

Fulfilling America's Promise: Restoring Congressional Function Through Bipartisan Commissions

I. Executive Summary

For decades, the United States Congress has struggled to act decisively on the nation's most pressing and enduring challenges. Legislative gridlock has prevented meaningful progress on issues ranging from comprehensive immigration reform, Social Security and Medicare sustainability, fiscal responsibility, healthcare affordability, election integrity, and gun safety. Despite widespread public consensus in favor of action, partisan stalemate and procedural hurdles have allowed critical policy failures to persist, imposing severe economic, social, and civic costs on the American people.

Independent voters—the largest and most decisive voting bloc in contemporary U.S. politics—now slightly favor Democrats, reflecting an expectation that this party will work across the aisle to address these entrenched problems. Moderate Democrats face a unique opportunity to demonstrate credibility, earn trust, and catalyze real change. At the same time, moderate Republicans are essential partners in any meaningful bipartisan initiative.

The Bipartisan Priority Reform Commission Act (BPRCA) provides a structured, enforceable, and transparent pathway to address these challenges. By creating expert-led, bipartisan commissions for carefully selected priority issues, guaranteeing expedited legislative consideration, and incorporating robust oversight and fallback mechanisms, the BPRCA ensures Congress can act decisively without undermining institutional norms. This white paper examines the historical context of congressional gridlock, analyzes its consequences, explores the mechanics

of the BPRCA, and demonstrates why this reform framework offers a practical path to restore legislative functionality and public trust.

II. The Problem: Chronic Congressional Gridlock

A. Historical Context

The problem of legislative gridlock in Congress is longstanding, yet its scope and intensity have grown over time. Understanding this historical trajectory provides crucial insight into why contemporary solutions like the BPRCA are both necessary and feasible.

1. Early 20th Century—Policy Struggles Amid Growing

Complexity: During the early decades of the 20th century, Congress faced significant challenges in responding to industrialization, labor unrest, and emerging social welfare needs. While political parties were often internally cohesive, the legislative process was constrained by limited administrative capacity and the absence of modern procedural tools. Legislation on tariffs, labor rights, and early social programs required intricate negotiation, often resulting in delayed or compromised outcomes. Gridlock existed, but it was episodic and context-specific, often resolved through cross-party collaboration or presidential leadership.

2. Mid-20th Century—Increasing Partisan and Procedural

Complexity: Following World War II, Congress experienced periods of both productivity and stalemate. Major legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Medicare legislation in 1965 demonstrated that bipartisan coalitions could produce transformative policies. Yet, these successes were exceptions rather than the rule. Procedural innovations such as the filibuster and restrictive committee rules increasingly allowed minority factions to slow or block legislation. By the 1970s, contentious budget battles and foreign policy debates highlighted the growing challenge of aligning legislative action with national needs.

3. Late 20th, Early 21st Century—The Rise of Systemic Gridlock:

In the 1980s and 1990s, Congress became more polarized, reflecting both ideological sorting of the electorate and strategic partisanship. Landmark policies—such as comprehensive tax reform in 1986—succeeded through careful bipartisan negotiation, but repeated failures also emerged. Attempts to reform Social Security, modernize immigration policy, or adjust Medicare funding frequently stalled.

Government shutdowns in the 1990s signaled that procedural tools, such as the filibuster in the Senate and the threat of appropriations standoffs, were increasingly leveraged for partisan advantage rather than problem-solving. The early 21st century magnified these trends. The 2000s saw multiple failed attempts at comprehensive immigration reform, chronic budget impasses, and escalating use of procedural obstruction. The modern 60-vote Senate filibuster effectively raised the threshold for passing nearly all major legislation, transforming ordinary policy disputes into near-impossible challenges for majorities with broad popular support.

4. Contemporary Dynamics: Structural Paralysis

In recent decades, structural obstacles have entrenched legislative dysfunction. Key factors include:

- Partisan Polarization: Both major parties have become more ideologically cohesive and less willing to compromise.
- **Procedural Barriers:** The filibuster, point-of-order objections, and unanimous consent requirements give small minorities disproportionate leverage.
- **Electoral Incentives**: Incumbents often prioritize short-term political security over long-term policy outcomes, incentivizing obstruction.
- Institutional Norms: Committee gatekeeping, restricted debate schedules, and control over amendment processes have sometimes been used to block legislation that enjoys broad public support.

These dynamics have created an environment where gridlock is not occasional but systemic, preventing Congress from addressing critical issues that affect millions of Americans.

B. Consequences of Congressional Gridlock

The costs of inaction are profound, spanning economic, social, and civic dimensions.

1. Economic Costs

- Uncertainty in Retirement and Healthcare Systems: Without reform, Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid face growing fiscal gaps, creating uncertainty for households relying on these benefits.
- Federal Deficits and Debt: Persistent inaction on fiscal responsibility contributes to mounting deficits and an unsustainable debt trajectory, raising interest costs and threatening economic stability.
- Delayed Infrastructure and Workforce Investment: Critical programs for transportation, energy, and workforce development are postponed, reducing long-term competitiveness.
- Market Instability: Businesses require predictable regulatory and fiscal environments. Congressional inaction undermines investment planning and risk assessment, potentially slowing economic growth.

2. Civic and Democratic Costs

- **Declining Public Trust:** Surveys consistently show that Americans perceive Congress as ineffective and unresponsive. This decline in trust erodes the social contract and reduces civic engagement.
- Voter Disengagement: As gridlock persists, citizens feel their votes have limited impact, decreasing turnout and weakening democratic legitimacy.
- Erosion of Institutional Credibility: Repeated failure to address long-standing problems diminishes confidence in government institutions, emboldening anti-democratic rhetoric.

3. Social Costs

• Healthcare Access and Affordability: Legislative stalemate leaves millions with inadequate coverage or escalating costs.

- Immigration and Labor Challenges: Failure to enact comprehensive immigration reform perpetuates uncertainty for families, businesses, and communities, affecting labor markets and social cohesion.
- Public Safety and Gun Policy: Inaction on evidence-based gun regulation contributes to cycles of preventable violence.
- Election Integrity: Outdated and uneven election systems undermine confidence in democratic outcomes.

The accumulation of these failures has profound long-term consequences, exacerbating inequality and destabilizing essential social and economic systems.

C. Voter Dynamics and the Role of Independents

Independent voters are increasingly decisive in national elections. Recent polling indicates:

- Independent voters now slightly favor Democrats, reflecting a desire for cross-party cooperation on practical solutions.
- Over 70% of Americans, across party lines, support bipartisan action to address pressing national priorities.
- Moderate Democrats face a unique opportunity to earn the trust of independent voters by demonstrating seriousness about solving entrenched problems.
- Moderate Republicans remain essential partners in advancing reforms, given the bipartisan requirements for success.

This political dynamic provides both an opportunity and an imperative: Congress must act in ways that are demonstrably bipartisan, transparent, and results-oriented.

D. Structural Drivers of Gridlock

Understanding why Congress is unable to act helps clarify why a procedural reform like the BPRCA is necessary. Key structural drivers include:

- 1. **Filibuster and Supermajority Requirements:** The 60-vote threshold for most legislation enables a determined minority to block proposals supported by substantial majorities.
- 2. **Committee Gatekeeping:** Leadership control over committee assignments and agendas allows partisan interests to delay or prevent consideration of legislation.
- 3. Amendment Obstruction: Endless or strategically deployed amendments can derail bills, creating paralysis even when consensus exists.
- 4. **Partisan Electoral Incentives:** Electoral incentives encourage obstruction over compromise; incumbents often calculate that obstructing high-visibility issues yields political advantage.
- 5. **Fragmented Policy Responsibility:** Complex issues—like healthcare or immigration—span multiple committees and jurisdictions, creating additional hurdles to coherent action.

Without structural reform, these factors will continue to produce systemic gridlock, perpetuating the economic, civic, and social costs outlined above.

E. Conclusion: The Imperative for Reform

The historical record, contemporary dynamics, and future projections all point to a stark reality: Congress cannot reliably solve the nation's most critical, long-term problems under current procedures. Independent and moderate voters expect action. The nation cannot afford continued gridlock on Social Security, Medicare, fiscal policy, healthcare, immigration, election reform, and gun safety. This context establishes the necessity for a structurally sound, bipartisan, enforceable framework to guarantee legislative action—one that preserves

institutional norms while ensuring accountability. The Bipartisan Priority Reform Commission Act (BPRCA) is designed precisely to meet this challenge.

IV. The Bipartisan Priority Reform Commission Act: A Mechanism for Action

The Bipartisan Priority Reform Commission Act (BPRCA) is a legislative framework designed to overcome chronic congressional gridlock by combining procedural innovation, expert input, and enforceable accountability measures. Unlike ad hoc policy proposals or temporary executive fixes, the BPRCA embeds systemic safeguards to ensure that the most pressing national issues—termed **Priority Issues**—receive timely, transparent, and bipartisan legislative consideration.

At its core, the BPRCA is built around three pillars:

- 1. Structured Bipartisan Commissions that develop policy proposals grounded in expertise and public input.
- 2. Expedited Legislative Procedures that guarantee floor consideration and protect against procedural obstruction.
- 3. Oversight and Fallback Mechanisms to enforce deadlines, maintain transparency, and ensure Congress acts even if initial processes fail.

A. Selection of Priority Issues

A foundational innovation of the BPRCA is the systematic selection of **Priority Issues** for each two-year congressional session. These include:

- 1. Comprehensive immigration reform
- 2. Social Security reform
- 3. Medicare and Medicaid reform
- 4. Comprehensive healthcare reform
- 5. Fiscal responsibility, including deficit and debt management
- 6. Federal election reform (primary elections, congressional redistricting, and anti-fraud measures)
- 7. Sensible gun regulation

Mechanics of Selection: At the start of each session—

- Congress must identify **one or two issues** from the Priority Issue list within **60 days**.
- Debate in both chambers is limited (10 hours in the House, 10 hours in the Senate), and no amendments are permitted to prevent procedural obstruction.
- Automatic designation: If Congress fails to act, the next unaddressed issue in the sequential list is automatically designated for Commission review.

This process ensures that gridlock cannot indefinitely delay action, guaranteeing that at least one high-priority issue is addressed every session. By allowing Congress to focus on one or two issues at a time, the Act reduces the risk of dilution or partisan overreach, while ensuring a continuous cadence of reform.

B. Structure of the Reform Commissions

The BPRCA creates **12-member bicameral Reform Commissions** for each selected issue, carefully designed to maximize bipartisan participation, expertise, and accountability.

1. Composition:

- 4 legislators: One Democrat and one Republican from each chamber (House and Senate).
- 8 non-officeholding experts: Appointed on a bipartisan basis to ensure policy expertise and neutral judgment.

2. Appointment Process:

 Members must be pre-endorsed by party leadership to promote early consensus.

- Failure-to-appoint clause: If party leadership does not act within 30 days, the independent Oversight Board appoints remaining members, ensuring deadlines are met.
- **Conflict of interest disclosure:** All members must reveal potential conflicts, protecting public trust and reinforcing transparency.

3. Rationale for Design:

The inclusion of both legislators and independent experts is deliberate. Legislators provide political insight and a bridge to the broader Congress, while experts ensure that recommendations are grounded in evidence rather than ideology. This blend encourages consensus-building and prevents the process from being captured by any single faction or partisan strategy.

C. Commission Operations and Timeline

1. Public Hearings and Comment

- Each Commission must hold at least three public hearings and provide a 60day public comment period.
- Hearings and comment collection must occur within six months of the Commission's formation.
- If a Commission fails to meet these obligations, the Oversight Board convenes the hearings, ensuring that public input cannot be ignored.

2. Drafting Recommendations

- The Commission is allotted **10 months** from the first meeting to produce a final report and an **Implementing Bill**—statutory language necessary to enact the proposed reforms.
- Approval requires **7 of 12 votes**, including at least one legislator from each party, enforcing bipartisan support.

 Minority reports and proposals must be documented in the final report, ensuring that dissenting perspectives are formally considered and preserved.

3. Amendment Window

- After submission of the draft legislation, a **10-day Amendment Window** allows any Member of Congress to propose amendments consistent with Commission findings.
- Rejected amendments must include written explanations, ensuring transparency and accountability.
- If the Commission fails to open the window on time, the Oversight Board administers it.

4. Fallback Mechanism

- If the Commission fails to approve a proposal within 10 months, **fallback bills** can be fast-tracked:
 - o House: 25 Representatives, including at least one from each party, can fast-track a bill.
 - Senate: 10 Senators, including at least one from each party, may fasttrack.
- These fallback bills must derive from proposals included in the Commission report, preventing obstructionists from blocking reform indefinitely.

This structured, stepwise process guarantees that legislative consideration occurs even if partisan disputes emerge during the Commission phase.

D. Expedited Floor Procedures

Once the Commission or fallback bill is ready, the BPRCA ensures rapid legislative consideration through **fast-track procedures**:

1. House Procedures:

- Bills are automatically introduced and referred to committee for no more than 30 days.
- Upon committee report or expiration of the committee period, the bill is placed on the floor within two legislative days.
- Debate is limited to **20 hours**, and only Commission-approved amendments are allowed.
- A simple majority vote is sufficient for passage.

2. Senate Procedures and the Nuclear Option:

- Bills are referred to committee for no more than 30 days.
- Floor debate is limited to **20 hours**, with no unrelated amendments allowed.
- Rule XXII (the filibuster) does **not apply** to these bills.
- Passage requires only a simple majority.

These expedited procedures preserve the normal Senate filibuster for nearly all other legislation while creating a narrow, well-defined exception for high-priority, Commission-endorsed legislation.

3. Rationale:

The BPRCA leverages historical precedent: procedural exceptions like budget reconciliation and trade promotion authority have enabled Congress to act decisively on complex issues without undermining institutional integrity. By carefully limiting scope and duration, the BPRCA replicates these successes in a bipartisan context.

E. Oversight Board

The **Oversight Board** is a central accountability mechanism within the BPRCA, tasked with ensuring compliance with timelines, procedural rules, and transparency requirements.

1. Structure:

- **Five members**: appointed jointly by the Speaker, Minority Leader, Senate Majority Leader, Senate Minority Leader, and Comptroller General, with a maximum of three members from a single party.
- Terms are staggered, and the Board functions independently of any Commission or legislative leadership.

2. Powers:

- Monitor Commission deadlines and procedural compliance.
- Appoint Commission members if leadership fails to act.
- Administer the Amendment Window and conduct public hearings if necessary.
- Transmit bills to Congress if procedural failures occur.
- Issue binding procedural directives and refer obstruction to congressional ethics authorities.
- Publish public compliance reports within 72 hours of Board action.

3. Rationale:

The Oversight Board ensures that the BPRCA's promise—action on high-priority issues—is not undermined by partisan inaction or procedural loopholes. By

separating enforcement from policy, the Board maintains neutrality while guaranteeing results.

F. Sunset Provision

- The authority under the BPRCA expires **seven years** after enactment.
- Implementing bills submitted prior to sunset continue under expedited procedures.

This temporary framework encourages a focused, results-driven approach while allowing for assessment of efficacy and potential renewal.

G. Why the BPRCA Will Work

1. Reduces the Impact of Partisan Obstruction

- Bipartisan vote requirements and oversight structures prevent any single party from hijacking the process.
- Automatic selection and fallback provisions ensure deadlines are met.

2. Preserves Institutional Norms

- The filibuster remains in effect for 99% of legislative business.
- Committees and amendment processes function normally outside the BPRCA scope.

3. Promotes Expertise and Transparency

- Public hearings and comment periods embed civic input.
- Independent experts balance political perspectives with evidence-based recommendations.

4. Encourages Cross-Party Collaboration

- Moderate Democrats can earn the trust of independent voters by demonstrating effectiveness.
- Moderate Republicans are incentivized to participate in reforms, as obstruction cannot indefinitely prevent action.

5. Ensures Continuous Legislative Progress

 One or two Priority Issues per session, combined with fallback mechanisms, prevent indefinite gridlock and create a predictable cadence for national reforms.

VII. Detailed Analysis of Priority Issues and Legislative Challenges

The BPRCA identifies seven Priority Issues, each of which has been chronically stalled by procedural and partisan gridlock. Understanding these issues is essential for appreciating why a structured, bipartisan, enforceable framework is necessary.

A. Comprehensive Immigration Reform

1. The Problem

U.S. immigration policy has long been fragmented and reactive. Key challenges include:

- Outdated legal frameworks that fail to reflect current labor market needs.
- Inconsistent border security and enforcement policies.
- Lack of a clear path to legal status for undocumented residents contributing to the economy.
- Policy vacuums that create strain on local communities and federal agencies.

Despite bipartisan recognition of the need for reform, attempts to address immigration comprehensively have failed due to conflicting priorities, political posturing, and the Senate filibuster.

2. BPRCA Solution

A dedicated Commission would:

- Convene hearings with stakeholders, including immigrant advocacy groups, business representatives, and border enforcement agencies.
- Draft legislation addressing border security, visa allocation, asylum procedures, and pathways to citizenship.
- Ensure that proposals achieve **bipartisan support** before submission to Congress.
- Provide an **expedited legislative path** through the Amendment Window and fast-track procedures, guaranteeing floor votes.

This approach ensures that immigration reform is evidence-based, politically feasible, and insulated from obstructionist tactics.

B. Social Security Reform

1. The Problem

Social Security faces a long-term funding shortfall. Challenges include:

- Rising life expectancy and the retirement of the baby boomer generation.
- Discrepancies between payroll tax revenue and future benefit obligations.
- Political reluctance to enact adjustments for fear of voter backlash.

Past proposals, such as gradual benefit adjustments, taxation changes, or trust fund reforms, have stalled due to partisan disagreement and procedural barriers.

2. BPRCA Solution

The Social Security Commission would:

- Evaluate fiscal sustainability using actuarial data.
- Assess demographic trends, labor force participation, and benefit adequacy.
- Draft legislation with bipartisan consensus on adjustments to contributions, benefit calculations, or trust fund management.
- Use the **fast-track legislative process** to ensure timely floor consideration.

By grounding reforms in data and requiring bipartisan approval, the BPRCA minimizes the political risk that has paralyzed Social Security policymaking for decades.

C. Medicare and Medicaid Reform

1. The Problem

Medicare and Medicaid face both fiscal and operational challenges:

- Escalating healthcare costs strain federal budgets.
- Inefficiencies and variability in state-administered programs complicate service delivery.
- Access disparities affect vulnerable populations.

Partisan disputes over coverage expansion, payment models, and provider regulations have prevented comprehensive reform.

2. BPRCA Solution

• The Commission examines cost-saving measures, efficiency improvements, and equitable access strategies.

- Recommendations may include payment reforms, coordinated care programs, and improved fraud prevention.
- Bipartisan approval and public hearings ensure that reforms are sustainable, politically legitimate, and responsive to public needs.

D. Fiscal Responsibility

1. The Problem

Fiscal imbalances threaten economic stability:

- Rising federal deficits increase interest payments, crowding out essential programs.
- Lack of long-term budgeting reforms undermines investor confidence.
- Congressional inaction has historically delayed deficit reduction, leading to repeated fiscal crises.

2. Potential Solutions

The Fiscal Responsibility Commission would focus on:

- Medium- and long-term budget frameworks, integrating mandatory and discretionary spending controls.
- Debt reduction strategies consistent with economic growth.
- Mechanisms for bipartisan agreement on fiscal priorities, including contingency measures if deficits exceed pre-set thresholds.
- Transparent reporting to the public to ensure accountability.

3. BPRCA Advantages

 By placing fiscal responsibility within a structured, bipartisan framework, proposals are insulated from partisan obstruction.

- Expedited floor procedures guarantee timely votes on measures that would otherwise languish.
- Oversight ensures adherence to deadlines, providing predictability for markets and public programs.

E. Comprehensive Healthcare Reform

1. The Problem

Healthcare challenges include:

- High costs relative to income growth.
- Fragmented delivery systems leading to inefficiency and uneven access.
- Political polarization over coverage expansions, cost containment, and publicprivate partnerships.

2. BPRCA Solution

- The Healthcare Commission evaluates cost containment, universal coverage options, and system efficiency.
- Proposals may include payment reform, administrative simplification, and preventative care initiatives.
- Bipartisan approval ensures that legislation has broad support and sustainability.

F. Federal Election Reform

1. The Problem

Election integrity and accessibility remain contentious:

• A primary election system that encourages polarization.

- Outdated voter registration systems and inconsistent procedures across states.
- Gerrymandering and uncompetitive districts undermine democratic representation.
- Lack of uniform standards for fraud prevention creates uncertainty and undermines public trust.

2. BPRCA Solution

- Commission evaluates election administration, anti-polarization approaches to primary elections (*e.g.*, ranked choice voting), redistricting fairness, and anti-fraud measures.
- Drafts evidence-based reforms that secure bipartisan support.
- Expedited procedures guarantee that reforms are considered, debated, and enacted efficiently.

G. Sensible Gun Regulation

1. The Problem

- High rates of gun violence persist despite public support for regulation.
- Political polarization has prevented the enactment of evidence-based measures such as background checks, safe storage laws, and firearm reporting standards.

2. BPRCA Solution

- Commission analyzes public health and safety data.
- Drafts legislation balancing Second Amendment rights with evidence-based safety measures.

 Public hearings and expert input ensure transparency, while bipartisan approval guarantees broad legislative support.

VIII. Implementation Strategy

The BPRCA's effectiveness depends on disciplined implementation. Key elements include:

- 1. Commission Activation: Strict deadlines for appointment, public hearings, and report submission prevent delay.
- 2. **Legislative Integration:** Implementing bills proceed immediately to floor votes under fast-track procedures.
- 3. Oversight Enforcement: The Oversight Board monitors compliance, appoints members, administers Amendment Windows, and certifies fallback bills.
- 4. **Transparency and Accountability:** Public hearings, comment periods, and publication of minority reports maintain legitimacy.
- 5. **Iterative Reform:** Priority Issues are addressed sequentially each session, allowing continuous congressional progress.

IX. Benefits of the BPRCA

- 1. Economic Predictability: Businesses and households gain clarity on retirement, healthcare, and regulatory frameworks.
- 2. Civic Trust: Transparent, bipartisan processes restore faith in governance.
- 3. **Institutional Integrity:** Procedural norms are preserved; the filibuster remains for ordinary legislation.
- 4. **Bipartisan Collaboration:** Incentivizes cooperation, producing policies that reflect broad consensus rather than partisan extremes.

- **5. Political Opportunity:** Moderate Democrats can demonstrate cross-party effectiveness, appealing to independent voters, while moderate Republicans can participate in substantive governance.
- **6.** Long-Term Problem Solving: By structuring continuous attention to Priority Issues, the BPRCA prevents chronic neglect of critical national challenges.

X. Call to Action

Congress faces a choice: continue chronic inaction at growing cost to citizens and the economy, or adopt a structured, enforceable mechanism for bipartisan problemsolving. The **Bipartisan Priority Reform Commission Act** provides a historically grounded, procedurally sound, and politically neutral path forward. Moderate voters, who now slightly favor Democrats, must demand serious crossparty engagement. Likewise, moderate Republicans are essential partners in advancing reform. By supporting the BPRCA, Americans can ensure that Congress acts decisively, transparently, and responsibly on the nation's most urgent problems.

It is time to make Congress work again—through **bipartisan**, **expert-driven commissions**, **fast-track legislative procedures**, and **robust oversight mechanisms** that guarantee results.

Read Proposed Op-Ed Read Proposed Legislation