

SENATE CLIMATE DEBATE: THE 60-VOTE CLIMB

E&E Daily analyzed the positions of the 100 senators who will be debating the next comprehensive climate bill. Projections are for either a vote on cloture to end debate, or on final passage. Positions outlined here are based on interviews with key senators, plus dozens of Democratic and Republican sources, industry and environmental groups. It also factors in Senate floor votes from 2003, 2005 and 2008, as well as cosponsors on other climate bills. E&E will update this breakdown as the debate unfolds. *(last updated July 16, 2009)*



Barbara Boxer

YES (35)

Daniel Akaka (Hawaii)
Barbara Boxer (Calif.)
Ben Cardin (Md.)
Tom Carper (Del.)
Robert Casey (Pa.)
Chris Dodd (Conn.)
Dick Durbin (Ill.)
Russ Feingold (Wis.)
Dianne Feinstein (Calif.)
Al Franken (Minn.)
Tom Harkin (Iowa)
Kirsten Gillibrand (N.Y.)

Daniel Inouye (Hawaii)
Ted Kaufman (Del.)
Ted Kennedy (Mass.)
John Kerry (Mass.)
Amy Klobuchar (Minn.)
Herbert Kohl (Wis.)
Frank Lautenberg (N.J.)
Patrick Leahy (Vt.)
Joe Lieberman (Conn.)
Robert Menendez (N.J.)
Jeff Merkley (Ore.)
Barbara Mikulski (Md.)

Patty Murray (Wash.)
Bill Nelson (Fla.)
Jack Reed (R.I.)
Harry Reid (Nev.)
Bernie Sanders (Vt.)
Charles Schumer (N.Y.)
Jeanne Shaheen (N.H.)
Mark Udall (Colo.)
Tom Udall (N.M.)
Sheldon Whitehouse (R.I.)
Ron Wyden (Ore.)

PROBABLY YES (9)

Max Baucus (Mont.)
Roland Burris (Ill.)
Michael Bennet (Colo.)

Jeff Bingaman (N.M.) *
Maria Cantwell (Wash.)
Susan Collins (Maine)

Kay Hagan (N.C.)
Olympia Snowe (Maine)
Mark Warner (Va.)



Max Baucus

THE FENCE SITTERS (21)



Lisa Murkowski

Evan Bayh (Ind.) *
Mark Begich (Alaska)
Sherrod Brown (Ohio) *
Kent Conrad (N.D.) *
Byron Dorgan (N.D.) *

Lindsey Graham (S.C.)
Judd Gregg (N.H.)
Tim Johnson (S.D.) *

Carl Levin (Mich.) *
Blanche Lincoln (Ark.) *
Richard Lugar (Ind.)
Mel Martinez (Fla.)
John McCain (Ariz.)
Claire McCaskill (Mo.) *
Lisa Murkowski (Alaska)
Mark Pryor (Ark.) *

Jay Rockefeller (W.Va.) *
Arlen Specter (Pa.)
Debbie Stabenow (Mich.) *
Jon Tester (Mont.)
Jim Webb (Va.) *

PROBABLY NO (13)

Lamar Alexander (Tenn.)
Sam Brownback (Kan.)
Robert Byrd (W.Va.) *
Thad Cochran (Miss.)
Bob Corker (Tenn.)

Michael Crapo (Idaho)
Charles Grassley (Iowa)
Johnny Isakson (Ga.)
Mary Landrieu (La.)
Ben Nelson (Neb.) *

Jim Risch (Idaho)
John Thune (S.D.)
George Voinovich (Ohio)



George Voinovich

NO (22)



James Inhofe

John Barrasso (Wyo.)
Bob Bennett (Utah)
Kit Bond (Mo.)
Jim Bunning (Ky.)
Richard Burr (N.C.)
Saxby Chambliss (Ga.)
Tom Coburn (Okla.)

John Cornyn (Texas)
Jim DeMint (S.C.)
John Ensign (Nev.)
Michael Enzi (Wyo.)
Orrin Hatch (Utah)
Kay Bailey Hutchison (Texas)
James Inhofe (Okla.)

Mike Johanns (Neb.)
Jon Kyl (Ariz.)
Mitch McConnell (Ky.)
Pat Roberts (Kan.)
Jeff Sessions (Ala.)
Richard Shelby (Ala.)
David Vitter (La.)
Roger Wicker (Miss.)

LEGEND:

Red: Republican | Blue: Democrat | Purple: Independent
* Gang of 15 | *Italics*: Faces re-election in 2010 | **Bold**: Retiring

Here's a rundown of how E&E made its projections for the swing votes on the Senate climate bill:

PROBABLY YES (9)

Max Baucus (Mont.): Will play role as chair of Finance Committee in crafting legislation's international competition and allowance structures. In 2008 debate, pressed for provisions benefiting Montana power cooperatives.

Michael Bennet (Colo.): Interior Secretary Ken Salazar's replacement in Senate has no record on climate issue. Colorado politics sway most Democrats toward carbon limits.

Jeff Bingaman * (N.M.): Long-time cosponsor on cap-and-trade legislation. Supports "safety valve" to control costs. Watch his efforts to move an energy bill. Member of moderate Democratic coalition known as "Gang of 15."

Ronald Burris (Ill.): Freshman holding President Barack Obama's old Senate seat. No record on climate issue.

Maria Cantwell (Wash.): Made waves during 2008 debate over lack of provisions benefiting home state's hydropower.

Susan Collins (Maine): One of the few moderate Republicans left in Senate. Will be an important vote for Democratic leaders to hold. She's got some sway.

Kay Hagan (N.C.): Defeated former Republican Sen. Elizabeth Dole, a co-sponsor of last year's Senate climate bill.

Olympia Snowe (Maine): See Susan Collins.

Mark Warner (Va.): Replaces retired Virginia Sen. John Warner, last year's original co-sponsor on climate legislation. Must deal with home state coal interests.

FENCE SITTERS (21)

Evan Bayh * (Ind.): Signaled support for cap-and-trade where revenue goes toward reductions in payroll taxes.

Mark Begich (Alaska): In his winning 2008 Senate campaign, supported 80 percent cuts by mid-century. But an Alaskan senator -- Democrat or Republican -- is still no sure thing on climate legislation.

Sherrod Brown * (Ohio): Progressive record on climate while in the House. Now pushing to save jobs in economically-troubled Ohio. A big advocate of "green" economy. Voted against cloture on 2008 climate bill.

Kent Conrad * (N.D.): Concerned about bill's costs. Wants more funding for CO2 sequestration technology, alt fuels. Signed letter questioning 2008 Senate climate bill.

Byron Dorgan * (N.D.): Like Conrad, concerned about bill's costs and funding for CO2 capture. Also signed letter questioning 2008 Senate climate bill.

Lindsey Graham (S.C.): Wants nuclear provisions added. Often sides with McCain on climate issue.

Judd Gregg (N.H.): Voted in favor of the McCain-Lieberman bill in 2003 and 2005 but went against Lieberman-Warner in 2008, saying the price tag was too big. While Gregg opted against serving in Obama's administration as secretary of Commerce, he may be seen as a possible GOP ally on global warming.

Tim Johnson (S.D.): Won re-election in 2008, so may be less concerned about climate legislation. But signed letter questioning 2008 Senate climate bill.

Carl Levin * (Mich.): Concerned about home-state auto industry, opposes California's bid to regulate greenhouse gases. Likely to be his top issue during negotiations.

Blanche Lincoln * (Ark.): Worked on cost-containment provisions during 2008 debate.

Richard Lugar (Ind.): Ranking member on Senate Foreign Relations gives him clear view of post-Kyoto dynamics. Unsure about transparency and enforcement of cap-and-trade system. Also wants to see greater roles for biofuels, global food production and adaptation.

Mel Martinez (Fla.): Retirement in 2010 raises questions about how much of a role he'll play. Mentioned at end of 2008 Senate debate

as possible GOP cosponsor of next climate bill, but so far shown no public interest.

John McCain (Ariz.): The 2008 Republican presidential nominee wants more nuclear power. Held out support for last year's bill over this. Working again with Sen. Joe Lieberman (I-Conn.) on legislation.

Claire McCaskill * (Mo.): Shown independence from Democratic leadership. Wants agricultural issues addressed in climate bill.

Lisa Murkowski (Alaska): Ranking member of Senate Energy Committee and past cosponsor of cap-and-trade with Bingaman and Specter. Has pushed for funding for Alaskan adaptation.

Mark Pryor * (Ark.): Raised alarm about moving climate legislation amid poor economy. Has focused in past on technology.

Jay Rockefeller * (W.Va.): Most important issue is funding for "clean coal" technology.

Arlen Specter (Pa.): Cosponsored cap-and-trade legislation in 2007 with Bingaman. Joined Senate EPW Committee to work on this year's climate bill.

Debbie Stabenow * (Mich.): Wants more offsets in climate bill. Also seeking nationwide auto standard in response to California regulations.

Jon Tester (Mont.): Has stayed largely silent on climate issue. Montana politics may force him to be a bit more conservative as he nears 2012 reelection campaign.

Jim Webb * (Va.): Also been quiet on global warming.

PROBABLY NO (13)

Lamar Alexander (Tenn.): Now in Senate Republican leadership. Has stuck to his guns on need for power plant-only climate legislation.

Sam Brownback (Kan.): Retiring in 2010 to run for governor.

Signaled interest on global warming several years ago due to agriculture issues.

Robert Byrd * (W.Va.): Voted in 2005 for non-binding resolution supportive of new U.S. climate policy. But spoke out forcefully against 2008 Senate climate bill, saying more study needed on economics.

Thad Cochran (Miss.): Shown little interest in carbon limits, even though he supported 2007 Sense of Senate resolution on international negotiations.

Bob Corker (Tenn.): Most vocal Senate Republican when it comes to costs of climate bill. Supports a cap-and-trade measure or carbon tax under which all of the funds raised get returned directly to the public.

Michael Crapo (Idaho): Worked with Sens. Brownback and Stabenow on offset amendments during 2008 Senate debate. Up for reelection in 2010.

Charles Grassley (Iowa): Has big role to play as ranking member of Senate Finance Committee. But has questioned economics of moving cap-and-trade legislation.

Johnny Isakson (Ga.): Wants a much bigger role for nuclear power. Up for reelection in 2010 in a state that has seen some close races in recent years.

Mary Landrieu (La.): Complained last year that tight economy was no time to be debating climate legislation. Unclear how 2008 reelection changes her views.

Ben Nelson * (Neb.): Doubts technology will be ready in time for carbon limits. Joined Gang of 15, but has been studying alternative approaches favored by coal industry, Republicans.

Jim Risch (Idaho): Freshman replaces retired Sen. Larry Craig. Said little so far on climate issue.

John Thune (S.D.): Never voted for carbon caps, though he supports CO2 limits for power plants. His 2010 reelection campaign may sway vote.

George Voinovich (Ohio): Steady interest in issue. Tough Ohio economy sure to factor into his proposals. Retirement in 2010 raises questions about whether he'll shift position before leaving Capitol Hill.

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