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FLORIDA'S NEWSPAPER FOR THE C-SUITE
Business Observer

FIRST INSERTION

NOTICE TO CREDITORS
 IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR
 LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA
 PROBATE DIVISION
 File No. 23-CP-001926
 IN RE: ESTATE OF
 BETTY ROSE SMITH
 Deceased.

The administration of the estate of Betty Rose Smith, deceased, whose date of death was April 16, 2023, is pending in the Circuit Court for Lee County, Florida, Probate Division, the address of which is 1700 Monroe Street Fort Myers, FL 33901. The names and addresses of the personal representative and the personal representative's attorney are set forth below.

All creditors of the decedent and other persons having claims or demands against decedent's estate on whom a copy of this notice is required to be served must file their claims with this court ON OR BEFORE THE LATER OF 3 MONTHS AFTER THE TIME OF THE FIRST PUBLICATION OF THIS NOTICE OR 30 DAYS AFTER THE DATE OF SERVICE OF A COPY OF THIS NOTICE ON THEM.

All other creditors of the decedent and other persons having claims or demands against decedent's estate must file their claims with this court WITHIN 3 MONTHS AFTER THE DATE OF THE FIRST PUBLICATION OF THIS NOTICE.

ALL CLAIMS NOT FILED WITHIN THE TIME PERIODS SET FORTH IN FLORIDA STATUTES SECTION 733.702 WILL BE FOREVER BARRED.

NOTWITHSTANDING THE TIME PERIODS SET FORTH ABOVE, ANY CLAIM FILED TWO (2) YEARS OR MORE AFTER THE DECEDENT'S DATE OF DEATH IS BARRED.

The date of first publication of this notice is July 28, 2023.

Personal Representative:

Craig R. Smith
 1089 Winding Pines Circle, Unit 102
 Cape Coral, Florida 33909
 Attorney for Personal Representative:
 Heidi M. Brown
 Heidi M. Brown, Attorney
 Florida Bar Number: 48692
 Osterhout & McKinney, P.A.
 3783 Seago Lane
 Fort Myers, FL 33901
 Telephone: (239) 939-4888
 Fax: (239) 277-0601
 E-Mail: heidib@omplaw.com
 Secondary E-Mail:
hillaryh@omplaw.com
 July 28; Aug. 4, 2023 23-02224L

FIRST INSERTION

Notice is hereby given that JOSEF STRAUSS, OWNER, desiring to engage in business under the fictitious name of JOSEF RALF STRAUSS located at 12611 NEW BRITTANY BLVD, FORT MYERS, FLORIDA 33907 intends to register the said name in LEE county with the Division of Corporations, Florida Department of State, pursuant to section 865.09 of the Florida Statutes.
 July 28, 2023 23-02204L

FIRST INSERTION

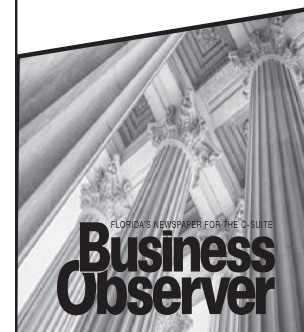
NOTICE UNDER FICTITIOUS NAME LAW PURSUANT TO SECTION 865.09, FLORIDA STATUTES
 NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that Matthew Reed / SOUTH FLORIDA TRADING COMPANY LLC will engage in business under the fictitious name TROPICAL WINDOW WASHING, with a physical address 11650 Timber Creek Drive Fort Myers, Florida 33913, with a mailing address 11650 Timber Creek Drive Fort Myers, Florida 33913, and already registered the name mentioned above with the Florida Department of State, Division of Corporations.
 July 28, 2023 23-02205L

PUBLISH YOUR LEGAL NOTICE

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and select the appropriate County name from the menu option

or email legal@businessobserverfl.com



FIRST INSERTION

NOTICE TO CREDITORS
 IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR
 LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA
 PROBATE DIVISION
 FILE NO. 23-CP-2155
 IN RE: ESTATE OF
 CHARLES DHAIM HAFTARCZYK
 A/K/A CHARLES CHAIM
 HAFTARCZYK A/K/A
 CHARLES HAFTARCZYK,
 Deceased.

The administration of the estate of Charles Dhaim Haftarczyk a/k/a Charles Chaim Haftarczyk a/k/a Charles Haftarczyk, deceased, whose date of death was April 21, 2023, is pending in the Circuit Court for Lee County, Florida, Probate Division, the address of which is Lee County Justice Center, 1700 Monroe Street, Florida 33901. The names and addresses of the personal representative and the personal representative's attorney are set forth below.

All creditors of the decedent and other persons having claims or demands against decedent's estate on whom a copy of this notice is required to be served must file their claims with this court ON OR BEFORE THE LATER OF 3 MONTHS AFTER THE TIME OF THE FIRST PUBLICATION OF THIS NOTICE OR 30 DAYS AFTER THE DATE OF SERVICE OF A COPY OF THIS NOTICE ON THEM.

All other creditors of the decedent and other persons having claims or demands against decedent's estate must file their claims with this court WITHIN 3 MONTHS AFTER THE DATE OF THE FIRST PUBLICATION OF THIS NOTICE.

ALL CLAIMS NOT FILED WITHIN THE TIME PERIODS SET FORTH IN FLORIDA STATUTES SECTION 733.702 WILL BE FOREVER BARRED.

NOTWITHSTANDING THE TIME PERIODS SET FORTH ABOVE, ANY CLAIM FILED TWO (2) YEARS OR MORE AFTER THE DECEDENT'S DATE OF DEATH IS BARRED.

The date of first publication of this notice is July 28, 2023.

Tiffany E. Bowen
 12313 Stanwood Court
 Glen Allen, VA 23059

/s/ Alvaro Sanchez
 Alvaro C. Sanchez
 Attorney for the Petitioner
 1714 Cape Coral Parkway East
 Cape Coral, FL 33904
 Tel: (239) 542-4733
 Fax: (239) 542-9203
 FLA BAR NO 105539
 Email: alvero@capecoralattorney.com
 Email:
courtfilings@capecoralattorney.com
 July 28; Aug. 4, 2023 23-02223L

FIRST INSERTION

NOTICE UNDER FICTITIOUS NAME LAW PURSUANT TO SECTION 865.09, FLORIDA STATUTES
 NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that Amy Ginsburg / THE SOUTHWEST FLORIDA SYMPHONY will engage in business under the fictitious name SYMPHONY SUPPORT CREW, with a physical address 7500 COLLEGE PARKWAY FORT MYERS, FL 33907, with a mailing address 7500 COLLEGE PARKWAY FORT MYERS, FL 33907, and already registered the name mentioned above with the Florida Department of State, Division of Corporations.
 July 28, 2023 23-02220L

FIRST INSERTION

Notice Under Fictitious Name Law
 According to Florida Statute Number 865.09
 NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the undersigned, desiring to engage in business under the Fictitious Name of Discount Battery located at 3911 PALM BEACH BLVD UNIT A in the City of Fort Myers, Lee County, FL 33916 intends to register the said name with the Division of Corporations of the Department of State, Tallahassee, Florida.
 Dated this 24th day of 07, 2023.
 Ripken Olegario
 Discount Battery
 July 28, 2023 23-02208L



What is a public notice?

A public notice is information intended to inform citizens of government activities. The notice should be published in a forum independent of the government, readily available to the public, capable of being securely archived and verified by authenticity.

THIRD INSERTION

NOTICE OF ACTION; CONSTRUCTIVE SERVICE - PROPERTY IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE TWENTIETH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA, IN AND FOR LEE COUNTY, CIVIL DIVISION

CASE NO.: 23-CA-006116 MICHAEL ORR, Plaintiff, vs. ESTATE OF PATRICIA HARVEY and UNKNOWN HEIRS OF PATRICIA HARVEY, Defendant.

SECOND INSERTION

NOTICE OF ACTION IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE TWENTIETH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT, IN AND FOR LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA.

MORTGAGE ASSETS MANAGEMENT, LLC, PLAINTIFF, vs. THE UNKNOWN HEIRS, BENEFICIARIES, DEVISEES, GRANTEES, ASSIGNORS, CREDITORS AND TRUSTEES OF THE ESTATE OF JOSEPH MIRRA, JR. (DECEASED), ET AL. DEFENDANT(S).

YOU ARE HEREBY NOTIFIED that an action to foreclose a mortgage on the following described property located in Lee County, Florida:

LOTS 10 AND 11, BLOCK 687, UNIT 21, CAPE CORAL SUB-DIVISION, ACCORDING TO THE PLAT THEREOF AS RECORDED IN PLAT BOOK 13, PAGES 149 TO 173. IN THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA.

SECOND INSERTION

NOTICE TO CREDITORS IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA PROBATE DIVISION File No. 23-CP-002097 IN RE: ESTATE OF MICHAEL DENNIS COYLE, SR., Deceased.

The administration of the estate of MICHAEL DENNIS COYLE, SR., deceased, whose date of death was April 3, 2023, is pending in the Circuit Court for Lee County, Florida, Probate Division, the address of which is P.O. Box 9346, Ft. Myers, FL 33902. The names and addresses of the personal representative and the personal representative's attorney are set forth below.

ALL CLAIMS NOT FILED WITHIN THE TIME PERIODS SET FORTH IN FLORIDA STATUTES SECTION 733.702 WILL BE FOREVER BARRED.

MARIANNE COYLE Personal Representative 4745 Estero Blvd. # 1504A Ft. Myers Beach, FL 33931

FOURTH INSERTION

NOTICE OF CIVIL ACTION IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE TWENTIETH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT IN AND FOR LEE COUNTY FLORIDA CIVIL ACTION CASE NO.: 23-CA-7308 LYNN STEFANUK, Plaintiff, vs. FRANCIS MICHAEL STEFANUK, Defendant.

COMES NOW, the Plaintiff, LYNN STEFANUK, by and through the undersigned attorney, and hereby gives notice that a civil action has been instituted on the above action, and is now pending in the Circuit Court of the State of Florida, County of Lee, on June 8, 2023. Case No: 23-CA-7308.

1. Legal Description: Condominium Unit 209, Building A, WESTCHESTER CONDOMINIUM UNIT 1, a condominium, together with an undivided interest in the common elements, according to the Declaration of Condominium thereof recorded in Official Records Book 793, Page 562, as amended from time to time, of the Public Records of Lee County, Florida.

YOU are required to serve an Answer to this action upon: RICHARD M. RICCIARDI, JR., ESQUIRE of POWELL, JACKMAN, STEVENS & RICCIARDI, P.A., Plaintiff's attorney, who address is 2050 McGregor Blvd., Fort Myers, FL 33901, on or before August 7, 2023, and file the original with the clerk of this court at Lee County Justice Center, 1700 Monroe Street, Fort Myers, Florida 33901, either before service on Plaintiff's attorney or immediately thereafter.

Richard M. Ricciardi, Jr., Esquire Florida Bar No. 90567 Powell, Jackman, Stevens & Ricciardi, PA Attorney for Plaintiff 2050 McGregor Blvd. Fort Myers, FL 33901 (239) 689-1096 (Telephone) (239) 791-8132 (Facsimile) rricciardi@your-advocates.org July 7, 14, 21, 28, 2023 23-02006L

SECOND INSERTION

NOTICE TO CREDITORS IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA PROBATE DIVISION File No. 23-CP-001959 Division Probate IN RE: ESTATE OF SUSAN LYNN WENDSCHUH Deceased.

The administration of the estate of Susan Lynn Wendschuh, deceased, whose date of death was February 26, 2023, is pending in the Circuit Court for Lee County, Florida, Probate Division, the address of which is 1700 Monroe Street, Fort Myers, Florida 33990. The names and addresses of the personal representative and the personal representative's attorney are set forth below.

ALL CLAIMS NOT FILED WITHIN THE TIME PERIODS SET FORTH IN FLORIDA STATUTES SECTION 733.702 WILL BE FOREVER BARRED.

Personal Representative: Heidi J. Tarr 1628 Hayworth Rd Port Charlotte, Florida 33952 Attorney for Personal Representative: Bryan K. Tippen, Esq., Attorney for P.R. Florida Bar Number: 113421 TIPPEN LAW FIRM, PLLC 315 E. Olympia Ave, STE 224 Punta Gorda, Florida 33950 Telephone: (941) 888-4260 Fax: (239) 214-6080 E-Mail: info@tippenlaw.com Secondary E-Mail: bryan@tippenlaw.com July 21, 28, 2023 23-02112L

THIRD INSERTION

NOTICE OF ACTION IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE TWENTIETH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT, IN AND FOR LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA Case No. 23-CA-7766 FEDERICO-STOPA HOLDINGS, LLC, as Trustee of the East 11th Street Land Trust, Plaintiffs, v. FIFTH THIRD MORTGAGE COMPANY, Defendant.

STATE OF FLORIDA To: FIFTH THIRD MORTGAGE COMPANY, and all parties having or claiming to have any right, title or interest to the property described below, whose residence is unknown.

The East 1/2 of Lot 12, Block 39, LEHIGH ACRES, UNIT 10, a subdivision according to the plat thereof, recorded in Plat Book 15, Page 69, in Section 25, Township 44 South, Range 26 East, of the Public Records of Lee County, Florida

YOU ARE NOTIFIED that an action to quiet title to the following properties in Lee County, Florida: The East 1/2 of Lot 12, Block 39, LEHIGH ACRES, UNIT 10, a subdivision according to the plat thereof, recorded in Plat Book 15, Page 69, in Section 25, Township 44 South, Range 26 East, of the Public Records of Lee County, Florida

Vestalia Aylsworth, Esq., Plaintiff's attorney, 12307 SW 143rd Ln, Miami, FL 33186-6026 July 14, 21, 28; August 4, 2023 23-02044L

SECOND INSERTION

NOTICE TO CREDITORS IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA PROBATE DIVISION File No. 23-CP-002101 Division Probate IN RE: ESTATE OF WILLIAM STEWART Deceased.

The administration of the estate of William Stewart, deceased, whose date of death was December 14, 2022, is pending in the Circuit Court for Lee County, Florida, Probate Division, the address of which is 1700 Monroe Street Fort Myers, FL 33901. The names and addresses of the personal representative and the personal representative's attorney are set forth below.

ALL CLAIMS NOT FILED WITHIN THE TIME PERIODS SET FORTH IN FLORIDA STATUTES SECTION 733.702 WILL BE FOREVER BARRED.

Personal Representative: Heidi J. Tarr 1628 Hayworth Rd Port Charlotte, Florida 33952 Attorney for Personal Representative: Bryan K. Tippen, Esq., Attorney for P.R. Florida Bar Number: 113421 TIPPEN LAW FIRM, PLLC 315 E. Olympia Ave, STE 224 Punta Gorda, Florida 33950 Telephone: (941) 888-4260 Fax: (239) 214-6080 E-Mail: info@tippenlaw.com Secondary E-Mail: bryan@tippenlaw.com July 21, 28, 2023 23-02112L

SECOND INSERTION

NOTICE TO CREDITORS IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA PROBATE DIVISION File No. 23-CP-1677 Division Probate IN RE: ESTATE OF NANCY JANE EDWARDS Deceased.

The administration of the estate of Nancy Jane Edwards, deceased, whose date of death was January 11, 2023, is pending in the Circuit Court for Lee County, Florida, Probate Division, the address of which is 1700 Monroe Street, Fort Myers, Florida 33901. The names and addresses of the personal representative and the personal representative's attorney are set forth below.

ALL CLAIMS NOT FILED WITHIN THE TIME PERIODS SET FORTH IN FLORIDA STATUTES SECTION 733.702 WILL BE FOREVER BARRED.

Personal Representative: Deena R. Groleau 25519 E. Huron River Drive Flat Rock, MI 48134 Attorney for Personal Representative: Ernest Hatch Florida Bar Number: 097091 Henderson, Franklin, Starnes & Holt, P.A. 1715 Monroe Street Fort Myers, FL 33901 Telephone: (239) 344-1100 Fax: (239) 344-1200 E-Mail: ernest.hatch@henlaw.com Secondary E-Mail: sabrina.guerin@henlaw.com Secondary E-Mail: service@henlaw.com July 21, 28, 2023 23-02113L

SECOND INSERTION

NOTICE TO CREDITORS IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA PROBATE DIVISION File No. 23-CP-002158 IN RE: ESTATE OF ANTONIO ARDAVIN Deceased.

The administration of the estate of Antonio ArdaVIN, deceased, whose date of death was March 4, 2023, is pending in the Circuit Court for Lee County, Florida, Probate Division, the address of which is Justice Center, 2nd Floor, 2075 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, Fort Myers, Florida 33901. The names and addresses of the personal representative and the personal representative's attorney are set forth below.

ALL CLAIMS NOT FILED WITHIN THE TIME PERIODS SET FORTH IN FLORIDA STATUTES SECTION 733.702 WILL BE FOREVER BARRED.

Personal Representative: Carlos Ardavin 6540 SW 114 Place, Unit B Miami, Florida 33173 Attorney for Personal Representative: Charles S. Sacher Attorney Florida Bar Number: 0961876 SACHER LAW FIRM, P.A. 2655 LeJeune Road, Suite 815 Coral Gables, FL 33134 Telephone: (305) 448-3900 Fax: (305) 446-9206 E-Mail: css@sachmarlaw.com Secondary E-Mail: e-mail-service@sachmarlaw.com July 21, 28, 2023 23-02126L

SECOND INSERTION

NOTICE TO CREDITORS IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA PROBATE DIVISION File No. 23-CP-2210 Division: Probate IN RE: ESTATE OF JOHN STATES A/K/A JOHN E. STATES Deceased.

The administration of the estate of John States a/k/a John E. States, deceased, whose date of death was March 22, 2023, is pending in the Circuit Court for Lee County, Florida, Probate Division, the address of which is P.O. Box 9346, Fort Myers, FL 33902. The names and addresses of the personal representative and the personal representative's attorney are set forth below.

ALL CLAIMS NOT FILED WITHIN THE TIME PERIODS SET FORTH IN FLORIDA STATUTES SECTION 733.702 WILL BE FOREVER BARRED.

Personal Representative: Brett J. States 1592 Wainscott Dr O'Fallon, Missouri 63366 John C. States 7269 Savanna Ct Lino Lakes, MN 55014 Attorney for Personal Representative: Michael B. Hill, Attorney Florida Bar Number: 547824 Sheppard Law Firm 9100 College Pointe Court Fort Myers, FL 33919 Telephone: (239) 334-1141 Fax: (239) 334-3965 E-Mail: hill@sbshlaw.com Secondary E-Mail: abalcer@sbshlaw.com July 21, 28, 2023 23-02132L

SECOND INSERTION

NOTICE TO CREDITORS IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA PROBATE DIVISION File No. 23-CP-002016 IN RE: ESTATE OF VERA MITCHELL, Deceased.

The administration of the estate of VERA MITCHELL, deceased, whose date of death was April 8, 2023, is pending in the Circuit Court for Lee County, Florida, Probate Division, the address of which is Post Office Box 9346, Fort Myers, Florida 33902. The names and addresses of the Personal Representative and the Personal Representative's attorney are set forth below.

ALL CLAIMS NOT FILED WITHIN THE TIME PERIODS SET FORTH IN FLORIDA STATUTES SECTION 733.702 WILL BE FOREVER BARRED.

Personal Representative: Mack C. Mitchell IV 1200 SW 18th Ct. Cape Coral, Florida 33991 Attorney for Personal Representative: Stephen W. Buckley STEPHEN W. BUCKLEY, ESQUIRE Florida Bar Number: 117747 GOLDSTEIN, BUCKLEY, CECHMAN, RICE & PURTZ, P.A. Post Office Box 2366 Fort Myers, Florida 33902 Telephone: (239) 334-1146 Fax: (239) 334-3039 E-Mail: sbuckley@gbclaw.com Secondary E-Mail: lmintz@gbclaw.com July 21, 28, 2023 23-02125L

SECOND INSERTION

NOTICE TO CREDITORS IN THE CIRCUIT COURT FOR LEE COUNTY, FLORIDA PROBATE DIVISION File No. 23-CP-002145 Division: Probate IN RE: ESTATE OF MARIANNE WILLIAMS, Deceased.

The administration of the estate of Marianne Williams, deceased, whose date of death was June 14, 2023, is pending in the Circuit Court for Lee County, Florida, Probate Division, the address of which is P.O. Box 9346, Fort Myers, FL 33902. The names and addresses of the personal representative and the personal representative's attorney are set forth below.

ALL CLAIMS NOT FILED WITHIN THE TIME PERIODS SET FORTH IN FLORIDA STATUTES SECTION 733.702 WILL BE FOREVER BARRED.

Personal Representative: John D. Summers 5208 Orahoad Ct. Plainfield, IN 46168 Attorney for Personal Representative: Lowell S. Schoenfeld Attorney for Personal Representative Florida Bar Number: 980099 GREEN SCHOENFELD & KYLE LLP 1380 Royal Palm Square Blvd. Fort Myers, FL 33919 Telephone: (239) 936-7200 Fax: (239) 936-7997 E-Mail: lowellschoenfeld@gskattorneys.com Sec. E-Mail: bethnikovits@gskattorneys.com 08880367.DOC1 July 21, 28, 2023 23-02111L

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.

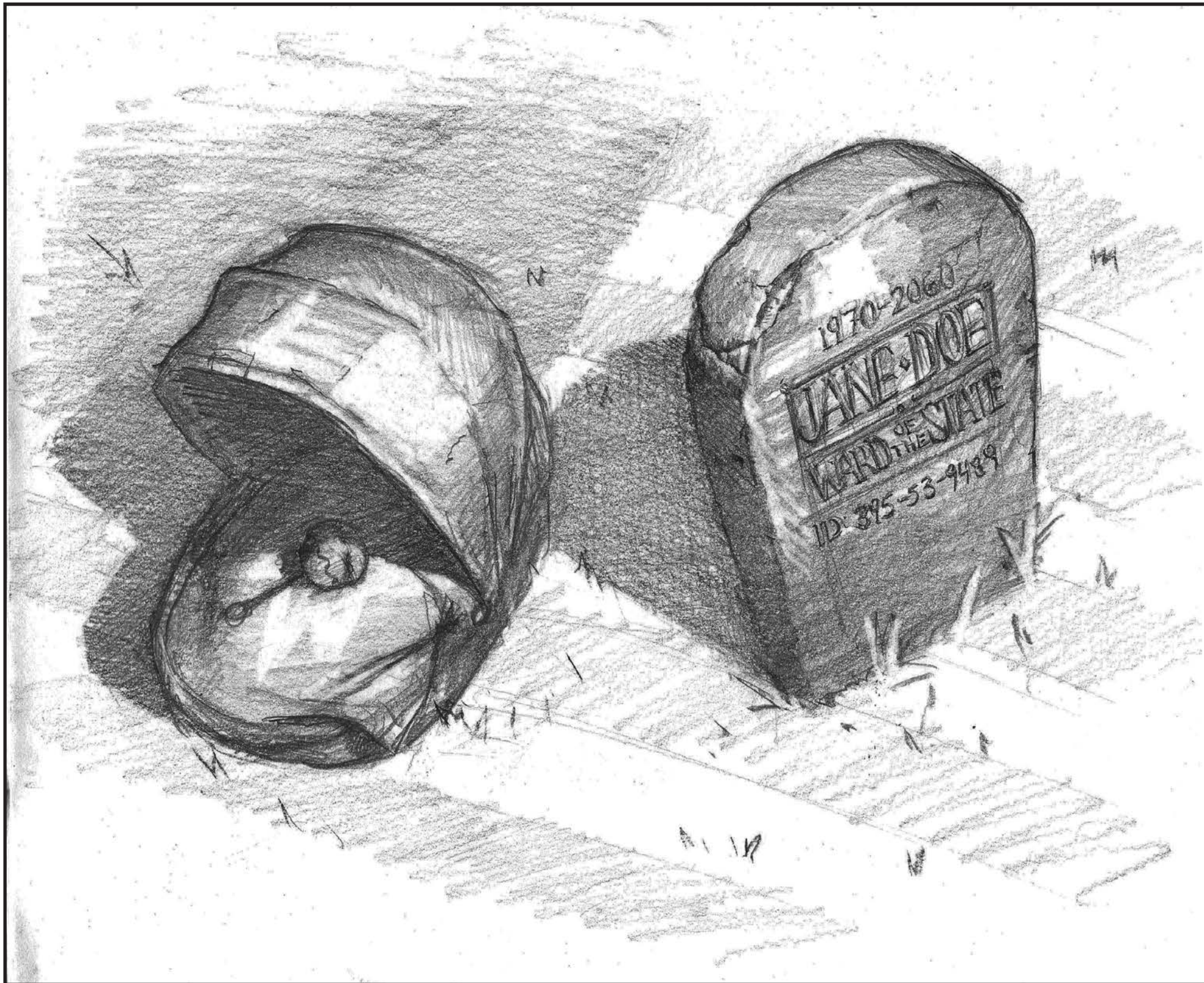


ILLUSTRATION BY SEAN MICHAEL MONAGHAN

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.