

FIRST INSERTION

NOTICE OF FORECLOSURE SALE IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SIXTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT IN AND FOR PINELLAS COUNTY, FLORIDA
 GENERAL JURISDICTION DIVISION
CASE NO. 20-005743-CI
U.S. BANK NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, Plaintiff, vs. STEPHANIE V. AKERS, et al. Defendant(s).
 NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN pursuant to a Final Judgment of Foreclosure dated June 2, 2021, and entered in 20-005743-CI of the Circuit Court of the SIXTH Judicial Circuit in and for Pinellas County, Florida, wherein U.S. BANK NATIONAL ASSOCIATION is the Plaintiff and STEPHANIE V. AKERS; UNKNOWN SPOUSE OF STEPHANIE V. AKERS N/K/A JASON AKERS; FLORIDA HOUSING FINANCE CORPORATION; FOREST LAKES AT LARGO PROPERTY OWNERS ASSOCIATION, INC. are the Defendant(s). Ken Burke as the Clerk of the Circuit Court will sell to the highest and best bidder for cash at www.pinellas.realforeclose.com,

at 10:00 AM, on August 4, 2021, the following described property as set forth in said Final Judgment, to wit: ALL THAT CERTAIN LAND SITUATED IN COUNTY OF PINELLAS, STATE OF FLORIDA, VIZ: LOT 5, BLOCK 3, FOREST LAKES AT LARGO, ACCORDING TO THE MAP OR PLAT THEREOF AS RECORDED IN PLAT BOOK 123, PAGE 12, PUBLIC RECORDS OF PINELLAS COUNTY, FLORIDA. Property Address: 13615 FOREST LAKE DR, LARGO, FL 33771
 Any person claiming an interest in the surplus from the sale, if any, other than the property owner as of the date of the lis pendens must file a claim in accordance with Florida Statutes, Section 45.031.
IMPORTANT AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT: If you are a person with a disability who needs any accommodation in order to participate in this proceeding, you are entitled, at no cost to you, to the provision of certain assistance. Please contact the Human Rights Office. 400 S. Ft. Harrison Ave., Ste. 500 Clearwa-

ter, FL 33756, (727) 464-4062 V/TDD; or 711 for the hearing impaired. Contact should be initiated at least seven days before the scheduled court appearance, or immediately upon receiving this notification if the time before the scheduled appearance is less than seven days. The court does not provide transportation and cannot accommodate such requests. Persons with disabilities needing transportation to court should contact their local public transportation providers for information regarding transportation services.
 Dated this 13 day of July, 2021.
 ROBERTSON, ANSCHUTZ, SCHNEID, CRANE & PARTNERS, PLLC
 Attorney for Plaintiff
 6409 Congress Ave., Suite 100
 Boca Raton, FL 33487
 Telephone: 561-241-6901
 Facsimile: 561-997-6909
 Service Email: flmail@raslg.com
 By: \S\Laura Elise Goorland
 Laura Elise Goorland, Esquire
 Florida Bar No. 55402
 Communication Email: lgoorland@raslg.com
 20-065770 - MiM
 July 16, 23, 2021 21-03392N

NOTICE OF SALE IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE 6TH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT IN AND FOR PINELLAS COUNTY, FLORIDA
CASE NO.: 20-004573 CI
M4, LLC, a Florida limited liability company, Plaintiff, vs. III D'S, LLC, a Florida limited liability company; DON BOUTSOMSI, an individual; JOHN DOE and JANE DOE, as Unknown Tenants; and any unknown heirs, devisees, grantees, creditors, and other unknown persons, unknown entities, unknown parties or unknown spouses claiming by, through or under any of the above-named Defendants, Defendants.
 Notice is hereby given that pursuant to the Uniform Final Judgment of Foreclosure entered in this cause, in the Circuit Court of the 6th Judicial Circuit in and for Pinellas County, Florida, wherein M4, LLC, a Florida limited liability company, Plaintiff, and III D'S, LLC, a Florida limited liability company; DON BOUTSOMSI, an

individual; VIENGXAY BOUTSOMSI, an individual; JOHN DOE and JANE DOE, as unknown tenants are Defendants, the Clerk of Court will sell to the highest bidder for cash at www.pinellas.realforeclose.com at 10:00 a.m. on the 17th Day of August 2021 the following described property as set forth in the Uniform Final Judgment of Foreclosure, to wit:
 Lot 16, Block 45, PASADENA ESTATES SECTION D, according to the Plat Thereof, as Recorded in Plat Book 7, PAGE 12, Public Records of Pinellas County, Florida.
 Property Address: 926 Hull Street, S., Gulfport, FL 33707
IF YOU ARE A PERSON CLAIMING A RIGHT TO FUNDS REMAINING AFTER THE SALE, YOU MUST FILE A CLAIM WITH THE CLERK NO LATER THAN THE DATE THAT THE CLERK REPORTS THE FUNDS AS UNCLAIMED. IF YOU FAIL TO FILE A CLAIM, YOU WILL NOT BE ENTITLED TO ANY REMAINING FUNDS. AFTER THE FUNDS ARE REPORTED AS UNCLAIMED, ONLY THE OWNER OF RECORD AS OF THE DATE OF THE LIS PENDENS

MAY CLAIM THE SURPLUS.
 *If you are a person with a disability who needs any accommodation in order to participate in this proceeding, you are entitled, at no cost to you, to the provision of certain assistance. Please contact the Human Rights Office, 400 S. Ft. Harrison Ave., Ste. 300, Clearwater, FL 33756, (727) 464-4062 (V/TDD) at least 7 days before your scheduled court appearance, or immediately upon receiving this notification if the time before the scheduled appearance is less than 7 days; if you are hearing or voice impaired, dial 711."
 DATED: July 12, 2021
 KOPELOWITZ OSTROW FERGUSON WEISELBERG GILBERT
 Attorneys for Plaintiff
 One West Las Olas Boulevard, Suite 500
 Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33301
 Tele: (954) 525-4100
 Fax: (954) 525-4300
 By: /s/ Marni Avidon
 MARNI L. AVIDON
 Florida Bar No.: 97895
 avidon@kolawyers.com
 000066/01338219_1
 July 16, 23, 2021 21-03365N

FIRST INSERTION

NOTICE OF SALE IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SIXTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT IN AND FOR PINELLAS COUNTY, FLORIDA
 CIVIL ACTION
Case #: 20-2017-CA-005382
DIVISION: 7
U.S. Bank, National Association, as Trustee for Structured Asset Securities Corporation Mortgage Pass-Through Certificates, Series 2007-EQ1 Plaintiff, -vs.- Yolanda A. Evans; Unknown Spouse of Yolanda A. Evans; Unknown Parties in Possession #1, if living, and all Unknown Parties claiming by, through, under and against the above named Defendant(s) who are not known to be dead or alive, whether said Unknown Parties may claim an interest as Spouse, Heirs, Devisees, Grantees, or Other Claimants; Unknown Parties in Possession #2, if living, and all Unknown Parties claiming by, through, under and against the above named Defendant(s) who are not known to be dead or alive, whether said Unknown Parties may claim an interest as Spouse, Heirs, Devisees, Grantees, or Other Claimants Defendant(s).
 NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN pursuant to order rescheduling foreclosure sale or Final Judgment, entered in Civil Case No. 52-2017-CA-005382 of the Circuit Court of the 6th Judicial Circuit in and for Pinellas County, Florida, wherein U.S. Bank, National Association, as Trustee for Structured Asset Securities Corporation Mortgage Pass-Through Certificates, Series 2007-EQ1, Plaintiff and Yolanda A. Evans are defendant(s), I, Clerk of Court, Ken Burke, will sell to the highest and best bidder for cash at www.pinellas.realforeclose.com, at 10:00 A.M. on August 3, 2021, the following described property as set

forth in said Final Judgment, to-wit: THE WEST 20 FEET OF LOT 22, AND THE EAST 30 FEET OF LOT 21, IN BLOCK G, OF KENILWORTH, ACCORDING TO THE PLAT THEREOF, AS RECORDED IN PLAT BOOK 6, ON PAGE 22, OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF PINELLAS COUNTY, FLORIDA.
ANY PERSON CLAIMING AN INTEREST IN THE SURPLUS FROM THE SALE, IF ANY, OTHER THAN THE PROPERTY OWNER AS OF THE DATE OF THE LIS PENDENS MUST FILE A CLAIM NO LATER THAN THE DATE THAT THE CLERK REPORTS THE FUNDS AS UNCLAIMED.
 Pursuant to Fla. R. Jud. Admin. 2.516(b)(1)(A), Plaintiff's counsel hereby designates its primary email address for the purposes of email service as: FlEService@logs.com
 Pursuant to the Fair Debt Collections Practices Act, you are advised that this office may be deemed a debt collector and any information obtained may be used for that purpose.
ANY PERSON WITH A DISABILITY REQUIRING REASONABLE ACCOMMODATIONS SHOULD CALL (813) 464-4062 (V/TDD), NO LATER THAN SEVEN (7) DAYS PRIOR TO ANY PROCEEDING.
 LOGS LEGAL GROUP LLP
 Attorneys for Plaintiff
 4630 Woodland Corporate Blvd., Suite 100
 Tampa, Florida 33614
 Telephone: (813) 880-8888 Ext. 55139
 Fax: (813) 880-8800
 For Email Service Only: FlEService@logs.com
 For all other inquiries: mtebbi@logs.com
 By: /s/ Michael L. Tebbi
 Michael L. Tebbi, Esq.
 FL Bar # 70856
 17-309092 FC01 WNI
 July 16, 23, 2021 21-03359N

NOTICE OF ACTION IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SIXTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT, IN AND FOR PINELLAS COUNTY, FLORIDA
CASE NO. 21-000423-CI
THE BANK OF NEW YORK MELLON TRUST COMPANY, N.A. AS SUCCESSOR-IN-INTEREST TO ALL PERMITTED SUCCESSORS AND ASSIGNS OF JPMORGAN CHASE BANK, N.A., AS TRUSTEE FOR TRUMAN CAPITAL MORTGAGE LOAN TRUST 2005-1 ASSET-BACKED CERTIFICATES, SERIES 2005-1, Plaintiff, vs. UNKNOWN HEIRS OF FRANK HALL A/K/A FRANK HALL, JR.; UNKNOWN HEIRS OF CHRISTINE HALL A/K/A CHRISTINE B, ET AL. Defendants
 To the following Defendant(s): UNKNOWN HEIRS OF FRANK HALL A/K/A FRANK HALL, JR (CURRENT RESIDENCE UNKNOWN)
 Last Known Address: 1130 27TH AVE SOUTH, ST PETERSBURG FL 33705
 UNKNOWN HEIRS OF CHRISTINE HALL A/K/A CHRISTINE BAXTER (CURRENT RESIDENCE UNKNOWN)
 Last Known Address: 1130 27TH AVE SOUTH, ST PETERSBURG FL 33705
YOU ARE HEREBY NOTIFIED that an action for Foreclosure of Mortgage on the following described property:
 LOT 3, BLOCK 2, OF REPLAT OF PALLANZA PARK, ACCORDING TO THE PLAT THEREOF, RECORDED IN PLAT BOOK 14, PAGES 1, 2, AND 3, OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF PINELLAS COUNTY, FLORIDA.
 A/K/A 1130 27TH AVE SOUTH, ST PETERSBURG FL 33705
 has been filed against you and you are required to serve a copy of your written defenses, if any, to Tammi M. Calderone, Esq. at VAN NESS LAW FIRM, PLC, Attorney for the Plaintiff, whose address is 1239 E. NEWPORT CENTER DRIVE, SUITE #110, DEERFIELD BEACH, FL 33442 on or before a date which is within thirty (30) days after the first publication of this Notice in the BUSINESS OBSERVER and file the original with the Clerk of this Court either before service on Plaintiff's attorney or immediately thereafter; otherwise a default will be entered against you for the relief demanded in the complaint. This notice is provided to Administrative Order No. 2065.
 If you are a person with a disability who needs any accommodation in order to participate in this proceeding, you are entitled, at no cost to you, to the provision of certain assistance. Please contact the Human Rights Office. 400 S. Ft. Harrison Ave., Ste. 500 Clearwater, FL 33756, (727) 464-4062 V/TDD; or 711 for the hearing impaired. Contact should be initiated at least seven days before the scheduled court appearance, or immediately upon receiving this notification if the time before the scheduled appearance is less than seven days. The court does not provide transportation and cannot accommodate such requests. Persons with disabilities needing transportation to court should contact their local public transportation providers for information regarding transportation services.
 WITNESS my hand and the seal of this Court this 09 day of JUL, 2021
 Ken Burke
 PINELLAS COUNTY
 CLERK OF COURT
 By /s/ Thomas Smith
 As Deputy Clerk
 Tammi M. Calderone, Esq.
 VAN NESS LAW FIRM, PLC
 Attorney for the Plaintiff
 1239 E. NEWPORT CENTER DRIVE, SUITE #110
 DEERFIELD BEACH, FL 33442
 PHH16433-20/ng
 July 16, 23, 2021 21-03355N

NOTICE OF FORECLOSURE SALE IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE SIXTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT IN AND FOR PINELLAS COUNTY, FLORIDA
 GENERAL JURISDICTION DIVISION
CASE NO. 17-004567-CI
WELLS FARGO BANK, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION AS TRUSTEE FOR STRUCTURED ASSET SECURITIES CORPORATION, MORTGAGE PASS-THROUGH CERTIFICATES, SERIES 2006-OPT1, Plaintiff, vs. LAURIE L. PUCKETT, et al. Defendant(s).
 NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN pursuant to a Final Judgment of Foreclosure dated March 12, 2020, and entered in 17-004567-CI of the Circuit Court of the SIXTH Judicial Circuit in and for Pinellas County, Florida, wherein WELLS FARGO BANK, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION AS TRUSTEE FOR STRUCTURED ASSET SECURITIES CORPORATION, MORTGAGE PASS-THROUGH CERTIFICATES, SERIES 2006-OPT1 is the Plaintiff and LAURIE L. PUCKETT; DAVID W. PUCKETT; UNKNOWN SPOUSE OF DAVID W. PUCKETT; CIT LOAN CORPORATION F/K/A THE CIT GROUP/CONSUMER FINANCE, INC.; and FORD MOTOR CREDIT COMPANY LLC, A DELAWARE LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY F/K/A JAGUAR CREDIT are the Defendant(s). Ken Burke as the Clerk of the Circuit Court will sell to the highest and best bidder for cash at www.pinellas.realforeclose.com, at 10:00 AM., on August 4, 2021, the following described property as set forth in said Final Judgment, to wit:
 LOT 23, BLOCK 3, FIRST ADDITION ISLE OF PALMS, ACCORDING TO THE PLAT THEREOF, AS RECORDED IN PLAT BOOK 38, PAGES 62 AND 63, PUBLIC RECORDS

OF PINELLAS COUNTY, FLORIDA.
 Property Address: 11120 5TH STREET E., TREASURE ISLAND, FL 33706
 Any person claiming an interest in the surplus from the sale, if any, other than the property owner as of the date of the lis pendens must file a claim in accordance with Florida Statutes, Section 45.031.
IMPORTANT AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT: If you are a person with a disability who needs any accommodation in order to participate in this proceeding, you are entitled, at no cost to you, to the provision of certain assistance. Please contact the Human Rights Office, 400 S. Ft. Harrison Ave., Ste. 500 Clearwater, FL 33756, (727) 464-4062 V/TDD; or 711 for the hearing impaired. Contact should be initiated at least seven days before the scheduled court appearance, or immediately upon receiving this notification if the time before the scheduled appearance is less than seven days. The court does not provide transportation and cannot accommodate such requests. Persons with disabilities needing transportation to court should contact their local public transportation providers for information regarding transportation services.
 Dated this 14 day of July, 2021.
 ROBERTSON, ANSCHUTZ, SCHNEID, CRANE & PARTNERS, PLLC
 Attorney for Plaintiff
 6409 Congress Ave., Suite 100
 Boca Raton, FL 33487
 Telephone: 561-241-6901
 Facsimile: 561-997-6909
 Service Email: flmail@raslg.com
 By: \S\Laura Elise Goorland
 Laura Elise Goorland, Esquire
 Florida Bar No. 55402
 Communication Email: lgoorland@raslg.com
 17-050041 - MaS
 July 16, 23, 2021 21-03407N

FIRST INSERTION

OFFICIAL COURTHOUSE WEBSITES:

MANATEE COUNTY: manateeclerk.com | **SARASOTA COUNTY:** sarasotaclerk.com

CHARLOTTE COUNTY: charlotte.realforeclose.com | **LEE COUNTY:** leeclerk.org

COLLIER COUNTY: collierclerk.com | **HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY:** hillsclerk.com

PASCO COUNTY: pasco.realforeclose.com | **PINELLAS COUNTY:** pinellasclerk.org

POLK COUNTY: polkcountyclerk.net | **ORANGE COUNTY:** myorangeclerk.com

Check out your notices on:

www.floridapublicnotices.com

Business Observer

LV10186

The History
How We Got Here

Cradle to Grave

The election of 1932 changed how the public viewed the role of government. Every decade since, government has continually expanded, with greater regulation and one failed welfare program after another.

BY MILTON & ROSE FRIEDMAN

The presidential election of 1932 was a political watershed for the United States.

Herbert Hoover, seeking re-election on the Republican ticket, was saddled with a deep depression. Millions of people were unemployed. The standard image of the time was a breadline or an unemployed person selling apples on a street corner.

Though the independent Federal Reserve System was to blame for the mistaken monetary policy that converted a recession into a catastrophic depression, the president, as the head of state, could not escape responsibility. The public had lost faith in the prevailing economic system. People were desperate. They wanted reassurance, a promise of a way out.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the charismatic governor of New York, was the Democratic candidate. He was a fresh face, exuding hope and optimism.

True enough, he campaigned on the old principles. He promised if elected to cut waste in government and balance the budget, and berated Herbert Hoover for extravagance in government spending and for permitting government deficits to mount.

At the same time, both before the election and during

the interlude before his inauguration, Roosevelt met regularly with a group of advisers at the Governor's Mansion in Albany — his “brain trust,” as it was christened. They devised measures to be taken after his inauguration that grew into the “New Deal” FDR had pledged to the American people in accepting the Democratic nomination for president.

The election of 1932 was a watershed in narrowly political terms.

In the 72 years from 1860 to 1932, Republicans held the presidency for 56 years, Democrats for 16. In the 48 years from 1932 to 1980, the tables were turned: Democrats held the presidency for 32 years, Republicans for 16.

The election was also a watershed in a more important sense: It marked a major change in both the public's perception of the role of government and the actual role assigned to government.

One simple set of statistics suggests the magnitude of the change. From the founding of the Republic to 1929, spending by governments at all levels — federal, state, and local — never exceeded 12% of the national income except in time of major war, and two-thirds of that was state and local spending. Federal spending typically amounted to 3% or less of the national income.

Since 1933, government spending has never been less than 20% of national income and is now over 40%, and two-thirds of that is spending by the federal government.

True, much of the period since the end of World War II has been a period of cold or hot war. However, since 1946 non-defense spending alone has never been less than 16% of the national income and is now roughly one-third the national income. Federal government spending alone is more than one-quarter of the national income in total, and more than a fifth for non-defense purposes alone. By this measure, the role of the federal government in the economy has multiplied roughly tenfold in the past half-century.

ROOSEVELT'S UTOPIAN FANTASY

Roosevelt was inaugurated on March 4, 1933 — when the economy was at its lowest ebb. Many states had declared a banking holiday, closing their banks. Two days after he was inaugurated, President Roosevelt ordered all banks throughout the nation to close.

But Roosevelt used his inaugural address to deliver a message of hope, proclaiming that “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.” And he immediately launched a frenetic program of legislative measures — the “100 days” of a special congressional session.

The members of FDR's brain trust were drawn mainly from the universities — in particular, Columbia University. They reflected the change that had occurred earlier in the intellectual atmosphere on the campuses — from

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The role of the federal government in the economy has multiplied roughly tenfold in the past half-century.



ILLUSTRATION BY SEAN MICHAEL MONAGHAN

belief in individual responsibility, laissez faire and a decentralized and limited government to belief in social responsibility and a centralized and powerful government. It was the function of government, they believed, to protect individuals from the vicissitudes of fortune and to control the operation of the economy in the “general interest,” even if that involved government ownership and operation of the means of production.

These two strands were already present in a famous novel published in 1887, “Looking Backward,” by Edward Bellamy, a utopian fantasy in which a Rip Van Winkle character who goes to sleep in the year 1887 awakens in the year 2000 to discover a changed world. “Looking backward,” his new companions explain to him how the utopia that astonishes him emerged in the 1930s — a prophetic date-from the hell of the 1880s.

That utopia involved the promise of security “from cradle to grave” — the first use of that phrase we have come across — as well as detailed government planning, including compulsory national service by all persons over an extended period.

Coming from this intellectual atmosphere, Roosevelt’s advisers were all too ready to view the depression as a failure of capitalism and to believe that active intervention by government — and especially central government — was the appropriate remedy. Benevolent public servants, disinterested experts, should assume the power that narrow-minded, selfish “economic royalists” had abused. In the words of Roosevelt’s first inaugural address, “The money changers have fled from the high seats in the temple of our civilization.”

In designing programs for Roosevelt to adopt, they could draw not only on the campus, but on the earlier experience of Bismarck’s Germany, Fabian England and middle-way Sweden. The New Deal, as it emerged during the 1930s, clearly reflected these views.

It included programs designed to reform the basic structure of the economy. Some of these had to be aban-

doned when they were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, notably the NRA (National Recovery Administration) and the AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Administration). Others are still with us, notably the Securities and Exchange Commission, the National Labor Relations Board, and nationwide minimum wages.

The New Deal also included programs to provide security against misfortune, notably Social Security (OASI: Old Age and Survivors Insurance), unemployment insurance and public assistance.

The New Deal also included programs intended to be strictly temporary, designed to deal with the emergency situation created by the Great Depression. Some of the temporary programs became permanent, as is the way with government programs.

The most important temporary programs included “make work” projects under the Works Progress Administration, the use of unemployed youth to improve the national parks and forests under the Civilian Conservation Corps, and direct federal relief to the indigent.

At the time, these programs served a useful function. There was distress on a vast scale; it was important to do something about that distress promptly, both to assist the people in distress and to restore hope and confidence to the public. These programs were hastily contrived, and no doubt were imperfect and wasteful, but that was understandable and unavoidable under the circumstances. The Roosevelt administration achieved a considerable measure of success in relieving immediate distress and restoring confidence.

CENTRAL PLANNING TAKES OVER

World War II interrupted the New Deal, while at the same time strengthening greatly its foundations. The war brought massive government budgets and unprecedented control by government over the details of economic life: fixing of prices and wages by edict, rationing

of consumer goods, prohibition of the production of some civilian goods, allocation of raw materials and finished products, control of imports and exports.

The elimination of unemployment, the vast production of war materiel that made the United States the “arsenal of democracy” and unconditional victory over Germany and Japan — all these were widely interpreted as demonstrating the capacity of government to run the economic system more effectively than “unplanned capitalism.”

One of the first pieces of major legislation enacted after the war was the Employment Act of 1946, which expressed government’s responsibility for maintaining “maximum employment, production and purchasing power” and, in effect, enacted Keynesian policies into law.

The war’s effect on public attitudes was the mirror image of the depression’s. The depression convinced the public that capitalism was defective; the war, that centralized government was efficient. Both conclusions were false.

The depression was produced by a failure of government, not of private enterprise. As to the war, it is one thing for government to exercise great control temporarily for a single overriding purpose shared by almost all citizens and for which almost all citizens are willing to make heavy sacrifices; it is a very different thing for government to control the economy permanently to promote a vaguely defined “public interest” shaped by the enormously varied and diverse objectives of its citizens.

At the end of the war, it looked as if central economic planning was the wave of the future. That outcome was passionately welcomed by some who saw it as the dawn of a world of plenty shared equally. It was just as passionately feared by others, including us, who saw it as a turn to tyranny and misery. So far, neither the hopes of the one nor the fears of the other have been realized.

Government has expanded greatly. However, that expansion has not taken the form of detailed central economic planning accompanied by ever widening nationalization of industry, finance and commerce, as so many of us feared it would. Experience put an end to detailed economic planning, partly because it was not successful in achieving the announced objectives, but also because it conflicted with freedom.

That conflict was clearly evident in the attempt by the British government to control the jobs people could hold. Adverse public reaction forced the abandonment of the attempt. Nationalized industries proved so inefficient and generated such large losses in Britain, Sweden, France and the United States that only a few die-hard Marxists today regard further nationalization as desirable.

The illusion that nationalization increases productive efficiency, once widely shared, is gone. Additional nationalization does occur — passenger railroad service and some freight service in the United States, Leyland Motors in Great Britain, steel in Sweden. But it occurs for very different reasons — because consumers wish to retain services subsidized by the government when market conditions call for their curtailment or because workers in unprofitable industries fear unemployment. Even the supporters of such nationalization regard it as at best a necessary evil.

SOCIALIZING RESULTS OF PRODUCTION

The failure of planning and nationalization has not eliminated pressure for an ever bigger government. It has simply altered its direction. The expansion of government now takes the form of welfare programs and of regulatory activities. As W. Allen Wallis put it in a somewhat different context, socialism, “intellectually bankrupt after more than a century of seeing one after another of its arguments for socializing the means of production demolished — now seeks to socialize the results of production.”

In the welfare area, the change of direction has led to an explosion in recent decades, especially after President Lyndon Johnson declared a “War on Poverty” in 1964. New Deal programs of Social Security, unemployment insurance and direct relief were all expanded to cover new groups; payments were increased; and Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps and numerous other programs were added. Public housing and urban renewal programs were enlarged. By now there are literally hundreds of government welfare and income transfer programs.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, established in 1953 to consolidate the scattered welfare programs, began with a budget of \$2 billion, less than 5% of expenditures on national defense. Twenty-five years later, in 1978, its budget was \$160 billion, one and a half times as much as total spending on the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. It had the third-largest budget in the world, exceeded only by the entire budget of the

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The war’s effect on public attitudes was the mirror image of the depression’s. The depression convinced the public that capitalism was defective; the war, that centralized government was efficient. Both conclusions were false.

U.S. government and of the Soviet Union.

The department supervised a huge empire, penetrating every corner of the nation. More than one out of every 100 persons employed in this country worked in the HEW empire, either directly for the department or in programs for which HEW had responsibility but which were administered by state or local government units. All of us were affected by its activities. (In late 1979, HEW was subdivided by the creation of a separate Department of Education.)

No one can dispute two superficially contradictory phenomena: widespread dissatisfaction with the results of this explosion in welfare activities; and continued pressure for further expansion.

BAD MEANS FOR GOOD OBJECTIVES

The objectives have all been noble; the results, disappointing. Social Security expenditures have skyrocketed, and the system is in deep financial trouble. Public housing and urban renewal programs have subtracted from rather than added to the housing available to the poor. Public assistance rolls mount despite growing employment.

By general agreement, the welfare program is a “mess” saturated with fraud and corruption. As government has paid a larger share of the nation’s medical bills, both patients and physicians complain of rocketing costs and of the increasing impersonality of medicine. In education, student performance has dropped as federal intervention has expanded.

The repeated failure of well-intentioned programs is not an accident. It is not simply the result of mistakes of execution. The failure is deeply rooted in the use of bad means to achieve good objectives.

Despite the failure of these programs, the pressure to expand them grows. Failures are attributed to the miserliness of Congress in appropriating funds, and so are met with a cry for still bigger programs. Special interests that benefit from specific programs press for their expansion — foremost among them the massive bureaucracy spawned by the programs.

An attractive alternative to the present welfare system is a negative income tax. This proposal has been widely supported by individuals and groups of all political persuasions. A variant has been proposed by three presidents; yet it seems politically unfeasible for the foreseeable future.