February 23, 2010

Dear Colleague:

During my half-century of service in various leadership posts in the U.S. Senate -- including Minority Leader, Majority Leader, Majority Whip and now President Pro Tempore -- I have carefully studied this body’s history, rules and precedents. Studying those things leads one to an understanding of the Constitutional Framers’ vision for the Senate as an institution, and the subsequent development of the Senate rules and precedents to protect that institutional role.

I am sympathetic to frustrations about the Senate’s rules, but those frustrations are nothing new. I recognize the need for the Senate to be responsive to changing times, and have worked continually for necessary reforms aimed at modernizing this institution, using the prescribed Senate procedure for amending the rules.

However, I believe that efforts to change or reinterpret the rules in order to facilitate expeditious action by a simple majority, while popular, are grossly misguided. While I welcome needed reform, we must always be mindful of our first responsibility to preserve the institution’s special purpose. The occasional abuse of the rules has been, at times, a painful side effect of what is otherwise the Senate’s greatest purpose -- the right to extended, or even unlimited, debate.

If the Senate rules are being abused, it does not necessarily follow that the solution is to change the rules. Senators are obliged to exercise their best judgment when invoking their right to extended debate. They also should be obliged to actually filibuster, that is go to the Floor and talk, instead of finding less strenuous ways to accomplish the same end. If the rules are abused, and Senators exhaust the patience of their colleagues, such actions can invite draconian measures. But those measures themselves can, in the long run, be as detrimental to the role of the institution and to the rights of the American people as the abuse of the rules.

I hope Senators will take a moment to recall why the devices of extended debate and amendments are so important to our freedoms. The Senate is the only place in government where the rights of a numerical minority are so protected. Majorities change with elections. A minority can be right, and minority views can certainly improve legislation. As U.S. Senator George Hoar explained in his 1897 article, “Has the Senate Degenerated?”, the Constitution’s Framers intentionally designed the Senate to be a deliberative forum in which “the sober second thought of the people might find expression.”

Extended deliberation and debate -- when employed judiciously -- protect every Senator, and the interests of their constituency, and are essential to the protection of the liberties of a free people.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Robert C. Byrd