Supplemental Appendix for "Non-Party Government: Bipartisan Lawmaking and Theories of Party Power in Congress

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Regression Analyses of Mayhew's Landmark Laws

The below tables are multivariate analyses of Mayhew's landmark laws, closely replicating the analyses in Tables 1 and 2. Without any bill-level measures, such as the party or extremity of each law's sponsor (these data are not included in Mayhew's data), limited inferences can be drawn among the solely Congress-level covariates as the effective N's are too small to make sense of the statistical results. Nonetheless, the results here largely confirm the conclusions drawn in the paper. Party polarization never predicts more partian lawmaking, and the impact of majority party unity remains largely conditional on majority party seats.

	% Minority party support		Minority party rolled			ity votes eded
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Party median distance	0.479	0.650	-3.909	-6.157	8.603**	8.756**
-	(0.430)	(0.488)	(4.856)	(5.508)	(2.171)	(2.277)
Majority party unity	-9.469**	51.89**	58.81*	-434.4*	-61.73**	-8.854
	(2.516)	(15.72)	(25.41)	(174.40)	(13.59)	(124.90)
Majority party seats	-0.003*	0.209**	0.019	-1.669**	-0.025**	0.158
	(0.001)	(0.052)	(0.012)	(0.604)	(0.008)	(0.450)
Majority party seats ×		-0.255**		2.025**	0.105	0.116
Majority party unity		(0.063)		(0.727)	(0.284)	(0.285)
Divided government	0.223**	0.229**	-1.860**	-1.917**		-0.220
-	(0.051)	(0.034)	(0.468)	(0.422)		(0.546)
constant	8.854**	-42.34**	-51.75**	361.2*	51.32**	7.133
	(1.910)	(12.870)	(19.440)	(145.900)	(11.170)	(103.300)
N	243	243	243	243	243	243

 TABLE A1

 Landmark Laws Passage Roll-Calls in the House of Representatives, 1973-2016

*p<.05; ** p<.01

Note: Columns 1 & 2 are OLS regressions. Columns 3-6 at logistic regressions. Each analysis includes robust standard errors correcting for clustering by each Congress.

		ority party apport		ity party olled	Minority votes needed	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Party median distance	-0.237	-0.206	0.194	0.403	13.56**	13.99**
•	(0.479)	(0.430)	(4.568)	(4.143)	(3.767)	(4.200)
Majority party unity	-2.333*	46.00**	22.81*	-267.1*	-13.110	290.00
	(0.962)	(13.39)	(9.77)	(135.00)	(9.50)	(177.20)
Majority party seats	-0.012	0.753**	0.054	-4.460*	-0.309**	4.587
	(0.010)	(0.218)	(0.060)	(2.092)	(0.082)	(2.792)
Majority party seats ×		-0.887**		5.230*		-5.637
Majority party unity		(0.255)		(2.439)		(3.250)
Divided government	0.215**	0.174**	-1.959**	-1.637**	0.101	-0.063
-	(0.060)	(0.050)	(0.479)	(0.469)	(0.422)	(0.445)
constant	3.446*	-38.28**	-23.23*	226.70	18.56	-244.90
	(1.237)	(11.520)	(9.07)	(116.60)	(9.68)	(153.30)
N	230	230	230	230	230	230

TABLE A2

*p<.05; ** p<.01

Note: Columns 1 & 2 are OLS regressions. Columns 3-6 at logistic regressions. Each analysis includes robust standard errors correcting for clustering by each Congress.

	Majority party	# of agenda priorities	How much of what it wanted did the majority party achieve?			When the majority party achieved some or most of what it wanted, d do so				
			Some (n)	Most (n)	None (n)	Over opposition of most of the opposing party in both chambers? (n)	With support of most of the opposing party in House or Senate? (n)	With support of opposing party leaders in House or Senate? (n)		
99th	Dem (House)	10	5	3	2	0	8	8		
99th	GOP (Senate)	2	1	0	1	0	1	1		
100th	Dem	17	7	5	5	1	11	10		
101st	Dem	19	11	2	6	3	10	13		
102nd	Dem	18	4	4	10	0	8	8		
103rd	Dem	15	2	5	8	3	4	2		
104th	GOP	15	6	4	5	2	8	10		
105th	GOP	24	7	4	13	0	11	11		
106th	GOP	14	3	2	9	1	4	4		
107th	GOP*	9	2	3	4	1	4	5		
107th	Dem (Senate) ⁺	4	2	0	2	1	1	2		
108th	GOP	17	3	7	7	5	5	8		
109th	GOP	14	4	5	5	2	7	7		
110th	Dem	15	6	2	7	1	7	7		
111th	Dem	12	3	3	6	6	0	0		
112th	GOP (House)*	9	4	0	5	1	3	4		
112th	Dem (Senate)*	10	2	0	8	0	2	2		
113th	GOP (House)*	6	0	0	6					
113th	Dem (Senate)*	13	5	1	7	1	5	6		
114th	GOP	11	3	0	8	0	3	3		
Total	Overall	254	80	50	124	28	102	111		

TABLE A3 Legislative Outcomes of Majority Party Agenda Priorities, 1985-2016

* House and Senate majority parties analyzed separately because of split control of Congress. ⁺ Because Senate party control changed during the 107th Congress, Senate Democrats are also tallied as having a Senate majority.

Regression Analyses of Majority Party Priority Agenda Items

The below tables are multivariate regressions predicting congressional majority parties' successes with their priority agenda items. Two analyses were conducted. The first is a multinomial logistic regression predicting whether the majority achieves most or some of what they set out to achieve, which none of what they wanted as the base outcome. The second is a logistic regression, predicting, among the items on which the majority did achieve success, whether or not it was a partisan outcome, passed over the opposition of a majority of the minority party in both the House and Senate. Without any bill-level measures, such as the party or extremity of each law's sponsor (these data are not included in Mayhew's data), limited inferences can be drawn among the solely Congress-level covariates as the effective N's are too small to make sense of the statistical results. Nonetheless, the results here largely confirm the conclusions drawn in the paper. Party polarization has not helped congressional majority parties enact their partisan agendas (if anything it has hurt). The unity of the majority party matters in some analyses, but is conditioned by the number of seats held by the majority in each chamber.

Outcomes of Majority Party Agenda items, 1985-2016 Outcome #1: Majority got MOST of what it wanted						
House party median distance	-18.410					
	(10.840)					
House majority party unity	-628.000					
	(357.500)					
House majority party seats	-2.286					
	(1.261)					
House majority party seats × House majority party unity	2.682					
	(1.497)					
Senate party median distance	0.511					
	(18.810)					
Senate majority party unity	-1.203					
	(89.150)					
Senate majority party seats	-0.134					
	(1.451)					
Senate majority party seats × Senate majority party unity	0.020					
	(1.683)					
Divided government	-1.226**					
	(0.394)					
Policy issue fixed effects	\checkmark					
constant	555.800					
	(291.000)					
Outcome #2: Majority got SOME of what it wanted						
House party median distance	-28.25**					
	(4.965)					
House majority party unity	-1734.7**					
	(178.000)					
House majority party seats	-5.802**					
	(0.639)					
House majority party seats × House majority party unity	6.826**					
	(0.755)					
Senate party median distance	30.99**					
	(9.371)					
Senate majority party unity	412.2**					
	(104.300)					
Senate majority party seats	6.278**					
	(1.686)					
Senate majority party seats × Senate majority party unity	-7.473**					
	(1.935)					
Divided government	-0.201					
	(0.430)					
Policy issue fixed effects	\checkmark					
constant	1129.8**					
	(178.900)					
Ν	254					

TABLE A4 Outcomes of Majority Party Agenda Items, 1985-2016

*p<.05; ** p<.01 Note: Coefficients derived using multinomial logistic regression. Each analysis includes robust standard errors correcting for clustering by each Congress.

1985-2016	
House party median distance	-31.60**
	(12.150)
House majority party unity	-4277.9**
	(1012.400)
House majority party seats	-15.07**
	(3.411)
House majority party seats × House majority party unity	17.76**
~	(4.003)
Senate party median distance	40.240
	(26.250)
Senate majority party unity	-861.6**
	(162.900)
Senate majority party seats	-15.02**
Consta maionita nontre sosta y Consta maionita nontre unita	(2.521) 16.90**
Senate majority party seats × Senate majority party unity	(3.040)
Divided government	-2.479**
Divided government	(0.806)
constant	4395.9**
Constant	(874.300)
	(0,
Ν	129
- ·	

TABLE A5Predicting a Partisan Success among Majority Agenda Items,1985-2016

*p<.05; ** p<.01

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Note: Coefficients derived using logistic regression. Each analysis includes robust standard errors correcting for clustering by each Congress.

	Priority	Outcome 1=Most 2=Some 3=None	Final House vote	Final Senate vote	House minority leadership support	Senate minority leadership support
99th Congress (GOP)	Reduce the federal budget / cut spending	2 - The House and Senate pushed through separate partisan budget resolutions. A compromise worked out in conference forced each party to accept something unpalatable. Republicans had to embrace defense cuts and give up their proposed Social Security COLA reduction. Democrats had to give up on their attempts to restore Medicare and Medicaid funding and impose a minimum corporate tax (S Con Res 32).	309- 119: D 182- 67; R 127- 52	67-32: D 30- 17; R 37- 15	Michel – Yes; Lott – Yes	Byrd – Yes; Cranston – No
	Reform the Senate committee system (Quayle Committee recommendations)	3 - The Senate Republican Conference endorsed several recommendations produced by the Temporary Select Committee to Study the Senate Committee System (the Quayle Committee) in 1984. However no action was taken by Majority Leader Dole or Senate Republicans to move forward with these proposals.				
99th Congress (Dems)	Tax reform / reduce budget deficit	2 - Democratic leaders on tax reform, particularly Rep. Rostenkowski, and the Reagan White House set out to find a point of compromise on tax reform from the start of the process. Nonetheless, Democrats had to back off of various aspects of the original House bill, including lower overall tax rates for high-income Americans than originally proposed, to secure final passage (HR 3838).	309- 119: D 182- 67; R 127- 52	67-32: D 30- 17; R 37- 15	Michel – Yes; Lott – Yes	Byrd – Yes; Cranston – No
	Revise and extend housing programs for the poor	3 - House Democrats rejected watered down housing measures proposed by the Senate as part of a larger budget reconciliation bill (HR 3128). The Senate did not take up the more aggressive House-passed measure (HR 1).				

Table A6: Majority Party Agenda Priorities, 1985-2016

Reauthorize the farm bill	2 - A comprehensive compromise over subsidies and price supports allowed the farm bill to get reauthorized. Both parties envisioned broad changes to farm policies early in the Congress, but settled for more modest changes in the end (HR 2100).	325- 96: D 194- 49; R131- 47	55-38: D 22- 23; R 33=15	Michel – No; Lott – Yes	Byrd – Yes; Cranston – Yes
Reduce unemployment through job training	1 - Democrats proposed an expansion of the popular Job Training Partnership Act to send more money to states for job training programs, winning support on both sides of the aisle (S 2069).	Voice	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-call
Pursue arms control with the Soviets	2 - A compromise measure on arms control was claimed as a victory by both Reagan's conservative supporters and his liberal critics (S 1160). Democrats were able to get reductions in funding for MX missiles, but the Reagan administration preserved several other controversial weapons programs, and language allowing the US to have a "proportionate response" to Soviet violations of arms agreements.	Voice	94-5:D 44-3;R 50-2	No roll-call	Byrd – Yes;Cranston – Yes
Increase child nutrition programs	2 - Democrats started the Congress proposing much smaller increases to child nutrition programs than they did in the previous Congress, but still faced Republican opposition. The increases were eventually attached the 1987 defense authorization to ease passage (HR 7).	367- 59: D 243- 1; R 124- 58	Voice	Michel – Yes; Lott – No	No roll-call
Reauthorize the Water Resources Development Act	1 - Democrats cut down the price tag a bit from the original House bill (\$20 B reduced to \$16 B), but there was broad support in Congress for new funding for water projects (HR 6).	329- 11: D 186- 3; R 143- 8	84-2: D 41-1; R 43-1	Michel – No; Lott – Yes	Byrd – Yes; Cranston – Yes
Renew Water Quality Programs	3 - Congress passed legislation reauthorizing and strengthening the Clean Water Act by overwhelming margins, but the bill was pocket- vetoed by President Reagan (HR 8 / S 1128).				

	Pass armor-piercing bullet ban	1 - A ban on so-called cop-killer bullets found only limited opposition from the most fervent gun-rights lawmakers, and passed both chambers overwhelmingly (HR 3132).	UC	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-call
	Reauthorize programs under the Coastal Zone Management Act	2 - Democrats had to agree to freeze spending on the Coastal Zone Management programs in order to ease its passage (HR 3128).	331- 76: D 234- 2; R 97- 74	Voice	Michel – No; Lott – No	No roll-call
100th Congress	Pass a trade bill to reduce the trade deficit	3 - Congress passed the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act (HR 3) with mostly Democratic votes. Republicans objected to various provisions including a requirement that businesses provide workers with advance notice of plant closings. President Reagan vetoed the bill, and Congressional Democrats could not muster enough votes for an override.				
	Reduce the budget deficit with budget reforms	2 - Democrats aimed to reduce the deficit through a combination of tax increases and cuts to defense spending but this engendered opposition from Republicans. The final legislation setting spending and revenue limits for 1988 and 1989, resulted from a "budget summit" with President Reagan, did not go as fas as Democrats initially wanted (H Con Res 93).	215- 201: D 212- 34; R 3- 167	53-46: D 50-3; R 3-43	Michel – No; Lott – No	Dole – No; Simpson – No
	Reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act	1 - Congress passed a comprehensive ESEA reauthorization through 1993 (HR 5). Democrats sought to draft and pass a broadly supported, bipartisan reauthorization and were successful.	397- 1:D 229- 0;R 168-1	Voice	Michel – Yes;Lott – Yes	No roll-call
	Reauthorize clean water programs	1 - After years of failing to reauthorize the nation's clean water programs, Democrats sought to draft passage legislation, and President Reagan's veto was overturned with strong support in both parties (HR 1).	401- 26: D 254- 0; R 147- 26	86-14: D 54-1; R 32- 13	Michel – Yes; Lott – Yes	Dole – No; Simpson – Yes

Reauthorize the Clean Air Act	3 - The Senate's Committee on Environment and Public Works reported a bill to revise clean air standards (S 1894), but House Democrats were unable to resolve their internal disagreements over various issues and move a bill (HR 3054 / HR 2666). The major lines of disagreement were between Energy & Commerce Committee Chair John Dingell (D- MI) and Subcommittee on Health and the Environment Chair Henry Waxman (D-CA) and their respective allies over how much to tighten controls on ozone, carbon monoxide, and acid- rain precursors.				
Reorganize Farm Credit System and provide aid to farmers	1 - With the nation's farm credit system in crisis, both parties worked toward a solution. Battle lines in the fight centered around two cross-party coalitions. In the end, everyone worked toward a compromise to provide for the most complete reorganization in the 71-year history of the Farm Credit System (HR 3030).	365- 18: D 214- 7; R 151- 11	85-2: D 44-1; R 41-1	Michel – Yes; Lott – Yes	Dole – No; Simpson – Yes
Campaign Finance Reform for Senate elections	3 - Majority Leader Robert Byrd kept the Senate in session for two all-night debates, but Senate Republicans blocked cloture on a broad campaign finance reform package 8 times (S 2), objecting to state-by-state spending limits on Senate campaigns.				
Ratify two US-Soviet treaties limiting nuclear weapons (INF treaty & ABM treaty)	2 - The Senate focused on the popular INF treaty, ratifying it with broad bipartisan support, but avoided a potentially more contentious and partisan fight on an ABM treaty.	n/a	95-3: D 51-1; R 42-2	n/a	Dole – Yes; Simpson – Yes
Reauthorize surface transportation programs	1 - Democrats were able to push their surface transporation bill through, getting most of what they wanted with an overall price tag matching that of a bill passing the House in the previous Congress. In the Senate, Reagan's veto of the measure was overidden by just 1 vote, despite personal appeals from Regean trying to line up	350- 73: D 248- 1; R 102- 72	67-33: D 54-0 R 13- 33	Michel – Yes; Lott – Yes	Dole – No; Simpson – No

	votes against the override (HR 2). This was a big win for Democrats and an embarassment for the President.				
Enact legislation to address and fix the country's savings and loan crisis	2 - Congress passed \$10.8 billion bailout for the savings and loan industry in 1987. By 1988, the bailout appeared insufficient, but Congress was unable to take any further action.	382- 12:D 223- 8;R 159-4	96-2:D 52-0;R 44-2	Michel – Yes;Lott – Yes	Dole – Yes;Simpson – Yes
Establish a national policy to deal with the AIDS crisis	2 - Congress cleared an omnibus health package that contained the first significant federal policies for dealing with the AIDS epidemic. Some provisions preferred by congressional Democrats (including confidentiality and anti-discrimination language) were dropped to ease passage and obtain Reagan's support (S 2889).	Voice	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-call
Reauthorize and reform housing assistance programs	2 - Democrats settled for the less ambitious Senate-version of bill which carried a smaller price tag and focused on renovating existing public housing structures rather than constructing new ones (S 825).	Voice	71-27: D 51-2; R 20- 25	No roll-call	Dole – No; Simpson – No
Establish "effective schools" and "even start" programs	1 - The Effective Schools and Even Start Act was broadly supported by both parties and was included as part of a larger omnibus education bill with little controversy (HR 5).	397-1: D 229- 0; R 168- 1	Voice	Michel – Yes; Lott – Yes	No roll-call
Pass the sunset Act of 1987	3 - The "Sunset Act," requiring 10-year sunsets on all new legislative authorizations, was introduced in in the House (HR 7, HR 602), but no action was taken on the proposal.				

	Address national air transportation problems (e.g., delays, safety, and concerns over mergers) by reauthorizing and revising airline policies	2 - Congress successfully reauthorized federal airline policies, increasing FAA funding and addressing user fee concerns (HR 2310). To ease passage, consumer protection measures favored by Democrats were dropped. A separate bill on airline consumer protections (HR 3051) failed to pass.	410-1: D 238- 1; R 172- 0	Voice	Michel – Yes; Lott – Did not vote	No roll-call
	Take action on pay- equity, reducing discrimination and inequities in both pay and federal benefits (including Social Security)	2 - A welfare overhaul represented a compromise for both Democrats and Republicans. The final bill created a Commission on Equitable Pay Practices, but both sides had to accept provisions they did not like to get the reform package enacted (HR 1720).	347- 53: D 205- 34; R 142- 19	96-1: D 52-0; R 44-1	Michel – No; Lott – No	Dole – Yes; Simpson – Yes
	Creation of state-run child care assistance programs	3 - Both liberals and conservatives found things to dislike about the Act for Better Child Care Services (the "ABC bill," HR 3660 / S 1885). The House measure never advanced due to objections on both sides. Senate Republicans blocked cloture on a measure combining the "ABC bill" with a paid parental leave measure.				
101st Congress	Pass a new clean air bill	2 - The final bill was as a compromise between Democratic senators and the White House, with provisions were less sweeping than many Democrats had hoped in order to keep the Bush Administration on-board (S 1630). Nonetheless, passing a clean air bill was a priority for the President and congressional Democrats, and both sides worked toward agreement from the start.	401- 25: D 248- 5; R 153- 20	89-10: D 50-5; R 39-5	Michel – Yes; Gingrich – Yes	Dole – Yes; Simpson – Yes
	Renew low-income housing assistance and homelessness programs	2 - House Democrats had to settle for a less expansive housing bill, with less money for housing and homless programs and language allowing for less new housing construction. The final bill looked far more like the compromise	Voice	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-call

	struck between the White House and Senate Democrats (HR 3789).				
Raise the minimum wage	2 - After Bush vetoed HR 2, which would have increase the minimum wage to \$4.55/hr over three years, Democrats settled for HR 2710 which raised the minimum wage to \$4.25/hr and allowed for subminimum wage rates for some workers.	382- 37: D 247- 2; R 135- 35	89-8: D 53-0; R 36-8	Michel – Yes; Gingrich – Yes	Dole – Yes; Simpson – Yes
Pass affordable child care legislation	2 - Democrats preferred federal grants to subsidize child care costs, while the Bush Administration preferred tax credits and deductions. The final compromise included some of each, with Democrats settling for less overall spending than they hoped, and White House accepting more federal standards than it liked. The provisions were included as part of an omnibus budget reconciliation package (HR 5835).	228- 200: D 181- 74; R 47- 126	54-45: D 35- 20; R 19- 25	Michel – Yes; Gingrich – No	Dole – Yes; Simpson – Yes
Pass Congressional ethics reform, including honoraria ban	2 - Congress enacted an ethics reform package, but one that fell short of the lofty goals of a House task force (HR 3660).	Voice	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-call
Campaign finance reform	3 - President Bush promised to veto the package, but House and Senate Democrats were unable to reconcile the differences between their separate campaign finance proposals in any case (HR 5400 & S 137). Among other things, disagreements over how to treat political action committees left a a wide gap between the two bills, and there was not enough time before the 1990 midterm elections to work out a compromise.				

Budget deficit reduction	2 - Bipartisanship won out over House Democrats' "soak the rich" bill. The final deficit reduction package reflected a compromise acceptable to both parties and the Bush administration (HR 5835), though it was opposed on the floor by both liberals and conservatives.	228- 200;D 181- 74;R 47- 126	54- 45:D 35- 20;R 19-25	Michel – Yes;Gingrich – No	Dole – Yes;Simpson – Yes
Trade legislation to reduce the trade deficit	3 - No legislative action was taken on legislation to reduce the country's trade deficit.				
Combat drugs on streets and in schools / fully fund existing anti-drug programs	2 - Democrats had an ambitious anti-drug agenda and succeeded in enacting a lot of it, including increased funding for anti-drug programs, and the establishment of new anti- drug education programs. However, other efforts, including to establish new prevention and treatment programs, were dropped in bicameral negotiations (HR 3614).	Voice	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-call
Pass legislation improving enterprise zones	3 - No legislative action was taken on improving enterprise zones.				
Pass legislation requiring Congress to be notified of any covert military action within 48 hours of it being planned	2 - Democrats wanted legislation requiring the president to inform Congress about any CIA covert operation within 48 hours of it being planned, but settled for an informal deal in which the Bush Administration promised to keep Congress apprised.				
Establish a program of voluntary national service	2 - The final bill was a compromise worked out between senators Kennedy and Hatch. It slashed the total authorization from more than \$300 million in the version approved by the committee to \$125 million, and included Bush's 'Points of Light' foundation in an effort to make the package more palatable to the WH (S 1430).	235- 186: D 213- 41; R 22- 145	75-21: D 52-1 R 23- 20	Michel – No; Gingrich – No	Dole – Yes; Simpson – Yes

Pass a uniform poll closing law	3 - The House passed a bill to establish a uniform poll closing time across the continental United States with some bipartisan support, but efforts stalled in the Senate over objections from eastern and midwestern sentors from both parties (HR 18 / S 136).				
Improve the quality of US health care	2 - Democrats secured modest increases to Medicaid, but fell short of lofty goals to expand the program dramatically (HR 3299).	272- 128: D 186- 47; R 86- 81	Voice	Michel – Yes; Gingrich – Yes	No roll-call
Increase government investment in research and development	3 - Despite bipartisan agreement that more should be done to spur research and development, negotiators could not resolve differences between House- and Senate-passed versions of the American Technology Preeminence Act (S 1191 / HR 4329) as time ran out before the 1990 midterms.				
Increase investment in early childhood education	1 - Congress passed legislation increasing authorization levels for Head Start over several years (HR 4151). The Bush administration was unhappy with the size of the expansion, but signed the bill anyway. This was a major win for the Democrats.	Voice	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-call
Improve education standards and teacher quality	3 - Senate Republicans, led by Senator Helms, blocked action on the Educational Equity and Excellence Act (HR 5932),				
Restrict foreign ownership/acquisitions	2 - With strong opposition from Republicans and some Democrats, Congress could not move forward with a bill restricting foreign ownership of US companies (e.g., HR 5), and settled for less ambitious legislation improving the Commerce Department's data collection of foreign investments in the US (S 2516).	Voice	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-cal
Expand vocational and applied tech educational programs	1 - Congress easily passed the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act with large bipartisan majorities, reauthorizing and expanding federal funding for vocational education programs (HR 7).	Voice	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-cal

102nd Congress	Provide a cost of living increase to disabled veterans	1 - Congress quickly passed a popular COLA increase for disabled veterans after agreeing to consider a more controversial Agent Orange proposal separately (HR 3).	421-0: D 254- 0; R 164- 0	99-0: D 55-0; R 44-0	Michel – Yes; Gingrich – Yes	Dole – Yes; Simpson – Yes
	Improve and track progress on nationwide education standards	3 - Senate Democrats passed a bipartisan bill (S2) while House Democrats passed a more partisan version of the Neighborhood Schools Improvement Act (HR 4323). Negotiators struggled to resolve differences on school choice provisions, among other things. After protracted negotiations the House and Senate reached agreement on a conference report, but the agreement was highly objectionable to Senate Republicans, who threatened a filibuster. Majority Leader Mitchell did not schedule a vote in the Senate before the Congress ended.				
	Campaign finance reform	3 - House and Senate Democrats passed a measure setting voluntary spending limits for congressional candidates and providing public funding and other benefits to those who comply. With most congressional Republicans opposed to the measure, Congress was unable to override President Bush's veto (S 3).				
	Expand health care coverage to all Americans	3 - Republicans and liberal Democrats alike raised objections to HR 5502, promoted by the Democratic leadership as a "first step" bill for comprehensive health care reform. Ultimately, liberal Democrats remained unhappy that the bill did not guarantee health care access to all Americans, and moderate Democrats were unwilling to back something that aggressive. A mark-up was never scheduled in committee.				
	Pass legislation guaranteeing people family and medical leave	1 - House and Senate Democrats passed the Family Leave Act of 1991 with some Republican support, but an override of President Bush's veto fell short in the House in the face of strong Republican opposition (S 5).				

Reform the bank insurance deposit system	2 - House Democrats, working with the Bush administration, twice tried to pass a broad banking overhaul including language permitting interstate branching (HR 6). Both attempts failed with opposition coming from both sides of the aisle. Negotiators settled for a narrower bill aimed at shoring up the FDIC (S 543).	Voice	68-15: D 36- 13; R 32-2	No roll-call	Dole – Yes; Simpson – Yes
Expand child-welfare programs for low- income children	3 - Democrats made several attempts to expand child welfare programs (HR 2571, S 4) with only one (HR 3603) passing the House with strong opposition from Republicans over its funding mechanism. President Bush later pocket vetoed a omnibus tax bill (HR 11) that included watered-down versions of some of that bill's provisions.				
Restore anti- discrimination employment laws	1 - Vetoing a similar measure in 1990, the Bush White House and most Republicans were willing to make a deal after the Anita Hill hearings. Democrats made some minor concessions, but this was seen as a major win (S 1745).	381- 38: D 251- 5; R 127- 33	93-5: D 55-0; R 38-5	Michel – Yes; Gingrich – Yes	Dole – Yes; Simpson – Yes
Reauthorize surface transportation programs	2 - The final bill emerged from behind-the- scenes negotiations between Democrats and the White House. Both sides claimed victory, but also gave up provisions they had hoped to include in the bill. Democrats got more federal funding than the White House wanted, and in return President Bush secured more flexibility for states and incentives for private-sector investment(HR 2950).	372- 47; D 204- 14; R 129- 33	79-8: D 47-4; R 32-4	Michel – Yes; Gingrich – Yes	Dole – Yes; Simpson – Yes
Economic stimulus via tax incentives for enterprise zones	3 - Unable to move a standalone bill to expand tax incentives for enterprise zones (HR 10), Democrats attached some provisions to an omnibus tax bill (HR 11) that was pocket vetoed by President Bush.				

Reform the unemployment compensation system	2 - With unemployment rates rising, Democrats were able to pressure President Bush to relent and agree to a broad unemployment compensation amendments bill (HR 5260). This was a big win for Democrats, but they had to agree to fewer permanent changes to the unemployment compensation system to get Bush's final sign-off.	396- 23:D 253- 2;R 142- 21	93-3:D 56-0;R 37-3	Michel – Yes;Gingrich – Yes	Dole – Yes;Simpson – Yes
Expand federal job training programs	1 - Democrats, led by senators Kennedy and Ford, sought to develop a broadly supported bill to amend and improve the Job Training Partnership Act. The final bill was seen as an all-around success, strengthening and clarifying federal regulations, closing loopholes, and targeting aid to those most in need (HR 3303).	Voice	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-call
Make it easier for people to afford long- term care for elderly and disabled relatives	3 - House and Senate bills to help people afford long-term care made little progress during the 102nd Congress despite on-going efforts. In the Senate, Senator Kennedy was unable to cull enough Republican support to move forward, despite offering to drop a controversial provision that would have required all policies to include inflation-protection clauses.				
Pass energy independence legislation, including energy conservation policies	2 - After two-years of negotiations, both parties set aside more controversial itemsincluding off-shore and ANWR drilling, fuel effiency standards for automobiles, and energy taxes aimed at curbing consumptionin favor of a narrower package. The final bill represented areas of agreement between the parties, but was seen as a missed opportunity to make bigger strides (HR 776).	363- 60: D 239- 20; R 123- 40	Voice	Michel – Yes; Gingrich – No	No roll-call
Tax deadline extension for troops in Iraq	1 - A bill granting the extension was quickly passed and signed by the president with no opposition apparent (HR 4).	415-0; D 249- 0; R 163- 0	99-0: D 55-0; R 44-0	Michel – Yes; Gingrich – Yes	Dole – Yes; Simpson – Yes

	Prohibit the permanent replacement of labor strikers	3 - House Democrats passed a bill banning employers from permanently replacing workers who are on strike with few Republicans votes in support (HR 5). Senate Republicans blocked cloture on Senate Democrats' version of the bill (S 55).				
	Pass the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act	3 - The House passed the Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act (HR 7) despite the objections of most Republicans and some Democrats. The Senate was unable to advance its standalone measure (S 257) due to similar opposition. Later, Senate Republicans blocked cloture on the conference report for a omnibus anti-crime bill that included the Brady Handgun Violence Prevent Act (HR 3371).				
	Eliminate some antitrust exemptions for insurance companies	3 - House Judiciary Committee Democrats worked up and reported the Insurance Competitive Pricing Act of 1992 (HR 9). Committee Republicans unanimously opposed the bill, but some Democrats were uneasy as well, concerned that the provisions would negativey impact small insurers. As a result, the bill advanced no further in either chamber.				
103rd Congress	Pass legislation guaranteeing family and medical leave	1 - With a Democratic president, The Family and Medical Leave Act was passed and signed into law with support from Democrats and Republicans (HR 1).	247- 152: D 210- 29; R 36- 123	71-27: D 55-2; R 16- 25	Michel – No; Gingrich – No	Dole – No; Simpson – No
	Expand national voter registration / Enact motor voter	1 - Democrats passed a bill similar to the motor voter law vetoed by President Bush in the previous Congress with limited Republican support (HR 2).	259- 164: D 238- 14; R 20- 150	62-36: D 56-0; R 6-36	Michel – No; Gingrich – No	Dole – No; Simpson – No

NIH reauthorization	1 - Congress easily passed an NIH reauthorization, as it was no longer bogged down over disagreements with the Bush and Reagan administrations over the use of aborted fetal tissue in research. Partisan fighting in the House centered on minor provisions related to immigration (S 1).	290- 130: D 230- 16; R 59- 114	Voice	Michel – No; Gingrich – No	No roll-call
Pass comprehensive health care reform	3 - The Clinton health care plan faced opposition from Republicans as well as many Democrats. Rather than unifying behind the plan, several Democrats offered their own, and opposition to the plan came from both moderates, who saw too much government involvement, and liberals, who preferred a single-payer system. After a year of debate, Senate Majority Leader Mitchell pulled the plug.				
Reduce the federal deficit	2 - The "Clinton budget" got across the finish line with only Democratic votes, but its passage requried meaningful concessions to different factions of the party, leaving everyone somewhat unhappy. Liberal Democrats were unhappy with many of the spending cuts, and conservative Democrats were unhappy with many of the tax provisions (HR 2264).	218- 216: D 217- 41; R 0- 175	51-50: D 50-6; R 0-44	Michel – No; Gingrich – No	Dole – No; Simpson – No
Revise and reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act	2 - A 5-year reauthorization gained enough support for passage only after Democrats agreed to important compromises, including limiting mandatory standards and requirements on states, and settling for a smaller redistribution of federal education dollars to empoverished school districts (HR 6).	262- 132: D 230- 4; R 31- 128	77-20: D 54-0; R 23- 20	Michel – No; Gingrich – No	Dole – No; Simpson – No
Campaign finance reform	3 - Democrats passed campaign finance reform measures through both the House and Senate, though the bills differed in various repects (S 3 & HR 3). Sidetracked by other agenda items, Democrats were unable to forge a compromise between the House and Senate bills until late in 1994, and Senate Republicans were able to filibuster attempts to convene a conference with the House.				

Increase federal infrastructure investment	3 - Senate Republicans blocked cloture on a stimulus proposal including substantial infratructure investments even after Clinton offered to reduce its price tag by 25% (HR 1335).				
Enact legislation combating crime, drugs, and violence	1 - Congress passed a major crime bill including most of what Democrats wanted to achieve. A few concessions had to be made in conference, but few were made to Republican lawmakers, and the law was a big win for the Democrats on crime (HR 3355).	235- 195: D 188- 64; R 46- 131	61-38: D 54-2; R 7-36	Michel – No; Gingrich – No	Dole – No; Simpson – No
Prohibit the permanent replacement of labor strikers	3 - The House passed its version (HR 5) of a bill banning employers from permanently replacing striking workers in June 1993. Republicans twice blocked cloture on the Senate bill (S 55) in July 1994.				
Reform housing assistance programs	3 - The House passed a bipartisan federal housing reform bill (HR 3838), but with a crowded agenda the Senate never brought its bill to the floor (S 2049).				
Reauthorize child nutrition and school lunch programs	1 - Congress reauthorized these programs with little controversy.	Voice	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-cal
Elimination of some antitrust exemptions for insurance companies	3 - Democrats seemingly could not find agenda space for this long-held priority. The House Judiciary Committee reported a bill eliminating antitrust exemptions for the insurance industry (HR 9), but it was never scheduled on the floor.				
Pass Congressional rules reforms and reorganization	3 - Proposals for various congressional reforms (including to shift to a two-year budget and appropriations cycle, discourage extra committee assignments, reduce the opportunities for Senate filibusters, and end Congress' exemptions from various workplace laws) moved through committees in the House and Senate (e.g., S 1824), but remained controversial with members of both parties and never received floor time.				

	Pass the National Competitiveness Act (improve US competitiveness in tech innovation)	3 - Both chambers advanced versions of the National Competitiveness Act along party lines (HR 820 & S 4), but differences could not be resolved in conference. One source of internal disagreement among Democrats was a provision barring the involvement of foreign firms in certain programs, which some viewed as too proectionist and possibly in violation of international trade agreements.				
104th Congress	Establish a line item veto	 1 - Congress granted the president a line-item veto starting in the 105th Congress (S 4). The proposal was popular among Republicans and enough Democrats (including President Clinton) to pass easily in both chambers. 	232- 177: D 11- 173; R 221- 3	69-31: D 31- 19; R 50-3	Gephardt – No; Bonior – No	Daschle – Yes; Ford – No
	Pass Congressional rules reforms and reorganization	2 - The House passed various procedural and organizational reforms (H Res 6), most of which were popular among. both Democrats and Republicans. However, broader bicameral reforms, including lobbying reform, were not passed.	416- 12: D 191- 12; R 224- 0	N/A	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Yes	N/A
	Pass tough on crime legislation	2 - Congressional Republicans were able to pass roughly half of its tough on crime agenda, including popular proposals addressing victim restitution, criminal aliens, and tough death penalty appeals rules. Other proposals (prison construction and block grants) were scrapped, and others were watered down in order to pass (S 735).	193- 133: D 105- 86; R 188- 46	91-8: D 40-7; R 51-1	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – No	Daschle – Yes; Ford – Yes
	Enact tax cuts	3 - Republicans' ambitious tax cut plan (HR 2491) was vetoed by Clinton after bipartisan talks collapsed. Small tax cuts tied to a minimum wage increase passed later on (HR 3448).				
	Regulatory overhaul	3 - Senate Democrats blocked cloture on several attempts to pass a regulatory overhaul bill (e.g., HR 9 & S 343).				

Unfunded mandates reform	1 - Congress passed a bipartisan bill (S 1) to deter the federal government from imposing requirements on states, local, and tribal governments without providing funding. The proposal was broadly popular in both parties. A few minor details required negotiations, but this was one of the first Contract with America planks enacted into law.	394- 28: D 168- 28; R 225- 0	91-9: D 38-9; R 53-0	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – No	Daschle – Yes; Ford – Yes
Pass a balanced budget amendment	3 - Senate Democrats successfully blocked efforts to pass a balanced budget amendment (HJ Res 1) in 1995 and 1996 (2/3rds vote required), though the amendment passed the House.				
Welfare reform	2 - After Clinton vetoed two earlier attempts at welfare reform, Republican leaders narrowed the scope of their proposal (HR 3734), including by dropping all proposed changes to Medicaid. This step got some Democrats on-board, and pressured Clinton into signing it.	328- 101: D 98- 98; R 230- 2	78-21: D 25- 21; R 53-0	Gephardt – No; Bonior – No	Daschle – No; Ford – Yes
Expand NATO / Reduce US payments to UN and involved in UN peacekeeping	2 - Republicans had to settle for watered-down language promoting the expansion of NATO to include several soviet bloc countries (HR 3564), and their efforts to substantially reduce US payments for and involvement in UN peacekeeping efforts failed.	370- 37:D 167- 13;R 202- 24	Voice	Gephardt – Yes;Bonior – Yes	No roll-call
Raise the Social Security senior citizens earnings limits	1 - Congress passed a popular proposal to increase the Social Security earnings limit (HR 3136). The proposal had bipartisan support and was attached to a debt limit increase to help the debt limit increase pass.	328- 91; D 127- 60; R 201- 30	UC	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Yes	No roll-call
Securities litigation reform	1 - Congress easily passed and then overrode President Clinton's veto of a popular securities litigation reform package with bipartisan support.	320- 102: D 90- 101; R 230- 0	65-30: D 19- 26; R 46-4	Gephardt – No; Bonior – No	Daschle – No; Ford – Yes

	Establish congressional term limits	3 - Democrats in the House and Senate united in enough opposition to block a constitutional amendment establishing the congressional terms limits from achieveing the 2/3rds necessary to pass either the House or Senate (HJ Res 73 & SJ Res 21).				
	Enact broad spending cuts	2 - Republicans had to settle for spending cuts of a much smaller magnitude than they had promoted during the 1994 campaign, securing about \$22 B in cuts for FY 1996 (HR 3019), and even less for FY 1997, compared to initial proposals of over \$100 B in cuts.	399- 25: D 184- 5; R 214- 20	88-11: D 47-0; R 41- 11	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Yes	Daschle – Yes; Ford – Yes
	Expand and speed up completion of missile defense system	2 - Republicans pushed to get larger budgets and a firmer deployment timetable for anti- missile defenses, but were only able to secure some increases in spending (HR 3610). Clinton's deployment plan remained untouched.	370- 37: D 167- 13; R 202- 24	Voice	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Yes	No roll-call
	Protect private property owners	3 - The House passed a bill (HR 925) allowing landowners to demand compensation for some federal regulatory actions diminishing the value of their property, but it faced opposition from member of both parties in the Senate.				
105th Congress	Enact tax cuts	2 - The Taxpayer Relief Act (HR 2014) split the difference between what Republicans hoped to cut and what the Clinton administration said it would accept.	389- 43: D 164- 41; R 225- 1	92-8: D 37-8; R 55-0	Gephardt – No; Bonior – Yes	Daschle – Yes; Ford – Yes
	Deficit reduction / balanced budget	2 - The final budget deal was something on which both parties could claim victory, fulfilling Republican promises to balance the budget, while including key Democratic priorities on child tax credits and child health care.	364- 85: D 153- 52; R 193- 32	85-15: D 42-3; R 43- 12	Gephardt – No; Bonior – Yes	Daschle – Yes; Ford – No
	Enact education reform including school aid and school choice	 2 - Republicans passed several bipartisan initiatives including boosting charter schools and supporting Clinton's "American Reads" program. More partisan initiatives, on education savings accounts and school choice, failed to pass. 	369- 50: D 160- 40;	85-15: D 42-3; R 43- 12	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – No	Daschle – Yes; Ford – Yes

		R 208- 10			
Working Families Flexibility / comp time and flex time for working families	2 - Republicans achieved some of their goals including a \$500-per-child tax credit (in HR 2014), but the Working Families Flexibility Act failed to pass Congress (HR1 & S4).	389- 43:D 164- 41;R 225-1	92-8:D 37-8;R 55-0	Gephardt – No;Bonior – Yes	Daschle – Yes;Ford – Yes
Surface transportation reauthorization	2 - Republican leaders had to compromise with their own committee chair (Rep. Shuster, R-PA) in order to put together a reauthorization bill (TEA-21) that could gain passage. The main line of disagreement was the overall price tag.	297- 86: D 153- 30; R 143- 56	88-5: D 39-1; R 49-4	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Yes	Daschle – Yes; Ford – Did not vote
Expand war on drugs / tougher penalties for drug lords	3 - A bipartisan group of senators voted down a resolution (SJ Res 42) that would have imposed sanctions on Mexico and rollback Clinton's approval for Mexican efforts to combat drug trafficking.				
Enact tough on crime legislation	3 - House Republicans passed a juvenile crime bill with opposition from a majority of Democrats (HR 3). Liberals opposed the bill, but so did many conservative Republicans over concerns the bill would curb gun rights. Consequently, the Senate could not move a similar package (S 10) but instead passed a much narrower, bipartisan measure (S 2073). House Republicans refused to compromise, dooming conferees to failure.				
Partial birth abortion ban	3 - The Senate failed to override Clinton's veto of a ban on partial birth abortions (HR 1122).				
Expand and speed up completion of a national missile defense system	2 - Congressional Republicans secured funding increases for national missile defense, but the Clinton administration adopted a missile defense plan that was less ambitious than Republicans hoped.	373- 50: D 166- 38; R 207- 11	96-2: D 43-2; R 53-0	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – No	Daschle – Yes; Ford – Yes

Pass the Paycheck Protection Act	3 - Differing from Democrats as well as some of their own rank and file about how to address campaign finance reform, Republican leaders favored the Paycheck Protection Act which would have barred corporations and unions from using dues and fees payed by employees or members for political activities. This bill failed (HR2608) on the Senate floor, however, Senate Republican leaders were also able to block a coalition of Democrats and Republicans from advancing more ambitious campaign finance reform, including HR 2183 which passed the House with primarily Democratic votes.				
Balanced budget amendment	3 - The balanced budget amendment (SJ Res 1) failed by one vote in the Senate (2/3rds required).				
Increased NAFTA and WTO oversight	3 - With a crowded agenda, no legislative action was taken with respect to NAFTA or the WTO.				
Military modernization	3 - Congressional Republicans sought to balance modernizing the military and military weaponry againsts cuts to bases and personnel that might be necessary to pay for that modernization. But by the end of the Congress, many Republicans were unwilling to close more bases or increase defense spending dramatically, so little was done to advance modernization.				
TEAM Act / weakening labor unions	3 - House Republicans narrowly passed a bill aimed at undercutting labor unions (HR 1) over near unanimous opposition from Democrats. Senate Democrats were able to block floor action on similar bills in the Senate (S 4 & S 295).				
Individuals with Disabilities Education Act reauthorization	1 - Republican leaders pushed for a broadly bipartisan and universally appealing bill (HR 5) after failure to reauthorize IDEA in the 104th Congress.	420-3: D 198- 0; R 221- 3	98-1: D 54-1; R 44-0	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Yes	Daschle – Yes; Ford – Yes

Regulatory overhaul (particularly for small businesses)	3 - Conservative Republicans opposed a bipartisan measure (S 981) easing some federal regulations, while conservatives faced opposition from both Democrats and Republicans on their more aggressive proposals.				
Streamline child adoption processes	1 - Congress passed a bipartisan bill (HR 867) to streamline the adoption of children in foster care.	406-7: D 193- 2; 212-5	UC	Gephardt – Did not vote; Bonior – Yes	No roll-call
Public housing reform	2 - A bipartisan Senate bill replacing public housing programs with block grants was enacted instead of a House Republican bill proposing to repeal the Housing Act of 1937.	409- 14: D 195- 6; R 213- 9	96-1: D 43-0; R 53-1	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Yes	Daschle – Yes; Ford – Yes
Higher Education reauthorization and reform	1 - Republicans set out to reauthorize federal higher education policies with a bipartisan effort and were successful (HR 6).	Voice	96-0: D 43-0; R 53-0	No roll-call	Daschle – Yes; Ford – Yes
Citizenship Reform Act (reform birthright citizenship)	3 - Hearings were held on the Citizenship Reform Act (HR 7) but no other action occurred. While the Citizenship Reform Act had some support among Republicans, lack of unanimity on the issue within the GOP, coupled with strong opposition with Democrats, spelled the end for the proposal.				
Pass the border smog reduction Act, prohibiting foreign vehicles from repeatedly crossing the border	1 - The Border Smog Reduction Act (HR 8) became law with bipartisan support.	Voice	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-call
Financial services reform and reauthorization	3 - House Republicans narrowly passed a Republican-backed bill to revise financial services laws (HR 10). But time ran out before the 1998 midterms as the Senate tried to move forward on a bipartisan substitute. This effort				

		paved the way for the Gramm–Leach–Bliley Act in the following Congress.		
	Product liability reform	3 - Senate Democrats blocked cloture on a partisan product liability reform measure (S 648), and no movement was made on a compromise effort.		
	Superfund cleanup acceleration	3 - Both chambers began work on Superfund cleanup legislation (S 8, HR 2727, & HR 3000) but no measure received floor time in a busy Congress.		
106th Congress	Use the budget surplus for tax cuts and debt reduction	3 - Republicans attempted all Congress to force through debt reduction and tax cut legislation. Most of the bills were ignored by the Senate (e.g., HR 4601, HR 3859, HR 4866, HR 5173, HR 5203), and several tax bills were vetoed by President Clinton (e.g., HR 8 & HR 2488). Another omnibus package (HR 2614) was killed by Democratic opposition in the Senate.		
	Expand and speed up completion of missile defense system	3 - Congress passed a bill declaring it a U.S. policy to deploy a national missile defense system, but the GOP was never able to get the Clinton administration to accept proposals to speed-up or beef-up it's plans for a missile defense system. The annual defense authorizations did not include any proposals to beef-up a missile defense system or substantially increase defense spending.		

ESEA overhaul, including education savings accounts	3 - Congress was unable to pass a ESEA reauthorization. Senate Republicans reported a bill out of committee (S2) but pulled it from the floor amidst partisan acrimony. House Republicans passed three parts of a larger reauthorization, but could not muster enough Republican support in committee to move forward on the rest. On education savings accounts, the Senate passed a bill (S 1134) with mostly Republican support that would have allowed parents to set aside \$2k annually in tax-free accounts for educational expenses. A similar House bill (HR 7) passed committee but not the chamber amidst a Clinton veto threat.				
Social Security reform and solvency	3 - A bill to create "lockbox" for Social Security funds passed the House with bipartisan support (HR 1259), but Democrats blocked cloture on the Senate's bill (S 557).				
Complete Clinton impeachment proceedings	2 - Impeachment proceedings were completed, but Republicans did not get the outcome they wanted as was Clinton acquitted.	n/a	50-50; D 0-45; R 50-5	n/a	Daschle – No; Ford – No
Managed care reform (health care)	3 - Congress was unable to pass managed care reform / patients bill of rights legislation, as a partisan bill (HR 2990 / S 1344) and a bipartisan package (HR 2723) competed for attention and support among Republicans. The partisan package ultimately went to conference but did not emerge among pressure to support the bipartisan alternative and in the face of the looming presidential election.				
Medicare reform	3 - No legislative action was taken in either chamber on broad Medicare reform. The only provision to pass was a "doc-fix" as part of an omnibus spending bill (HR 4577)				
Bankruptcy reform	3 - A bankrputcy overhaul was passed by Congress with some bipartisan support, but was pocket vetoed by President Clinton.				

Supporting faith-based charities	2 - Some action was taken to support "charitable choice." An anti-poverty bill included a series of Democratic and Republican ideas, including a provision allowing federal funding for faith-based anti-substance abuse programs (HR 4577). Republicans hoped to go farther in the coming 107th Congress.	292- 60; D 157- 9; R 133- 51	Voice	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Did not vote	No roll-call
Enact partial-birth abortion ban	3 - After a SCOTUS ruling that a similar law in Nebraska was unconstitutional, the House (HR 3660) and Senate (S 1692) abandoned bicameral negotiations over their respective bills.				
Repeal Social Security earnings test	1 - Congress passed a popular proposal eliminating the Social Security earnings test, removing the limit on how much outside income retirees age 65 through 69 may earn and still collect full Social Security benefits (HR 5).	419-0: D 207- 0; R 210- 0	100-0: D 45-0; R 55-0	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Yes	Daschle – Yes; Reid – Yes
Financial services reforms and reauthorization	2 - Congress passed the Gramm-Leach-Bliley Act (S 900). The final bill was seen as a bipartisan compromise. Republicans backed away from some of the more conservative proposals they had forwarded in previous years.	362- 57: D 155- 51; R 207- 5	90-8: D 38-7; R 52-1	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Yes	Daschle – Yes; Reid – Yes
Federal elections reform	3 - No action taken on a proposal to create an Election Administration Commission to study local, state, and federal voting procedures and election administration, recommend improvements, and provide grants (S 1).				
Increase spending to fight the drug trade	1 - Republicans were able to include \$1.3 billion to fight the drug trade in South America in a supplemental spending bill as part of a broader supplemental spending deal with Democrats (HR 4425).	306- 110: D 135- 64; R 171- 44	Voice	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Yes	No roll-call

107th Congress(GOP)	Revise and reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act	 2 - No Child Left Behind reflected a bipartisan compromise that kept federal education spending higher than Republicans has hoped, but tied that funding to student achievement on state-developed testing, which was a priority for Republicans and the Bush administration (HR 1). Each side backed down on some of its priorities to get a deal done. 	281- 41:D 198- 6;R 182- 33	87- 10:D 43-6;R 44-3	Gephardt – Yes;Bonior – Yes	Lott – Yes;Nickles – Yes
	Enact broad tax cuts	2 - The final deal included \$1.35 billion in tax cuts, but they were tilted more towards the lower end of the income spectrum than Republicans initially wanted (HR 1836). Democrats were unhappy with the size and scope of the cuts, but secured phase-outs and a few of their priorities.	240- 154: D 28- 153; R 210- 0	58-33: D 12- 31; R 46-2	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – No	Daschle – No; Reid – No
	Health care reform via market solutions & Medicare prescription drug coverage	 3 - Two major legislative efforts died different deaths. House Republicans and Senate Democrats passed largely partisan patients bill of rights proposals and could not reconcile their differences in conference (HR 2563 & S 1052). A bill establishing a Medicare prescription drug program passed the House (HR 4954) but Democrats blocked the bill in the Senate. 				
	Social Security reform	3 - A bipartisan commission on Social Security made recommendations for incorporating personal retirement accounts, but Congress took no action.				
	Expand and speed up completion of missile defense system	1 - After 9/11 Democrats dropped their opposition, and the full amount sought by Bush to develop a missile defense system was authorized (S 1438).	382- 40: D 171- 34; R 208- 6	96-2: D 48-1; R 47-1	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Yes	Lott – Yes; Nickles – Yes
	Pass a domestic energy plan to reduce energy costs and increase oil and gas drilling	3 - The Republican-led House and Democratic- led Senate passed very different bills (HR 4 & S 517) and couldn't reconcile the differences.				

	Increase military funding	1 - In the post-9/11 climate, Congress passed the largest increase in military spending since Vietnam, granting Bush nearly all of the funds requested (HR 4546).	Voice	Voice	No roll-call	No roll-call
	Pass CARE Act of 2002 - charitable giving	3 - The House passed the CARE Act (HR 7), but Democratic opposition to the possibility of religious-based job discrimination essentially sunk the bill in the Senate (S 592), with the Democratic leadership never bringing it to a vote.				
	Pass the Railroad Retirement and Survivors' Improvement Act of 2001	1 - Outside of a few conservative Republicans, efforts to reform the railroad trust fund and allow for pensions to be invested in the private market had largely bipartisan support, without large points of disagreements between Republicans and Democrats (HR 10).	369- 33:D 196- 2;R 170- 31	90-9:D 49-0;R 40-9	Gephardt – Did not vote;Bonior – Yes	Lott – Yes;Nickles – Yes
107th Congress (Dems)	Broad tax reform	2 - The final deal included \$1.35 billion in tax cuts, but they were tilted more towards the lower end of the income spectrum than Republicans initially wanted (HR 1836). Democrats were unhappy with the size and scope of the cuts, but secured phase-outs and a few of their priorities.	240- 154: D 28- 153; R 210- 0	58-33: D 12- 31; R 46-2	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – No	Daschle – No; Reid – No
	Health care – patient's bill of right and Medicare prescription drug coverage	 3 - Two major legislative efforts died different deaths. House Republicans and Senate Democrats passed largely partisan patients bill of rights proposals and could not reconcile their differences in conference (HR 2563 & S 1052). A bill establishing a Medicare prescription drug program passed the House (HR 4954) but Democrats blocked the bill in the Senate. 				
	Revise and reauthorize the Elementary and Secondary Education Act	 2 - No Child Left Behind reflected a bipartisan compromise that kept federal education spending higher than Republicans has hoped, but tied that funding to student achievement on state-developed testing, which was a priority for Republicans and the Bush administration (HR 1). Each side backed down on some of its priorities to get a deal done. 	281- 41: D 198- 6; R 182- 33	87-10: D 43-6; R 44-3	Gephardt – Yes; Bonior – Yes	Lott – Yes; Nickles – Yes

	Working families relief (including minimum wage increase, reducing gender pay gap, CHIP expansion)	3 - No legislative action took place in a Congress that had its agenda hijacked by the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the war on terror.				
108th Congress	Establish Medicare prescription drug coverage	1 - Republicans were finally able to pass their Medicare Part D proposal over the objections of most Democrats, aftering making limited concessions to conservatives adding HSAs to the bill (HR 1).	220- 215: D 16- 189; R 204- 25	54-44: D 11- 35; R 42-9	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – No	Daschle – No; Reid – No
	Pass Bush tax cuts part 2 / tax reform	1 - Republicans were able to use budget reconciliation to pass another major tax cut bill over the objections of most Democrats (HR 2), however, they had to make significant concessions regarding the size of the package to keep moderates on board.	231- 200: D 7- 198; R 224- 1	51-50: D 2-46; R 48-3	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – No	Daschle – No; Reid – No
	Make some Bush tax cuts permanent (especially estate tax)	3 - The House passed an estate tax repeal (HR 8), but no action was taken in the Senate in the face of opposition from Democrats as well as moderate Republicans concerned about the deficit.				
	Welfare law reauthorization	3 - A Republican-backed bill imposing tougher work requirements for welfare passed the House (HR 4), but Democrats blocked cloture in the Senate.				
	Pass a domestic energy plan to reduce energy costs and increase oil and gas drilling	3 - Senate Democrats blocked cloture on the conference report for an omnibus domestic energy bill (HR 6).				
	Expand War on terror / provide war spending	1 - Congress passed a large supplemental to fund wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (HR 3289). Democrats continued to provide only minimal opposition to war spending following the 9/11 attacks.	298- 121: D 82- 115; R 216- 5	87-12: D 37- 11; R 50-0	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – Yes	Daschle – Yes; Reid – Yes

Health care liability and lawsuit reform	3 - Senate Democrats blocked cloture on three Republican-backed medical malpractice liability bills (S 11, S 2061, & S 2207)				
Regulatory and tax relief for businesses	2 - The Senate put together a largely bipartisan bill that repealed an export subsidy, cut corporate taxes, and curbed some tax shelters.	28- 141: D 73- 124; R 207- 16	69-17: D 25- 14; R 43-3	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – No	Daschle – Yes; Reid – Yes
Enact unemployment benefits extension	2 - At the urging of President Bush, Congress extended unemployment benefits (HR 2185), but the GOP allowed the supplemental benefits to expire at the end of the year.	409- 19: D 204- 0; R 204- 19	Voice	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	No roll-call
Homeland security amendments	2 - Both parties agreed to uncontroversial proposals to provide generous funding to DHS, while avoiding more controversial debates over how best to oversee and alter the new department (i.e., HR 2555).	417-8: D 196- 6; R 220- 2	Voice	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	No roll-call
Class action lawsuit reform	3 - Senate Democrats blocked cloture on a Republican-backed bill to move class-action lawsuits to federal courts (HR 1115 / S 1751).				
Expand K-12 school choice and enact Higher Education improvements	3 - Some committee action took place on a Higher Ed reathorization, but no other action occurred. Partisan disagreement was apparent from the start on what is typically a bipartisan effort, especially over how to rein in the costs of college tuition, the abilities of students to consolidate their student loans, and support for for-profit colleges. Republicans were only able to pass a narrow private school voucher progam for the District of Columbia as part of an omnibus spending package (HR 2673) with strong opposition from most Democrats.				
Promote US trade and exports	1 - Trade agreements with Singapore (HR 2739) and Chile (HR 2738) were approved with limited controversy and finding substantial support in both parties.	272- 155:D 75- 127;R	66- 32;D 22-	Pelosi – Yes;Hoyer – Yes	Daschle – Yes;Reid - No

			197- 27	24;R 44-7		
	Reduce taxes on charitable foundations but apply new regulations	3 - The House and Senate both passed bills to increase charitable deducations for taxpayers (HR 7 & S 476), but were unable to resolve disagreements over funding for the measure. The Senate bill was paid for by closing various business tax loopholes. The House bill contained no off-sets.				
	Intelligence reform and counter terrorism / enact 9/11 commission recommendations	1 - Congress passed legislation overhauling the nation's intelligence agencies as spurred by the well-regarded 9/11 Commission's recommendations (S 2845)	336- 78: D 183- 8; R 152- 67	89-2: D 44-1; R 44-1	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	Daschle – Yes; Reid – Yes
	Pass the partial-birth abortion ban	1 - Republicans finally passed a long sought- after partial birth abortion ban (S 3). Few concessions were made, and just enough Democratic support was found to push it through.	281- 142: D 63- 137; R 218- 4	64-34: D 17- 30; R 47-3	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – No	Daschle – Yes; Reid – Yes
109th Congress	Pass a domestic energy plan to reduce energy costs and increase oil and gas drilling	2 - Congress passed a domestic energy plan, but ANWR drilling, a top priority, did not survive the process (HR 6).	275- 156: D 75- 124; R 200- 31	74-26: D 25- 19; R 49-6	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – No	Reid – No; Durbin – Yes
	Enact a tax overhaul and make Bush tax cuts permanent	2 - Republicans were unable to find support with their own party to make all of the Bush tax cuts permanent, but they were able to extend them for more years through budget reconciliation (HR 4297).	244- 185: D 15- 182; R 229- 2	54-44: D 3-40; R 51-3	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – No	Reid – No; Durbin – No
	Reauthorize surface transportation programs	1 - Republicans sought bipartisanship and passed a major surface transportation reauthorization (HR 3).	418-8: D 194- 0; R 217- 8	91-4: D 42-0; R 48-4	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	Reid – Yes; Durbin – Yes

Pass class action lawsuit and tort reform	1 - Republicans passed an aggressive class action and tort reform bill after making limited concessions to some Senate Democrats regarding the scope of the bill (HR 5). This had been an important Republican goal for years.	279- 149: D 50- 147; R 229- 1	72-26; D 18- 26; R 53-0	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – No	Reid – No; Durbin – No
Limit medical malpractice litigation	3 - House Republicans passed a medical malpractice liability bill (HR 5), but Democrats blocked cloture on a similar measure in the Senate (S 2).				
PATRIOT Act partial reauthorization	2 - Republicans successfully extended various provisions of the PATRIOT Act, but only after agreeing to compromises, including imposing sunsets on some of the provisions (HR 3199).	251- 174: D 44- 155; R 207- 18	89-10: D 34-9 R 55-0	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – Yes	Reid – Yes; Durbin – Yes
Continue Iraq and Afghanistan war spending	1 - With Democrats unwilling to oppose war spending, Congress passed an emergency supplemental fully funding continuing military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan (HR 1268).	368- 58:D 143- 54;R 225-3	99-0:D 44-0;R 55-0	Pelosi – Yes;Hoyer – Yes	Reid – Yes;Durbin – Yes
Social Security overhaul	3 - President Bush's top priority to overhaul Social Security never got out of committee in the House or Senate as Republicans could not coalesce behind a plan in the face of strong public pressure.				
Enact broad entitlement reform	3 - Several measures aimed at entitlement and related budgetary reforms were approved by House and Senate committees (e.g., S 3521, HR 4890, HR 4297), but none received further action with limited Democratic support available and internal disagreements within the GOP.				
Pass workforce training and related education legislation	2 - Congress passed bipartisan legislation renewing popular federal vocational and technical education programs (S 250).	99-0: D 43- 0; R 55-0	399-1: D 186- 0; R 212- 1	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	Reid – Yes; Durbin – Yes

	Enact pension reform	1 - Republicans largely sought to make a proposal that could garner bipartisan support in the face of a looking pension crisis, garnering the support of some unions (notably, the UAW). Nevertheless, Democrats forced some concessions in the Senate, and Republicans had to give up on their plan to couple the pension bill with various tax measures (HR 4).	279- 131: D 76- 114; R 203- 16	93-5: D 40-2; R 52-3	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – No	Reid – Yes; Durbin – Yes
	Reauthorize the Voting Rights Act	 Congress cleared an uncontroversial and bipartisan renewal of the Voting Rights Act (HR 9). 	390- 33: D 197- 0; R 192- 33	98-0: D 44-0; R 53-0	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	Reid – Yes; Durbin – Yes
	Trade rights and litigation policy	3 - No action was taken in either chamber on legislation addressing trade rights.				
	Reform teen pregnancy and abortion policies	3 - The House passed two different bills requiring parental consent for teen abortions (HR 748 & S 403). Senate Democrats blocked cloture on both measures.				
110th Congress	Student loan interest rate reduction	1 - The final bill included most of the Democrats' priorities despite initial Republican opposition and veto threats from the Bush administration (HR 2669).	292- 97: D 215- 0; R 77- 97	79-12: D 43-0; R 43- 12	Boehner – No; Blunt – No	McConnell – No; Lott – Yes
	Repeal oil industry tax breaks and bolster renewable energy	2 - Democrats had to back down on a number of their key priorities, including some tax provisions and renewable energy standards, to get the bill to President Bush's desk (HR 6).	314- 100: D 219- 4; R 95- 96	86-8: D 44-1; R 40-7	Boehner – No; Blunt – Yes	McConnell – Yes; Lott – Yes
	Pass congressional ethics/lobbying reform	2 - After making some concessions to conservatives on earmarks, congressional Democrats were able to push through an ethics and lobbying reform package with bipartisan support (S 1).	411- 8:D 221- 6;R 190-2	83- 14:D 47-0;R 34-14	Boehner – Yes;Blunt – Yes	McConnell – Yes;Lott – No

Pass a minimum wage increase coupled with small business tax breaks	2 - Democrats gave Republicans business tax breaks three times larger than they initial proposed in order to gain enough support to increase the minimum wage to \$7.25/hour (HR 2206).	280- 142: D 86- 140; R 194- 2	80-14: D 37- 10; R 42-3	Boehner – Yes; Blunt – Yes	McConnell – Yes; Lott – Yes
Enact 9/11 commission recommendations alongside port security funding increase	2 - Democrats had to make concessions to Republicans along the way, including over labor rights for TSA agents and the distribution of DHS grants, but the bill enacted the remaining 9/11 Commission recommendations left out of the 2004 bill (HR 1).	371- 40; D 221- 1; R 150- 39	89-8: D 46-0; R 37-8	Boehner – Did not vote; Blunt – Yes	McConnell – Yes; Lott – Did not vote
Establish federal funding for stem cell research	3 - The House and Senate passed a mostly Democratic-backed stem cell research bill (S 5), but couldn't override President Bush's veto.				
Medicare drug price negotiation	3 - The House passed a Democratic-backed bill (HR 4), but Senate Republicans blocked cloture on a more modest Senate measure (S 3).				
Establish a new direction on Iraq war	3 - Democrats made several failed attempts to "end" the war in Iraq. HR 1591 set a timetable for removing troops from Iraq, but was vetoed by President Bush. A couple attempts to either attached troop withdrawal dates to spending bills or strip funding for military action in Iraq failed cloture in the Senate (including HR 4156 & HR 2764).				
Comprehensive immigration reform	3 - Senate Republicans blocked cloture on several attempts at bipartisan immigration reform measures backed by President Bush, including those to create a guest worker program, a path to citizenship, and to protect undocumented children of immigrants (e.g., S 1348, S 1639, and S 2205).				
Pass PAYGO	1 - Not needing a presidential signature, Democrats in the House and Senate were able to establish PAYGO rules along party lines within the budget resolution in 2007 (S Con Res 21).	214- 209: D 214- 14; R 0- 196	52-40: D 48-0; R 2-40	Boehner – No; Blunt – No	McConnell – No; Lott – No

	Rebuild and modernize the military	2 - Democrats were never specific on what rebuilding and modernizing the military meant, but the accomplishments seem to be a bit of a mixed bag (HR 1585).	370- 49: D 182- 45; R 188- 4	90-3: D 41-2; R 48-0	Boehner – Yes; Blunt – Yes	McConnell – Yes; Lott – Yes
	Health care reform / health care costs and access	 3 - A Democratic push to expand SCHIP (HR 979 & HR 3963) was vetoed by President Bush. No legislative action was taken in either chamber on broader health care reform measures. 				
	Retirement Security	3 - No legislative action was taken on this priority in either chamber.				
	Increase congressional oversight of the executive branch	3 - No legislative action taken on legislation to improve congressional oversight of the Bush Administration.				
	Enact FISA reforms	2 - After a six-month battle, FISA policies were amended and extended. Democrats had to back down on most of their proposals regarding civil liberties and immunity protections for industry. In the end, Republicans were viewed as getting more of what they wanted in the end (HR 6304).	293- 129: D 105- 28; R 188- 1	69-28: D 21- 27; R 47-0	Boehner – Yes; Blunt – Yes	McConnell – Yes; Kyl – Yes
111th Congress	Pass an economic stimulus package	2 - Democrats had to back down on the size and scope of the final stimulus package (ARRA) in order to get the votes necessary for Senate passage (HR 1).	246- 183: D 246- 7; R 0- 176	60-38: D 57-0; R 3-38	Boehner – No; Cantor – No	McConnell – No; Kyl – No
	Enact comprehensive health care reform	1 - Democrats made two key compromises, eliminating a government-run health plan and allowing for restrictions on spending for abortion services. Nonetheless, the ACA represents most of what the Democrats wanted to achieve and it was passed despite sustained opposition from Republicans (HR 3590).	219- 124: D 219- 34; R 0- 178	60-39; D 60-0; R 39-0	Boehner – No; Cantor – No	McConnell – No; Kyl – No

Energy independence / climate change legislation	3 - The House passed comprehensive climate change legislation with mostly Democratic votes (HR 2454). Senate efforts stalled as Democrats couldn't secure 60 votes to move forward with any measure (including S 1462 & S 1733).				
Broad financial sector reform and mortgage relief (Dodd-Frank)	1 - Democrats passed a broad finance regulatory bill (Dodd-Frank) with the support of just a few Republicans. Obama described the final bill as "90 percent of what I proposed when I took up this fight" (HR 4173).	237- 192: D 234- 19; R 3- 173	60-39: D 57-1; R 3-38	Boehner – No; Cantor – No	McConnell No; Kyl – No
SCHIP reauthorization	 Democrats passed an expansion of the SCHIP program after removing some of the compromise measures they had included in 2007 to try to gain more Republican support and avoid President Bush's veto (HR 2). 	290- 135: D 250- 2; R 40- 133	66-32: D 57-0; R 9-32	Boehner – No; Cantor – No	McConnell No; Kyl – No
New direction with War on Terror / Iraq & Afghanistan	3 - No action taken to establish a new direction in Iraq or Afghanistan. Democrats ended up backing continued war funding, despite reluctance. The 2002 AUMF was not repealed or amended. Generally, Democrats did not make a serious attempt to shift policy in Iraq or Afghanistan during 111th Congress.				
Address college costs and affordability	2 - The Democrats' bill made broad changes to federal student loan policy, but proposed funding for community colleges had to be cut drastically after the CBO downgraded potential savings meant to help pay for the bill (HR 4872).	220- 211:D 220- 33;R 0-178	56- 43:D 56-3;R 0-40	Boehner – No;Cantor – No	McConnell No;Kyl – N
Gender pay equity legislation	2 - Congress passed the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act (S 181), but Democrats were unable to advance a measure making it easier for individuals to file sex discrimination cases over wage claims by putting the legal onus on employers to prove that pay discrepancies between women and men were non- discriminatory (S 3772 / HR 12).	250- 177: D 247- 5; R 3- 172	61-36: D 56-0; R 5-36	Boehner – No; Cantor – No	McConnell No; Kyl – No

	Comprehensive immigration reform	3 - No action was taken on a broad path-to- citizenship measure in either chamber (HR 1751). However, a bill to provide legal status to undocumented children of immigrants (HR 5281) passed the House but Senate Republicans blocked cloture in the Senate.				
	Modernize and rebuild the military	3 - Several controversies unrelated to military spending, including a proposed "Don't ask, don't tell" repeal, and various domestic spending provisions tacked on by House Democrats dragged negotiations over the 2010 defense bill into December. Ultimately, no attempt was made by congressional Democrats to use the bill to modernize or rebuild the military as the legislative agenda was consumed by other issues.				
	Retirement security	3 - House and Senate Democrats did not make any progress on retirement security with an overcrowded agenda.				
	Oppose Bush administration midnight regulations	3 - No action was taken in either chamber to block or roll-back late Bush-era regulatory actions.				
112th Congress (GOP)	Cut federal spending & preserve Bush-era tax cuts (for deficit reduction)	2 - Across several fights (FY 2011 spending, the Budget Control Act, and the Fiscal Cliff) Republicans took steps to reduce federal spending, but never by as much as they hoped. The fiscal cliff bill (HR 8) extended some Bush- era tax cuts, but not all. Throughout, Republicans had to give in to some Democratic priorities.	257- 197: D 175- 15; R 85- 151	89-8: D 49-3; R 40-5	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	McConnell – Yes; Kyl – Yes
	Repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act	3 - The House passed several Republican- backed measures to dismantle the ACA, but none were considered in the Democratic- controlled Senate.				

Reauthorize surface transportation programs / reform the Highway Trust Fund	2 - The final bill (MAP-21) did not enact the broad changes Republicans had hoped. The final deal was a short-term compromise that could get through the House and Senate (HR 4348).	373- 52:D 187- 0;R 186- 52	74- 19:D 50-0;R 24-19	Pelosi – Yes;Hoyer – Yes	McConnell – Yes;Kyl – Yes
Broad tax overhaul	2 - Republicans got some of what they wanted, extending some Bush-era tax cuts. However, they were unable to reform the tax code or expand the tax base (HR 8).	257- 197: D 175- 15; R 85- 151	89-8: D 49-3; R 40-5	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	McConnell – Yes; Kyl – Yes
Congressional process reforms	 2 - House Republicans enacted some reforms, including replacing PAYGO with CUTGO (H Res 5). However, they were unable to enact broader bicameral reforms, such as to the budget process or CBO accounting. 	238- 191: D 0- 191; R 238- 0	n/a	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – No	n/a
Social Security solvency	3 - Cuts and changes to entitlement programs were floated by Republicans as part of a fiscal "grand bargain," but nothing of the sort was enacted. Ultimately Social Security reforms were not seriously considered in either chamber.				
Restrict taxpayer funding for abortions	3 - Several Republican-backed efforts to prohibiting federal funding for abortions passed the House (including HR 3), but were not considered in the Democratic-controlled Senate.				
Regulatory reform	3 - House Republicans passed a bill requiring congressional approval for major regulation issued by the executive branch, but it was not taken up in the Democratic-controlled Senate (HR 10, REINS Act).				
Cut taxes on small businesses	3 - House Republicans passed a small business tax cut bill, but it went nowhere in the Democratic-controlled Senate (HR 9).				

112th Congress (Dems)	Pass a second economic stimulus and job creation bill	3 - Senate Republicans successfully filibustered the Obama Administration's \$447 B stimulus plan (S 1660).				
	End Bush-era tax cuts for rich & preserve federal spending	2 - The fiscal cliff deal ended Bush-era tax cuts for the richest Americans, but Democrats had to accept more non-defense spending cuts than they would have liked (HR 8).	257- 197: D 175- 15; R 85- 151	89-8: D 49-3; R 40-5	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	McConnell – Yes; Kyl – Yes
	Comprehensive immigration reform	3 - No formal action on any "comprehensive" immigration reform measures took place in either chamber, as the congressional agenda was consumed by spending and fiscal crises.				
	Climate change / renewable energy legislation	3 - Senate Democrats did not take any formal steps to advance climate change or renewable energy proposals with a congressional agenda lurching from fiscal crisis to fiscal crisis.				
	Replace No Child Left Behind (Elementary and Secondary Education Act reauthorization)	3 - Committees in both chambers advanced replacements for No Child Left Behind. The Senate HELP Committee forwarded a bipartisan measure (S 3578), while the House Committee on Education and the Workforce advanced two Republican-backed measures (HR 3989 & HR 3990). The parties remained far apart on this issue, but House Republicans were also divided, unable to find the support to even bring their committee bill to the floor for a vote.				
	Reauthorize surface transportation programs / reform the Highway Trust Fund	2 - Senate Democrats sought to propose a modest, bipartisan bill from the start. However, they had to back down and accept a short-term bill (MAP-21) to get it enacted (HR 4348).	373- 52: D 187- 0; R 186- 52	74-19: D 50-0; R 24- 19	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	McConnell – Yes; Kyl – Yes
	Broad cybersecurity reform	3 - The House passed a measure (HR 3523) with some support from both Democrats and Republicans. Senate Republicans blocked a Democratic-backed bill in the Senate (S 3414).				

	Filibuster reform	 3 - Reid and McConnell made a "gentlemen's agreement" on the filibuster, but it faded throughout the two-year session. Several proposals to reform filibuster rules failed to reach a 60-vote threshold on the Senate floor. 3 - Senate Republicans blocked cloture on the 		
	DISCLOSE Act reforms	Democrats' DISCLOSE Act (S 3369), which would have required more groups spending money in elections to disclose their donors.		
	Help women in the workforce (Pay equity, family leave, child care, etc.)	3 - Cloture on the Democrats' Paycheck Fairness Act (S 3220) was blocked by Senate Republicans.		
113th Congress (GOP)	Deficit reduction (tied to debt limit)	3 - After the drama of the 112th Congress, Republicans seemed unwilling and unable to take any action to advance legislation tying deficit reduction measures to a debt limit increase. The Republican leadership in both chambers ultimately backed a clean debt limit bill.		
	Replace No Child Left Behind (Elementary and Secondary Education Act reauthorization)	3 - House Republicans passed a partisan bill (HR 5), Senate Democrats did not advance their ESEA reauthorization bill (S 1094).		
	Increase energy independence and domestic energy production	3 - House Republicans passed several bill rolling back energy regulations (including HR 2 and HR 2728). The Senate tried to work on a bipartisan measure, but failed over concerns of budget offsets.		
	Broad tax overhaul	3 - Ways and Means chairman Dave Camp (R- MI) unveiled a tax overhaul (HR 1) late in the congress, but there was not enough time to take any serious action on it.		
	Health entitlement reform (Medicare)	3 - No action was taken in either chamber to reform entitlement spending.		

	Restrict taxpayer funding for abortions	3 - A House bill to prohibit the use of federal funds for abortions passed the Republican-controlled House (HR 7) but was not taken up in the Democratic-controlled Senate.				
113th Congress (Dems)	Reauthorize the Violence Against Women Act	1 - Both the Senate and House passed the Democrats' bill reauthorizing the popular VAWA (S 47). Republican leaders initially opposed its passage, but ultimately relented without securing any changes.	286- 138: D 199- 0 R 87- 138	78-23: D 53-0; R 23- 22	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	McConnell – No; Cornyn – No
	Replace No Child Left Behind (Elementary and Secondary Education Act reauthorization)	3 - House Republicans passed a partisan bill (HR 5), Senate Democrats did not advance their ESEA reauthorization bill (S 1094).				
	Pass new gun control legislation	3 - Several gun control measures opposed by most Republicans failed 60 vote thresholds in the Senate (S 649).				
	Voting and campaign finance reform	3 - Democrats never seemed to get started on a reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act or on any campaign finance proposals.				
	Comprehensive immigration reform	3 - The Senate passed a bipartisan immigration reform and border security bill (S 744), but House Republicans declined to take the bill up.				
	Deficit reduction (vague)	3 - Both parties discussed deficit reduction plans but no formal legislative action was taken in either chamber.				
	Reauthorize the Farm bill	2 - Democrats sought to build a bipartisan Farm Bill, proposing a package closer to the Republicans' positions on new farm program and SNAP funding than they did in the previous Congress. Nevertheless, they had to agree to even larger cuts to SNAP to obtain Republican support and passage (HR 2642)	251- 166: D 89- 103; R 162- 63	68-32: D 44-9; R 22- 23	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – No	McConnell – Yes; Cornyn – No
	Increase workers' wages and compensation	3 - Republicans blocked cloture a minimum wage increase in the Senate (S 1737) and blocked Democratic attempts to force action in the House.				

	Bolster U.S. tech innovation	3 - A lot of discussion occurred, but no action was taken on a package of Democratic proposals.				
	Pass Hurricane Sandy relief and aid	2 - Proponents had to accept a smaller relief package after resistance from conservatives who wanted the costs offset with spending cuts elsewhere (HR 152).	241- 180: D 192- 1; R 49- 179	62-36: D 52-0; R 92-6	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	McConnell – No; Cornyn – No
	Reauthorize surface transportation programs	2 - Democrats and Republicans fought to a draw as Congress was only able to pass a short-term extension despite initial optimism about a long-term highway bill (HR 5021)	367- 55: D 186- 10; R 181- 45	81-13: D 51-1; R 30- 12	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	McConnell – Yes; Cornyn – Yes
	Expand veterans benefits	2 - Spending on veterans health care was increased as part of an omnibus spending bill (HR 83), but Democrats could not make progress on any other veterans' benefits.	219- 206: D 57- 139; R 162- 67	56-40: D 32- 22; R 24- 18	Pelosi – No; Hoyer – Yes	McConnell – Yes; Cornyn – Yes
	Climate change / renewable energy legislation	2 - Popular existing tax breaks for renewable energy were extended on a temporary basis with bipartisan support (HR 678), but more ambitious proposals on renewable energy went nowhere.	416-7: D 188- 7; R 228- 0	Voice	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	No roll-call
114th Congress	Keystone XL pipeline approval	3 - The Republican-controlled House and Senate passed a Keystone XL pipeline approval bill with limited Democratic support (S 1), but an override vote failed in the Senate after Obama's veto.				
	Repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act	3 - House and Senate Republicans used budget reconciliation to send an ACA repeal to Obama's desk with almost no Democratic support (HR 3762). It was vetoed and an override vote in the House fell far short.				

Broad tax overhaul	3 - Ways & Means chair Dave Camp (R-MI) unveiled a tax reform package in late 2014 (Tax Reform Act of 2014), but internal disagreements among Republicans over whether tax reform was possible or a priority, coupled with fierce opposition from Democrats prevented any further action.				
Pass and infrastructure & energy bill expanding domestic energy production	3 - The House and Senate advanced omnibus energy security and infrastructure bills (HR 8 & S 2012). Conferees were unable to resolve differences between the more partisan House bill and the more bipartisan Senate bill, with House conferees unwilling to make the concessions necessary to get Democratic votes in the Senate.				
Replace No Child Left Behind (Elementary and Secondary Education Act reauthorization)	2 - A bipartisan Senate bill, rather than the more partisan House bill, formed the basis of the first long-term ESEA reauthorization in well over a decade (S 1177). House Republicans had to back down on their proposal to consolidate federal education funding into a single block grant.	359- 64:D 181- 0;R 178- 64	85- 12:D 44-0;R 40-12	Pelosi – Yes;Hoyer – Yes	Reid – Yes;Durbin – Yes
Expand federal health care research policies and streamline drug approval (21st Century Cures Act)	2 - A bipartisan compromise to streamline the process for new drug approval and increase funding for the NIH and the FDA passed at the end of the Congress, giving both parties something on which to claim victory (HR 34)	392- 26: D 174- 6; R 218- 20	94-5: D 41-3; R 52-1	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	Reid – Yes; Durbin – Yes
Permanent Medicare sustainable growth rate (SGR) repeal	2 - A bipartisan compromise permanently repealed the Medicare SGR and extended SCHIP for two years (HR 2).	392- 37: D 180- 4; R 212- 33	92-8: D 44-0; R 46-8	Pelosi – Yes; Hoyer – Yes	Reid – Yes; Durbin – Yes
Approve Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal	3 - After a lot of debate, neither chamber took action to approve the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal. Disagreements existed within both				

	parties over whether or not TPP was the right move.		
Pass a veterans job bill	3 - The "Hire More Heroes Act" passed the House but failed cloture in the Senate (HJ Res 61).		
Prohibit federal funding for abortion	3 - The House passed HR 7 on a party line vote. Senate Democrats blocked cloture a similar measure in the Senate (S 1881).		
Patent reform	3 - House and Senate committees advanced patent reform bills with initial bipartisan support (HR 9 & S 1137). However, the effort halted amid lobbying efforts from industries opposed to the measure and concerns among some Republicans that the overhaul might unwittingly hurt patent holders.		