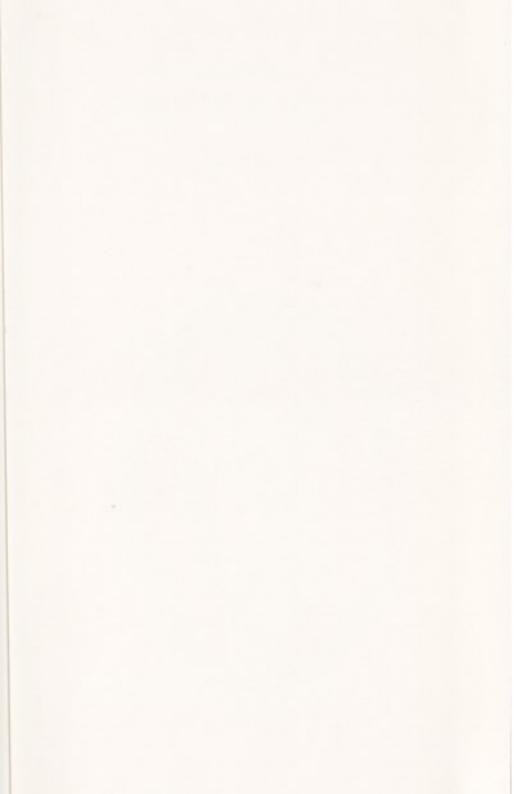
World Communism and Domestic Socialism

By Ronald Reagan





Ronald Reagan's Famous Speech On

WORLD COMMUNISM



Introduction by Dr. W. Cleon Skousen

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Ronald Reagan Speaking

At first glance, I'm sure some of you will question the pertinence of drawing a parallel between the great problems besetting the world today and a jurisdictional dispute involving a handful (no more than 26,000 workers) in the motion picture industry more than a decade ago. Yet the parallel is there, like a scale model of the real thing.

On the surface, two unions claimed the right to a type of work known as "set erecting." Some 43 unions and guilds chose up sides in the foolishness of a jurisdictional strike. Ugly violence flared, cars were overturned, homes bombed, men

maimed and injured.

Front Line Trenches of a Communist-Directed Strike

The Actors Guild elected to honor its basic contract and dare the massed pickets—many of whom were supplied by Harry Bridges' Maritime Union. Daily the little glamour starlets and the heroes and bad men of fiction rode through the lines, kneeling on the floors of police-escorted busses to escape the flying rocks. All of this took place in the most publicized spot on earth, and yet today right in Hollywood among these same picture workers there is great confusion. Some of those who risked the dangers I've described aren't sure today that they did the right thing—certainly they have little understanding of what the issues were. This is in the classic pattern of communist conspiracy. For this was a story of deliberate communist infiltration.

Hard-core (communist) party organizers had created cells in many of our guilds and unions in a move to get economic control of the picture industry and subvert our screens to the dissemination of communist propaganda. According to sworn testimony, the immediate goal of the strike was the replacement of our many guilds and unions by one huge union under the charter of Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's Union.

American Ignorance of Communism—A Major Problem

Today all of us are convinced that the No. 1 problem in the world is the dispute between the Free World and Soviet slavery. Here too the situation has been highly publicized and yet the American people are confused, disturbed by a frustrating sense of failure, a desire for action, but at the same time a concern that action might result in war.

The enemy is not confused—to him the course is very clear—he knows he is in a war now. This conflict was declared more than a century ago by Karl Marx. Half a century later Nicolai Lenin, the interpreter of Marx, made of this phony philosophy a Godless religion, with himself as the Messiah. He reaffirmed that declaration of war by stating it was inconceivable that communism and capitalism should exist for a long period side by side in the world, and that ultimately one or the other must conquer. Carefully and painstakingly, but openly, they put into print their plans for our destruction. All of them including the timetable, are available and as near as our public library.

With the most arrogant cynicism, they say that our ignorance of their tactics and strategy, their aims and objectives, is communism's greatest weapon. In 1923 Lenin announced that communism would take Eastern Europe, organize the hordes of Asia, and then surround that last bastion of capitalism, the United States, without even having to take it. In Lenin's own words, the United States would fall into his outstretched hand like overripe fruit. As we look at the beachhead 90 miles off our Florida coast, we know how far they've progressed with that

plan.

U.S.A.—The Number One Target

Last November the communist parties of 81 countries, meeting in Moscow, pledged anew the destruction of our way of life and the building of a world socialist state on the ruins. They called on communists all over the world to perform acts of treason against their own governments.

Over and over again the communists have assured us that everything they say or do has the single purpose of our defeat.

Everything is a weapon from ballots to bullets.

Carefully, with great calculation, the communists gauge their aggression—slicing each new gain just thin enough so that we'll say, "That isn't worth fighting for." They predict that when we reach the final slice our surrender will be voluntary because we will have been weakened from within—morally, spiritually, and economically.

Anti-War Hysteria—A Tactical Weapon

They have harnessed the fear of war instead of war itself—knowing that surrender at the conference table can be just as complete as surrender on the battlefield. Indeed, they probably have no intention of testing our armed might. They know, even if we don't, that ours is the greatest military power in all the world. You and I, and all free men everywhere, owe our



Anti-war demonstrators in the 1960's

freedom to the determination and dedication of our men in uniform who stand as the only barrier to the world slavery. For this reason, the communists have chosen to go around this deterrent to their unholy aims and erode the ramparts of freedom from within.

Why Communists Promote Socialism

Mr. Khrushchev has said that capitalism will inevitably evolve into communism, but not all at once. He says there will first come an intermediate stage of socialism. Supremely confident of victory, the communists say we will give up more and more of our democratic practices under the pressure of the cold war until one day we'll awaken to find we have become so much like the enemy that the reasons for enmity will have

disappeared.

Well, haven't we been trying to fight communists without really fighting communism? There is a liberal philosophy that seems to think of communism as simply an extension of extreme liberalism and that Soviet police-state brutality is not an integral part of communism but is rather an error superimposed on the political system. Those motivated by this so-called liberal philosophy believe the solution to the cold war is to refrain from any overt act that would anger the men in the Kremlin, while our own system is reshaped into a government-controlled-and-directed economy. As we move left, the roughnecks in the Kremlin, ashamed of their ways will supposedly come a little right and the conflict will dissolve in one-world Utopia.

The "liberal" campaigns for more and more participation by the federal government in areas heretofore the province of the state, community and individual. The only common denominator needed to win the liberals' support of any legislation is the extent to which it will increase the power and authority of the central government.

Liberals Not Necessarily Unpatriotic

It would be immoral and the height of folly to infer these people are less patriotic than ourselves. They are sincerely motivated by the most humanitarian of ideals, but it would be equally foolish to let them have their way without opposition. If someone is setting fire to the house, it doesn't really matter if he is a deliberate arsonist or just a fool playing with matches—the damage will be the same.

We can lose our freedom all at once by succumbing to Russian aggression, or we can lose it gradually by installments—the end result is slavery. Professor Schlesinger says: "The political argument for the welfare state is that the welfare state is the best insurance against revolution." This just isn't true. Our defense against communism is individual freedom and our free

economy.

Words of a Great American Labor Leader

This fight isn't new. In 1917 one of the truly great labor statesmen, Samuel Compers, founder of the A.F.L., said, "Compulsory social insurance is in its essence undemocratic, and it cannot remove or prevent poverty. The workers of America adhere to voluntary institutions in preference to compulsory systems, which are held to be not only impracticable, but a menace to their rights, welfare and their liberty. Compulsory sickness insurance for Samuel Gompers



workers is based upon the theory that they are unable to look after their own interests and the state must interpose its authority and wisdom and assume the relation of parent or guardian."

Under high-flown phrases, "freedom from want," "human rights," etc., we see the federal government laying its hand on housing, health, farming, industry and education.

What Socialism is Doing to America

Twenty-seven years ago the government assured the farmer that subsidy didn't mean control. Then a farmer named Haley discovered he could be fined \$4,000 for raising wheat on his own land and feeding it to his own cattle. The fine was upheld by the Supreme Court with a single sentence ruling that said, in effect, that an agency of the federal government has the right to tell a citizen what he can grow on his own land for his own use. Thus the court practically cancelled out the 4th Amendment to the Constitution—our protection against search and seizure. If federal farm agents think a farmer is violating a regulation of the bureau, they pronounce the farmer guilty and impose a fine without even a formal hearing, let alone a trial by jury. If the fine is not paid, they can seize property (farm machinery, etc.)



A Giant Bureaucracy of Insane Contradictions

The farm program's reason for being is the control of overproduction. Billions are spent to store surplus farm products, and additional billions are spent to reclaim desert land and put it into production. The government will pay you not to plant, and it will also pay you to fertilize your land so as to increase the crop yield. Last year the government lost four and a half million acres of corn land. Well, the government paid \$150 million to keep it from being planted and now it develops that the four and a half million acres don't even exist, according to Senator John Williams of Delaware.

For three years, six agencies have loaned upwards of \$35 million to help poultry raisers increase egg production, while a seventh agency spent \$12 million to buy up surplus eggs.

One man buys a 7,000-acre ranch for nothing down and \$13,000 a year for ten years. He arranges in advance for soil bank payments on the land of \$27,000 a year, so will wind up with the ranch and \$140,000 at the taxpayers' expense.

In New Mexico citizens learned they could rent state-owned land for 25€ an acre and immediately apply for and receive \$9 an

acre in soil bank payments for not planting that land.

You and I approve of \$46 billion to be spent to defend us against Soviet aggression, but the communists in Poland and Yugoslavia could buy American wheat for 55¢ to 60¢ a bushel less than an American could. The responsible agency said it thought it was consistent with national policy.

Socialism Is a Failure Formula

All of this "farm mess" involves only one-fifth of agriculture-80% of the farm economy is still out in the free market, regulated only by the law of supply and demand. Common sense would indicate the answer should be to get that subsidized 20% out into that same free market; indeed, responsible farm groups have so advocated. Government has a different answer. To the bureaucrats, the only solution was to bring the other 80% into the government program. Congress was presented with a bill that could have resulted in the licensing of every farm in America, the complete control of production and price, and artificial shortages to bring about a 15% to 25% rise in the price of foodstuffs. Right now, under the feed grain program, we are told cooperation is voluntary, but the Secretary of Agriculture has the authority to dump surplus grain on the market to break the price and force nonparticipants to join.

Socialism-A Threat To Sound Medicine

Medicine is an area dear to the heart of the statist. Government participation can be so easily justified on humanitarian grounds. No one wants to appear unsympathetic to those in need of medical care.

Today this country has the costliest government hospital plan in the world—the Veterans Administration program. No one of us opposes the idea that a man disabled in the service



of his country should be given the finest of medical and hospital care. I'm sure no one protested some years ago when it was suggested that a veteran not wounded in military service, but who was in need of medical attention and destitute, should be cared for in a V.A. hospital if the bed was not required for a patient with a service-connected disability. Today three out of four V.A. hospital beds are filled with patients suffering diseases or injuries neither originated by nor aggravated by military service. And each year the budget provides for expansion of the V.A. hospital facilities.

The Needs of a Few Used as an Excuse to Impose Socialist Health Plan on Everyone

During the 86th Congress, former Congressman Forand introduced a bill to provide a national program of government health insurance. His bill was overwhelmingly rejected. Now a rewrite of that bill, limiting the benefits of citizens of social security age, is introduced. Proponents of the measure present an emotional appeal describing the plight of millions of senior citizens, ailing and without the means to provide adequate care. To oppose this measure is to be accused of throwing our elder citizens out to die. But what are the facts?

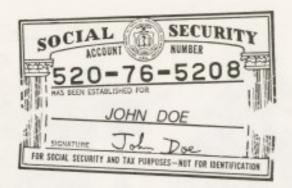
In the last ten years, 127 million Americans have acquired some form of medical or hospital insurance. Seventy percent of our people are so protected, including two-thirds of our senior citizens. At the present rate of increase, it is estimated that 90%

of the population will be covered by 1970.

As nearly as we can determine, the problem involves less than 10% of the elderly who would not be able to finance needed medical care. To this end, the 86th Congress adopted the Kerr-Mills Bill to provide federal funds to the states. Without waiting for this to be put into effect, the advocates of the insurance measure claim the only answer to the problem is compulsory government health insurance for all, regardless of need. Never mind if the individual is already insured, has an ample income, or possesses great wealth.

"Get a Foot in the Door"

Perhaps there is a clue to their true purpose in remarks made by now Ex-Congressman Forand, who said that if we could only break through and get our foot inside the door, then we could expand the program after that. Like an echo comes a pamphlet from the Socialist party entitled, "The Case for Socialized Medicine." It says, "We can do everything possible to encourage federal intervention, the financing of medical costs on a bit-bybit basis, and we can work to direct such intervention, so that if it isn't socialized medicine proper, at least it paves the way for socialized medicine." It would be well for us to keep in mind that if you socialize the doctor, you can socialize the patient as well.



A Fraudulent Social Security Program

The flagship of the liberal cause is Social Security. It is offered as the proven vehicle for the medical insurance program. We are told that here is a government insurance program in which we and our employers pay into a fund so that some day in our non-earning years we will call on this, our own money, to see us through. Of course, this isn't what officials of Social Security told the Supreme Court in a recent lawsuit. They said Social Security wasn't actually insurance—but they used that term to sell it to the people. Social Security dues are a tax for the general use of the government, and payment of that tax does not automatically entitle anyone to the receipt of benefits. The benefits are a welfare program which can be cancelled or curtailed by Congress at any time.

In 1935 that tax was 2% of \$3,000 of income. Today it is 6% of \$4,800. [Today, in 1981, the S.S. rate is 6.65% on as much as \$29,700 of wages. This rate is on both the employer and the employer.Ed.] If this medical aid bill is passed, the individual and employers' combined contribution will, by 1968, increase from \$288 to \$444. This is based on a ceiling of \$5,200 of income, but the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare recently told a Congressional committee he foresees a ceiling of perhaps \$9,000 on the amount taxed for Social Security. There are others who oppose any ceiling—who say the tax should be

levied against total income.

In this insurance program that is not insurance, we who are participating are unfunded to an amount more than \$300 billion. In a proposal to make Social Security voluntary, Congressman Rousselot has pointed out that the young man 20 or 21 years of age, starting out at an average salary, must, with his employer, contribute \$1.69 for every dollar he'll receive in benefits.



U.S. Billions to Socialize the World

From domestic welfare to the international scene, we find the same pattern of getting a "foot in the door," then freezing into permanence the temporary expedient. In the days following World War II, Senator Arthur Vandenberg gave his bipartisan blessing to foreign aid with these words, "We are not suddenly resolved to underwrite the earth. That would be fantastic, improvident, and impossible. The plan is for 15 months."

It is now 15 years, and more than \$100 billion later. [Ed: Foreign Aid is now 35 years old and has sent away over \$200 billion of our tax money, or debt.] The original 19 countries to be helped have become 97. Let's ignore the temptation to talk about items such as the road in South Vietnam which we started to build for \$18

million and which isn't finished yet at \$125 million.

All such things we could swallow if Free World strength, solidarity, and friendship had resulted. We spent more per capita in Laos than in any other country. Cuba is on the book for \$2-1/2 billion. In these 15 years, Communism has, in addition, absorbed China, North Vietnam and Tibet. Inroads have been made in Indonesia, Iran and Syria. They've tightened their grip on East Germany, Poland, and Hungary.

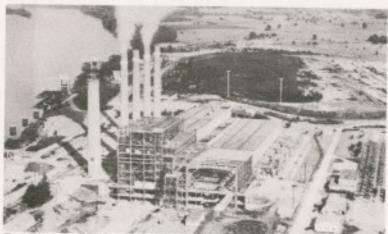
We've financed socialism in India, where the communist party has grown from 4 to 12 million in five years. In Bolivia, part of our money was used to nationalize the tin mines, which reduced their output 50%. Thanks in part to Yankee dollars, the cost of living in Bolivia rose over 250% in 1956 alone. Last year the Bolivians staged the worst anti-American riots in South American history. Creating bureaucracy here and in the

receiving nations, we have in effect exported socialism under the utopian ideal of world democracy and social revolution.

We talk private enterprise at home while we finance nationalization of industry all over the world.

Government-Owned Socialized Businesses

In May, 1960, Elmer B. Staats, Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, said that as of July 31, 1959, the U.S. Government owned and operated 17,507 businesses. The Hoover Commission found that in 1954 the Department of Defense alone was actively engaged in 47 categories of activities, ranging from coffee-roasting to manufacturing surgical and dental equipment. Operating these businesses in most instances tax-free, rent-free, dividend-free, in competition with our own citizens, the government loses billions of dollars each year.



Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) power plant project in Alabama

Government Subverting Private Sector

The Depressed Areas Bill enacted into law on May 1, 1961, put government's foot in the door of direct control of job training and placement, including subsidy and relocation of industries and at the same time created the biggest potential

pork barrel of all time.

We subsidized public housing originally so that no one should be forced to live in degradation. Now people of better-thanaverage income are declared eligible for such a subsidy, and the Chicago Public Housing Authority announces a plan to add swimming pools and recreational facilities, including professional directors.

Socialist Projects Evading Congressional Control

These are just a few of the things that have led to the creation of a permanent structure of government so complex it is virtually beyond Congressional control, and certainly is self-perpetuating. Congressman Utt has suggested that we are rapidly coming to a point where a complete change of elected officials, including Congress and the White House, can mean little change in policy. We are governed more and more by people for whom we have never voted—for whom we never will vote, and whom we cannot recall by our vote.

Even at Cabinet level, much of the policy is set by Civil Service employees who have been with the department for 20 years. They have no intention now or ever of recommending to the Secretary any policy which does not fit their personal philosophy of government. This is a form of invisible government and can lead to the most oppressive type of

tyranny.

Socialist Projects Can Bankrupt U.S.

Two years ago a subcommittee of Congress reported there were almost 2-1/2 million federal employees. In 1942 there was one top-salaried executive for every 89 employees. Now there is one for every 17. The committee reported it found little evidence that any bureau, agency, or department created in answer to an emergency ever went out of existence, even after the emergency disappeared.

This shouldn't have been too big a surprise to the Congressmen. Congress abolished the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in 1957, but it has spent over \$1 million since then. The current budget contains an item of \$65,000 for

administrative expenses.

The Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation formed in January, 1934, has made no loans since the depression. The authority of the Commissioner expired in 1947—since 1950 running

expenses have amounted to \$4 million!

Congress ordered the immediate liquidation of the Spruce Products Corporation in 1920. In 1930 they tried again. In 1947 it was still in business. In 1948 they found the answer—they cut off its appropriation. This was the agency created in World War I to find spruce wood for airplane fuselages!

Socialist Planning Inefficient and Costly

Some people have claimed justification for all of this on the basis that government, through its central power, can be more

efficient than local communities or even individuals. Exactly the opposite is true....

All of this vast government complex has been created by a tax system which refuses to recognize any limitation on its right to confiscate the earnings of its citizens.

Rise of a Crushing Tax Burden

No nation in history has survived a tax burden that reached a third of the national income. Today the tax collectors take 33¢ out of every dollar earned; and of that 33¢, 23¢ goes to the federal government, leaving 10¢ for the state, county, and local community. Is it no wonder we turn to the federal government for aid, but wouldn't it make more sense to leave that money in the local community to begin with instead of running it through that puzzle palace on the Potomac, only to have it returned minus a carrying charge?

Early in our history we were warned that the farther the spending was removed from the source of taxation, the less restraint there would be in its spending. Today shocking figures

prove the truth of this.

Hidden Taxes

To meet this overhead, we are burdened by hundreds of hidden and indirect taxes, accounting for one-third of our phone bill, one-quarter of the price of a new car, one-half of the gas and oil we use. More than a hundred make up half the price of a loaf of bread.

Graduated Income Tax

All of these pale into insignificance beside the enormity of the graduated income tax. It, too, follows the pattern of a modest beginning. It began as a 2% levy and that on only the top incomes. In the lifetime of most of us, this simple, 31-word law has grown to more than 440,000 words. It begins at 20% and has its steepest rate of increase through the middle-income brackets, where are to be found the bulk of our small businessmen, professional people, and skilled craftsmen. At \$16,000, a man begins giving the government half of the dollars he can earn, and from there it goes up to the confiscatory 91%. There is no moral right in a government taking anywhere from half to nine-tenths of the dollar a man can earn by his own ability. Beyond that is the fact the government cannot justify such confiscation on the basis of real need. The government's total grab from all the 50% to 91% brackets is less than threequarters of one billion dollars.

Karl Marx vs. the Bible

Because of our willingness to accept the idea that those best able to pay should lighten the burden of those with lesser earnings, we have adopted as proportionate taxation this progressive system spawned by Karl Marx and declared by him to be the prime essential of a socialist state-the method prescribed for taxing the middle class out of existence.

For an illustration of the difference between proportionate and progressive tax, we can look to



Karl Marx

the Bible. There tithing is explained as the economic basis of our Judaic-Christian religions. The Lord says you shall contribute one-tenth, and He says, "If I prosper you ten times as much, you will give ten times as much." That is proportionate-but look what happens today when you start computing Caesar's share. A man of average income suddenly prospered ten times as much would find his personal income tax increased 43 times!

What Socialism Is Doing To the People

Even with our graduated tax, we really haven't helped the socalled little man. Today a man with a wife and two children and a gross income of \$4,000 a year will find the hidden and direct taxes at the end of the year have taken \$1,059 of that \$4,000 income. Some people have suggested the answer to the problem is a still-higher rate on those of better income, but the economic planners have already destroyed that source. If the government confiscated all taxable income above \$10,000 a year after exemption and deductions, the increased revenue wouldn't pay the interest on the national debt.

Where the Money Is Going

Defense is given as justification for the tremendous increase in the federal budget, and yet since 1953 (the end of the Korean War) defense spending has increased only 1%, while nondefense federal spending has increase 63%.

Socialists Welcome Pressure for More Spending

We are told by some Congressmen that spending programs are forced on them by pressure groups. Two years ago I was a member of a pressure group. I appeared before the House Ways and Means Committee to present the demand of 33 unions and the management of the motion picture industry for a tax reform. Eighty-five percent of those testifying asked the committee to bring forth one particular bill which three years later is still buried in the committee. It would seem pressure groups are irresistible only if they favor spending.

Several months later they held additional hearings, but this time no volunteers. A group of hand-picked campus economists appeared before the committee and spoke only of the government's need for more revenue, not less. Their idea of tax reform involved rate reductions to make it "more palatable."

All told, these economists were sure their program would get the government \$18 billion a year more in revenue, and they just happened to be standing by with \$18 billion worth of welfare programs they wanted the government to adopt.

Socialists Reject Jefferson Formula

The big spenders reject "the idea" that the least government is the best government. According to them, you and I are not smart enough to spend our money, so they buy for us the welfare programs we are too stupid to buy for ourselves. Their high ideals cannot excuse the fact that it is dishonest to seek social legislation under the guise of taxation.

If we are to adopt socialism, then let it be presented to the

people as socialism!

Thomas Jefferson placed economy among the first and most important virtues and considered public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared.

Socialists Claim National Debt No Threat

Proponents of Keynesian economic theory tell us the national debt is meaningless: It is—it's incomprehensible! Who can understand \$298 billion? If I held a stack of \$1,000 bills in my hand just four inches high, I'd have \$1 million. If we had the national debt piled before us in \$1,000 bills, the pile would be more than 18 miles high. [Ed:Today the stack would be 54 miles high because our national debt is now nearly \$1 trillion!]

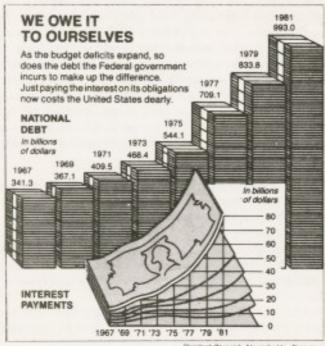
It is a greater amount than all other governments have spent

since the beginning of government itself.

Socialism Has Bloated both the Government and the Budget

Reduction of and economy in government is where we must start. We must demand Congress put an end to deficit spending, that government stay within the limits of its revenue, and that

provision be made for regular payments on the national debt. Then we must demand tax reform of the kind that will reduce the percentage of national income confiscated by the government. We must restore the right of a man to keep the fruit of his toil.



Christoph Blumrich, Alexander Ha-Newsweek

Reduce the Funds

To this end, I suggest the bi-partisan bill still buried in the House Ways and Means Committee-the Herlong-Baker bill. This is one of the better-prepared tax reform measures to be presented in half a century. Over a five-year period, it gradually reduces corporate and personal income tax to a 15% level with a 47% ceiling on surtax.

In the vast permanent structure of government, you and I cannot recommend specific areas where savings can be effected-nor can Congress, beyond a certain point. However, every businessman knows that if you reduce government income and then issue a blanket order to every department head and bureau chief that his budget is reduced by that same percentage, he'll know where the useless fat can be trimmed.

Of course, there will be screams. It will be said that it is dangerous to reduce taxes before reducing spending. They are talking through their hats. Government doesn't tax to get the money it needs—government will always find a need for the money it gets.

How Every Individual Can Help

We must do more than just stop spending measures. "Containment" won't save freedom on the home front any more than it can stop Russian aggression on the world front. We must roll back the network of encroaching controls. We can do it as individuals—we don't need any great new organization. If we could gather a thousand people together every day and enlist their support, it would take us 500 years to reach the population of the United States. But the magic of geometric progression takes over when we act as individuals. (If I were to contact just one person a week and request that he in turn contact another with the same message, our influence would pyramid, and in less than a year it would be possible to reach all the people on the earth.)

The Founding Fathers Had the Right Formula

James Russell Lowell, as Minister to England, was asked how long he thought our Republic would endure. He answered that our Republic would endure as long as the people keep the ideas of the men who founded it.

And what were those ideas? The founding fathers—that little band of men so advanced beyond their time the world has never seen their like since—created a government based on the theory that you and I have the God-given right and



ability to determine our own destiny. Here took place the only revolution in all history that didn't just exchange one set of rules for another. They shaped a government, bound it with a Constitution, and said its only function was to be a watchdog over man's freedom. They never planned that it should become a cow to be milked.

Here, for the first time, the individual genius of man—every man—was unleashed. Six percent of the world's population on 7% of the earth's land surface created and owns more than 50% of the world's wealth, and that wealth has been distributed more widely among our people than in any other society since time began. [True 20 years ago—but, sadly, not today.]

There were no fringe benefits at Valley Forge! The West was

won without an area redevelopment program!

Now you and I must answer once again whether life is so dear and peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery. If we are unwilling to pledge our lives, our efforts, and our sacred honor, then we must one day spend our sunset years telling our children and our children's children what it once was like in America when men were free.



Ronald Reagan being sworn-in as President of the United States, January 20, 1981

