

## 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 May 12, 2010)



Barbara Boxer

### YES (26)

Daniel Akaka (Hawaii)  
*Barbara Boxer (Calif.)*  
Ben Cardin (Md.)  
Tom Carper (Del.)  
**Chris Dodd (Conn.)**  
Dick Durbin (Ill.)  
Dianne Feinstein (Calif.)  
*Kirsten Gillibrand (N.Y.)*  
*Daniel Inouye (Hawaii)*  
**Ted Kaufman (Del.)**

John Kerry (Mass.)  
Amy Klobuchar (Minn.)  
Herbert Kohl (Wis.)  
*Patrick Leahy (Vt.)*  
**Joe Lieberman (Conn.)**  
Jeff Merkley (Ore.)  
*Barbara Mikulski (Md.)*  
*Patty Murray (Wash.)*  
Jack Reed (R.I.)  
*Harry Reid (Nev.)*

*Charles Schumer (N.Y.)*  
Jeanne Shaheen (N.H.)  
Mark Udall (Colo.)  
Tom Udall (N.M.)  
Sheldon Whitehouse (R.I.)  
*Ron Wyden (Ore.)*

### PROBABLY YES (11)

**Roland Burris (Ill.)**  
*Michael Bennet (Colo.)*  
Jeff Bingaman (N.M.)  
Robert Casey (Pa.)

*Russ Feingold (Wis.)*  
Al Franken (Minn.)  
Kay Hagan (N.C.)  
Tom Harkin (Iowa)

Tim Johnson (S.D.)  
Bernie Sanders (Vt.)  
Mark Warner (Va.)



Jeff Bingaman



Lisa Murkowski

### THE FENCE SITTERS (31)

**Lamar Alexander (Tenn.)**  
Max Baucus (Mont.)  
Mark Begich (Alaska)  
**Scott Brown (Mass.)**  
Sherrod Brown (Ohio)  
Robert Byrd (W.Va.)  
Maria Cantwell (Wash.)  
**Susan Collins (Maine)**  
Kent Conrad (N.D.)  
**Bob Corker (Tenn.)**  
**Byron Dorgan (N.D.)**

**Lindsey Graham (S.C.)**  
**Judd Gregg (N.H.)**  
Mary Landrieu (La.)  
Frank Lautenberg (N.J.)  
**George LeMieux (Fla.)**  
Carl Levin (Mich.)  
**Richard Lugar (Ind.)**  
Claire McCaskill (Mo.)  
Robert Menendez (N.J.)  
*Lisa Murkowski (Alaska)*  
Ben Nelson (Neb.)

Bill Nelson (Fla.)  
Mark Pryor (Ark.)  
Jay Rockefeller (W.Va.)  
**Olympia Snowe (Maine)**  
**Arlen Specter (Pa.)**  
Debbie Stabenow (Mich.)  
Jon Tester (Mont.)  
**George Voinovich (Ohio)**  
Jim Webb (Va.)

### PROBABLY NO (10)

*Evan Bayh (Ind.)*  
**Sam Brownback (Kan.)**  
Thad Cochran (Miss.)

*Michael Crapo (Idaho)*  
*Charles Grassley (Iowa)*  
*Johnny Isakson (Ga.)*  
*Blanche Lincoln (Ark.)*

*John McCain (Ariz.)*  
Jim Risch (Idaho)  
*John Thune (S.D.)*



Sam Brownback



James Inhofe

### NO (22)

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  
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 (11)

**Michael Bennet** (Colo.): Interior Secretary Ken Salazar's replacement in Senate has no voting record on climate issue. Called for change in House bill's allocation plan. Also wants more natural gas incentives. Re-election prospects uncertain. **Jeff Bingaman** (N.M.): Long-time cosponsor on cap-and-trade legislation. Supports "safety valve" to control costs. Wants passage of Energy and Natural Resources Committee's energy bill.

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

**Robert Casey** (Pa.): Signed letter to President Obama linking his vote to language that supports protection of his state's manufacturing industry.

**Russ Feingold** (Wis.): See Robert Casey.

**Al Franken** (Minn.): See Robert Casey.

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

**Tom Harkin** (Iowa): Demanding a change to allocation formula to better favor coal-fired electric utilities.

**Tim Johnson** (S.D.): Wrote editorial last August highlighting benefits of climate bill, saying it "could finally help South Dakota to live up to its wind generating potential and capture the benefits of a cash crop that is just blowing across our landscape."

**Bernie Sanders** (Vt.): Raised a series of complaints over plans to pre-empt states' environmental laws, exempt existing coal plants from stringent emissions standards, increase offshore drilling and provide financial support for new nuclear power plants.

**Mark Warner** (Va.): Replaces retired Virginia Sen. John Warner, original co-sponsor on 2008 climate legislation. Must deal with home state coal interests.

## FENCE SITTERS (31)

**Lamar Alexander** (Tenn.): Now in Senate Republican leadership. Has stuck to his guns on need for power plant-only climate legislation, which is up for discussion in the negotiations.

**Max Baucus** (Mont.): Finance Chairman has said he will weigh in on international competition and allowance structures. In 2008 debate, pressed for provisions benefiting Montana power cooperatives.

**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.

**Scott Brown** (Mass.): Sen. Kerry, environmentalists pushing for his support. Must consider 2012 reelection prospects. But questioned science of climate change during special election campaign. Also backed away from his 2008 vote while in the state Senate supporting Massachusetts' entry into the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative.

**Sherrod Brown** (Ohio): Open to stand-alone "green" energy provisions. Key player in manufacturing and trade provisions. Progressive record on climate while in the House. Voted against cloture on 2008 climate bill.

**Robert Byrd** (W.Va.): Penned December 2009 op-ed urging coal industry to get more engaged on climate bill, as well as mountaintop mining issues. Working to get "clean coal" provisions in Senate bill. Voted in 2005 for non-binding resolution supportive of new U.S. climate policy. Also spoke out forcefully against 2008 Senate legislation, saying more study needed on economics.

**Maria Cantwell** (Wash.): Cosponsored "cap-and-dividend" bill that forgoes trading of greenhouse gas credits. Made waves during 2008 debate over lack of provisions benefiting home state's hydropower.

**Susan Collins** (Maine): Partner with Cantwell on the cap-and-dividend bill. One of the few moderate Republicans left in Senate. An important vote for Democratic leaders to hold.

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

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

**Byron Dorgan** (N.D.): Retirement opens up speculation on whether Dorgan would be free from political concerns on a climate bill vote. Has concerns about bill's costs and funding for CO2 capture. Also signed letter questioning 2008 Senate climate bill. Given several floor speeches calling for energy-only legislation.

**Lindsey Graham** (S.C.): Helped write the climate-energy bill but has abandoned talks over Democrats' push to also tackle immigration this year.

**Judd Gregg** (N.H.): Said chances of passing a global warming law this year were "zero to negative 10 percent." 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. Retiring in January 2011.

**Mary Landrieu** (La.): Open to cap-and-trade legislation, but wants to monitor economic implications. Oil and gas drilling provisions are a must. Has cosponsored

past bills focusing only on electric utilities. Also backs resolution to strip U.S. EPA of its climate regulatory authority.

**Frank Lautenberg** (N.J.): Expansion for offshore drilling threatens his vote on a climate bill he'd otherwise support.

**George LeMieux** (Fla.): Says he's open to supporting cap-and-trade program. Appointed to the seat by Florida Gov. Charlie Crist (R), a candidate himself for Senate in 2010. Crist's Aug. 24 State's GOP Senate primary may be pivotal moment as Crist faces conservative challenger who is critical of climate policy.

**Carl Levin** (Mich.): Wants to repeal state climate standards in favor of national program. Also backs border tax and "fail safe provisions" in case technologies are not available.

**Richard Lugar** (Ind.): Staff studying utility-only carbon limits. 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.

**Claire McCaskill** (Mo.): Questioned wisdom in pushing legislation after bare-knuckle fight on health care. Wants agricultural issues addressed in climate bill.

**Robert Menendez** (N.J.): Expansion for offshore drilling threatens his vote on a climate bill he'd otherwise support.

**Lisa Murkowski** (Alaska): Leading charge to neuter U.S. EPA's authority for writing climate regulations. Co-sponsored cap-and-trade provisions, with "safety valve," in 2007. Has pushed for funding for Alaskan adaptation.

**Ben Nelson** (Neb.): Said he can support a carbon cap, but not so sure about the trading components. Has also raised doubts about whether technology will be ready in time for carbon limits. Cosponsored resolution to strip U.S. EPA of its climate regulatory authority.

**Bill Nelson** (Fla.): Threatening to filibuster bill if it goes too far on offshore oil and gas drilling.

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

**Jay Rockefeller** (W.Va.): Commerce Chairman said he's "open" to climate limits. Most important issue is funding for "clean coal" technology.

**Olympia Snowe** (Maine): Supported cap-and-trade bills in previous years, but worried about economic implications this time around.

**Arlen Specter** (Pa.): Voted for Kerry-Boxer bill in Senate EPW Committee. Faces tough Democratic primary on May 18.

**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 more conservative as he nears 2012 reelection campaign.

**George Voinovich** (Ohio): Studying utility-only approach. Tough Ohio economy sure to factor into his proposals. Retirement in 2010 raises questions about whether he'll shift position before leaving Capitol Hill.

**Jim Webb** (Va.): Opposes cap and trade as a concept. Cosponsored legislation supporting clean energy technologies.

## PROBABLY NO (10)

**Evan Bayh** (Ind.): Repeatedly questioned whether economy is sound enough for climate limits. Retiring in January, but hasn't given any signals he's planning to vote for legislation.

**Sam Brownback** (Kan.): Retiring in 2010 to run for governor. Signaled interest on global warming several years ago due to agriculture issues.

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

**Michael Crapo** (Idaho): Worked with Sens. Brownback and Stabenow on offset amendments during 2008 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.

**Blanche Lincoln** (Ark.): Agriculture Chairman running campaign ads touting her opposition to past climate change legislation. Wants to pass an energy-only bill this year. Questioned economics of cap-and-trade policy.

**John McCain** (Ariz.): The 2008 Republican presidential nominee says he can't support climate legislation without provisions on nuclear power recycling and permanent storage. Once a co-sponsor of cap-and-trade legislation, but now shows little interest in the issue. Faces conservative GOP primary challenger on Aug. 24.

**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.

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