

years ago today, on May 12, 1992, as he was attempting to recover a drowning victim. No matter how old these wounds are, our communities must not forget the sacrifice of Sergeant Gaboury and others in uniform.

Tomorrow the names of 252 fallen officers will be added to the walls of the memorial. Among those who will be added to the wall is Vermont State Trooper Kyle Young, who tragically died last September. Trooper Young, who suffered heat stroke during a training exercise, was the first line-of-duty death in Vermont in 12 years. Like so many of his fallen colleagues, Trooper Young died while working to be a better public servant. He hoped to be promoted to the agency's tactical team, and he died showing the same grit and determination that he showed throughout his life, always trying to achieve the next goal. Trooper Young was only 28 years old and the father of two young girls. He was an outstanding high school athlete who went on to serve in the U.S. Air Force, with tours in Iraq and Afghanistan. His colleagues described him as an active trooper who, with less than 2 years on the job, quickly found his calling.

The tragedy of Trooper Young's death will not be forgotten, nor will the lives of 23 other Vermont law enforcement officers who have died in the line of duty. Vermont is fortunate to be served by so many professional and dedicated public servants in law enforcement. That is why I have worked so long to provide law enforcement officers with what they need to keep both themselves and their communities safe. It is my hope that the reauthorization of the Bulletproof Vest Partnership program will do just that—and will help keep names off that wall.

#### TRIBUTE TO ROSS BAKER

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I have often likened the counsel that Senators receive from their staff to the confidential advice a lawyer provides to a client. That is why it is so rare that, over the last 40 or so years, Ross Baker, a Distinguished professor at Rutgers University, has taken several sabbaticals to research the inner workings of Capitol Hill. Most recently, as a scholar in residence in Senate Minority Leader HARRY REID's office, Professor Baker has been given the unusual access to the inner workings of one of the Senate's leading offices. The result? Professor Baker is considered the go-to academic expert on the Senate, one of the preeminent scholars of congressional history, the author of six books about Congress and government, and an insightful resource for the news media about the often inscrutable goings-on in Congress.

I came to know Professor Baker when he joined my staff as an adviser in 2000, when he returned to Capitol Hill to gain a better understanding of Senate seniority. When he returned to my staff in 2004, during a period of

fierce debate in the Senate Judiciary Committee over the direction of our courts and our national security policy, Professor Baker saw firsthand how lawmakers, including myself, balance meaningful, large-scale policy debates with the day-to-day responsibility of representing and advocating for our constituents. It goes without saying that my relationship with Professor Baker was a two-way street. It was not uncommon for me to respond to his questions with some of my own.

In 2008, Ross Baker joined then-Majority Leader REID's staff at a pivotal time in both Congress and in the political arena. Long and diverse primary campaigns, coupled with the winding down of the tumultuous Bush administration, provided Professor Baker with even more fodder for his courses at Rutgers. As he concludes his final stint with Senator REID's office, one can only wonder how today's political dialogue both on the campaign trail and on the floor of the Senate will inform Professor Baker's American Government course when he resumes teaching this fall.

Vermonters have entrusted me to represent them in Washington several times. Like Professor Baker, I have spent time studying what works, and what doesn't. His insights are as important to the chronicle of Senate history as they are to the students he teaches today.

I ask unanimous consent that a May 5 article in the Washington Post entitled "History Professor Landed a Privileged Perch to See How Harry Reid Works" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 5, 2016]

HISTORY PROFESSOR LANDED A PRIVILEGED PERCH TO SEE HOW HARRY REID WORKS

(By Paul Kane)

Harry Reid almost never says no.

When he gets a new piece of information or a request or anything, he says—he uses this phrase all the time—he says: "I'll look at it," says Ross K. Baker, a distinguished congressional scholar at Rutgers University.

That approach gives the Senate minority leader wiggle room to make decisions in private, a style of leadership that is decidedly different from the "master of the Senate," bulldozing approach that Lyndon B. Johnson honed as leader in the 1950s.

That's just one of the countless insights that Baker, 77, has drawn in three separate stints as "scholar in residence" on Reid's staff. Last week, he finished his final tour with the retiring Senate leader as an unpaid adviser and observer, a one-of-a-kind sabbatical for the professor. Over the past 41 years, Baker has done seven stints on Capitol Hill, working in the House and Senate.

Rather than teaching undergraduate students his "American Government" course, the professor embedded himself in real American government at an irregular pace in the past, but over the past 16 years he's been here every four years. Nothing can compete with the access he has been given in Reid's leadership office in the Capitol. He watched the early stages of the 2008 presidential primary play out on the Senate floor between then-Sens. Barack Obama and Hillary Clin-

ton. He has seen Senate battles over treaties, and, without fail, has seen countless legislative battles end in gridlock.

Baker's time on Capitol Hill has provided history the chance to have an academic get an up-close view of one of this era's most influential political figures, but also one of the most difficult to understand.

"The panorama is breathtaking," Baker said. "Here is somebody who has his [finger on the] pulse [of] all the major policy areas, has to, and has a staff that is equipped to do that. So the feelers are out, the sensors are everywhere, the neurons are firing constantly."

Reid said he wanted Baker to "focus on the Senate as an institution" for history's sake, and the professor wrote a 2014 book, "Is Bipartisanship Dead?" based largely on his 2012 experience with Reid.

"We all trust him," Reid said in a telephone interview this week from Nevada.

He allowed Baker into every senior staff meeting and let him watch Reid's senior aides prep the senator every Tuesday morning for his weekly news conference. "He doesn't speak up very often, but when he does, we all listen," Reid added.

The low-light came when Republicans filibustered the ratification of a treaty to elevate global standards for the disabled, opening Baker's eyes to the ability of conservative groups to block legislation.

Now, Baker thinks the calls on both sides for "regular order"—legislation beginning in committee, involving junior members, emerging to full and open debates on the House and Senate floor—are hollow.

"There are just too many forces arrayed against it for it to work," he said. "I think it's a function of polarization, that leaders have to get control of the process and have to use exotic procedures that are basically incomprehensible."

Yet Reid was never the dictator in Johnson's 1950s style, according to Baker. Those senators whom Reid rebuffed after his initial "I'll take a look at it" would soon find him doing a quick favor. "He will double back and do something for that person to make them feel important," Baker said.

Baker has long been known as a leading congressional expert, a go-to resource for news media in need of translating Washington. These stints on Capitol Hill have given him a first-hand experience, spanning decades, that few scholars can match.

Baker's political interests started randomly. In the mid-1970s, when he was fashioning himself as an Africa expert and writing occasional op-eds in *The Washington Post*, Baker decided to refocus his career on U.S. politics, and on Congress in particular.

So the 36-year-old professor persuaded Sen. Walter Mondale's chief of staff, Richard Moe, to give him a break. Baker read the academic version of Washington in journals on his bus commute, then lived the real-life version by day, spending a full academic year among the offices of Mondale (D-Minn.) and Sens. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) and Frank Church (D-Idaho).

Back then, Baker was more like a regular staffer, writing speeches for Bayh and helping Church in his late-breaking bid for the 1976 presidential nomination. He almost accepted Church's offer of a full-time job but returned to Rutgers for the fall of 1976.

"But I got a serious, you know, a chronic case of Potomac Fever," Baker said.

By 1983, the time of his next full-year sabbatical, he had landed a gig with the House Democratic Caucus, when the massive majority included dozens of "Boll Weevil" Democrats who backed Ronald Reagan's tax cuts and strong military posture.

Baker went another 17 years before he got back to the Capitol, returning to the Senate

and to his only Republican boss, then-Sen. Chuck Hagel (Neb.).

He bounced from there into the office of Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (Vt.), the top Democrat on the Judiciary Committee, spending several months there in 2000 and again in 2004. There, he saw up close how senior senators have to focus on one significant policy arena at the expense of others.

“There’s this sort of policy triage that senators have to engage in, which is: They can’t possibly devote themselves equally to three major committee assignments,” Baker said.

Several years later, Baker’s Rutgers connection paid off.

Reid’s longtime senior aide Susan McCue was a Rutgers alumna, connecting Baker with Reid, which led to tours with the majority leader in 2008 and 2012, as well as a brief stint during the 2014 lame-duck session. These past four months were Baker’s first stint with Reid in the minority.

With his Reid partnership ending, Baker is returning to another semester of “American Government” this fall at Rutgers.

“I at least come out of it with fresh anecdotes for my undergraduates,” Baker said. “I mean, I just don’t want to ever be in a position of mentioning a name and they look at me blankly.”

#### BUDGET COMMITTEE COST ESTIMATE—S. 2844

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I offer for the RECORD the Budget Committee’s cost estimate of S. 2844, the Transportation, Housing and Urban Development Appropriations Act for fiscal year 2017.

The reported measure provides \$56.5 billion in discretionary budget authority for fiscal year 2017, which will result in new outlays of \$46.3 billion. When outlays from prior-year budget authority are taken into account, non-emergency discretionary outlays for the bill will total \$120.5 billion.

The reported bill matches its section 302(b) allocation set forth in S. Rept. 114-238 for budget authority for both the security and nonsecurity categories and is below the 302(b) allocation for outlays by \$10 million.

The bill contains emergency-designated appropriations, which are effectively exempt from budget enforcement. The Budget Act provides a mechanism to prevent abuse of the emer-

gency designation in the form of the 314(e) point of order, which allows any Senator to challenge whether the appropriation is actually needed for an emergency. Specifically, the bill transfers to the community planning and development account previously appropriated emergency-designated Housing and Urban Development spending for administrative costs related to disaster relief efforts. This transfer does not change budget authority, but increases outlays by \$1 million. I will adjust the allocations by this amount unless a challenge to the use of the emergency designation is successful, which would occur if fewer than 60 Senators agree that the appropriation is needed for an emergency purpose.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the table displaying the Budget Committee scoring of the bill.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### S. 2844, 2017 TRANSPORTATION, HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT APPROPRIATIONS—SPENDING COMPARISONS—SENATE-REPORTED BILL

(Fiscal Year 2017, \$ millions)

	Budget Authority		Outlays	
	Security	Nonsecurity	Total	Total
Senate-reported bill .....	275	56,199	56,474	120,461
Senate 302(b) allocation .....	275	56,199	56,474	120,471
2016 Enacted .....	210	57,391	57,601	120,469
President’s request .....	211	51,781	51,992	118,800
SENATE-REPORTED BILL COMPARED TO:				
Senate 302(b) allocation .....	0	0	0	-10
2016 Enacted .....	65	-1,192	-1,127	-8
President’s request .....	64	4,418	4,482	1,661

Note: Details may not add to totals due to rounding. Includes emergency-designated spending.

#### BUDGET COMMITTEE COST ESTIMATE—S. 2806

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I offer for the RECORD the Budget Committee’s cost estimate of S. 2806, the Military Construction, Veterans Affairs, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act for fiscal year 2017.

The reported measure provides \$75.1 billion in discretionary budget author-

ity for fiscal year 2017, which will result in discretionary outlays of \$83.1 billion.

The reported bill matches its section 302(b) allocation set forth in S. Rept. 114-238 for budget authority for both the security and nonsecurity categories, and is below the 302(b) allocation for outlays by \$10 million.

The bill is not subject to any budget-related points of order.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the table displaying the Budget Committee scoring of the bill.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### S. 2806, 2017 MILITARY CONSTRUCTION, VETERANS AFFAIRS, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS—SPENDING COMPARISONS—SENATE-REPORTED BILL

(Fiscal Year 2017, \$ millions)

	Budget Authority		Outlays	
	Security	Nonsecurity	Total	Total
Senate-reported bill .....	7,930	75,100	83,030	83,141
Senate 302(b) allocation .....	7,930	75,100	83,030	83,151
2016 Enacted .....	8,171	71,698	79,869	79,813
President’s request .....	7,443	75,254	82,697	83,778
SENATE-REPORTED BILL COMPARED TO:				
Senate 302(b) allocation .....	0	0	0	-10
2016 Enacted .....	-241	3,402	3,161	3,328
President’s request .....	487	-154	333	-637

Note: Details may not add to totals due to rounding. Excludes Overseas Contingency Operations funding in President’s request.

#### BUDGETARY REVISIONS

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, section 251 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 establishes statutory limits on discretionary spending and allows for various adjustments to those limits, while sections 302 and 314(a) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 allow the chairman of the Budget Committee to establish and make revisions to allocations, aggregates, and levels consistent with

those adjustments. The Senate will soon consider Senate amendment No. 3896, filed by Senator COLLINS. This amendment includes the Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2017, as reported by the Committee on Appropriations. The amendment includes a provision related to the Department of Housing and Urban Development’s administrative costs for disaster relief activities that results in

\$1 million in outlays. This provision is designated as an emergency pursuant to section 251(b)(2)(A)(i) of the Balanced Budget and Deficit Control Act of 1985. The inclusion of this designation makes this spending eligible for an adjustment under the Congressional Budget Act.

As a result, I am increasing the budgetary aggregate for 2017 by \$1 million in outlays. I am also increasing the