideration of such a joint resolution (even though a previous motion to the same effect has been disagreed to) to move to proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution, and all points of order against the joint resolution (and against consideration of the joint resolution) are waived. The motion to proceed is not debatable. The motion is not subject to a motion to postpone. A motion to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to shall not be in order.

(D) RULINGS OF THE CHAIR ON PROCEDURE.—Appeals from the decisions of the Chair

1 relating to the application of the rules of the
2 Senate, as the case may be, to the procedure re-
3 lating to a joint resolution of approval or joint
4 resolution of disapproval shall be decided with-
5 out debate.

6 (E) CONSIDERATION OF VETO MES-
7 SAGES.—Debate in the Senate of any veto mes-
8 sage with respect to a joint resolution of ap-
9 proval or joint resolution of disapproval, includ-
10 ing all debatable motions and appeals in con-
11 nection with the joint resolution, shall be lim-
12 ited to 10 hours, to be equally divided between,
13 and controlled by, the majority leader and the
14 minority leader or their designees.

15 (5) RULES RELATING TO SENATE AND HOUSE
16 OF REPRESENTATIVES.—

17 (A) TREATMENT OF SENATE JOINT RESO-
18 LUTION IN HOUSE.—In the House of Rep-
19 resentatives, the following procedures shall
20 apply to a joint resolution of approval or a joint
21 resolution of disapproval received from the Sen-
22 ate (unless the House has already passed a
23 joint resolution relating to the same proposed
24 action):

1 (i) The joint resolution shall be re-
2 ferred to the appropriate committee.

3 (ii) If a committee to which a joint
4 resolution has been referred has not re-
5 ported the joint resolution within 5 legisla-
6 tive days after the date of referral, that
7 committee shall be discharged from further
8 consideration of the joint resolution.

9 (iii) Beginning on the third legislative
10 day after each committee to which a joint
11 resolution has been referred reports the
12 joint resolution to the House or has been
13 discharged from further consideration
14 thereof, it shall be in order to move to pro-
15 ceed to consider the joint resolution in the
16 House. All points of order against the mo-
17 tion are waived. Such a motion shall not be
18 in order after the House has disposed of a
19 motion to proceed on the joint resolution.
20 The previous question shall be considered
21 as ordered on the motion to its adoption
22 without intervening motion. The motion
23 shall not be debatable. A motion to recon-
24 sider the vote by which the motion is dis-
25 posed of shall not be in order.

1 (iv) The joint resolution shall be con-
2 sidered as read. All points of order against
3 the joint resolution and against its consid-
4 eration are waived. The previous question
5 shall be considered as ordered on the joint
6 resolution to final passage without inter-
7 vening motion except 2 hours of debate
8 equally divided and controlled by the spon-
9 sor of the joint resolution (or a designee)
10 and an opponent. A motion to reconsider
11 the vote on passage of the joint resolution
12 shall not be in order.

13 (B) TREATMENT OF HOUSE JOINT RESO-
14 LUTION IN SENATE.—

15 (i) RECEIPT BEFORE PASSAGE.—If,
16 before the passage by the Senate of a joint
17 resolution of approval or joint resolution of
18 disapproval, the Senate receives an iden-
19 tical joint resolution from the House of
20 Representatives, the following procedures
21 shall apply:

22 (I) That joint resolution shall not
23 be referred to a committee.

24 (II) With respect to that joint
25 resolution—

1 (aa) the procedure in the
2 Senate shall be the same as if no
3 joint resolution had been received
4 from the House of Representa-
5 tives; but

6 (bb) the vote on passage
7 shall be on the joint resolution
8 from the House of Representa-
9 tives.

10 (ii) RECEIPT AFTER PASSAGE.—If,
11 following passage of a joint resolution of
12 approval or joint resolution of disapproval
13 in the Senate, the Senate receives an iden-
14 tical joint resolution from the House of
15 Representatives, that joint resolution shall
16 be placed on the appropriate Senate cal-
17 endar.

18 (iii) NO COMPANION MEASURE.—If a
19 joint resolution of approval or a joint reso-
20 lution of disapproval is received from the
21 House, and no companion joint resolution
22 has been introduced in the Senate, the
23 Senate procedures under this subsection
24 shall apply to the House joint resolution.

1 (C) APPLICATION TO REVENUE MEAS-
2 URES.—The provisions of this paragraph shall
3 not apply in the House of Representatives to a
4 joint resolution of approval or joint resolution
5 of disapproval that is a revenue measure.

6 (6) RULES OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
7 AND SENATE.—This subsection is enacted by Con-
8 gress—

9 (A) as an exercise of the rulemaking power
10 of the Senate and the House of Representa-
11 tives, respectively, and as such is deemed a part
12 of the rules of each House, respectively, and su-
13 persedes other rules only to the extent that it
14 is inconsistent with such rules; and

15 (B) with full recognition of the constitu-
16 tional right of either House to change the rules
17 (so far as relating to the procedure of that
18 House) at any time, in the same manner, and
19 to the same extent as in the case of any other
20 rule of that House.

21 (d) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES
22 DEFINED.—In this section, the term “appropriate con-
23 gressional committees” means—

24 (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the
25 House of Representatives; and

1 (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations of the
2 Senate.

3 **SEC. 6. SEVERABILITY.**

4 If any provision of this Act, or the application there-
5 of, is held invalid, the validity of the remainder of this
6 Act and the application of such provision to other persons
7 and circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

○