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Darity, Camara, and MacLean on William H. Hutt

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LINK TO ABSTRACT

Duke University economist Sandy Darity, researcher M'Balou Camara, and historian Nancy MacLean (2022a) have released a working paper from the Institute for New Economic Thinking alleging that William H. Hutt was a white supremacist. We show that their claim is baseless. We abbreviate Darity, Camara, and MacLean as DCM.

DCM offer another contribution to a growing body of work purporting to link figures admired by classical liberals and other non-leftists, figures such as James M. Buchanan, Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich Hayek, and Milton Friedman, to racism. There is a lot at stake in the accusations that Buchanan, Hutt, and other liberals were racists. Based on the evidence of the last few hundred years, we are firmly convinced that classical liberalism is our best hope for liberty, equality, prosperity, and well-being generally. A recent paper by Kevin Grier and Robin Grier (2021) shows that the Washington Consensus actually hasn't been the disaster its detractors predicted, and Andrei Shleifer shows that in "The Age of Milton Friedman," "as the world embraced free market policies, living standards rose sharply, while life expectancy, educational attainment, and democracy improved and absolute poverty declined" (Shleifer 2009, 123). Bumping off liberal ideas by smearing liberals as racist is a recipe for lives smothered and dehumanized.

DCM's allegation about Hutt begins with Nancy MacLean's allegations about James Buchanan in her *Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Stealth Plan for America* (MacLean 2017). Critics took issue with MacLean,

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claiming that she was unjust to Buchanan and challenging her scholarship (e.g., Munger 2018; Fleury and Marciano 2018; Magness et al. 2019).

A more careful reading of the documentary evidence clears Buchanan, we think, of MacLean's charge that he collaborated clandestinely with Virginia's "Massive Resistance" to school desegregation and her insinuation of racism. In our Southern Economic Journal article with Vincent Geloso, "James M. Buchanan and the Political Economy of Desegregation," we call attention to the fact that in 1965 Buchanan recruited Hutt to be visiting professor at the University of Virginia. Hutt had just published The Economics of the Colour Bar, a withering attack on the South African government's apartheid regime. We explain that in Virginia Hutt noticed an alarming similarity between apartheid and Southern segregation (Magness, Carden, and Geloso 2019, 735). We point out how Hutt's analysis complements Buchanan's public-choice theory and suggest that, if Buchanan were in cahoots with Virginia's segregation-era oligarchy—a primary allegation of MacLean's Democracy in Chains—then it would be odd that he should invite someone like Hutt, and especially right after his attack on apartheid. We quote Hutt saying that in "both countries [the United States and South Africa], and for not very different reasons, non-Whites are condemned to inferiority of productive opportunities, income, status, and respect" (Hutt 1966a). DCM (2022a) specifically criticize the arguments of Magness, Carden, and Geloso (2019), and DCM also criticize arguments we make with Ilia Murtazashvili in our Independent Review article "The Danger of Deplorable Reactions': W. H. Hutt on Liberalism, Populism, and the Constitutional Political Economy of Racism" (Magness, Carden, and Murtazashvili 2022). In that article we explore Hutt's proposal for a weighted franchise in light of the problems complicating the peaceful transition to multiracial liberal democracy in postcolonial South Africa, like factional violence (see, e.g., Hutt 1966a; 1968).

DCM now allege that Hutt was a racist: "Hutt was a white supremacist;" he "was not innocent of white supremacy" (2022a, 1). Buchanan inviting a racist to join him at the University of Virginia, they argue, is not evidence in Buchanan's favor.

In discussing the political uses of Marxism, Ludwig von Mises wrote that it "protects itself against all unwanted criticism. The enemy is not refuted: [it is] enough to unmask him as a bourgeois" (Mises 1922). Now, some left-leaning scholars hope it is enough to link the enemy to racism. But the world is not so simply captured, nor the liberal spirit so simply crushed. Robert Margo says of the "New History of Capitalism":

Cliometricians who have looked carefully at the recent literature in the history of capitalism find scholarly lapses of fact and interpretation so prolific in number and egregious in content that it is easy to be dismissive of the entire

line of research. In the broader scheme of things this might not matter too much—except that historians of capitalism have received prestigious prizes, been awarded tenure in top history departments, and have influenced the presentation of historical narrative and artifacts in museum exhibits directed at the general public.³ (Margo 2018, 399–400)

DCM write that "there were white supremacists who opposed slavery in the United States," and that "Hutt's opposition to apartheid, rooted in neoliberal economics (which he preferred to depict as 'classic liberalism'), was fully compatible with a commitment to white supremacy" (2022a, 1, 11). We accept that distinction. Classical liberalism surely shines in the struggle against slavery, Jim Crow, and race-based privileges in the legal system. Still, by our lights, as a strictly definitional matter, one can be a classical liberal and a racist. Hutt's opposition to apartheid and his thoroughgoing opposition to racially based distinctions in law wouldn't particularly make one surmise white supremacism, but it would not be impossible. We examine the prosecution's case.

DCM's charges and our objections

In what follows we place DCM's text in a textbox and express our objections. In the textboxes, the words and punctuation marks taken directly from DCM appear in maroon font (like this).

Exhibit 1. DCM (2022a, 8) write:

"The fears of the presently dominant whites are reasonable, realistic, and genuine," he [Hutt] declared. So, too, "the determination to preserve white civilization is not ignoble" (Hutt, 1964; Hutt, 1965).

Here, DCM use two snippet quotations. The second is conspicuously missing some important qualification: Hutt's text has the phrase "white civilisation" inside quotation marks. The snippet comes from the paragraph in Hutt's *Economics of the Colour Bar* that is reproduced below, with the snippet in boldface:

Lurking in the background of the complex of custom and prejudice which the

 $^{3.\} Here, Margo\ cites\ an\ early\ version\ of\ Olmstead\ and\ Rhode\ 2018\ along\ with\ Hilt\ 2017.$

^{4.} See, e.g., Hutt (1964), Bernstein (2001), and Magness (2020) for applications and discussions of classical liberal principles with respect to these issues.

power of the state has been used to appease is genuine alarm at the prospect of ultimate domination of the Africans in the political sphere, with spoliation of the Whites. These misgivings cannot be dismissed as illusory. They may not justify the means adopted to protect the future of the white minority, but they do, at any rate, help to explain it. And although the natural fears of the Whites have been exploited by machiavellian politicians concerned mainly with winning the votes of a badly misinformed and indoctrinated electorate, the fears themselves are wholly well-founded. **The determination to preserve 'white civilisation' is not ignoble**. But the unwillingness to share it is incapable of defence and the methods used expose that 'civilisation' to contempt. It is the cause of resentment among the non-Whites. And it is the consequence both of colour prejudice and of the not unfounded fear of ultimate domination by the Blacks. (Hutt 1964, 28–29, boldface added)

Hutt puts "white civilisation" inside quotation marks because he is treating a verbalism that operates in minds of the parties he is treating. Why do DCM not include the quotation marks that appear in Hutt's text? And why remove the sentence from the surrounding context?

Hutt's body of work suggests that if he is defending what some dub 'white civilization,' it is because it is a worthy civilization, not because it is white. A better phrase might be 'modern civilization' or something similar. In any event, context matters, and, in the prosecution's charge of white supremacy, the context remains entirely hidden.

The first snippet quotation, about white fears, is from Hutt's *Il Politico* article "South Africa's Salvation in Classic Liberalism." Here's the text immediately following the quote:

A system of «one man one vote», without an unchallengeable limitation of State power, *could* mean—and in the light of the anger aroused by the present regime, almost certainly *would* mean—spoliation and revenge. But a planned transition to an era in which the right to change rulers is gradually shared with all races, under the constitutional safeguards of «classic liberalism», could open the path to a more acceptable, more just and incomparably more prosperous regime. (Hutt 1965, 791)

Hutt might have been incorrect as an empirical matter. White South Africans' fears might have been unreasonable. If Trevon Logan's findings about black politicians during Reconstruction in the United States are sound and map onto post-colonial South Africa (Logan 2020), then Hutt's concerns might very well have been incorrect. Some consequences of 'land reform' in Zimbabwe (Center for Global Development 2006) may suggest that Hutt was not entirely crazy.

What's more, the Zimbabwean example illustrates what Hutt says about

how powerful factions use government generally. The overwhelming majority of victims from Robert Mugabe's violent regime were Black Africans. In a quest to eliminate opposition political factions, Mugabe's generals waged the Gukurahundi—a genocidal military campaign against minority ethnic groups in the country's westernmost province with an estimated death toll as high as 20,000 (Dzirutwe 2019). Indeed, the threat of political violence and dictatorship during post-colonial transitions has long been a primary concern of economists who have tried to disentangle Africa from the harms wrought by centuries of imperialism.

Arthur Lewis in his 1965 essay "Beyond African Dictatorship" raises similar concerns about demagogues' propensity to accrue power in post-colonial regimes, which leads to one-party rule enforced by political violence and oppression. Lewis noted that a task ahead for Africa is to remain cognizant of "the uncertainties generated by rapid change, and the emotional temperature of independence, which gave unscrupulous men a chance to seize power" (1965, 5). The institutions inherited from the previous colonial powers, Lewis continued, were "on the one hand...too democratic, in that they did not distinguish between democracy and licence [and] on the other hand...not democratic enough, in that they failed to give proper representation to minorities and opposition groups" (ibid., 16). Finding the balance, Lewis concluded, would require education that confronted the difficulties and risks ahead, instead of demanding that the world rally behind "any demagogue who, aided by a loud voice and a bunch of hooligans, captures the state and suppresses his rivals" (ibid., 18).

Exhibit 2. DCM (2022a, 7) write:

In the opening lines of *The Economics of the Colour Bar*, Hutt posed the following question in reference to Black Africans: "How far can their inferior economic status be said to be caused by natural handicaps and how far by injustice at the hands of white people? Usually there is a mixture of causes." He stated "it may be charged further that insufficient was done to educate the natives as administrators for eventual self-government." However, in addition to suggesting that Blacks required additional specialized training and education, Hutt held that Blacks are "naturally handicapped."

In an accompanying blog post (Darity, Camara, and MacLean 2022b), they further write:

Indeed, in the very opening paragraph of his most aggressive attack on apartheid, Hutt even suggested a genetic foundation of "natural handicaps" as partly responsible for why the "non-white peoples of the world today enjoy a much lower average standard of material well-being than the white peoples."

While it does not explicitly rule them out, the referenced portion of *The Economics of the Colour Bar* makes no claim about *genetic* handicaps. Instead, Hutt referred to the disease environment in tropical regions and identified it as a historical obstacle to economic development. "For instance," Hutt stated as an example in the following paragraph, "the failure to have stamped out disease, which still retards the development of many tropical regions." Darity, Camara, and MacLean project a genetic claim onto his text that he did not make and that is at odds with what he actually wrote.

As for education, South African whites had imposed themselves upon the native populations and made sure that Black South Africans could have no meaningful part in the governance of society by restricting access to education. Later in the paper, DCM point out that "as late as the early 1990s, the overwhelming majority of Black South Africans had no greater than a third-grade education and starkly limited income" (2022a, 10). Hutt's body of work hardly suggests he thought them *incapable*.

One piece of evidence comes from the text of one of the documents DCM use to condemn Hutt, his 1966 *Modern Age* article "An Economic Plan for the Negro—Civil Rights and Young 'Conservatives." Hutt wrote:

I forecast that, within two decades of the repeal of all minimum wage-rates and the outlawing of all acts of enforcement of the 'rate for the job' by labor unions, not only will the aggregate flow of wages have been greatly increased and full employment secured without inflation, but the Negro will have experienced incomparably more rapid economic progress (relatively and absolutely) than at any time in the past. (Hutt 1966a, 236)

The sentence referred its reader to a footnote which reads "Unless (as I personally do not believe) he should have been held back by inborn defects of intelligence and character."

That footnote reiterates a theme in Hutt's work—as in his 1934 essay "The Economic Position of the Bantu in South Africa"—that the observed differences between whites and non-whites are not innate but are the products of their incentives and constraints, some of which emerge from accidents of history and geography, others of which were deliberately designed to privilege white workers and oppress

black ones. Hutt noted that on pretty much all margins, South African natives compared favorably to Europeans of prior generations, pointing out that

we do not think of the peasantry of pre-War Russia or eighteenth century Ireland as 'uncivilized'. If we made a comparison between them and the modern Bantu, clothing would be the most relevant distinction; and that is largely a matter of climate! (Hutt 1934, 202–203)

A little farther down, we read:

Christian feudalism and pagan communism produced contrasting social forms; and Western and Bantu cultures are very different. Yet as they are to-day they cannot be usefully opposed by the words 'civilized' and 'uncivilized'. The natives' food, clothing, laws, customs, superstitions, and economic standards generally are different. That is all we can say. (Hutt 1934, 203)

With respect to training and education, Hutt wrote, "It must be remembered in comparing European and native advancement that the opportunities of education available to the latter are preposterously small" (Hutt 1934, 203).

Hutt also explicitly rejected the claim that South Africa's inequalities arose from innate hereditary or genetic characteristics. In Chapter 3 of *Economics of the Colour Bar*—the same book that Darity, Camara, and MacLean (2022b) claim "suggested a genetic foundation of 'natural handicaps"—Hutt wrote the following:

There are some who believe that the origins of the economic injustices perpetrated in the name of *apartheid* lie in deep, innate racial incompatibilities, explicable only by the social psychologists and anthropologists. Of course, psychological and anthropological factors cannot be ignored in any attempt to understand the problems of South Africa. But those who have observed, as I have, the natural friendliness of children of vastly different colours and racial characteristics playing happily together unless reprimanded by their parents and teachers, are unable to regard colour antipathies as *inherent* human characteristics. After 36 years of observation, I have been led to believe that colour prejudice has persisted through economic factors—through the perpetuation of the economic inferiority of the non-white peoples. In the pages which follow, I shall try to explain why I regard the economic colour discriminations in the Republic as an independent cause rather than a symptom of colour injustices. (Hutt 1964, 30–31, italics in original)

We suspect that DCM disagree with Hutt's arguments on this point, and particularly his description of economic causation. That's obviously reasonable ground for debate and disagreement. It is harder to accept their misinterpretation of Hutt on genetic heredity.

This isn't to say it's impossible to read racism into Hutt's own words. He was a man of his time and place, mid-twentieth-century South Africa, where explicit racism was the law of the land. It is difficult to read a passage like the following and not be concerned that the author harbors at least *some* racial animus:

...the native ambition and aspiration of men, even though they be black, backward, and ungraceful, must not be lightly dealt with. To stimulate wildly weak and untrained minds is to play with mighty fires; to flout their striving idly is to welcome a harvest of brutish crime and shameless lethargy into our very laps.

The author, however, is not Hutt. The author is W. E. B. Du Bois, in a passage lifted and stripped of context from *The Souls of Black Folk* with a quick search for the word "backward" (Du Bois 1903). You can villainize anyone of the past if you have an axe to grind, access to the internet, and a few minutes.

Exhibit 3. DCM (2022a, 6) write:

And at a moment when students and faculty in Virginia and elsewhere in the country were demanding an end to the exclusion of African Americans, Hutt advised that owing to this principle of free association, the proscription of discrimination "does not mean that the courts must force…every white university to admit non-Whites." (Hutt, 1966; MacLean, 2021)

A footnote to this sentence (DCM 2022a, 6 n.3) reads:

Indeed, in this piece written for young American conservatives, Hutt criticized the Warren Court twice (cagily, not by name). Hutt, "An Economic Plan for the Negro—Civil Rights and Young 'Conservatives," 793.

Both DCM's "Hutt, 1966" citation and the footnote indicate that the quotation about forcing admissions comes from Hutt's article "Civil Rights and Young 'Conservatives" in *Modern Age*, but the citation is wrong. "Civil Rights and Young 'Conservatives" makes no mention of any "courts." It does, however, propound a freedom of association, and notes the assault on that principle not only by Jim Crow laws but by the Ku Klux Klan:

[T]he right of free association implies the right *not to associate* as well as to *associate*. In any free society, a club should have the right to restrict its membership

to, say, women, teetotallers, veterans, Negroes, Baptists, Jews, or whites. Equally, clubs which wish to admit both whites and Negroes should, under the same rules, have the *effective* right to do so, and be protected from private coercion of the Ku Klux Klan type. (Hutt 1966a, 235)

The point about the Ku Klux Klan is crucial to historical understanding. Racist discrimination persisted as much and as long as it did in the United States not only because of the Jim Crow laws, but also because in many cases violence was threatened and sometimes carried out against enterprises that moved in the integrationist direction, and one reason that such threats were effective is that corrupt and racist governments failed to come down hard on "private coercion of the Ku Klux Klan type" (see, e.g., Higgs 1977).

So where do the words about "courts" that DCM quote come from? We find them in Hutt's article "South Africa's Salvation in Classic Liberalism," which appeared in *Il Politico* in late 1965, shortly before Hutt arrived in Virginia. Boldface shows the words quoted by DCM:

It will be especially important, however, in a country as complex as South Africa, that there shall be no misapprehension about the purpose. In no way should the right of every person to choose his associates be questioned. Because discrimination on grounds of sex, religion, race or colour is forbidden, that **does not mean that the courts must force** every women's club to admit men, every Catholic club to admit non-Catholics, every Jewish club to admit Gentiles or **every white university to admit non-Whites**. (Hutt 1965, 793, boldface added)

And so Hutt was writing about South Africa—and doing so in an Italian journal, not "for young American conservatives" as DCM aver. He did not "cagily" avoid criticizing the Warren Court by name because he was such a cagey guy. He avoided criticizing the Warren Court because it was irrelevant to "South Africa's Salvation in Classic Liberalism."

The rest of the paragraph is interesting, as well, because different contexts might call for different degrees of proscription. Hutt continued:

But to the extent to which the free choice of associates has indirectly the effect of excluding those of a particular group from economic opportunities, then persons who feel themselves materially prejudiced thereby should have the right to seek admission (if they are qualified on other grounds) [Hutt's footnote 32 here]. The existence of material prejudice would be a question of fact. For instance, at one time the universities of Oxford and Cambridge excluded Catholics and women. This was clearly an abuse because there were no other institutions of learning which could offer opportunities of a roughly

equivalent nature. But there *may* be no discrimination involved if some universities and colleges restrict admission to students of a particular religion or sex. Of course if institutions of learning are State-subsidised the duty to ensure that there is an equal right to enjoy the subsidised services is enhanced [Hutt's footnote 33 here]. (Hutt 1966a, 793)

Hutt's footnotes in this passage are also illuminating. Note 32 reads, "Thus a university would retain the right to apply its own academic admission standards." Note 33 reads, "But if the State subsidised *students* (via scholarships) instead of subsidizing institutions, leaving students free to choose their own school or college, most of the problems would, we think, solve themselves, *except during the difficult transition period*" (italics in original). Hutt's reasoning here is murky, and the point about Catholics and women at Oxford and Cambridge seems to walk back his allegiance to a simple (perhaps simplistic) freedom-of-association principle. What's significant here is how DCM fail to represent Hutt at all adequately or justly. DCM indeed not only omit what is relevant but twist what they include: Hutt's thoughts on the complex and politically charged quandary in South Africa was not informed by what he saw in Virginia—indeed Hutt had not even arrived in the United States yet when "South Africa's Salvation in Classic Liberalism" came out in print in 1965.

Exhibit 4. DCM (2022a, 10) write:

In light of the record presented here, it makes sense that W. H. Hutt chose to conclude his scholarly career at the Ludwig von Mises Institute in Auburn, Alabama.

On the same page, DCM describe the Mises Institute as "Hutt's final scholarly home."

Hutt died in 1988 as an emeritus professor at the University of Dallas, and never took up residence in Auburn, Alabama—an 11-hour drive from Dallas—let alone made it his final academic home. Numerous colleagues of Hutt at the University of Dallas confirm that he spent his final years gathering his papers and delivering an occasional guest lecture on their behalf in their classes. He died near Dallas in Irving, Texas, and is buried there. It is true that Hutt accepted an adjunct affiliation with the Mises Institute in 1987 in conjunction with their offer to publish an unfinished book project, but this is a lot like saying that professor William Darity, Jr., emeritus at Duke University in North Carolina, "chose to conclude his scholarly career" at the Roosevelt Institute and has made his "final scholarly home" in New York because he is a Senior Fellow of the Roosevelt Institute.

Exhibit 5. DCM (2022a, 3) write:

Buchanan advised...the Chilean military junta headed by General Augusto Pinochet...

No, he didn't. Some intellectuals and leaders in Chile read some of Buchanan's work, but there's no evidence that Buchanan ever "advised" Pinochet or had a hand in writing the Chilean constitution. Did Aquinas advise Pinochet because some Chilean intellectuals and leaders read his work? Did Marx advise Pinochet? MacLean makes this charge against Buchanan a centerpiece of *Democracy in Chains*, yet it is unambiguously false—a product of misreading the evidence and general unfamiliarity with the history of Pinochet's government. Andrew Farrant and Vlad Tarko have documented the errors of MacLean's claim, and they discuss them in a book in progress (Farrant 2019; Farrant and Tarko 2019; 2022). Magness (2019) goes into greater detail on the "Pinochet slur." In one of the first major responses to *Democracy in Chains*, MacLean's Duke colleague Michael Munger (2018) draws on Farrant and Tarko as well as his own personal experience in Chile to refute MacLean's claims about the relationship between Buchanan and Pinochet.

Exhibit 6. DCM (2022a, 10) write:

A final intriguing fact about the desperation of Buchanan's defenders: they simply invented the notion that Buchanan invited Hutt to Virginia because of his anti-apartheid position.

Magness, in "The Anti-discriminatory Tradition in Virginia School Public Choice Theory" published in *Public Choice* (Magness 2020), confirms that Buchanan invited Hutt because of his criticism of apartheid. Buchanan visited Cambridge in 1961, where, apparently, Peter Bauer got him interested in more systematic critiques of apartheid. Buchanan brought Francis Wilson, a Cambridge student, to Virginia as a graduate student fellow in 1964 to work on an anti-apartheid dissertation, later published in 1972 as *Labour in the South African Gold Mines* 1911–1969. Hutt also taught a seminar on South African economic problems during his time at Virginia, and he wrote an article applying Buchanan's work with Gordon Tullock in *The Calculus of Consent* to the problem of racial discrimination.

Consider MacLean's interpretation of Hutt's visit to Charlottesville. In *Democracy in Chains*, MacLean (2017, 59) says "the AFL-CIO was a thorn in the side

of the Byrd Organization." Since Hutt's earlier academic work harshly criticized labor unions, MacLean concludes that Hutt simply must have been recruited by Buchanan to garner favor with Byrd. MacLean produces no evidence of this charge. She simply speculates. Meanwhile, Hutt's actual research, teaching, and public lectures during his time in Charlottesville overwhelmingly place his anti-apartheid work at the center of his interests—including a pair of articles where he likened the segregated South's discriminatory institutions to the South African regime.

Exhibit 7. DCM (2022a, 10–11) write:

In actuality, although the work on apartheid became Hutt's most famous writing, Buchanan said he most "admired two of his earlier books, *Economists and the Public* and *A Plan for Reconstruction*." As to the output for which Hutt became better known, including "on the South African Color Bar," Buchanan said that he "was not really familiar enough with these works to lead a seminar." Given a chance to comment in print on Hutt's contributions to economics, Buchanan never mentioned the antiapartheid writings.

DCM's point here is to argue that there is little reason to think that Buchanan liked Hutt because he appreciated Hutt's work on apartheid. But our discussion of Exhibit 6 shows that DCM are wrong: There is plenty of reason to think that Buchanan liked Hutt's work on apartheid.

To the last sentence we reproduce in Exhibit 7, DCM attached a footnote citing a 1983 interview by Buchanan with the Manhattan Institute. The truncated and published version of that interview with Buchanan includes no mention of *The Economics of the Colour Bar*. But the complete transcript of the interview does. Buchanan says there: "His *Economics of the Color Bar* [1964], for instance, should be very widely read, by people of whatever political persuasion." Buchanan then continued to discuss Hutt's critique of apartheid and its relation to the South Africa situation, filling the next two pages of the transcript, again affirming his belief in the importance of that work. Buchanan specifically credited a review essay that Hutt wrote in 1966 that applied *The Calculus of Consent* to the South African situation, and he expressed his concurrence with that essay.

DCM (2022a, 11 n.7) cite accompanying correspondence between Buchanan and the Manhattan Institute regarding this interview, and they list the Hutt Papers

^{5.} Transcript: Interview with James M. Buchanan, 1983, Box 70, W. H. Hutt Papers, Hoover Institution.

at the Hoover Institution Archives as their source. But this suggests they likely saw the complete interview transcript stored there in addition to the shorter published version. Did they not? Did they see it and not read it, assuming it was all in the published interview? Did they read the transcript and simply overlook Buchanan's remarks about *The Economics of the Colour Bar*? Notice how DCM phrase their claim: "Given a chance to comment in print on Hutt's contributions to economics, Buchanan never mentioned the anti-apartheid writings" (DCM 2022a, 11). Does the complete interview transcript count as a comment "in print"? Regardless, it is a plain endorsement that Buchanan put out for public discourse.

Exhibit 8. DCM (2022a, 8–9) treat Hutt's letters to P. W. Botha and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.⁶

DCM refer to letters written by Hutt in the early 1980s to two South African politicians, the Prime Minister P. W. Botha and the Inkatha movement leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Hutt's letter to Buthelezi repeats a common phrase in his work ("The free market is color-blind") and makes an argument that he had been making in multiple books since his 1930 *The Theory of Collective Bargaining*: "It has been restraints on the free market which have effectively kept the black people in subjugation ever since it became obvious that they were capable of performing not only semi-skilled work, but highly skilled work" (emphasis in original). He wrote to Buthelezi to recommend Walter Williams's "epoch-making book, entitled *The State Against Blacks*." Hutt quotes Williams:

The history of ethnic minorities in the United States and elsewhere seriously calls into question those premises which argue that disadvantaged minorities in the United States must acquire political power and undertake programs 'to end racism' in order for socio-economic growth to occur. (Williams 1982, 6; quoted in Hutt 1983)

He is, in short, recommending Williams's conclusion that political power is neither necessary nor sufficient for economic advancement. Hutt argues, rather, that it is likely the other way around. He argues further that he has "been trying to impress on our Prime Minister the advantages for the Whites of complete enfranchisement of the Blacks, which can be safely done when individual voting power is linked to the value of each man's contribution (including the value of the services of any assets he owns) to the common pool of material well-being." In short, he explains

^{6.} W. H. Hutt to Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, 4 March 1983, W. H. Hutt to P. W. Botha, undated [ca. 1983], and W. H. Hutt to P. W. Botha, 7 August 1981. Hutt Papers, Hoover Institution.

the proposal for a qualified franchise that he had endorsed for decades, and he closes by writing that he believes Buthelezi "can have the greatest influence by making a gradual transition to equality of opportunity in the market for labor your top priority."

There is considerable overlap between the letter to Buthelezi and an undated letter to Botha from approximately the same time—the quotations Hutt takes from Williams are identical. DCM (2022a, 8–10) offer a conspiratorial reading of these documents, suggesting that Hutt recommended a stealth plan to chain democracy: "substitute class for race, he intimated." They close their discussion of the letters with this sentence: "The system Hutt proposed, far from ending white supremacy, would lock it in on more solid ground because ostensibly race-neutral injustice would be more challenging to contest..." (DCM 2022a, 10). We will pause here to ask: compared to what? For Hutt, the relevant counterfactuals were the existing oppressive regime and a populist regime that ran the real risk of springing the violence trap. DCM (2022a, 10) continue: "...even as it pushed Black South Africans further into poverty and economic exploitation." This is the opposite of Hutt's argument. A free labor market, Hutt argued, held the keys to racial uplift, and we think wide-ranging evidence on how labor markets work with just a bit of liberalization is squarely on Hutt's side.

DCM described Hutt's proposal for "proportional, not progressive taxation" as one of his "practical proposals to shore up the advantages whites had accrued through generations of domination" (DCM 2022a, 9). We think that Hutt's work offers a nuanced and egalitarian understanding of taxation and its incidence, not an effort "to shore up the advantages whites had accrued through generations of domination" (DCM 2022a, 9). Hutt wrote, for example, the following:

[S]ales taxes *obviously* hit the poor proportionally more than the rich (except, perhaps, when levied on luxuries). And all so-called 'employers' contributions' are deductions from the wages of the supposed beneficiaries. Corporation taxes are blanket costs of production, borne ultimately by the people as consumers, and hence regressive. Moreover, even supposedly progressive taxation is ultimately regressive when the additional sums raised through the discriminative or 'progressive' element are squandered in vote-purchasing hand-outs or 'free' consumer services (instead of being maintained intact as collectively-owned capital, or used to reduce the general taxation burden through the writing off of some part of the community's 'negative capital', namely, the national debt. (Hutt 1984, 48)⁸

^{7.} Hutt to Botha, 7 August 1981.

^{8.} See also where Hutt (1984, 55) quotes Milton Friedman: "corporation taxes are ultimately borne by consumers and employees."

Hutt may be wrong. If he is right, though, then our concern for the least of these among us suggest we are making a grievous error by simply dismissing him out of hand or trying to discredit him as a white supremacist.

Right or wrong, DCM do not present Hutt's words and ideas accurately. There is an asymmetry in how they interpret Hutt's letters to Botha and Buthelezi. Even though Hutt approached each with nearly identical arguments, including recommending Williams's book, DCM depict his letter to Botha as an act of de facto acquiescence to the leader of the apartheid regime, whereas his letter to Buthelezi—emphasizing nearly identical arguments—they depict as patronizing, demeaning, and insincere. DCM reach their conclusion by reading Hutt's words through an uncharitable lens that closes off the possibility that Hutt was sincerely seeking a non-violent post-apartheid transition for South Africa.

Indeed, DCM's assessment does not appreciate Buthelezi's attempts to position himself in the 1970s and early 1980s as a voice for a non-violent anti-apartheid settlement at a time when sizable Marxist factions advocated a violent revolutionary overthrow of the apartheid government. DCM depict Hutt's purpose as a cynical ploy to prop up white rule at the expense of Black Africans. In reality, all evidence points to Hutt's sincerity in deploring the prospect of violence, and in attempting to reason with willing parties on both sides. We can debate the practicality of Hutt's proposals and even find them wanting through the benefit of hindsight, yet for the uncertainty of the moment, we find it difficult to question his sincerity and overarching concern for avoiding the same violent and anti-democratic settlements that had befallen numerous other post-colonial African governments.

Exhibit 9: DCM (2022a, 10) write:

Hutt himself testified to an affinity for elite southern reactionaries when he dedicated a 1984 manuscript to Strom Thurmond and Jesse Helms. Hutt judged these two senators, who build their careers on race-baiting and opposition to civil rights reform, to rank among "the most enlightened congressmen in the United States" (Hutt, 1984).

Here DCM grace us with another pearl of scholarly compunction and fastidiousness. First of all, the words "the most enlightened congressmen in the United States," which DCM say Hutt said of Thurmond and Helms, do not seem to appear anywhere in the 1984 manuscript. DCM do not provide a page citation; we were unable to find those words.

DCM claim that Hutt "dedicated a 1984 manuscript to Strom Thurmond and

Jesse Helms." That plainly gives the reader the impression that Hutt dedicated the manuscript to Thurmond and Helms only. Figure 1 shows Hutt's dedication:

Figure 1. Hutt's dedication in a 1984 manuscript work

I dedicate this book to the following Congressmen of the United States, <u>without their consent</u>: Senators Barry Goldwater, Phil Gramm, Strom Thurmond and Jesse Helms: and Representatives Jack Kemp, Phillip Crane and Guy Vander Jagt.

Source: W. H. Hutt (1984), *The Impoverishers—A Postscript*, unpublished typescript, Hutt Papers, Hoover Institution, p. ii.

With the dedication in plain view, a scholar will ask: Why those seven Congressmen? The answer is easy to see and has nothing to do with the motivation that DCM allege. In the early 1980s, the seven named Senators and Representatives were united around balancing the federal budget and entitlement reform, and Hutt's manuscript is about how a combination of entitlement spending and inflation (induced by budgetary largesse) produced an incentive structure that hurt workers. Hutt also expresses regard for Thurmond's battle against organized labor (Hutt 1984, 13), but Hutt's criticisms of organized labor predate Thurmond's appearance on the political scene by at least a decade and a half.

On another page of the 1984 manuscript, Hutt mentioned the six of the seven politicians to whom he dedicated the book in the text, plus former Senator John Tower:

I have briefly met four of the seven American congressmen to whom I have dedicated this book, and who could, I think, best formulate the legislative program I am to recommend, although I do not believe they would all remember me. They are Senator Goldwater and former Senator Tower; Representatives Kemp and Phillip Crane. They, together with Senators Thurmond and Helms and Representative Van der Jagt (whom I have not met), could form the nucleus. (Hutt 1984, 13, boldface added)

Thurmond and Helms are not among four that Hutt had met. It seems clear that Hutt included mention of Thurmond and Helms because of their economic views as of 1984 on fiscal and labor issues.

Exhibit 10. DCM (2022a, 7) write:

Finally, Hutt used cultural determinism to explain the economic position of Black South Africans. He deployed terms like "tribal superstitions and customs," "primitive background," "irrational," "backwardness of the indigenous peoples" He further adduced a "leisure preference of Africans," owing to their "unacquisitive nature" and general "wantlessness." Through such language, Hutt propagated an idea that Blacks are not efficient economic agents; they are lacking, and their irrational behaviors help explain their position in society.

Was Arthur Lewis, who went on to be awarded a Nobel Prize, a white supremacist? One could easily snippet-quote Lewis in the same way. In a book published about a decade before *The Economics of the Colour Bar*, Lewis referred to "the institutions of primitive peoples" (1955, 22), "primitive countries" (ibid., 38, 122, 123, 304), "primitive communities" (ibid., 30, 70, 116, 372), and "primitive societies" (ibid., 32, 40, 46, 114, 165, 312, 423). Lewis wrote of "primitive societies" with increases in income that "There is also a temporary demand for useless novelties, both to satisfy curiosity, and also for display" (ibid., 31), but followed it by pointing out that "All these motives, of course, are present in all societies, whatever their degree of development."

As for Hutt, it's worth noting he also referred to "*irrational* race prejudice" (1964, 29, emphasis added), so "irrational" was not a term he reserved for certain races.

Exhibit 11: DCM (2022a, 7–8) write:

In regard to racial inequality and Black poverty in the United States in 1984, he [Hutt] stated that "there seems to have been a reluctance to admit that the major cause of the damage wrought on the Black people was due to the unwillingness of their community to fight aggressively for well-paid employment by deliberately reducing their per capita demands for wage compensation" (Hutt, 8 1984). "The major cause"? Yes, he actually wrote that. Hutt maintained that Blacks have excluded themselves through unwillingness to undercut prevailing wages by volunteering to work at a discount.

Once again, DCM have failed to provide context to what Hutt said here—

which was clumsily worded. Before we do provide the context, notice that what Hutt said directly implies that he did *not* think that "the major cause" was any kind of genetically-based difference.

The context of the quotation is Hutt's view that, given that market forces in the United States were not being allowed to operate freely, pressure groups were bound to fight politically or collectively for their interests, and within that context, the Black community had not played the game of politics in a way that would serve Black workers. In what follows immediately after this passage, Hutt (1984, 20–21) indicated what he surely would agree is the labor market's root "major cause" of poverty and inequality:

In my judgment, by all odds the most important step needed for the elimination of avoidable poverty and inequalities of income is the withdrawal of the right to use the strike and the strike-threat; for I hold steadfastly to the following 'law of wages,' which I have enunciated and proved almost ad nauseam in previous publications, with no attempted rebuttals. The determination of labor costs under duress instead of through market pressures forces down the aggregate wages-flow, creates social injustice in wage distribution, and causes inflation to become expedient (as the preferred means of mitigating the repression of the workers' earnings and consequent widespread idleness in assets and temporary worklessness on the part of many wage and salary earners). (Hutt 1984, 20–21, emphasis in original)

Here Hutt cited his books *The Theory of Collective Bargaining* (1930), *The Strike-Threat System* (1973), and *The Economics of the Colour Bar* (1964). Hutt's argument, which he says he has "enunciated and proved almost *ad nauseam*," is not a distributional question about whether workers or capitalists deserve more money. Rather, he argued that restrictions on the labor market generated economic rents for incumbents and led to higher unemployment and lower earnings by shutting people out of the labor market. It isn't an unusual point. Mancur Olson relied on Hutt's work for parts of his 1982 book *The Rise and Decline of Nations* (Olson 2008/1982, 161ff.; see also Olson 1983). It's essentially the logic that informs Sheilagh Ogilvie's 2019 book on medieval guilds. It is why a lot of economists think Anne O. Krueger should win the Nobel Prize (see Krueger 1974). It is certainly not any kind of evidence of white supremacy.

Institutional barriers like minimum wages make it *illegal* for low-productivity workers to compete by lowering their price. A structural excess in quantity supplied of labor, i.e., a surplus, means that people will find it harder to get a job. Economists have long highlighted the unemployment effects on the marginalized. In fact, some of the early big names in economics—like Richard Ely and John R. Commons, to whom MacLean referred approvingly in *Democracy in Chains*—understood this and thought it was a good thing, as Thomas Leonard (2005; 2016) has pointed out.

While we acknowledge studies suggesting no or small employment effects from modest minimum wage increases, we still think the policies do more harm than good based on the preponderance of evidence.⁹

This is also what happened in South Africa under the colour bar. Hutt is not alone in his rent-seeking interpretation of South African labor history. G. V. Doxey (1961) noted that a proposed minimum wage

disregards any element of comparative productivities, so that it might equally be argued that industrialists seeking to maximize profits would, when faced with the obligation of paying a minimum wage, attempt to supplant the less efficient African by the more efficient white, which of course was what the white trade unionists sought to achieve. They had argued that in the absence of statutory minimum wages, employers found it profitable to supplant highly trained (and usually highly paid) Europeans by less efficient but cheaper non-whites. (Doxey 1961, 112)

Describing "colour prejudice" and interventions in the labor market and other rules aimed at suppressing black competition, Doxey writes:

Legislation has thus aimed at bolstering white supremacy by either curtailing the competitive advance of the non-white on the basis of keeping him in his place (which has been defined as 'any place that at any particular time the European does not think it desirable to fill'), or on the more theoretical basis of 'separate development'. (Doxey 1961, 114)

DCM emphasize income and wealth inequality and have great faith in labor unions and collective bargaining to make things right. They criticize Hutt for his strident anti-unionism, and they furthermore deride his proposal for a weighted franchise as evidence of his white supremacy. In both cases, however, Hutt is concerned with economic growth over the long run and, in particular, its effect on the poor. We have yet to find anywhere that Hutt criticizes a position or makes a proposal because he is defending capitalists and elites. Rather, in *Plan for Reconstruction* and elsewhere, he notes that in his judgment, the long-run effects of securing consent by honoring established expectations are worth it if they lead to growth-promoting reforms sooner rather than later. In this respect, Hutt's analysis reminds us of a memorable quote from Nobel Laureate Robert Lucas:

^{9.} See, e.g., Meer and West (2016) for an example of a paper finding that minimum wages mean lower job growth and Cengiz et al. (2019, 1405) for a paper reporting more mixed evidence.

^{10.} This is not an unorthodox position. McCloskey and Carden (2020, 228ff.) summarize evidence that the Great Enrichment didn't come about because "unions and regulation" ended "wage slavery."

Of the tendencies that are harmful to sound economics, the most seductive, and in my opinion the most poisonous, is to focus on questions of distribution. In this very minute, a child is being born to an American family and another child, equally valued by God, is being born to a family in India. The resources of all kinds that will be at the disposal of this new American will be on the order of 15 times the resources available to his Indian brother. This seems to us a terrible wrong, justifying direct corrective action, and perhaps some actions of this kind can and should be taken. But of the vast increase in the well-being of hundreds of millions of people that has occurred in the 200-year course of the industrial revolution to date, virtually none of it can be attributed to the direct redistribution of resources from rich to poor. The potential for improving the lives of poor people by finding different ways of distributing current production is *nothing* compared to the apparently limitless potential of increasing production. (Lucas 2004)

Hutt embraces economic growth rather than redistribution because it raises standards of living for everyone, with the biggest effects, he believes, on those who need it most.

Exhibit 12: On page 2, DCM write:

We argue here that Hutt's economic rationale for eliminating apartheid was not anti-racist (as advertised), but rather an all-too-familiar attempt to preserve white elite power through promotion of economic liberty.

That's not Hutt's "rationale." First of all, a rationale is a reason articulated, and Hutt never articulates as a reason for his fighting apartheid the preserving of white elite power. Presumably DCM meant motivation or motive, not "rationale."

To suggest that Hutt's motivation was the preserving of white elite power is absurd. Hutt believed that elite power—of whatever colors—tends to advance, elevate, and consolidate itself by using government's unique, monopolistic feature: institutionalized coercion. In seeking to reduce the governmentalization of social affairs, classical liberals like Hutt seek to eliminate elite privilege, by teaching and persuading people against the governmentalization of social affairs. Adam Smith fittingly called the aspiration "the liberal plan of equality, liberty, and justice" (1976/1776, 664).

Hutt—who once had his South African passport suspended in retaliation for his attacks on apartheid—treated the challenges concerning a sustainable post-colonial transition from racist oppressive hierarchy to liberal democracy. Throughout his work Hutt argued that competition and bottom-up decision making are the *enemies* of elite power, including "white elite power."

Exhibit 13. DCM (2022a, 6) write:

Hutt did not object to all forms of discrimination, viewing prejudicial decisions in associational relations as a matter of private preference.

Should the government make it illegal for Nancy MacLean to discriminate? MacLean has time and again refused to debate her critics who travel in libertarian circles. Classical liberals support her right to do so. It's her right by basic justice not to associate with those she chooses not to associate with. We think her refusal to debate is unjust in a larger and loose sense, but she should be free to make such choices for herself. Likewise, it is unjust to discriminate against people based on skin color, but Hutt believed people should be free to make such choices for themselves, and accept the consequences—both the social and moral consequences of conducting oneself unjustly and the forgoing of the blessings that people offer.

Hutt (like us) was willing to swallow hard and let people believe awful things. First, respecting people's right to be wrong is a way of acknowledging their responsibility for their conduct. Second, even if it is our right to cure others' moral leprosy through reeducation, reprogramming, or training, that doesn't mean it's going to work the way we want it to. Governmentalizations undertaken in the name of grand visions generally do not work out well.

As we point out elsewhere (Magness et al. 2022, 534), Hutt said he regarded "colour prejudice as the worst social evil of the contemporary era" in a 1968 article, which, incidentally, is a defense of Rhodesian constitutional reform and a much more plausible candidate for accusations that Hutt is a white supremacist (Hutt 1968, 12). He wrote there:

Those who, like myself, regard color prejudice as the worst social evil of the contemporary era must strive for the removal of the sanctions which were imposed against Rhodesia after she was condemned, *unheard and unrepresented*, by the United Nations.

Hutt criticizes "the Rhodesian calumny" not because he wanted to entrench and defend white supremacy but because he believed that creating a sustainable, multiracial, liberal democratic society would require more than just "one man, one vote." In the same article, Hutt wrote:

In defending the Rhodesian regime from contemporary misrepresentations,

^{11.} This is a recurring theme in Otteson 2021.

I must not leave the impression that, in my judgment, the Africans have no legitimate grievances. There *are* surviving discriminations. How rapidly the causes of the discrimination can be removed will depend upon the wisdom of those elected as the weight of the African vote gradually increases. (Hutt 1968, 10–11)

Perhaps his faith in Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's ultimate commitment to "non-discrimination and the right of all to progress on merit" was poorly placed. Perhaps he was naive about the prospects for a genuine multi-racial democracy in Rhodesia. But Hutt was ultimately concerned about the *peaceful* transmission from a racist, white-dominated regime to a genuinely multi-racial liberal democracy.

Exhibit 14. DCM (2022a, 6) write:

[Hutt] also argued that prior to "extending the franchise" to Black Africans, "ironclad' property-rights protections" must be put in place. Hutt wanted to ensure that there was no possibility of land or other redistribution from the white colonizers to Blacks victimized by colonialism (Magness, Carden, and Murtazashvili 2022, 534).

Hutt was wary of the possibility that the absence of such protections would put South African whites at the mercy of a populist autocrat. Moreover, as we explain in our *Independent Review* article, Hutt's analysis had nothing to do with race as such. His analysis applied the arguments he made in *Plan for Reconstruction* to the South African case: buying off special interests might be necessary for a non-violent transition to liberal democracy. We can have a debate about how continually contested property rights would affect economic growth over the long run. Perhaps the addition of the racial element should have changed Hutt's analytical framework, but concluding that race *per se* is essential to Hutt's analysis here requires ignoring the larger framework he applies to not-obviously-racial issues in *Plan for Reconstruction* and elsewhere.

Hutt's analysis here also resembles Gary Cox, Douglass North, and Barry Weingast's analysis of "The Violence Trap" (Cox et al. 2019). In *Plan for Reconstruction*, Hutt agrees that bribing the holders of illicit privileges might be morally offensive, but the attendant increases in economic growth from better rules would make it worthwhile in the long run. Bribing slaveholders for the loss of their *slaves* offends our sense of justice, but it might have been an acceptable price to pay had we been able to avoid the political cataclysm that was the Civil War (Ransom 2001). Paraphrasing Thomas Sowell, there are no "solutions" to social problems. There are only trade-offs.

Hutt did not propose "iron-clad" property rights protections because of any affinity for whites *as such*. He proposed the protections as the least-bad of the feasible options. A footnote about South Africa in Hutt's 1966 essay on *The Calculus of Consent* makes this point and notes that he's not just talking about whites but *all* racial minorities:¹²

A peaceful and just solution of the race problem can be won only by the adoption of rigidly entrenched provisions which protect racial minorities like the Whites, the Indians, and the Coloureds, by declaring unconstitutional legislation or administrative decisions which discriminate on grounds of race, colour, ancestry, property, income, or district. But owing to the bitterness aroused among the Africans by decades of pandering to a white proletariat, and owing to British and American encouragement of African nationalism, there is now hardly any chance of free general acceptance of such a constitution at a national convention at which the Africans were represented. (Hutt 1975/1966b, 31–32n.)

Hutt might have been empirically wrong, but he did not defend existing property patterns or voting restrictions because he wanted to maintain white rule and black subordination. He made his proposals because he thought they gave South Africa the best chance at a peaceful transition to multi-racial liberal democracy.

Exhibit 15. DCM (2022a, 4) write:

...the connections between libertarians and racist causes that a growing number of recent scholars have charted.

DCM refer to historian Quinn Slobodian's (2018a; 2018b) work purporting to tie Mises (and Hutt) to racist and nativist ideas, but as Magness and his coauthor Amelia Janaskie (2022) show, Slobodian reaches his conclusions by selectively quoting Mises's words and twisting them. The racist/nativist/colonialist meanings Slobodian purports to extract from Mises's words are identified through question-begging interpretive gymnastics and selective editing that alter Mises's meaning and give the impression that he is claiming one thing when a plain reading of the texts in question shows that Mises is actually claiming the opposite. Slobodian's inversion of Mises's meaning is academic malpractice: a close examination of Mises's writings in full context, including passages that Slobodian selectively edited out of his presentation, shows that Mises was arguing forcefully against colonialism, racial eugen-

^{12.} DCM (2022a) make no mention of South Africa's sizable Cape Coloured or Indian populations.

ics, and racial discrimination writ large.

Exhibit 16. DCM (2022a, 6 n.4) write:

MacLean (2017) provoked Buchanan's acolytes by arguing that the 'nondiscrimination principle' in his version of public choice theory actually aimed to entrench minority rule, particularly that of the wealthy.

MacLean provoked Buchanan's admirers, like us, and scholars like Henry Farrell and Steven Teles (2017), who don't admire Buchanan like we do but who nonetheless know Buchanan's work, by presenting a false, unrecognizable version of Buchanan containing allegations based on indefensible readings of Buchanan's work and misrepresentation of documents she found in Buchanan's papers. She refused to debate her Duke colleague Michael Munger (Boudreaux 2017), and she accused her colleagues Munger, Georg Vanberg, and Geoffrey Brennan of "undisclosed conflicts of interest" (Bradham 2017, 12). Jean-Baptiste Fleury and Alain Marciano (2018) published a 46-page review in the *Journal of Economic Literature*, and they said that "in the midst of abundant archival material, her historical (and biographical) narrative is at best sketchy, and shows significant flawed arguments, misplaced citations, and dubious conjectures" (Fleury and Marciano 2018, 1494).

Concluding remarks



William H. Hutt was a great economist and a great human being. He wrote against greed and oppression. His writings are rich, insightful, and rewarding. Getting to know Hutt is like getting a new friend, good and true. A consequence of DCM's treatment of Hutt is that it moves us to visit again with our friend and renew our admiration for his fortitude, integrity, and brilliance.

There is a big asymmetry between destruction and construction. Throwing bombs is easy. Cleaning up the mess is not. In consequence, this comment on DCM has run to a length more than twice that of DCM (2022a). Still, we hope that DCM will reply to

the present paper, and, more broadly, that this conversation can turn a corner.

After M'Balou Camara presented an early version of DCM at the 2019 Philosophy, Politics, and Economics Society conference, one of the present authors, Art Carden, who was in the audience, told Camara that if she ever finds herself near Birmingham, Alabama, with a paper or something to present, he would work to find her an audience and a good meal. The offer still stands, it applies to Darity and MacLean, as well, and to any of their students. Open, civil discourse remains the best means of tracking the truth, and life is too short to have enemies.

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