

end of the war in Vietnam. If the debate comes out in another direction, you will be getting some budget leeway for other programs. That is a public policy decision that is ahead of us.

Senator PERCY. Just to wrap it up, could I ask you this question, then. In your judgment as of the day the war ends, what could we expect then in the way of budget reductions? How much could that budget be reduced, so that funds would be available for other purposes, such as rebuilding of the cities?

Mr. ZWICK. After the troops are brought home and discharged and everything, because almost immediately you are going to get nothing obviously in the way of savings.

Senator PERCY. Oh, yes.

Mr. ZWICK. I think it is in the \$20 billion range.

Senator PERCY. You do?

Mr. ZWICK. Yes.

Senator PERCY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Congressman Bolling?

Representative BOLLING. Mr. Chairman, I am not sure I have any questions, but I have a couple of comments.

I voted for the tax bill with this idiocy attached to it because I thought it was an absolute economic necessity that we have a tax bill for objective economic reasons and also for psychological reasons that affected our credibility in the world. But I think, Mr. Zwick, that you probably have the most unpleasant and hopeless job that I have ever seen given to a public servant in 20 years in Congress.

The Congress in its wisdom provided you with no target because you still haven't got all the appropriations enacted. And then having seen how smart they were, they then proceeded to change the target that existed. So you have been shooting at a target that doesn't exist in its complete form, and watching it change before your eyes.

I think what it really boils down to is a very excellent illustration that there is no way really, much as the Congress would like to do it, for it to abdicate its responsibility to do what the Constitution says it is to do; and that is to appropriate money.

There is no way on earth rationally for us to exercise gross cuts and make it possible for the administration to function effectively; and I hope that this kind of an approach will have the same fate as one of the many sanctimonious provisions of the LaFollette-Monroney Act of 1946, the legislative budget, which was tried once and forgotten. It is still on the statute books, it is still a law. But I hope that the one thing that we on the Hill will learn is that this is no way to conduct our business, and that there is no way to evade our very specific responsibility for appropriating the funds.

What we have done is we have evaded the decision on roughly \$3.5 billion of cuts that we say we desire. And I insist that whether anybody likes it or not, that that is an irresponsible way to do business.

And Mr. Zwick, I would only like to congratulate you on your endeavors to comply with the impossible.

Mr. ZWICK. Thank you, Mr. Bolling. There are very few people who have taken that viewpoint of my endeavors lately, and so I certainly appreciate it.

Chairman PROXMIRE. Senator Javits?

Senator JAVITS. Mr. Zwick, let's get a refreshing change of pace.