



Dear Prospective Member:

This letter addresses those for whom liberty is not merely a philosophical abstraction useful only for genteel debate among closed coteries of friends, but for whom it represents a concrete political-ideological objective achievable on a broad, world-historical scale. It is meant for those who do not flinch from the harsh realities of this statist political-economy and who are not intimidated into a condition of abject passivity by the growing power of despotism. For here we address those who can still plan and act against great odds, and strive for victory in the face of seemingly overwhelming might.

We of the PAC invite your participation in a decisive program for the abolition of the State and the establishment of voluntary, free-market alternatives. The Political Action Caucus represents the early-stage formation of a worldwide underground movement to achieve the political and economic power sufficient, not merely to effect a transition to a free society in North America, but to defend the Libertarian Revolution against external attack while promoting the abolition of statism throughout the world.

It is our view that the adherents of anti-statism are presently being misled by organizations which array themselves in theoretical support of individual liberty but whose political tactics have failed and promise failure in the future. The anti-statist movement lacks strategy and the disciplined and ruthless dedication necessary to turn the tide of statism. Every political defeat has led to a subsequent erosion of economic support and the bases of active intellectual-academic strength, in turn precipitating other political defeats. The failures of the anti-statist movement do not result from a lack of potential popular support, or from a lack of opportunities, but from a strategic mismanagement of capacities, political apathy and tactical ineptitude. Not surprisingly, this has resulted in a veritable capitulation in many quarters. These political defeats need not occur in a country which has hundreds of thousands of libertarians and millions of anti-statists of various types. We should be winning! The statist enemy has many exploitable weaknesses in its massive structure of power. Among the more embarrassing are Affirmative Action and Forced Bussing. (We are, for instance, already forming the Movement to End Racial Injustice and Tyranny (MERIT) to begin tapping and organizing some of the (understandable) rage against the government.) Thus, the PAC asserts that victory is indeed possible. How probable, however, depends on how disciplined and ruthless we are in applying our principles to the task.

The PAC, in spite of its limited numbers and modest means, has already made important advances since its founding in February 1977. We have already established a close working relationship with newly formed groups in Southern Africa, Australia and Canada, as well as having developed a political infrastructure across the United States.

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Our first special-interest group, The People Against Censorship, for example, has been able to gain regional and national attention in its opposition to a proposed censorship ban on pornography in Washington State. Our campaign was able to gain widespread media exposure for our ideas, and has attracted money, volunteers and facilities from outside the movement. As one result we were able to draw away substantial resources from the left-wing dominated American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) which has traditionally duped and co-opted the capacities of many well-meaning anti-statists. Simultaneously with this work, the PAC sponsored the first Northwest Radical Anarcho-capitalist Conference in August of this year and launched VERSUS STATE, a vital new organ of political-ideological expression now gaining international attention. More significantly, the PAC has already commenced providing evolved solutions to strategic and tactical problems. We have, for instance, fully outlined the solution to the heretofore "hard" problem of providing military area defense for a free society without resorting to coercion. Our ideological precocity enabled PAC members to successfully introduce, against stiff reactionary-traditionalist opposition, the very first youth-rights plank in the U.S. national Libertarian Party platform. The PAC also collaborated with militant, anti-statist, conservative coalitions attempting to purge the Northwest Young Americans for Freedom organization of a well-entrenched, pro-statist leadership.

These happy achievements are minor compared to what we want to accomplish. They are, in fact, little more than the first testing of still-being-developed political methodologies. In comparison to the much larger and well-established organizations such as YAF and the LP our efforts are having much greater impact. More importantly, we have mechanisms for altering our tactics and strategy from past experience. Our objective is to maneuver effectively in mass politics on an international scale. In order to do this, we must evolve a base of financial support and achieve growth buds and pressure points within existing political institutions, such as the major political parties, government bureaucracies, unions, philanthropic foundations, the military and elected and appointed offices at all levels. All of which is intended for the long-range achievements of influence and ultimate control. Our forces must occupy positions simultaneously on both sides of the barricades if we are to dismantle the apparatus of coercion.

The onrush of despotism and the tactics of collective statism, cannot be stemmed merely by issuing stirring ethical proclamations or by furtive holding actions. We must take the offensive. Naturally, we cannot do so at all levels at once. We must commence by building a sturdy network of dedicated political activists capable of long-term involvement and effective recruitment. They will have to be able to learn and apply new tactics to continuously outpace, surprise and keep the statist enemy off-balance. Our organization must build a dependable and self-sustaining financial base. This shall be accompanied by the establishment of cadre schools with rigorous training procedures. We are already recruiting organizers from the most distant corners of the globe. Our propaganda machine must be directed to every sector and level of society. In sum, we must make our political capital grow.

History has shown that small, highly organized minorities can change the political destinies of whole populations. The Political Action Caucus is dedicated to the final depoliticizing of society but this cannot be achieved until we gain sufficient power to begin dismantling the apparatus of coercion. It is possible for a relatively small group of dedicated individuals to bring the engine of the State to a halt, if they can attain ideological leadership and charismatic influence over the workaday multitudes.

Presently, most libertarians suffer from the misconception that it is immoral to work within the mechanisms of political power. As a result, the libertarian movement and the Libertarian Party have suffered a tragic paralysis when they should and could be winning influence and power for change. The PAC asserts that individuals have the right to organize a take-over of the State apparatus in their own self-defense. There

is nothing wrong in participating within the government apparatus as long as these actions are calculated and orchestrated within the limits of available knowledge to conclude in the dismantling of state power. The implementation of a rational ethic must be founded on objective reality.

It is not an argument from expediency, or an assertion of the ends-justifying-the-means, to acknowledge that the State apparatus has overwhelming power. And that working within it and achieving control over the levers of power, objectively must be an integral part of any realizable strategem to effect a transition to a free society. Our objective of a society in which individual sovereignty is treated as an absolute right, will not gain widespread adherence, or be able to inspire an effective de-powering of the State, until we attain demonstrable political strength. Reasonable words are fine and necessary but insufficient for the task.

The PAC is the first libertarian group in modern times to formulate the Doctrine of Retaliatory Recapture which provides the key ethical-political clarification necessary to implement a workable plan of action to dismantle the State. Basically, the doctrine asserts that an individual has no obligation in waging his or her own self-defense to defend the lives or property of others. More significantly, there is no rational ethical obligation to respect the property rights of others to the point of self-detriment when that property is being employed by an aggressor to facilitate acts of aggression.

The State extorts and thieves hundreds of billions of dollars worth of property, all of which is directly or indirectly employed to continue its system of aggression. In principle, anyone has the absolute right to grab the "Guns of the State" (which ultimately belong to someone else) and fight for his or her life. No one may rationally claim that this constitutes a wronging of the original property owners. Anyone who permits his or her property to be abused in the aggression of others has no ethical basis for claims against those who assume temporary control over that property for their own defense. We assert that those who take no action to restore effective control over their alienated property may not expect others suffering the brunt of the power capitalized by their property to passively await extermination at the hands of the looters. We have the right to defend ourselves. We don't have to be paralyzed by the passive acquiescence or the ineffective moralizing of others.

In practice, the Doctrine of Retaliatory Recapture resolves the endless and paralyzing debate over how libertarians can remain true to their ethical principles while gaining political power for change. It is ethically valid to work in the civil bureaucracy, in the military and as an elected or appointed official as long as one is serving to implement a plan to terminate the apparatus of statist coercion. Thus, we applaud the efforts of such persons as Alan Greenspan, appointed by President Ford as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors and Milton Friedman in his good influence on the government of Chile. Furthermore, it is ethically valid to employ defensive and retaliatory fraud in political activities. Anarcho-capitalists should run as Republicans and Democrats. They should pay active lip-service (when necessary) to liberal and conservative positions as is tactically expedient to win office. The successful election of libertarian Woody Jenkins to the Louisiana state legislature as a Democrat and his achievements in office provide an excellent example of the merit of this strategy. It can be repeated on a mass scale. We heartily agree with Roy Childs, Jr. of the New York Free Libertarian Party when he says that, "If lying helps, then lie."

Once in office it may be strategically necessary for anarcho-capitalists to maintain their cover until the correct time presents itself. Of course they should do everything they can, under the circumstances of their infiltration, to alleviate the coercive intrusions of the State. But they may have to remain incognito for many years. In a war, an effective strategy requires spies, and saboteurs. And there can be no doubt

about it, we are at war for our very lives! Only the enemy is organized for political war and we are not!

What we of the PAC propose is daring and revolutionary. It is conspiratorial and manipulative. And why not, when we are being beaten and crushed in every aspect of our lives by a conspiracy of corporate statism which has the more-or-less tacit complicity of millions of persons. Can we objectively expect to meet the political exigencies of the massive and well organized constituencies of state power (the unions, cartels, bureaucrats and welfare recipients et al.) with mere philosophical verbiage and a simplistic ethical preaching. Obviously, we cannot! We must organize and gain position to provide an enormous magnification of strength for our presently limited numbers. Once we have position and influence, we then can convert the remainder of society to the advantages of Reason and Liberty.

The Political Action Caucus proposes working within the political realities of our time. This means orchestrating a political movement which on the one level is radicalizing youth, and on the other level is gaining political power through conventional channels. It means building parallel institutions for internal control and disciplining of our movement while providing an existing, non-governmental framework of functioning alternatives during the transitional period. These parallel institutions must include police, judicial and military functions. The underground development of these systems is part of what we call "transitional mechanics". Much of this already has been developed by the PAC in embryonic form. There is no way we can realistically expect the support of the masses until we can begin demonstrating an ability to provide superior services. Most people are justifiably concerned about the obviously aggressive designs of the Soviet Union -- they want to know -- first and foremost -- how we are going to provide better area defense. They will never swallow the present intellectual fantasies glibly purveyed by the libertarian intelligentsia that no threat exists! As mentioned earlier, we already have a fully outlined plan for providing military area defense for North America. People want effective police protection against the threat of violence. When we provide it in their neighborhoods, we will have their political loyalty and support for dismantling the State. Workers want higher real wages and job security. We must be able to convince them that our system can do that. One way, of course, is to build our own industries run on laissez-faire capitalist principles and politically protect them from political interference. Business entrepreneurs and investors want the assurance of a predictable legal environment and a good prospect for economic growth. This we must assure if we are to effect the transition and this we can do by such measures as destatizing the currency, abolishing regulations and market intrusions.

How does this all start? It already has. The Political Action Caucus is organizing a network of early-stage activists across North America and in other countries as well. The early stage means radicalizing and politicizing the inert mass of libertarians to our ideological position and reprogramming skilled political workers from the traditional Left and Right. It means adapting techniques of political organization for our needs at this stage. Most importantly, we need to line-up financial support. Once we gain a trained cadre we can impress potential "financial angels". We must build a propoganda system -- our own newspaper. We must develop internal training programs and security systems.

This kind of political organizing is vastly different from the pathetic fuzzyness and defeatism which now afflicts the anti-statist movement. No longer need we feel like pawns in someone else's game. We can and will create our own political destiny. Instead of merely dreaming about how it could be if the State miraculously collapsed, we will organize within every crevice, exploit every weakness, and tap every spring of support. We will live our philosophy in the world as it exists -- which is after all -- what our philosophy is all about. This kind of political activism is truly fulfilling because

it is totally demanding of one's ethical capacities. We won't back down from reality and we won't need to because we will have the strength to meet our enemy.

Thus, PAC invites you to help us mold a new future, and to join us in achieving world-historic victory over the forces of coercion.

Vanquish the State,

The Political Action Caucus

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MEMBERSHIP FORM

I am interested in supporting the Political Action Caucus. My name \_\_\_\_\_  
address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone number \_\_\_\_\_. My check for membership application of \$10.00 (U.S. or foreign currency equivalent) is included. I am enclosing an additional \$12.00 for a subscription to VERSUS STATE.

I wish to contribute to the PAC's efforts. Enclosed is a contribution for  
\$10.00 \_\_\_\_\_, \$25.00 \_\_\_\_\_, \$50.00 \_\_\_\_\_, \$100.00 \_\_\_\_\_  
\$1,000 \_\_\_\_\_, Other \_\_\_\_\_.