ENVIRONMENT & ENERGY DAILY

THE BEST WAY TO TRACK CONGRESS

Lieberman-Warner: The 60-vote climb

E&E Daily analyzed the positions of the 100 senators expected to debate the Lieberman-Warner 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 and 2005, as well as cosponsors on other climate bills. *E&E Daily* will



Yes (43)

Daniel Akaka (Hawaii) Max Baucus (Mont.) Joe Biden (Del.) Jeff Bingaman (N.M.) Barbara Boxer (Calif.) Maria Cantwell (Wash.) Ben Cardin (Md.) Tom Carper (Del.) Robert Casey (Pa.) Hillary Rodham Clinton (N.Y.) Norm Coleman (Minn.) Susan Collins (Maine) Chris Dodd (Conn.) Elizabeth Dole (N.C.) Dick Durbin (III.)

- Russ Feingold (Wis.) Dianne Feinstein (Calif.) *Tom Harkin* (Iowa) Daniel Inouye (Hawaii) *Tim Johnson* (S.D.) Ted Kennedy (Mass.) *John Kerry* (Mass.) *Amy* Klobuchar (Minn.) Herbert Kohl (Wis.) *Frank Lautenberg* (N.J.) Patrick Leahy (Vt.) Joe Lieberman (Conn.) **Richard Lugar** (Ind.) Robert Menendez (N.J.) Barbara Mikulski (Md.)
- Patty Murray (Wash.) Bill Nelson (Fla.) Barack Obama (III.) Jack Reed (R.I.) Harry Reid (Nev.) Bernie Sanders (Vt.) Chuck Schumer (N.Y.) Olympia Snowe (Maine) Debbie Stabenow (Mich.) Jon Tester (Mont.) John Warner (Va.) Sheldon Whitehouse (R.I.) Ron Wyden (Ore.)

Probably yes (7)

Evan Bayh (Ind.) Sherrod Brown (Ohio) John McCain (Ariz.) Claire McCaskill (Mo.)



The fence sitters (21)

Lamar Alexander (Tenn.)LSam Brownback (Kan.)JRobert Byrd (W.Va.)GThad Cochran (Miss.)MKent Conrad (N.D.)GBob Corker (Tenn.)MByron Dorgan (N.D.)L

Lindsey Graham (S.C.) Judd Gregg (N.H.) Chuck Hagel (Neb.) Mary Landrieu (La.) Carl Levin (Mich.) Mel Martinez (Fla.) Lisa Murkowski (Alaska) Ben Nelson (Neb.) Mark Pryor (Ark.) Gordon Smith (Ore.) Arlen Specter (Pa.) Ted Stevens (Alaska) John Sununu (N.H.) Jim Webb (Va.)

Jay Rockefeller (W.Va.

Blanche Lincoln (Ark.)

Ken Salazar (Colo.)



Probably no (12)

John Barrasso (Wyo.) Richard Burr (N.C.) Larry Craig (Idaho) Michael Crapo (Idaho) Pete Domenici (N.M.) Charles Grassley (Iowa) Orrin Hatch (Utah) Johnny Isakson (Ga.) Mitch McConnell (Ky.) John Thune (S.D.) George Voinovich (Ohio) Roger Wicker (Miss.)

No (17)

Wayne Allard (Colo.) Bob Bennett (Utah) Kit Bond (Mo.) Jim Bunning (Ky.) Saxby Chambliss (Ga.) Tom Coburn (Okla.) John Cornyn (Texas) Jim DeMint (S.C.) John Ensign (Nev.) Michael Enzi (Wyo.) Kay Bailey Hutchison (Texas) James Inhofe (Okla.) Jon Kyl (Ariz.) Pat Roberts (Kan.) Jeff Sessions (Ala.) Richard Shelby (Ala.) David Vitter (La.)



 Italics - Faces re-election in 2008
 Bold - Will retire in 2008

 Red: Republican
 Blue: Democrat
 Purple: Independent

 Agree/disagree with E&E's projections? Email us at 60votes@eenews.net

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How did E&E make its projections for the Senate swing votes on Lieberman-Warner? Here's a brief rundown:

PROBABLY YES

Evan Bayh (Ind.): Potential vice presidential candidate, voted twice in favor of McCain-Lieberman on Senate floor. Still may push for help for home-state energy consumers.

Sherrod Brown (Ohio): A freshman with no voting record. Hasn't cosponsored any of the climate bills. Likely to seek help for Ohio manufacturers, with concerns about costs and international competition. Blanche Lincoln (Ark.): Helped craft the cost-containment plan now in Lieberman-Warner, but still holds out. She says she wants to make sure auction revenue goes to low-income Americans.

John McCain (Ariz.): Has a long history on the issue cosponsoring a cap-and-trade bill. Now, he's the Republican presidential front-runner and wants greater incentives for nuclear power. A Senate floor vote in the heat of the general election campaign could force his hand.

Claire McCaskill (Mo.): Freshman wildcard, has shown independence from leadership. Unclear what she will seek as debate unfolds. *Jay Rockefeller* (W.Va.): Long record supporting McCain-Lieberman twice on Senate floor, but home-state coal interests enough to keep him out of the top bracket.

Ken Salazar (Colo.): Given strong signals on climate. Still, home-state coal interests are strong and may push coal-to-liquid issues.

FENCE SITTERS

Lamar Alexander (Tenn.): Longtime supporter of carbon caps for power plants only. Now must weigh limits across the economy. Won a big victory in the EPW Committee by adding a low-carbon fuel standard. Sam Brownback (Kan.): Flirted with climate legislation in the 1990s and carries strong interest in helping home-state farmers. Evangelical faith could also swing him toward mandatory caps.

Robert Byrd (W.Va.): Supported Sen. Bingaman's 2005 Sense of Senate resolution, looking to erase his name's ties to the 1997 Kyoto vote that halted U.S. participation in international talks. Always passionate about home-state coal interests.

Thad Cochran (Miss.): Cosponsored Biden-Lugar Sense of Senate resolution on international negotiations but silent on carbon caps. Voted against McCain-Lieberman twice. May be influenced by the politics of Hurricane Katrina.

Kent Conrad (N.D.): Carbon sequestration potential high for his home state. Rural co-ops, agriculture will be key concerns. Watch whether Sen. Max Baucus can have an influence.

Bob Corker (Tenn.): Said he's leaning toward support but holds out on technology, economy and energy supplies. Traveled to Europe last spring for climate meetings with Sen. Bingaman.

Byron Dorgan (N.D.): See Sen. Conrad. Lindsey Graham (S.C.): Supported Sen. Bingaman's 2005 Sense of Senate resolution. A close ally of Sen. John McCain, playing up the climate connection. Wants nuclear issues addressed.

Judd Gregg (N.H.): Voted for McCain-Lieberman twice and cosponsored Sen. Tom Carper's power-plant only carbon limits. But GOP leadership, President Bush may have sway.

Chuck Hagel (Neb.): See Sen. Byrd on the 1997 Kyoto vote. Retiring and willing to buck GOP establishment.

Mary Landrieu (La.): Gone back and forth on carbon caps. Supported Bingaman resolution, Sen. Carper's power-plant only bill, cost containment provisions in Lieberman-Warner. But re-election campaign will be tight.

Carl Levin (Mich.): Voted against McCain-Lieberman twice but backed Bingaman resolution. Labor is key for him. UAW likes some provisions. Does he want more in an election year?

Mel Martinez (Fla.): Never supported carbon caps, but environmentalists have been targeting him because of home-state politics. Florida Gov. Charlie Crist (R) is out in front on the issue too.

LEGEND:

Lisa Murkowski (Alaska): Cosponsored Sen. Bingaman's latest carbon cap bill, with large incentives to help Alaska adapt to climate change. Cost concerns may keep her in limbo.

Ben Nelson (Neb.): Voted against McCain-Lieberman and Bingaman resolution, but supported Sen. John Kerry's amendment on stronger U.S. participation on international front. Agriculture and rural co-ops are his main issues.

Mark Pryor (Ark.): Backed Bingaman resolution but nothing else with carbon limits. He pressed an alternative to mandatory caps during the 2005 debate with technology focus. Different now with Democrats in control. He'll look to Sen. Lincoln for help on this one as he faces reelection for second term.

Gordon Smith (Ore.): A small business backer who never before supported a carbon cap bill, but tight re-election may change that. Home state joined the regional climate partnership with California, Washington and others.

Arlen Specter (Pa.): Lead cosponsor with Sen. Bingaman on less aggressive carbon cap bill. An independent from Bush administration, but wants to help labor, home-state industries.

Ted Stevens (Alaska): Questions the science but cosponsored Bingaman-Specter. Work on CAFE provisions in energy bill means he's in play.

John Sununu (N.H.): Never voted for carbon caps before, but home state politics in a re-election year may change that. Also cosponsored Sen. Carper's power plant bill.

Jim Webb (Va.): A freshman with no voting record on the issue. Sen. Warner's role in the debate helps. So does Rep. Rick Boucher (D-Va.) as subcommittee chairman writing a climate bill.

PROBABLY NO

John Barrasso (Wyo.): Offered several constructive amendments during markup. Shown interest in climate issue but may not be willing to go so far.

Richard Burr (N.C.): Never voted for carbon limits but ends up here because of home-state politics, hurricanes, Sen. Dole's cosponsorship of Lieberman-Warner.

Larry Craig (Idaho): Leaving Senate after this year? If so, is he thinking about legacy? Pushed nuclear issues during EPW markup. Mike Crapo (Idaho): If Sen. Craig gets nuclear provisions, he could

follow. Pete Domenici (N.M.): Took a serious look at Bingaman's bill in 2005,

but stayed away. Has battle scars on the issue. But retiring and may be looking for legacy. Sen. Warner may factor. Watch for a push on nuclear.

Charles Grassley (lowa): Never voted for carbon caps but could get an earful from Finance Chairman Max Baucus and home-state farmers. Orrin Hatch (Utah): Never voted for carbon caps, but ends up here because of home-state politics. Utah Gov. Jon Huntsman (R) appeared in Environmental Defense TV commercial with California Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger (R) urging Congress to pass climate legislation. Johnny Isakson (Ga.): Made it clear during the EPW markup that he would be a player if his nuclear concerns were addressed.

Mitch McConnell (Ky.): Never voted for carbon caps. But he's a likely focal point in debate as Republican minority leader up for re-election. John Thune (S.D.): Never voted for carbon caps; has said little to signal otherwise. But home-state politics in play, as are agriculture issues. Also backed a bill that expands CO2 pipeline infrastructure. George Voinovich (Ohio): A major player in the climate debate with lots of concerns. Sure to be at table outlining GOP positions. Can't be ruled out because of that.

Roger Wicker (Miss.): Newest member of Senate with no climate voting record. Could be influenced by Sen. Cochran, Katrina politics.