

119TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 3208

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

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

NOVEMBER 19, 2025

Mr. CURTIS (for himself and Mr. MERKLEY) introduced the following bill;
which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

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:

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

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

4 (3) The United States longstanding One-China
5 Policy, which is guided by the Taiwan Relations Act
6 (Public Law 96–8), the three United States-China
7 Joint Communiqués, and the Six Assurances, has
8 guided United States-Taiwan relations across suc-
9 cessive administrations and contributed to peace and
10 stability in the Indo-Pacific.

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

18 (5) On July 10, 1982, then-Under Secretary of
19 State Lawrence Eagleburger sent a cable to James
20 Lilley, then-director of the American Institute in
21 Taiwan, detailing what the United States had not
22 agreed to in its negotiations with the People’s Re-
23 public of China over the 1982 Joint Communiqué.
24 He wrote—

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

3 (B) “We have not agreed to prior consulta-
4 tion on arms sales.”;

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

7 (D) “We have not agreed to revise the Tai-
8 wan Relations Act.”;

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 (D) “has not agreed to revise the Taiwan
2 Relations Act”;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23 (E) “[T]here has been no change in our
24 longstanding position on the issue of sov-
25 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 PRC.”.

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

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

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

14 (C) “[W]e see no mediation role for the
15 United States.”;

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

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

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

24 (9) These six foreign policy principles, as ar-
25 ticulated by Eagleburger, Shultz, and Holdridge,

1 have collectively come to be known as the Six Assur-
2 ances.

3 (10) Section 1269D of the National Defense
4 Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2020 (Public Law
5 116–92; 133 Stat. 1681) and section 1258 of the
6 John S. McCain National Defense Authorization Act
7 for Fiscal 2019 (Public Law 115–232; 132 Stat.
8 2058) each state that it is the sense of Congress
9 that the Taiwan Relations Act and the Six Assur-
10 ances “are both cornerstones” of United States-Tai-
11 wan relations.

12 (11) Section 209 of the Asia Reassurance Ini-
13 tiative Act of 2018 (Public Law 115–409; 22 U.S.C.
14 3301 note) states that it is United States policy for
15 the United States to enforce existing United States
16 Government commitments to Taiwan, “consistent
17 with the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 (Public Law
18 96–8), the 3 joint communiques, and the Six Assur-
19 ances”.

20 (12) Section 1259 of the National Defense Au-
21 thorization Act for Fiscal Year 2018 (Public Law
22 115–91; 22 U.S.C. 3301 note) states that it is
23 United States policy for the United States “to rein-
24 force its commitments to Taiwan under the Taiwan

1 Relations Act and consistent with the ‘Six Assur-
2 ances’ ”.

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

4 It is the sense of Congress that—

5 (1) the maintenance of peace and stability
6 across the Taiwan Strait are in the political, secu-
7 rity, and economic interests of the United States,
8 and are matters of international concern;

9 (2) any unilateral change to the status quo
10 from either side or negotiated settlement of the
11 question of Taiwan’s status without the consent of
12 both sides of the Strait is unacceptable;

13 (3) the future of Taiwan must be determined by
14 peaceful means; and

15 (4) the maintenance of the Six Assurances con-
16 stitutes a stabilizing and necessary component of the
17 United States policy toward Taiwan.

18 **SEC. 4. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

19 It is the policy of the United States to reaffirm that,
20 in the context of the 1982 Joint Communiqué, the United
21 States—

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

24 (2) did not agree to consult with the People’s
25 Republic of China on arms sales to Taiwan;

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

3 (4) did not agree to seek to revise the Taiwan
4 Relations Act;

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

7 (6) will not exert pressure on Taiwan to enter
8 into negotiations with the People's Republic of
9 China.

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

12 (a) SUBMISSION TO CONGRESS OF PROPOSED AC-
13 TION.—

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

20 (2) ACTIONS DESCRIBED.—An action described
21 in this paragraph is an action—

22 (A) to pause or terminate the provision of
23 arms of a defensive character to Taiwan;

1 (B) to negotiate with the People's Republic
2 of China about the provision of arms of a de-
3 fensive character to Taiwan;

4 (C) to mediate between Taiwan and the
5 People's Republic of China regarding the issue
6 of sovereignty over Taiwan;

7 (D) to change the United States long-
8 standing position on the issue of the sovereignty
9 over Taiwan; or

10 (E) to exert pressure on Taiwan to enter
11 into negotiations with the People's Republic of
12 China.

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

20 (4) INCLUSION OF ADDITIONAL MATTER.—Each
21 notification submitted under paragraph (1) that re-
22 lates to an action that is intended to significantly
23 alter United States foreign policy with respect to
24 Taiwan or the People's Republic of China shall in-
25 clude a description of—

1 (A) the significant alteration to United
2 States foreign policy with respect to Taiwan or
3 the People's Republic of China;

4 (B) the anticipated effect of the action on
5 the economic and national security interests of
6 the United States; and

7 (C) the anticipated effect of the action on
8 the issue of the sovereignty over Taiwan.

9 (b) PERIOD FOR REVIEW BY CONGRESS.—

10 (1) IN GENERAL.—During the period of 30 cal-
11 endar days beginning on the date on which the
12 President submits a notification under subsection
13 (a)(1), the appropriate congressional committees
14 should hold hearings and briefings and otherwise ob-
15 tain information in order to fully review the notifica-
16 tion.

17 (2) EXCEPTION.—The period for congressional
18 review under paragraph (1) of a notification re-
19 quired to be submitted under subsection (a)(1) shall
20 be 60 calendar days if the notification is submitted
21 on or after July 10 and on or before September 7
22 in any calendar year.

23 (3) LIMITATION ON ACTIONS DURING INITIAL
24 CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW PERIOD.—Notwithstanding
25 any other provision of law, during the period for

1 congressional review provided for under paragraph
2 (1) of a notification submitted under subsection
3 (a)(1) proposing an action described in subsection
4 (a)(2), including any additional period for such re-
5 view as applicable under the exception provided in
6 paragraph (2), neither the President nor any other
7 officer or employee of the United States may take
8 that action or expend any appropriated funds in fur-
9 therance of that action unless a joint resolution of
10 approval with respect to that action is enacted in ac-
11 cordance with subsection (c).

12 (4) LIMITATION ON ACTIONS DURING PRESI-
13 DENTIAL CONSIDERATION OF A JOINT RESOLUTION
14 OF DISAPPROVAL.—Notwithstanding any other pro-
15 vision of law, if a joint resolution of disapproval re-
16 lating to a notification submitted under subsection
17 (a)(1) proposing an action described in subsection
18 (a)(2) passes both Houses of Congress in accordance
19 with subsection (c), neither the President nor any
20 other officer or employee of the United States may
21 take that action or expend any appropriated funds
22 in furtherance of that action for a period of 12 cal-
23 endar days after the date of passage of the joint res-
24 olution of disapproval.

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

14 (6) EFFECT OF ENACTMENT OF A JOINT RESO-
15 LUTION OF DISAPPROVAL.—Notwithstanding any
16 other provision of law, if a joint resolution of dis-
17 approval relating to a notification submitted under
18 subsection (a)(1) proposing an action described in
19 subsection (a)(2) is enacted in accordance with sub-
20 section (c), neither the President nor any other offi-
21 cer or employee of the United States may take that
22 action or expend any appropriated funds in further-
23 ance of that action.

24 (c) JOINT RESOLUTIONS OF DISAPPROVAL OR AP-
25 PROVAL.—

1 (1) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

2 (A) JOINT RESOLUTION OF APPROVAL.—

3 The term “joint resolution of approval” means
4 only a joint resolution of either House of Con-
5 gress—

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

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

23 (B) JOINT RESOLUTION OF DIS-
24 APPROVAL.—The term “joint resolution of dis-

1 approval” means only a joint resolution of ei-
 2 ther House of Congress—

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

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

20 (2) INTRODUCTION.—During the period of 30
 21 calendar days provided for under subsection (b)(1),
 22 including any additional period as applicable under
 23 the exception provided in subsection (b)(2), a joint
 24 resolution of approval or joint resolution of dis-
 25 approval may be introduced—

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

3 (B) in the Senate, by the majority leader
 4 (or the majority leader's designee) or the mi-
 5 nority leader (or the minority leader's des-
 6 ignee).

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

14 (4) CONSIDERATION IN THE SENATE.—

15 (A) COMMITTEE REFERRAL.—A joint reso-
 16 lution of approval or joint resolution of dis-
 17 approval introduced in the Senate shall be re-
 18 ferred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

19 (B) REPORTING AND DISCHARGE.—If the
 20 committee to which a joint resolution of ap-
 21 proval or joint resolution of disapproval was re-
 22 ferred has not reported the joint resolution
 23 within 10 calendar days after the date of refer-
 24 ral of the joint resolution, that committee shall
 25 be discharged from further consideration of the

1 joint resolution and the joint resolution shall be
2 placed on the appropriate calendar.

3 (C) PROCEEDING TO CONSIDERATION.—

4 Notwithstanding Rule XXII of the Standing
5 Rules of the Senate, it is in order at any time
6 after the Committee on Foreign Relations re-
7 ports a joint resolution of approval or joint res-
8 olution of disapproval to the Senate or has been
9 discharged from consideration of such a joint
10 resolution (even though a previous motion to
11 the same effect has been disagreed to) to move
12 to proceed to the consideration of the joint reso-
13 lution, and all points of order against the joint
14 resolution (and against consideration of the
15 joint resolution) are waived. The motion to pro-
16 ceed is not debatable. The motion is not subject
17 to a motion to postpone. A motion to reconsider
18 the vote by which the motion is agreed to or
19 disagreed to shall not be in order.

20 (D) RULINGS OF THE CHAIR ON PROCE-

21 DURE.—Appeals from the decisions of the Chair
22 relating to the application of the rules of the
23 Senate, as the case may be, to the procedure re-
24 lating to a joint resolution of approval or joint

1 resolution of disapproval shall be decided with-
 2 out debate.

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

12 (5) RULES RELATING TO SENATE AND HOUSE
 13 OF REPRESENTATIVES.—

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

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

24 (ii) If a committee to which a joint
 25 resolution has been referred has not re-

1 ported the joint resolution within 5 legisla-
2 tive days after the date of referral, that
3 committee shall be discharged from further
4 consideration of the joint resolution.

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

22 (iv) The joint resolution shall be con-
23 sidered as read. All points of order against
24 the joint resolution and against its consid-
25 eration are waived. The previous question

1 shall be considered as ordered on the joint
 2 resolution to final passage without inter-
 3 vening motion except 2 hours of debate
 4 equally divided and controlled by the spon-
 5 sor of the joint resolution (or a designee)
 6 and an opponent. A motion to reconsider
 7 the vote on passage of the joint resolution
 8 shall not be in order.

9 (B) TREATMENT OF HOUSE JOINT RESO-
 10 LUTION IN SENATE.—

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

18 (I) That joint resolution shall not
 19 be referred to a committee.

20 (II) With respect to that joint
 21 resolution—

22 (aa) the procedure in the
 23 Senate shall be the same as if no
 24 joint resolution had been received

1 from the House of Representa-
2 tives; but

3 (bb) the vote on passage
4 shall be on the joint resolution
5 from the House of Representa-
6 tives.

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

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

22 (C) APPLICATION TO REVENUE MEAS-
23 URES.—The provisions of this paragraph shall
24 not apply in the House of Representatives to a

1 joint resolution of approval or joint resolution
2 of disapproval that is a revenue measure.

3 (6) RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-
4 TIVES AND SENATE.—This subsection is enacted by
5 Congress—

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

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

18 (d) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES
19 DEFINED.—In this section, the term “appropriate con-
20 gressional committees” means—

21 (1) the Committee on Foreign Relations of the
22 Senate; and

23 (2) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the
24 House of Representatives.

1 **SEC. 6. SEVERABILITY.**

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

○