

AMENDMENT TO RULES COMM. PRINT 119-33
OFFERED BY MR. KRISHNAMOORTHY OF ILLINOIS

At the end of title XVII of division A, add the following:

1 **Subtitle C—Six Assurances to**
2 **Taiwan Act**

3 **SEC. 17__. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This subtitle may be cited as the “Six Assurances to
5 Taiwan Act”.

6 **SEC. 17__. 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.

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

14 (3) The United States longstanding One-China
15 Policy, which is guided by the Taiwan Relations Act,
16 the three United States-China Joint Communiqués,
17 and the Six Assurances, has guided United States-
18 Taiwan relations across successive administrations

1 and contributed to peace and stability in the Indo-
2 Pacific.

3 (4) From July to August 1982, before and im-
4 mediately after the release of the United States-
5 China Joint Communiqué on United States Arms
6 Sales to Taiwan (“the 1982 Joint Communiqué”) on
7 August 17, 1982, the Reagan Administration articu-
8 lated six key foreign policy principles regarding
9 United States-Taiwan relations.

10 (5) On July 10, 1982, then-Under Secretary of
11 State Lawrence Eagleburger sent a cable to James
12 Lilley, then-director of the American Institute in
13 Taiwan, detailing what the United States had not
14 agreed to in its negotiations with the People’s Re-
15 public of China over the 1982 Joint Communiqué.
16 He wrote—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17 (D) “has not agreed to revise the Taiwan
18 Relations Act”;

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

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

23 (7) On August 17, 1982, then-Assistant Sec-
24 retary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs
25 John H. Holdridge testified on behalf of the execu-

1 tive branch before the Senate Committee on Foreign
2 Relations about the 1982 Joint Communiqué that—

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

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

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

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

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

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

19 (8) On August 18, 1982, Holdridge testified on
20 behalf of the executive branch before the House
21 Committee on Foreign Affairs about the 1982 Joint
22 Communiqué that—

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

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

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

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

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

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

15 (9) These six foreign policy principles, as ar-
16 ticulated by Eagleburger, Shultz, and Holdridge,
17 have collectively come to be known as the Six Assur-
18 ances.

19 (10) The House of Representatives and Senate
20 passed a concurrent resolution “reaffirming the Tai-
21 wan Relations Act and the Six Assurances as corner-
22 stones of United States-Taiwan relations” on May
23 16, 2016, and July 6, 2016, respectively.

24 (11) The Asia Reassurance Initiative Act of
25 2018 (Public Law 115–409) states that it is the pol-

1 icy of the United States “to faithfully enforce all ex-
2 isting United States Government commitments to
3 Taiwan, consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act of
4 1979 (Public Law 96–8), the [three Joint
5 Communiqués], and the Six Assurances”.

6 (12) The National Defense Authorization Acts
7 for Fiscal Years 2019 through 2025 (Public Laws
8 115–232, 116–283, 116–92, 117–81, 117–263,
9 118–31, and 118–159) each recognized the impor-
10 tance of the Six Assurances to United States-Taiwan
11 relations.

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

18 **SEC. 17__ . SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

19 It is the sense of Congress that—

20 (1) the maintenance of peace and stability
21 across the Taiwan Strait is in the political, security,
22 and economic interests of the United States and is
23 a matter of international concern;

24 (2) any unilateral change to the status quo
25 from either side or negotiated settlement of the

1 question of Taiwan's status without the consent of
2 both sides of the Strait is unacceptable;

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

5 (4) the maintenance of the Six Assurances con-
6 stitutes a stabilizing and necessary component of
7 United States policy toward Taiwan.

8 **SEC. 17_. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

9 It is the policy of the United States to reaffirm that,
10 in the context of the 1982 Joint Communiqué, the United
11 States—

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

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

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

18 (4) did not agree to revise the Taiwan Relations
19 Act;

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

22 (6) will not exert pressure on Taiwan to enter
23 into negotiations with the People's Republic of
24 China.

1 **SEC. 17__ . CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW OF CERTAIN ACTIONS**
2 **RELATING TO THE SIX ASSURANCES TO TAI-**
3 **WAN.**

4 (a) SUBMISSION TO CONGRESS OF PROPOSED AC-
5 TION.—

6 (1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other
7 provision of law, before taking any action described
8 in paragraph (2), the President shall submit to the
9 appropriate congressional committees and leadership
10 a notification that describes the proposed action and
11 the reasons for that action.

12 (2) ACTIONS DESCRIBED.—

13 (A) IN GENERAL.—An action described in
14 this paragraph is an action—

15 (i) to pause or terminate the provision
16 of arms of a defensive character to Tai-
17 wan;

18 (ii) to negotiate with the People's Re-
19 public of China about the provision of
20 arms of a defensive character to Taiwan;

21 (iii) to mediate between Taiwan and
22 the People's Republic of China regarding
23 the issue of sovereignty over Taiwan;

24 (iv) to change the United States long-
25 standing position on the issue of the sov-
26 ereignty over Taiwan; or

1 (v) to exert pressure on Taiwan to
2 enter into negotiations with the People's
3 Republic of China.

4 (3) DESCRIPTION OF TYPE OF ACTION.—Each
5 notification submitted under paragraph (1) with re-
6 spect to an action described in paragraph (2) shall
7 include a description of whether the action is or is
8 not intended to significantly alter United States for-
9 eign policy with respect to Taiwan or the People's
10 Republic of China.

11 (4) INCLUSION OF ADDITIONAL MATTER.—Each
12 notification submitted under paragraph (1) that re-
13 lates to an action that is intended to significantly
14 alter United States foreign policy with respect to
15 Taiwan or the People's Republic of China shall in-
16 clude a description of—

17 (A) the significant alteration to United
18 States foreign policy with respect to Taiwan or
19 the People's Republic of China;

20 (B) the anticipated effect of the action on
21 the economic and national security interests of
22 the United States; and

23 (C) the anticipated effect of the action on
24 the issue of the sovereignty over Taiwan.

25 (b) PERIOD FOR REVIEW BY CONGRESS.—

1 (1) IN GENERAL.—During the period of 30 cal-
2 endar days beginning on the date on which the
3 President submits a notification under subsection
4 (a)(1), the appropriate congressional committees
5 should hold hearings and briefings and otherwise ob-
6 tain information in order to fully review the notifica-
7 tion.

8 (2) EXCEPTION.—The period for congressional
9 review under paragraph (1) of a notification re-
10 quired to be submitted under subsection (a)(1) shall
11 be 60 calendar days if the notification is submitted
12 on or after July 10 and on or before September 7
13 in any calendar year.

14 (3) LIMITATION ON ACTIONS DURING INITIAL
15 CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW PERIOD.—Notwithstanding
16 any other provision of law, during the period for
17 congressional review provided for under paragraph
18 (1) of a notification submitted under subsection
19 (a)(1) proposing an action described in subsection
20 (a)(2), including any additional period for such re-
21 view as applicable under the exception provided in
22 paragraph (2), neither the President nor any other
23 officer or employee of the United States may expend
24 any appropriated funds in furtherance of that action
25 unless a joint resolution of approval with respect to

1 that action is enacted in accordance with subsection
2 (c).

3 (4) LIMITATION ON ACTIONS DURING PRESI-
4 DENTIAL CONSIDERATION OF A JOINT RESOLUTION
5 OF DISAPPROVAL.—Notwithstanding any other pro-
6 vision of law, if a joint resolution of disapproval re-
7 lating to a notification submitted under subsection
8 (a)(1) proposing an action described in subsection
9 (a)(2) passes both Houses of Congress in accordance
10 with subsection (c), neither the President nor any
11 other officer or employee of the United States may
12 expend any appropriated funds in furtherance of
13 that action for a period of 12 calendar days after
14 the date of passage of the joint resolution of dis-
15 approval.

16 (5) LIMITATION ON ACTIONS DURING CONGRES-
17 SIONAL RECONSIDERATION OF A JOINT RESOLUTION
18 OF DISAPPROVAL.—Notwithstanding any other pro-
19 vision of law, if a joint resolution of disapproval re-
20 lating to a notification submitted under subsection
21 (a)(1) proposing an action described in subsection
22 (a)(2) passes both Houses of Congress in accordance
23 with subsection (c), and the President vetoes the
24 joint resolution, neither the President nor any other
25 officer or employee of the United States may take

1 that action or expend any appropriated funds in fur-
2 therance of that action for a period of 10 calendar
3 days after the date of the President’s veto.

4 (6) EFFECT OF ENACTMENT OF A JOINT RESO-
5 LUTION OF DISAPPROVAL.—Notwithstanding any
6 other provision of law, if a joint resolution of dis-
7 approval relating to a notification submitted under
8 subsection (a)(1) proposing an action described in
9 subsection (a)(2) is enacted in accordance with sub-
10 section (c), neither the President nor any other offi-
11 cer or employee of the United States may take that
12 action or expend any appropriated funds in further-
13 ance of that action.

14 (c) JOINT RESOLUTIONS OF DISAPPROVAL OR AP-
15 PROVAL.—

16 (1) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

17 (A) JOINT RESOLUTION OF APPROVAL.—
18 The term “joint resolution of approval” means
19 only a joint resolution of either House of Con-
20 gress—

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

1 (ii) the sole matter after the resolving
2 clause of which is the following: “Congress
3 approves of the action relating to the ac-
4 tion with respect to the Six Assurances to
5 Taiwan proposed by the President in the
6 notification submitted to Congress under
7 section 17__(a)(1) of the Six Assurances
8 to Taiwan Act on _____ relat-
9 ing to _____.”, with the first
10 blank space being filled with the appro-
11 priate date and the second blank space
12 being filled with a short description of the
13 proposed action.

14 (B) JOINT RESOLUTION OF DIS-
15 APPROVAL.—The term “joint resolution of dis-
16 approval” means only a joint resolution of ei-
17 ther House of Congress—

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

22 (ii) the sole matter after the resolving
23 clause of which is the following: “Congress
24 disapproves of the action relating to the
25 Six Assurances to Taiwan proposed by the

1 President in the notification submitted to
2 Congress under section 17__ (a)(1) of the
3 Six Assurances to Taiwan Act on
4 _____ relating to
5 _____.”, with the first blank
6 space being filled with the appropriate date
7 and the second blank space being filled
8 with a short description of the proposed
9 action.

10 (2) INTRODUCTION.—During the period of 30
11 calendar days provided for under subsection (b)(1),
12 including any additional period as applicable under
13 the exception provided in subsection (b)(2), a joint
14 resolution of approval or joint resolution of dis-
15 approval may be introduced—

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

18 (B) in the Senate, by the majority leader
19 (or the majority leader’s designee) or the mi-
20 nority leader (or the minority leader’s des-
21 ignee).

22 (3) FLOOR CONSIDERATION IN HOUSE OF REP-
23 RESENTATIVES.—If the appropriate congressional
24 committee of the House of Representatives has not
25 reported the joint resolution within 10 legislative

1 days after the date of referral, that committee shall
2 be discharged from further consideration of the joint
3 resolution.

4 (4) CONSIDERATION IN THE SENATE.—

5 (A) COMMITTEE REFERRAL.—A joint reso-
6 lution of approval or joint resolution of dis-
7 approval introduced in the Senate shall be re-
8 ferred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

9 (B) REPORTING AND DISCHARGE.—If the
10 committee to which a joint resolution of ap-
11 proval or joint resolution of disapproval was re-
12 ferred has not reported the joint resolution
13 within 10 calendar days after the date of refer-
14 ral of the joint resolution, that committee shall
15 be discharged from further consideration of the
16 joint resolution and the joint resolution shall be
17 placed on the appropriate calendar.

18 (C) PROCEEDING TO CONSIDERATION.—
19 Notwithstanding Rule XXII of the Standing
20 Rules of the Senate, it is in order at any time
21 after the Committee on Foreign Relations re-
22 ports a joint resolution of approval or joint res-
23 olution of disapproval to the Senate or has been
24 discharged from consideration of such a joint
25 resolution (even though a previous motion to

1 the same effect has been disagreed to) to move
2 to proceed to the consideration of the joint reso-
3 lution, and all points of order against the joint
4 resolution (and against consideration of the
5 joint resolution) are waived. The motion to pro-
6 ceed is not debatable. The motion is not subject
7 to a motion to postpone. A motion to reconsider
8 the vote by which the motion is agreed to or
9 disagreed to shall not be in order.

10 (D) RULINGS OF THE CHAIR ON PROCE-
11 DURE.—Appeals from the decisions of the Chair
12 relating to the application of the rules of the
13 Senate, as the case may be, to the procedure re-
14 lating to a joint resolution of approval or joint
15 resolution of disapproval shall be decided with-
16 out debate.

17 (E) CONSIDERATION OF VETO MES-
18 SAGES.—Debate in the Senate of any veto mes-
19 sages with respect to a joint resolution of ap-
20 proval or joint resolution of disapproval, includ-
21 ing all debatable motions and appeals in con-
22 nection with the joint resolution, shall be lim-
23 ited to 10 hours, to be equally divided between,
24 and controlled by, the majority leader and the
25 minority leader or their designees.

1 (5) RULES RELATING TO SENATE AND HOUSE
2 OF REPRESENTATIVES.—

3 (A) TREATMENT OF SENATE JOINT RESO-
4 LUTION IN HOUSE.—In the House of Rep-
5 resentatives, the following procedures shall
6 apply to a joint resolution of approval or a joint
7 resolution of disapproval received from the Sen-
8 ate (unless the House has already passed a
9 joint resolution relating to the same proposed
10 action):

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

13 (ii) If a committee to which a joint
14 resolution has been referred has not re-
15 ported the joint resolution within 5 legisla-
16 tive days after the date of referral, that
17 committee shall be discharged from further
18 consideration of the joint resolution.

19 (iii) Beginning on the third legislative
20 day after each committee to which a joint
21 resolution has been referred reports the
22 joint resolution to the House or has been
23 discharged from further consideration
24 thereof, it shall be in order to move to pro-
25 ceed to consider the joint resolution in the

1 House. All points of order against the mo-
2 tion are waived. Such a motion shall not be
3 in order after the House has disposed of a
4 motion to proceed on the joint resolution.
5 The previous question shall be considered
6 as ordered on the motion to its adoption
7 without intervening motion. The motion
8 shall not be debatable. A motion to recon-
9 sider the vote by which the motion is dis-
10 posed of shall not be in order.

11 (iv) The joint resolution shall be con-
12 sidered as read. All points of order against
13 the joint resolution and against its consid-
14 eration are waived. The previous question
15 shall be considered as ordered on the joint
16 resolution to final passage without inter-
17 vening motion except 2 hours of debate
18 equally divided and controlled by the spon-
19 sor of the joint resolution (or a designee)
20 and an opponent. A motion to reconsider
21 the vote on passage of the joint resolution
22 shall not be in order.

23 (B) TREATMENT OF HOUSE JOINT RESO-
24 LUTION IN SENATE.—

1 (i) RECEIPT BEFORE PASSAGE.—If,
2 before the passage by the Senate of a joint
3 resolution of approval or joint resolution of
4 disapproval, the Senate receives an iden-
5 tical joint resolution from the House of
6 Representatives, the following procedures
7 shall apply:

8 (I) That joint resolution shall not
9 be referred to a committee.

10 (II) With respect to that joint
11 resolution—

12 (aa) the procedure in the
13 Senate shall be the same as if no
14 joint resolution had been received
15 from the House of Representa-
16 tives; but

17 (bb) the vote on passage
18 shall be on the joint resolution
19 from the House of Representa-
20 tives.

21 (ii) RECEIPT AFTER PASSAGE.—If,
22 following passage of a joint resolution of
23 approval or joint resolution of disapproval
24 in the Senate, the Senate receives an iden-
25 tical joint resolution from the House of

1 Representatives, that joint resolution shall
2 be placed on the appropriate Senate cal-
3 endar.

4 (iii) NO COMPANION MEASURE.—If a
5 joint resolution of approval or a joint reso-
6 lution of disapproval is received from the
7 House, and no companion joint resolution
8 has been introduced in the Senate, the
9 Senate procedures under this subsection
10 shall apply to the House joint resolution.

11 (C) APPLICATION TO REVENUE MEAS-
12 URES.—The provisions of this paragraph shall
13 not apply in the House of Representatives to a
14 joint resolution of approval or joint resolution
15 of disapproval that is a revenue measure.

16 (6) RULES OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
17 AND SENATE.—This subsection is enacted by Con-
18 gress—

19 (A) as an exercise of the rulemaking power
20 of the Senate and the House of Representa-
21 tives, respectively, and as such is deemed a part
22 of the rules of each House, respectively, and su-
23 persedes other rules only to the extent that it
24 is inconsistent with such rules; and

1 (B) with full recognition of the constitu-
2 tional right of either House to change the rules
3 (so far as relating to the procedure of that
4 House) at any time, in the same manner, and
5 to the same extent as in the case of any other
6 rule of that House.

7 (d) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES
8 DEFINED.—In this section, the term “appropriate con-
9 gressional committees” means—

10 (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the
11 House of Representatives; and

12 (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations of the
13 Senate.

14 **SEC. 17_. SEVERABILITY.**

15 If any provision of this subtitle, or the application
16 thereof, is held invalid, the validity of the remainder of
17 this subtitle and the application of such provision to other
18 persons and circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

