From Proposals to Enactment: The Procedural Bottleneck in AI Safety Regulation

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Abstract

While large models advance rapidly, much AI safety legislation remains symbolic or stalled. While large models advance at near-exponential rates, AI safety legislation remains largely symbolic, stalled, or unrealized. Through a year-by-year analysis of AI breakthroughs, U.S. congressional policy proposals, and international legislative enactments, this study identifies a structural gap: the United States is not deficient in AI safety bill proposals but in legislative action, with only 4.23% of U.S. AI bills reaching any terminal outcome. We analyze the trajectory of LLM releases versus global AI legislation, categorize U.S. Congressional AI bill sub-fields, "quantify enactment rates, identify specific procedural bottlenecks in the legislative process, and build a Logistic Regression model to identify that political and structural factors drive the low passage of AI safety legislation more than bill content. This study contributes four key advances: (1) a quantitative comparison of AI legislation versus LLM breakthroughs, (2) a comprehensive taxonomy of proposed and enacted policy sub-fields, (3) a dataset elucidating the causes of AI legislation failure, and (4) policy recommendations grounded in planned adaptation, preemptive enactment, and independent AI oversight. We demonstrate that without enactment, AI safety regulation remains inert, with a proportion of US AI bills that is less than expected. This paper underscores the urgent need for actionable AI safety policies in the United States.

1 Introduction

Artificial Intelligence (AI) has shifted from a niche research domain into a widespread force shaping economies, politics, and individual identities [1, 2]. This rapid expansion raises urgent questions about AI's societal impact and whether governance structures are prepared to respond. The United States has historically led technological innovation. However, in AI governance, legislative progress lags far behind the pace of technological change [3, 4]. The U.S. remains active in global AI policy discussions, but many AI-related bills fail or stall in Congress. This suggests that the barrier is not awareness, but institutional inertia. The challenge is therefore not just to anticipate AI's influence, but rather it is to overcome gridlock and enact substantive regulation [4]. Our analysis reveals this gridlock operates primarily through procedural mechanisms rather than substantive disagreement over policy content.

The European Union's AI Act has been praised as a landmark policy establishing formal obligations for high-risk systems. While earlier drafts of the associated Code of Practice relied heavily on

Workshop on Regulatable ML at the 39th Conference on Neural Information Processing Systems (NeurIPS 2025).

provider self-assessment, more recent versions introduce elements of external oversight and third-party evaluation. Nonetheless, scholars continue to note that the absence of individual redress and the deferral of key enforcement mechanisms to future technical standards may limit its overall regulatory force [6, 7, 8]. Across the Asia-Pacific region, most jurisdictions, including Japan, India, and Australia, have issued principle-based guidelines emphasizing fairness and transparency, but these remain voluntary and lack binding enforcement, while South Korea and Taiwan are still drafting national legislation [9]. China stands as a notable exception, having enacted enforceable measures such as the 2023 Interim Measures for GenAI Services, mandating licensing, security reviews, and real-name user registration. In contrast, the United States-despite being the world's leading developer of frontier AI models, has yet to pass comprehensive federal AI safety legislation. High-profile proposals, including the AI Bill of Rights and bills to establish a federal AI Safety review office, have lapsed [10, 11, 12, 13]. However, this does not equate to arguing Congress is passive on AI safety. In 2025, the bill H.R. 1, known as "The One Big Beautiful Bill Act", was enacted on the 4th day of July. Its original version included a provision impacting AI safety by enacting a 10-year moratorium on states and localities from regulating AI models, systems, or automated decision systems. This moratorium was removed in the Senate by a 99 - 1 vote. Illustrating the recognition of regulated AI. State-level initiatives have emerged, for instance Washington State has convened an AI Task Force to advise legislators [14], California has pursued bills like SB 1047 and AB 2013 to mandate safety protocols and transparency [15], and California courts have begun shaping precedent in cases such as *Kadrey v. Meta*, which established that developers may face regulation when their systems disrupt economic markets [16]. In the 2024 election cycle, more than 151 state bills targeted deepfakes and deceptive media, demonstrating that in moments of acute perceived risk, U.S. states can act with speed and breadth [17]. Furthermore, outside of the legal jurisdiction, the 47th President of the United States declared the "Winning the Race AMERICA'S AI ACTION PLAN" [12] [13]. A component of the plan is to urge for more open source models to encourage further developments. A side benefit of this is that open source models increase transparency from frontier model developers. This method has proven to be effective, as a week after the announcement, OpenAI released two open-source models, gpt-oss-120b and gpt-oss-20b [18].

2 Related Work

2.1 Legislation Trackers

The 2025 Human-Centered AI (HAI) Artificial Intelligence Index Report from Stanford University is a comprehensive report detailing AI research and development, technical performance, and responsible AI. It also explores the role of AI in education, the economy, science, medicine, and public opinion. Lastly and most relevant to this paper, the index report tracked AI policy globally. The report showed the focus of U.S. states on deepfake legislation, a rise in policy proposals in the 2024 election season, and various other significant findings by using comprehensive data sets. It also highlighted the significant discrepancy between the U.S. State and Federal governments' enactment and proposal of AI regulations. However, due to the nature of the report, the conclusive reasoning for why this gap exists is missing. Additionally, the Index Report shows through multiple data sets that the United States Congress is increasingly focusing on AI policies, at a near-exponential rate, by referencing mentions of AI in bills, committees, speeches, and agencies. However, it lacks a breakdown of what sectors of AI (ethical usage, LLMs, AGI, agentic-AI, etc.) are being referenced and focused upon [17].

The Brennan Center's Artificial Intelligence Legislation Tracker compiles and maintains a comprehensive repository of AI-related bills introduced in the U.S. Congress, specifically, those referencing "artificial intelligence" across the 118th and 119th sessions only. This resource helps industry experts, advocates, and the public understand the legislative attention being paid to AI and the risks identified by lawmakers, such as election integrity, misinformation, and surveillance. It offers transparency into how federal lawmakers propose to regulate AI through bills and executive actions. The data set is limited in the aspect that it is not comprehensive, not providing a full overview of AI legislation [19].

The UK's International AI Safety Report 2025, chaired by Yoshua Bengio and authored by a global panel, represents the first major synthesis of scientific knowledge about the capabilities and risks of advanced AI systems. Rather than offering policy prescriptions, it compiles scientific evidence around the potential harms from deepfakes and cyberattacks to job displacement and biological threats to inform policymakers and build a shared fact base across nations [20].

2.2 Analysis of policy and method of regulation

In Comparative Global AI Regulation: Policy Perspectives from the EU, China, and the U.S., Chun, de Witt, and Elkins analyze how different jurisdictions are approaching AI governance. The study examines regulatory philosophy across regimes, risk-based frameworks like the EU AI Act, the market-oriented U.S. model, and China's centralized approach, while probing the fragmentation between federal and state-level efforts in America, notably through the lens of California's pending (at the time of the production of the report) SB 1047. This comparative perspective highlights how cultural, political, and institutional differences shape AI policy direction [4].

Regarding effective methods of regulation, a 2009 study investigates the use of dynamic legislation that morphs based on changing situations, termed as planned adaptation. It is concluded that planned adaptation, at a minimum, improved policy and should be implemented thoroughly in the United States and perhaps beyond. Planned adaptation in AI regulation can be used to make sure that an ever-changing field doesn't grow out of established legislation [5].

Multiple sources break down the AI bills into sub-fields and their endpoint. However, they are limited to the years 2023-2025. The first bill referencing AI directly was in 2017. In this paper, we cover the gap in these legislation trackers to provide the first comprehensive deduction of sub-fields and endpoints for public access [19, 21, 22, 23].

3 Methodology

This paper employs quantitative legislative analysis and a qualitative policy evaluation to examine the U.S. legislative bottlenecks in AI safety regulation, while also contrasting international developments. The study focuses on identifying not only the volume of proposed and enacted laws but also the procedural bottlenecks that prevent legislative action, primarily within the United States. All code, scripts, results, and data used in the methodology are made available at `www.github.com/MansurAKhan/The-Procedural-Bottleneck-in-AI-Safety-Regulation`

3.1 Data Sources and Compilation

To construct a comparison between AI development and AI regulation, this paper aggregates data from several verified public and governmental sources. Unlike prior trackers, we provide the first comprehensive dataset spanning 2017– August 2025 with bill sub-fields, endpoints, and modeled bottleneck factors:

- **AI Breakthroughs:** Major large language model (LLM) releases from 2017 to mid-2025 were compiled using the *LLM Timeline Project*, Wikipedia's *List of Large Language Models*, and official publication announcements from leading developers such as OpenAI, DeepSeek, Mistral, DeepMind, and Anthropic.
- **U.S. Legislation:** AI-related bills proposed at the federal level were retrieved from the official U.S. Congress database (`www.congress.gov`)[1], filtered using the keywords "Artificial Intelligence" and "AI". Additional records were sourced from the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) and the Brennan Center for Justice. Each bill was categorized into sub-fields. This is the first comprehensive categorization of all AI bills into sub-fields.

  The sub-fields were formulated by a human subject matter expert and are verified by a lawyer. The classification of the sub-fields was done by providing the sub-fields and the URLs of all 150 bills for GPT-4o to output any sub-fields that correspond to each bill, and provide a confidence level (Low, Medium, High). Bills with a low confidence rate were audited and corrected manually. The accuracy of the labeled data was determined by selecting 50 classifications at random and verifying the accuracy through manual auditing. The accuracy was found to be 94% (47 out of 50).

[1]The HAI Index Report 2025 contains a dataset covering proposed bills, amendments, and similar legislative action in the United States, similar to the "US AI Laws Proposed" dataset count (view Appendix Table 3). The methods applied for analysis in this paper are only possible on bills; thus, we created a separate analytical dataset of the bills, available at `www.github.com/MansurAKhan/The-Procedural-Bottleneck-in-AI-Safety-Regulation`.

Through comprehensive manual human annotation, each bill was assigned an endpoint and a systematic rationale for reaching this point. This is the first comprehensive analysis of endpoints of AI bills. The following is a breakdown of each ending category:

  - **Expired without action:** This label is attributed to the bills that have only one action regarding them, be it a referral to a committee or a hearing. If the bill does not step through the introduction, it is marked as "Expired without action."
  - **Stalled in Committee (House/Senate):** This label is attributed to the bills that have multiple actions regarding them, and their last action is to be referred to a Committee, which can happen in both the Senate and the House.
  - **Senate/House Calendar Inaction:** This label is attributed to the bills that have multiple actions regarding them, referred to and passed a committee, and their last action is to be placed on Calendar, which can happen in both the Senate and the House. This process can occur multiple times, but none of the failed bills have reached this stage.
  - **No Action After Introduction (note):** This label is attributed to the bills that are from the currently occurring 119th Session of Congress. In brackets, a note is provided to them to show their latest action, not a category.
  - **Declined:** This label is attributed to the bills that reached an end decision not to be enacted.
  - **Passed:** This label is attributed to the bills that reached an end decision to be enacted.
  - **Amendment Passed:** This label is attributed to the amendments of bills that reached a decision to be enacted.

- **International Policy:** Global enactment and policy activity were gathered using the European Council's AI legislation tracker, the OECD's AI Policy Observatory, and Asia-Pacific legal reports (e.g., *InsideGlobalTech*). International summits, declarations, and non-legislative initiatives were cross-verified through news archives and official government publications.

3.2 Policy Classification Criteria

Each policy item was classified into one of the following categories:

- **Proposed Legislation:** Any AI-related bill formally introduced into a national or supranational legislature.
- **Enacted Legislation:** Policies that successfully passed both legislative branches and came into legal effect.
- **Non-Legal Action:** Includes summits, executive orders, AI task forces, public safety frameworks, and ethical guidelines that lack binding authority.
- **Failed Bill:** A bill that did not reach a final decision but failed in the process of getting to one. If a bill did not pass, it is a failed bill.

U.S. legislative outcomes were further coded into paths: stalled in committee, calendar inaction, declined, passed, or no action after introduction. These were used to calculate the **Action Rate**:

$$\text{Action Rate} = \frac{\text{Passed Bills} + \text{Failed Bills}}{\text{Total Proposed Bills}}$$

This metric serves as a representative for congressional engagement and legislative momentum.

3.3 Analytical Framework

Trends were analyzed year-by-year from 2017 through July 2025. Visualizations (e.g., Sankey diagrams, bar charts) were created to represent the results through a visual medium. Policy bottlenecks were interpreted using committee records and external legislative studies, such as ProQuest Congressional Insight and the Stanford HAI AI Index Report (2025).

3.4 Deduction of Legislative Factors Attributed to Stalling

To deduce the factors that affect a bill's capacity to stall, the human-annotated data was expanded through an API key from `https://www.congress.gov/help/using-data-offsite`. The Congress.gov API specifically allows users to view, retrieve, and reuse the machine-readable data provided. The following parameters are utilized: Chamber, Sponsor Party, Bipartisan, number of Sponsors, and the sub-fields to predict if the bill will stall, a total of 34 parameters. A penalized logistic regression with ridge penalty model [24] was trained and run on Google Cloud using a virtualized Intel Xeon CPU @ 2.20GHz. Results were further analyzed and interpreted with Python libraries.

Out of 150 bills, 124 have reached their end. Meaning the session in which the bill belongs has expired, and thus cannot have further action taken upon it. Since the other 26 bills in the 119th session of Congress have not reached an end, while their current placement of being stalled in Congress can be attributed to, the collective reasons and factors contributing to stallation cannot be deduced; thus, these bills are removed from the data used for the Logistic Regression model.

The Logistic Regression model provided each attribute with an associated coefficient representing its effect on the log-odds of a bill being stalled. A positive coefficient represents the likelihood of a bill passing, a negative coefficient represents the improbability of a bill stalling. To improve model stability, several low-frequency sub-fields (LLM, AGI, and Autonomous Driving) were combined into a broader Advanced AI category. Individually, these sub-fields had only one or two bills each, which produced highly volatile coefficients and p-values; grouping them allowed for cleaner, more interpretable results. To view accuracy reports, see Appendix Table 5.

The penalized Logistic Regression model was implemented using scikit-learn with ridge (L2) penalty and the following hyper-parameters: regularization parameter C = 1.0 (inverse regularization strength), maximum iterations = 100, solver = "lbfgs", and class_weight = "balanced" to handle class imbalance. Bootstrap resampling with a maximum of 100 iterations was employed while splitting the dataset into 80% train and 20% into test, and was used to estimate standard errors and p-values for coefficient significance testing. Feature scaling was performed using StandardScaler (z-score normalization). Statistical significance was assessed at $\alpha = 0.05$, and coefficients with $|\text{z-score}| > 1.96$ were considered meaningful predictors. Model performance was evaluated using accuracy, precision, recall, and a confusion matrix, with the model achieving 62.2% training accuracy and 76.0% test accuracy after 12 iterations at convergence.

4 Results

4.1 Gap in Proposed vs Enacted Legislation

The data in Figure 1 shows that since the release of ChatGPT in 2022, more than 55 new LLMs have been released. In 2023, 19 were released; in 2024, 20 were released, and by August 2025, 19. Which includes tools like GPT-5, Deep Research, and the ChatGPT Agent. Yet during the same time frame, only a handful of AI-related laws were enacted worldwide. In 2023, 13 policies were enacted globally; that number decreased to 6 in 2024, and in 2025, only one policy was enacted. Model development grows in a near-exponential pattern, and legislative enactment remains sub-linear. Two additional observations can be deduced from the data. First, in 2024, Non-legal AI Safety Actions decreased by more than 50% compared to previous years, and new AI bill proposals in the U.S. doubled in the same time frame. This may suggest policymakers prioritized substantive action over symbolic measures, though election-year dynamics could also explain the increase. This rise in law proposals, however, had minimal outcomes. In 2023, 13 policies were enacted globally alongside 28 U.S. proposals. The following year, proposals nearly doubled to 59, while enactments fell to just 6. Further exemplifying the claim that the true gap is not in making laws, but enacting them.

Lastly, of the 150 proposed bills in Congress, only three were enacted: the AI Training Act (2021), the James M. Inhofe National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2023 (2022), and the One Big Beautiful Act (2025). None of them explicitly works to ensure AI safety, highlighting the gap in AI safety regulation despite the existence of AI legislation. This gap is further explored through the categorization of bills into sub-fields in the next subsection. To view a full breakdown of the data in Figure 1, see Appendix Table 3.

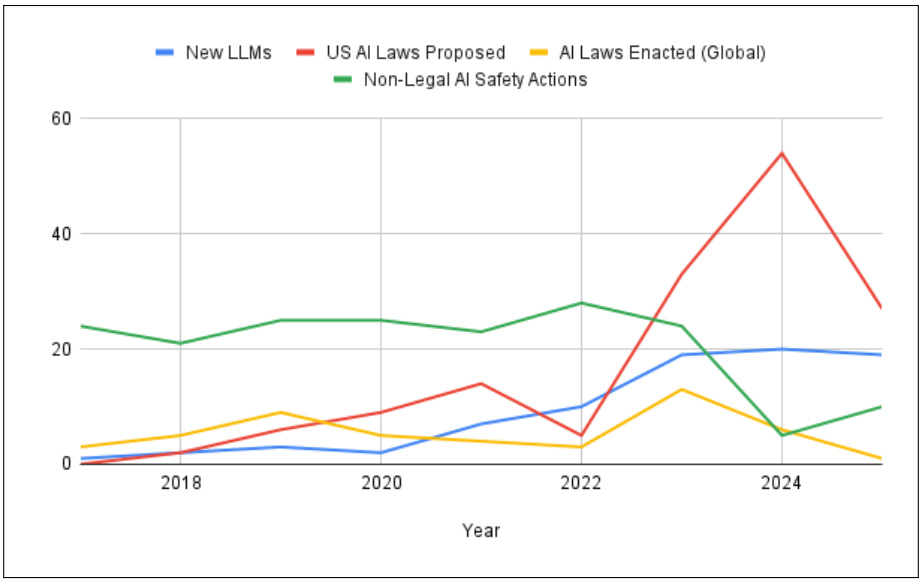

Figure 1: Trajectory of LLM Breakthroughs vs. Regulation for AI Safety

4.2 Sub-fields of Proposed Legislation in the U.S.

While laws are actively being proposed and discussed in the United States, and the immense low level of enactment of these laws is evident, we next break down the areas of their focus. Figure 2 visualizes the sub-fields in focus across the United States Congressional policy proposals.

Figure 2 shows that since 2019, the bill proposals focusing on the sub-fields: Data Usage, Policy Advisory, and General Ethical Usage (GEU) have been majority. In 2022, these three sub-fields covered 66.7% of the proposed bills, highlighting that the bills proposed in Congress address AI safety.

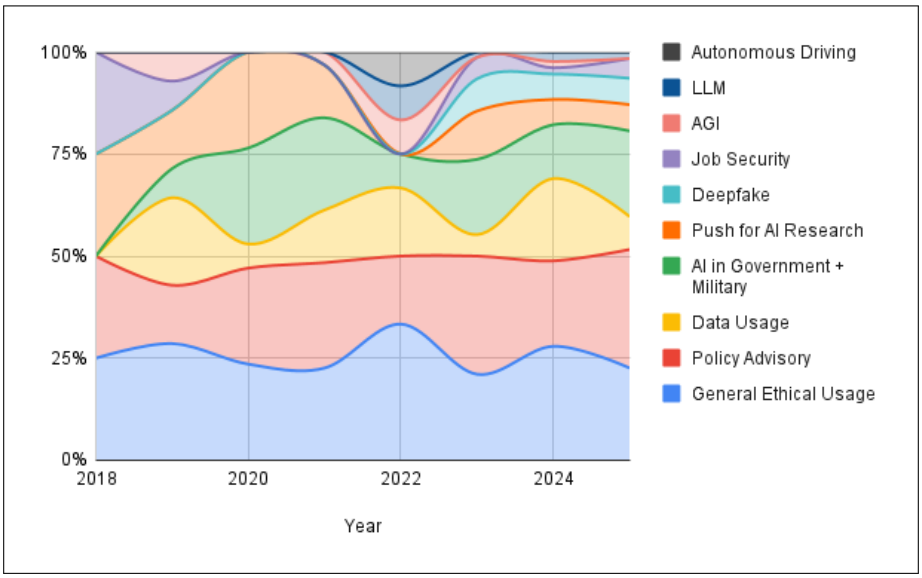

Figure 2: Sub-fields of Proposed Legislation in the U.S

In 2022, the only bills related to Large Language Models (LLMs) and Autonomous Driving were introduced. That same year, proposed bills concerning Artificial General Intelligence (AGI), LLMs, and Autonomous Driving collectively reached their all-time high at 24.9%. At the same time, bills

that pushed for AI research dropped to 0% in 2022. This marked a sharp decline, as in 2021 about 12.9% of bills supported AI research, and in 2020 the share was even higher at 23.5%. Since this decrease, the field of AI research has not regained its earlier recognition. The highest share it has seen since 2022 was only 11.8%.

Another important change appeared around deepfakes. Before 2023, no bills specifically addressed them. By 2025, however, H.R. 1 included deepfake legislation, and it was passed. Looking back before 2022, the sub-fields most focused on AI development (Push for AI Research and AI in Government + Military) made up a significant portion of proposed bills. After 2022, both categories declined, and lawmakers instead introduced more safety-related bills. Taken together, these patterns show that 2022 marked a turning point; Legislative priorities shifted away from AI development and towards creating safeguards.

Of all these bills, the following sub-fields have multiple enacted laws: AI in Government + Military, Policy Advisory, and Push for AI. While General Ethical Usage and Deepfake have only one bill. The bill that focuses on the General Ethical Usage of AI, only lightly ensures that AI is used ethically for military domains. To view a breakdown of the data in Figure 2, see Appendix Table 4

To find out why the bills being proposed focus on AI safety, yet none get enacted, we delved deeper into the paths of these bills to find out the reasons.

4.3 Reasons for failed legislation

We next analyze reasons for failed legislation. To quantify the effectiveness of Congress and its actions on AI policy, an action rate is necessary that accurately achieves said purpose. In this paper, the action rate was derived through the formula:

$$\text{Action Rate} = \frac{P + F}{T} \tag{1}$$

Table 1 [2] displays that 89 of the 150 proposed legislation were stalled in a committee after some action. Only 4 bills reached an end, to pass or to fail. Being a new area, the action rate should have been higher; however, the action rate is 4.23%. 2.02% less than the national average from the same time frame, 6.25%. Based on the data from GovTrack US in the same timeframe as when AI policy legislation has been proposed, 2017-2024. Highlighting in greater detail that enactment is extremely low [3].

Table 1: Final Destination of Proposed U.S. AI Legislation (2018–2025)

Year	Stalled in Comm.	No Action	Calendar Inact.	Failed Vote	Expired	Passed	Total	Action Rate	Action Rate %
2018	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0%
2019	3	0	2	0	1	0	6	0	0%
2020	1#	0	0	0	6	2*	9	0	0%
2021	10#	0	1	0	2#	1	14	0.071	7.14%
2022	2	0	1	0	1	1	5	0.200	20%
2023	24#	0	7	1	1	0	33	0.030	3.03%
2024	47	0	2	0	3	2*	54	0	0%
2025	0	26	0	0	1	1	27	0.037	3.70%
Total	89	26	13	1	14	8	150	–	–

Notes: Average Action Rate: 0.0423 (4.23%).

In 2023 and 2024, when the largest number of proposals were submitted (33 and 54, respectively), none were enacted. While in the years 2021, 2022, and 2025, fewer proposals were made (14, 5, and 27, respectively), one bill was enacted each year. This finding suggests that in AI governance, fewer but more comprehensive and broadly supported bills have a higher chance of enactment than a large volume of symbolic proposals. In practice, this means legislative quality (coalition-building, clarity, and scope) matters more than quantity for advancing AI safety policy.

[2] #Includes a bill that passed one chamber. *Includes 2 amendments to bills that did pass.

[3] Bills that passed one chamber or passed as amendments are not reflected in the enactment totals.

The majority of the bills proposed, on average, 59.3% were stalled in committees, see Figure 3, commonly related to fields of technology, ethics, or the economy (breakdown of data can be accessed at `www.github.com/MansurAKhan/The-Procedural-Bottleneck-in-AI-Safety-Regulation`). AI regulation policies are being sent to subcommittees, where they stall, are placed on a calendar, and ignored. In the political realm, this phenomenon is called pigeonholing. A large reason for this is that in committees and subcommittees, "if the leadership decides the bill does not fit within its overall agenda, a decision not to act will 'kill' the bill just as effectively as a vote against it" [26]. This illustrates the need for an independent committee that deals with the issues of AI safety and its regulation.

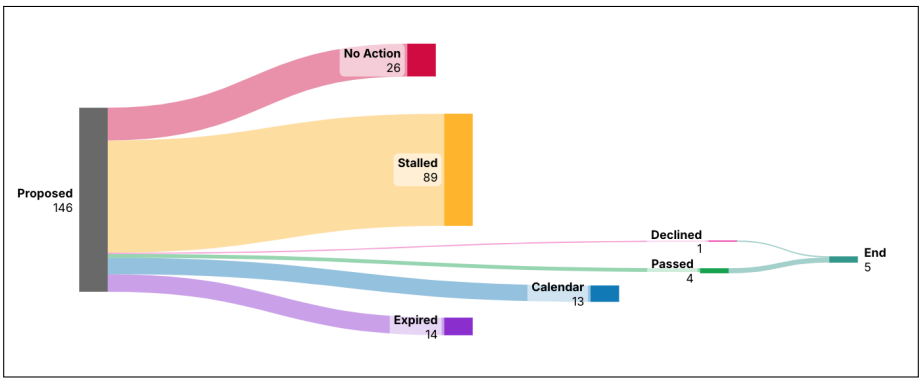

Figure 3: Path of Bills by Volume to Visualize the Last Stages of Each bill

4.4 Further factors contributing to stalling

We next analyze the factors that contribute most to a bill being stalled beyond the nature of a committee to propose a solution to the enactment gap effectively.

Table 2 displays the coefficients that indicate the impact of each subfield on stalling. The bolded subfields all have p-values well above 0.05, meaning that with the available data, we cannot establish a statistically significant relationship between a bill's subject matter and whether it stalls. This does not imply that subject matter plays no role; rather, we cannot confirm a causal link based on this analysis.

By contrast, structural and political factors appear to have a stronger impact. The most significant predictor is the number of sponsors of a bill, with a coefficient of 0.8068 and a p-value of 0.0441, which is below the 0.05 significance threshold. This suggests that bills with more co-sponsors are substantially less likely to stall. This finding aligns with political science literature showing that broader coalition support increases the likelihood of movement through committees [25]. Additionally, Chamber_Binary (0.7971) and Sponsor_Party_Binary (0.2350) show positive but non-significant coefficients, suggesting that where a bill originates and the party of its sponsor may influence outcomes, though our analysis does not confirm these effects.

5 Recommendations

To close the widening gap between AI development and safety, policymakers must shift their focus from simply drafting new legislation to ensuring that laws are enacted and enforced. This requires a new legislative mindset, one that emphasizes enforceability, speed, and coordination across sectors. The following recommendations are proposed to address this issue:

1. **Establish Dedicated AI Policy Committees:** Because committee pigeonholing emerged as the dominant stalling factor, we recommend establishing dedicated AI committees to bypass this choke point. Both the Senate and the House of Representatives should form standing committees or subcommittees focused exclusively on AI Policy and Ethics. The current absence of such dedicated bodies is a major barrier to meaningful oversight and regulatory momentum in AI safety.

Table 2: Logistic Regression Coefficients with Sub-fields Bolded

Feature	Coefficient	Std_Error	Z-score	P-value	Abs_Coefficient
Advanced AI	-0.7662	0.7983	-0.9598	0.3371	0.7662
AI in Government	-0.5247	0.5100	-1.0287	0.3036	0.5247
Data Usage	-0.1252	0.5735	-0.2190	0.8272	0.1252
Deepfake	0.2187	0.7037	0.3108	0.7560	0.2187
General Ethical Usage	0.2292	0.5259	0.4358	0.6630	0.2292
Job Security	-0.3767	0.5882	-0.6404	0.5219	0.3767
Push For AI Research	0.3405	0.5369	0.6342	0.5259	0.3405
Policy Advisory	0.2048	0.5947	0.3444	0.7305	0.2048
Bipartisan	-0.3282	0.5831	-0.5629	0.5735	0.3282
Chamber_Binary	0.7971	0.5616	1.4192	0.1558	0.7971
Num_Sponsors	0.8068	0.4007	2.0135	*0.0441	0.8068
Sponsor_Party_Binary	0.2350	0.5100	0.4608	0.6449	0.2350

Notes: *p<0.05

2. **Implement Preemptive Enactment Models:** Modeled after pandemic and cybersecurity laws, these frameworks would activate automatically when specific risk thresholds are crossed. For example, any model exceeding a certain computational power or dataset size would be subject to immediate regulatory oversight.
3. **Introduce Sunset Clauses:** Rather than wait years for political consensus, legislators should pass temporary AI laws that expire unless actively renewed. This approach creates urgency, enforces regular policy reviews, and ensures that regulation keeps pace with technological evolution.
4. **Create Independent AI Safety Agencies:** Just as the FDA oversees pharmaceuticals and the FAA governs aviation, the U.S. needs independent, specialized agencies empowered to regulate AI systems, audit compliance, and intervene in development when necessary.

6 Limitations

Our analysis has two main limitations. First, the analysis is limited to federal legislation, excluding state-level nuances and their perspectives. State-level legislation can add additional variable insights. This would require collecting data for all 50 state legislatures. Second, the precision of data classification is 94%. We find that suitable for analysis, though further efforts can improve upon it.

7 Conclusion

The study has multiple positive contributions to help in the process of establishing AI safety legislation by clarifying the factors that are strong predictors of whether or not a bill is delayed. It also provides the first comprehensive subfield and end goal datasets. Artificial Intelligence is advancing at a pace that outstrips the capacity of U.S. legislative mechanisms. Although policymakers increasingly recognize AI's risks, recognition without implementation results in procedural delay rather than meaningful mitigation. This study shows that Congress remains largely confined to the proposal stage, with most bills stalling before enactment. The core challenge is not a lack of awareness, but a systemic inaction. Unless Congress shifts from drafting to implementing enforceable measures, AI will continue to evolve without adequate oversight. These findings highlight the urgent need for adaptive, enforceable, and forward-looking legislative frameworks. Symbolic or stalled policies are insufficient; only actionable legislation can ensure AI develops safely and accountably.

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A Appendix

A.1 Acknowledgments

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A.2 Data Tables

Table 3: Comparison of LLM Breakthroughs and AI Safety Activity (2017–2025)

Year	LLM Breakthroughs	US AI Laws Proposed	AI Laws Enacted (Global)	Non-Legal AI Safety Actions
2017	1	0	3	24
2018	2	2	5	21
2019	3	6	9	25
2020	2	9	5	25
2021	7	14	4	23
2022	10	5	3	28
2023	19	33	13	24
2024	20	54	6	5
Jan–Aug 2025	19	27	1	10

Note: Data from 2025 is not comprehensive, as it was compiled in Aug 2025.

Table 4: Sub-fields of Proposed AI Legislation in the U.S. (2018–Jul 2025)

Year	General Ethical Usage	Policy Advisory	Data Usage	AI in Gov/Military	Push for AI Research	Deepfake	Job Security	AGI	LLM	Autonomous Driving
2018	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
2019	4	2	3	1	2	0	1	1	0	0
2020	4	4	1	4	4	0	0	0	0	0
2021	7	8	4	7	4	0	0	1	0	0
2022	4	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
2023	16	22	4	14	9	6	4	0	1	0
2024	36	27	26	17	8	8	2	2	3	0
Jan–Aug 2025	14	18	5	13	4	4	3	0	1	0
Total	86	84	45	57	32	18	11	5	6	1

Table 5: Logistic Regression Model Performance Metrics

Metric	Value
Training Accuracy	0.622
Test Accuracy	0.760
Training Error	0.371
Test Error	0.240
Number of Iterations	12
Max Number of Iterations	100

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