

FEDERATIE V. VRIJ SOCIALISME
FOUNDING MANIFESTO

2026



Federatie v. Vrij Socialisme

Founding Manifesto

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Introduction

We are a revolutionary anarchist organisation based in the Netherlands.

We envision an ecological society, built from the bottom up, where people collectively manage their own workplaces, communities, and land. A society organised around the needs and aspirations of all, not the privileges of a few. This requires breaking free from the chains of class society.

The wreckage of the current system is all around us: wars and militarism, rising nationalism, white supremacy, zionism, patriarchy, climate collapse, economic instability, precarity, and rampant exploitation. None of this is accidental. It is the system of domination working as designed, and it can be dismantled and replaced.

That conviction is what built the Federation for Free Socialism (*Federatie voor Vrij Socialisme*, FVS), founded in 2026 with its first federated sections to be created in Amsterdam and Rotterdam-The Hague. It is the cumulative result of hard experience and study. We stand in the tradition of specifically organised anarchism, alongside platformism and especifismo: anarchists need their own specific organisation, united around a shared set of ideas, theory, and practice, while taking part in the wider struggles of the oppressed.

That unity cannot rest on empty dogma. It is built in common, tested against our successes and failures, and rooted in the lived reality of class struggle, past and present.

This manifesto is our starting point. It sets out what we believe, how we organise, and how we mean to fight, and we will build on it as we go.

Our political principles

What we mean by anarchism

It matters that we define what we are so our unity rests on real agreement and not false assumption. Today the word “anarchist” is stretched over positions that flatly contradict each other. Group these together, and you get an organisation built on negation: its members agree on what they oppose, not on what to do or why. If anarchism can mean everything, it risks meaning nothing.

For this reason, we are specific about what we are. We adhere to anarchism, understood as a left-wing political ideology, a libertarian, revolutionary form of socialism. We aim to organise the oppressed classes to fight for their own material interests and carry out a social revolution to build a libertarian socialist society.

Anarchism, to us, is not a lifestyle or philosophy to be guarded with puritanical zeal. It is a practical political project for the transformation of society. We take a definition grounded in anarchism’s real history, how it arose and how anarchists have used the word over the last 150 years. From that history we draw its core principles, and reject definitions we deem too broad, too narrow, or self-contradictory.

Anarchism is grounded in an ethical framework opposing all forms of domination: whether economic, political, or cultural. This includes class domination, but also patriarchy, racism, imperialism, colonialism, ableism, and other forms of oppression. Its ultimate goal is the creation of a libertarian socialist society.

This future cannot be won without class struggle. By class we do not mean income. We mean a relationship of domination: who owns and controls the means of life, from housing and food to workplaces, wealth, political institutions, and the reproduction of ideas. To overturn the current system of domination we need an independent and organised combative force of the oppressed.

The kind of anarchists we are

We believe in the necessity of organisation. Disciplined, formal, accountable organisation. The notion that all structure is tyranny is a myth, and lone individuals or scattered affinity groups cannot carry a revolution. Large-scale coordination and shared responsibility are how a revolutionary struggle survives.

We fight for reforms as a road to revolution, not a substitute for it. Real gains won now, when they are pursued as part of a wider strategy, help build the popular power necessary to win more. We reject the purism that refuses every victory short of the final one. The power of the oppressed is forged in class struggle, through people organising themselves and acting directly in social movements, drawing more and more people into the fight and into revolutionary consciousness.

We want the struggle to be waged as humanely as it can be. We are not however pacifists. And we reject “propaganda of the deed” and its fantasy that a few dramatic acts of terror can spark a movement into being. They never have.

We are for building, not only breaking. Only tearing down and resisting what currently exists is not a sufficient plan. We need to develop a worked-out strategy and real alternative to the capitalist-statist system.

We organise ourselves on two levels at once. We keep our own anarchist organisation, united in its ideas and strategy, whilst also participating in the wider social movements of ordinary people: workplaces, tenants, neighbourhoods, gender or climate-related struggles, wherever people fight to improve their lives. This is what we call the specific anarchist tradition of organisational dualism. The anarchist organisation is a committed minority: a dedicated cadre that argues for and organises anarchist ideas inside social struggles. This tradition has been carried by working people for over 150 years.

We reject the “big tent” model of organisation that places every self-identified anarchist under one roof on the assumption that more bodies mean more strength. Numbers without a shared direction are not strength. Strength comes from agreement on where we are going and effectivity in execution.

What is libertarian socialism

Our goal is a libertarian socialist society. It runs on a simple principle: from each according to their ability, to each according to their need. It promises plenty and well-being, and the widest freedom possible, resting on an economy owned in common and a self-managing society freed of domination. It is in essence a classless society.

We reject the individualist conception that freedom means doing whatever you want with no obligation to anyone. That “freedom” is just the door back to class society. Real freedom demands solidarity, mutual responsibility, and accountability to our communities.

In a libertarian socialist society there are no rulers or owners. The economic, political, and cultural means are held in common, and everyone able works. Labour is understood as a social function: it serves the community as well as yourself, and how it is organised is decided collectively, by everyone with a fair say. Where there is abundance, goods are freely available to all. Where resources are scarce, they are allocated by collective decision, according to need.

People would manage things directly, through their assemblies and associations, from the bottom up. What can be decided locally is decided locally. What needs wider coordination, across a region, a nation, or internationally, is coordinated by federation, where free and autonomous groups join together for common ends by agreement and mutual benefit, never by command.

Three principles form this social contract.

First, **autonomy**: people and communities can run their own affairs, and have the right to do so, so long as they do not trample the freedom of others. Anyone who tries to exploit, oppress, or dominate has broken that contract, and resistance to them is justified. This rests on a plain trust in human dignity, the belief that people are capable of governing themselves, and that governing themselves makes them more responsible, not less.

Second, **decentralised power**. Hierarchy breeds servility, apathy, and careerism. The people who do the work and live the conditions are the ones best placed to decide about them. Spreading power out keeps anyone from hoarding it and enables real participation instead of forcing them to obey a minority.

Third, **federalism**: free association among groups. This does not mean no coordination. Where wider bodies are needed, regional, national, and international, they exist, but they stay directly democratic. Delegates are given strict mandates and can be recalled at any time. They carry out what they have been tasked to do; they do not rule.

One thing we are clear about: rejecting top-down rule does not mean rejecting collective decision-making or the shared responsibility of carrying out decisions. What we refuse is hierarchical decision-making, by command and coercion, like the power some impose over the lives of fellow workers, against their will. We speak here of disproportionate actions taken against others that do not qualify as resistance.

The federalist model is the opposite of command; it rests on direct democracy and free association. Large-scale coordination will need formal administrative structures, but the decision-making power stays at the base.

How we understand society

The theoretical method we use to understand reality and society is called libertarian materialism and social theory, rooted in classical anarchist thought and further developed by Organização Socialismo Libertário (OSL) and the Institute for Anarchist Theory and History (IATH).

It holds that there is a real material world, the same for all of us, and we can come to know it through experimental investigation, never final and always open to correction. It philosophically falls under critical realism, and stands apart from orthodox Marxist, liberal, positivist, and postmodern schools of thought.

Society is part of material reality, shaped by its conditions and institutions. We reject the notion that any one factor can be used to primarily explain everything in society, as well as the notion that all explanations are equally true; we want the ones that fit the evidence best and identify real causal relations. Theory is ultimately however only a lens, informing us how to reach our aims in the world as it actually is.

The capitalist-statist system

Using libertarian materialism and social theory, we understand today's society as a capitalist-statist system: a structure of lasting domination that shapes all social life.

To make sense of it we divide it into three spheres: the economic, the political, and the cultural. Each has its own institutions. The three spheres are distinct but interdependent and work together as a single whole. The system's logic operates through the ongoing accumulation and monopolisation of capital, or power, across all three spheres. Capitalism is therefore not to be understood as the economy alone; it is inseparable from the organised coercion that enforces it and the cultural ideas and norms that legitimise it.

The general shape of society is produced by class struggle, the social conflict between class forces. This is the central contradiction of the system, and it draws in and reshapes other conflicts rooted in other forms of domination.

Class is defined by relations of domination, by who owns or controls the economic (workplaces, resources, land, and production), political (laws, courts, police, and state decision-making), and cultural (education, media, religion, and the main sources of “common sense”) means. Class is therefore not only an economic relation. The dominant classes include capitalists, landowners, the political-bureaucratic elite, knowledge monopolists, executive managers, and other ruling strata. The oppressed include workers, peasants, Indigenous peoples, etc.

The urban and rural working classes are the primary revolutionary subject in the Netherlands, as throughout Western Europe, with their potential for self-organisation and collective struggle forming the basis for the construction of popular power and social transformation in our local context.

The **economic sphere** consists of capitalist economics: commodity production for profit, and a social relationship between those compelled to work for wages and those who own and control production and reap the benefits. By privately owning the means of production and concentrating it in few hands, the capitalist class denies the working class democratic control over the economy and its workplaces. The working class, alienated from this control, makes up the vast majority and must sell its labour to survive. Workers create enormous wealth, with capitalists expropriating a share as capital to reinvest and expand their profits and their power.

Capitalist economics depends on the state which enforces the imposed rules of the system, without which private property cannot exist. Workers are uniquely situated within the capitalist-statist system. Because they are essential to keeping production running, workers hold the power to stop it and reorganise it on a new basis.

The **political sphere** consists of the state: a hierarchical institution of concentrated minority class rule. The modern state co-developed alongside capitalist economics, claiming a monopoly on violence within its declared territories, and maintaining a repressive apparatus (the police, courts, prisons, and military) to sustain it. All class societies rely on the state to reproduce the domination of the dominant classes over the oppressed.

It is contradictory to speak of a “workers’ state” or a “democratic state”. A state is controlled not by the populace but by a ruling political-bureaucratic minority with privileged access to

organised coercion, however that minority is selected and however it justifies itself. A non-hierarchical administration organised from below or institutions serving social functions, through federalised direct democracy and delegates who are strictly mandated and recallable, are not to be called states, because no privileged minority stands above the population; states are hierarchical administrations, not all administrations are states.

The **cultural sphere** is where the system secures consent and conceptions of “normal”. The domination of class rule is largely hidden behind manufactured consent: people are led to accept the system as legitimate without constant force. Through education, the illusion of democratic rule, the nuclear family, and mass media, ruling forces build a broad consensus in which the oppressed come to see capitalism and the state as natural and inevitable. Coercion and consent work together. Where consent fails, the system turns to repression.

By taking on the logic of hierarchy as their own, people reproduce class society through their daily lives. The state reinforces this by “mediating” class struggle and providing services like education and healthcare, channelling conflict into regulated procedures and projecting an image of neutrality through reforms and concessions. State-provided services are not however a product of class struggle alone, though struggle can shift them. They serve the capitalist-statist system above all, reproducing and maintaining the workforce and smoothing the volatility of business cycles, with each state actively shaping the composition and division of labour.

Ecology

The capitalist-statist system is a major source of environmental destruction. Climate breakdown, the collapse of biodiversity, poisoned land, air and water: these are not simply the result of bad policies. They follow from the logic of capitalist economics, from endless accumulation and production for profit. A system built to grow forever cannot live in balance with a finite planet. The two cannot be reconciled.

The usual story blames human nature, or shopping habits, or overpopulation for ecological catastrophe. These are scapegoats. The real drivers are capitalist extraction, militarism, industrial farming, and fossil capital. Working people do not decide what gets made or how; the dominant classes do and then blame workers for the results.

Their solutions repeat the same lie: carbon markets, recycling drives, and “lifestyle change”, treating the crisis as a matter of individual responsibility. None of it touches the

system run for profit, and worse still, these narratives often justify austerity for the oppressed and further protection of the privileged.

The impact of ecological collapse falls hardest on marginalised communities. Ecological justice must be anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-sexist, and class-conscious, or it is worth little.

Society is part of nature, not above it. An ecological society must take the interdependence of all life seriously, human and non-human, and organise production so that it serves ecological balance and human needs rather than profit and accumulation.

Imperialism and nationalism

Imperialism is the international extension of the capitalist-statist system across borders. The ruling classes, through powerful states, plunder weaker nations and their oppressed classes to keep resources, cheap labour, and capital flowing. Capital cannot sit still; as it accumulates, the ruling classes have to find new markets, new materials, new people to exploit, so they push outward and reshape whole regions in service of profit.

This works not only through military intervention, but also through economic coercion: debt, sanctions, unequal exchange, corporations that set wages and laws for people that are sovereign only on paper. When a colony is “liberated”, real power over policy and trade often stays where it was, with local elites often collaborating with this order to their own self-enrichment. The “Dutch Caribbean” remains a direct continuation of Dutch colonial rule.

Imperialism cannot be separated from racism. Capitalism was built on genocide, slavery, and conquest, and that logic still shoves the most dangerous, degrading, worst-paid work onto racialised peoples internationally.

The Netherlands historically sits in the imperial core. Here a little of the ruling class’ imperial plunder trickles down: higher wages, better welfare, more stability for parts of the working class. The capitalists however still keep the lion’s share, but the crumbs are enough to make some workers align with ruling class’ interests rather than the interests of workers internationally. These comforts are however fragile and constantly under pressure.

Forever seeking cheaper labour and higher profits, wages and social security can be hollowed out even here. When this happens, nationalism and racism frequently surface to

turn workers against migrants and social “others” instead of those people who are actually responsible. Breaking these divisions requires internationalism and giving up comforts that rest on someone else’s exploitation. The capitalist-statist system is international, so our class struggle must be too.

We reject nationalism, including its decolonial variants, wherever it raises a supposed “national unity” over class divisions. Nations are not natural nor fixed; they are made, often violently invented. We back the absolute right of oppressed peoples to resist colonial and imperial domination. But swapping foreign masters for local ones who integrate into the same system changes little, so we put no faith in “sovereign” states as the road to emancipation.

We refuse campism too, the tendency to sort the world into imperial and anti-imperial blocs and cheering for the lesser evil. The ruling classes of a state can resist imperialism abroad whilst crushing its own workers, minorities, and dissidents at home. Coherent anti-imperialism stands with the oppressed classes, not with the ruling class’ regimes that dominate them. Genuine anti-imperialism cannot compromise with class enemies.

Intersectionality

Patriarchy and racism are older than capitalism and the state, but it is the capitalist-statist system today which has incorporated them, reproduces them, and reshapes them. Ending the capitalist-statist system will not by itself end every other oppression, yet there is no ending them while it sustains them. Class is not one more identity or prejudice. It is central to the fight against all forms of domination.

We want to prevent two common errors. One reduces oppression to personal prejudice, or too little representation; let some dominant institutions diversify and the oppressive structure remains intact. The other treats anti-racist, queer, and anti-sexist struggles as side issues to class struggle, when they are means of keeping workers divided and sustaining the capitalist-statist system. These oppressions live inside our movements and organisations, and they will not be educated away. We start by assuming their presence and build structures to fight them rather than trusting good intentions.

Our hardest task is to build real unity among the oppressed classes. It must be built from a class-conscious standpoint that joins the shared interests of all the oppressed. Class struggle must be internationalist, anti-imperialist, anti-racist, and anti-sexist at once, and each of

those struggles must in turn be class oriented. Our true enemies are the dominant classes, not the workers of imperialist countries, not white people, cis men, or heterosexuals, not any group among the oppressed.

We hold to the old feminist truth that the personal is political, that “private” oppression is bound up with larger structures that must be overthrown, and reject its inversion: the idea that changing one’s language, behaviour, or lifestyle alone constitutes political action. This diverts attention from structural transformation toward performative individualism and essentialist identity politics at the expense of common struggle.

Racism

Racism is a system that divides people by race, ethnicity, or origin and uses the split to sustain unequal treatment, exploitation, and violence. Here, as across the West, its dominant form is white supremacy: an order that privileges “whiteness”.

“Race” was invented to justify conquest, slavery, and empire, then dressed up as “science”. It still decides who gets policed and who gets protected, who is pushed into the worst work, and who is treated as disposable.

“Whiteness” is similarly an invention; it has stretched over time to include groups once excluded, such as the Irish and the Italians. What holds it together is privilege: better welfare, steadier work, more safety from the state. These do not cancel out class domination, but they bribe parts of the white working class, aligning them with dominant class’ interests, dividing the oppressed along racial lines.

Race is also a tool of profit. The system reproduces it because division pays: it pushes people of colour and migrants into the lowest-paid, most precarious and most physically demanding work, and uses borders and anti-migrant violence to discipline whole populations. The hyper-exploitation of migrant labour holds up entire sectors of the global economy.

Racism is present in our movements and organisations and must be combatted. Racialised comrades frequently get policed harder for mistakes or “tone”, decisions get made without the people most affected in the room, and influence pools among white members while others are sidelined or handed “diversity work” without real say.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a system that privileges men, above all straight cis men, with structural power over women, queer people, and gender-diverse people. It is reproduced through our institutions, through emotional control and violence, and maintained by who gets assigned which labour.

From birth we are pushed into rigid gender roles. The family, the school, the church, the doctor's office, the media, the workplace all teach us what "man" or "woman" are supposed to be. None of this is natural. They are rules, learned and enforced, and punished when broken. At its most brutal it manifests as gendered and sexual violence: abuse, harassment, rape, femicide.

The capitalist-statist system benefits from the division. It runs the family as a private factory for reproducing workers, where women and gender-oppressed people mostly carry the unpaid care labour, cooking, cleaning, raising children, minding relatives after a day's paid work, and in paid work are funnelled into underpaid "women's work".

Cis men are the ones this system privileges, but the violence is carried out by people of every gender wherever patriarchal rules are policed, and all who fall short of the script are punished for it.

Patriarchy however disciplines men too. Dominant masculinity demands toughness, control, and the rejection of vulnerability and expression, and rewards violence as proof of status. It turns ordinary human needs into shame, and the result shows up as violence, addiction, depression, and suicide. They are not personal failures but the marks of a system that mutilates people to sustain itself.

Patriarchy is present in our own movements and must be combatted. It shows in who talks and who gets interrupted, whose ideas count as "serious", who is quietly steered toward admin and care work while men take the visible roles. Our spaces have to be built so people can take part without being sexualised or pressured, and so consent and boundaries are plain comradely conduct, not private business.

Our organisational principles

The role of the anarchist organisation

Without organisation we cannot seriously pursue revolutionary social transformation. The specific anarchist organisation is an association of workers committed to anarchism, agreed on clear principles and aims as well as the means to reach them. Its work is to take part in and help build social movements, not to stand above them.

The specific anarchist organisation acts like yeast in dough: it does not become the bread, but it helps the whole rise. By organising, by raising class consciousness, and by arguing for a clear strategic direction, it helps turn the divided strength of the oppressed into a real social force.

We reject authoritarian vanguardist methods that seek to direct or substitute the social struggle. No party should lead the people from above or claim to speak in their name. The revolution is the work of the oppressed themselves, and our job is to strengthen them as its main actors, not to replace them.

Our relationship to social movements is one of equals: mutual influence and mutual learning, never coercive control. We reject every form of command, financial leverage, demands for obedience, manipulation from above, splitting a movement for partisan gain, or entryism to capture it. We reject too its opposite, the tailing of movements wherever they happen to go even where it goes against our principles or strategy.

We bring an anarchist perspective into the social struggle, and we try to make these movements real spaces of popular participation, building the relations of the future inside the present and heightening class struggle.

The functioning of the anarchist organisation

We draw inspiration from the anarchist traditions of platformism and especificismo. We organise on two levels at once. At the social level we work inside social movements, in the daily fights over wages, housing, and living conditions. At the political level we organise ideologically as anarchists, around shared ideas and a shared strategy.

The organisation is structured as a series of concentric circles, with militants taking on greater commitment and responsibility as they move toward the centre. Each level of the organisation carries rights and duties consistent with its level of commitment, so that

people only decide on what they will actually carry out. The organisation should be closed enough to ensure militants are properly prepared, committed, and politically aligned, but open enough to bring in and integrate new militants.

We are not a mass organisation and not an electoral party. We are a committed minority cadre of militants. We do not run in elections, and we do not seek state power.

Our purpose is to unite militants around a common political line and an agreed program for how we act. We do not claim to be the one true voice of the oppressed. We claim only that we believe our proposals are the soundest basis for a practice that genuinely serves them.

Four principles structure the organisation:

- First, **self-management and federalism**: we are non-hierarchical and direct democratic, our sections coordinate from the bottom up through delegates who are strictly mandated and instantly recallable.
- Second, **unity of ideology and theory**: a clear political and theoretical line, decided together and then defended in public, never imposed but built through collective practice, study, and honest criticism.
- Third, **unity of action**: shared objectives and agreed strategy and tactics to pursue them, set down in a program that every militant helps build and then carries out.
- Fourth, **collective responsibility**: each of us answers for our tasks and our conduct, and the organisation answers for the well-being and functioning of each militant.

We do not pretend disagreement will not exist. Differing positions are allowed and often unavoidable. On small matters the minority defers to the majority, out of free will, to keep us united and effective. On larger matters we discuss further, and if we still cannot agree, either both positions coexist or the minority parts ways. But once a decision is collectively taken, the whole organisation defends it and acts on it.

The point is that we act in unison on what we have decided together. We aim always for the widest possible agreement, and we refuse to rush decisions we could take with care; rushing only breeds splits, resentment, or a hollow unity where people fall in line but nothing is settled. Real unity is built carefully, through shared work and discussion that lets positions be tested before they are formalised.

Our general strategy

Building popular power

The foundation of our general strategy is the building of self-managed popular power: strengthening the social force of the oppressed classes until they can carry out a social revolution, defeat the present system, and establish libertarian socialism in its place.

This work begins now. In the Netherlands it begins by drawing the urban and rural working classes, including the working class intelligentsia, into active struggle through social movements. Today the great majority of workers are neither organised nor engaged, and the organised minority that exists has mostly promoted positions that reinforce the system or seek only minor reforms.

This sets us two tasks. The first is to organise as much of the working classes as possible into mass social movements, so they can act on their own social reality; without organisation the oppressed remain a latent force, a strength never realised. The second is to give those movements a strategic and programmatic revolutionary orientation, because organisation alone is not enough. A movement without direction tends to manage the symptoms of the system rather than build power against it due to the hegemony of ruling-class ideas and institutions.

Our means must move toward our ends, and people best develop class consciousness by taking part in class struggle. We therefore defend certain characteristics in social movements:

They must be broad and non-partisan: open to all who suffer the problem at hand and are willing to struggle, built around shared material interests rather than political affiliation, with the potential to develop into mass organisations. For this reason, we reject the strategy of formally anarchist/socialist unions. These social movements must however hold a class-conscious perspective, promoting revolutionary class struggle whatever their immediate demands, and refusing alliance or conciliation with class enemies.

They must be independent. Class independence means autonomy from the companies, institutions, and actors that serve dominant-class interests, including those directly responsible for the problems the movement faces, and from the electoral and vanguard parties that treat movements as a base for their own authoritarian projects. Nor do we accept parliament as a legitimate arena for emancipatory politics: one cannot elect

politicians to abolish the state any more than promote workers to bosses to abolish capitalism.

They must be combative and committed to direct action: a permanent dedication to confrontation, winning demands through the direct exercise of social force by the workers themselves, without reliance on politicians, union bureaucrats, or NGOs. Both pacifism and violence detached from the people have severe limits, and combative talk that builds no organised social force is worth little.

Many movements are themselves hierarchical, run by leaderships cut off from the base. So we work from the grassroots, building relationships with rank-and-file participants and, through internal tendencies and groupings, reorienting movements toward formal organisation, direct democracy, self-management, federalism, collective decision-making and responsibility, and delegations that are strictly mandated, rotating, and recallable under bottom-up control. Leadership positions are to be approached with caution.

We break with reformism as an end while still fighting for immediate gains that increase the capacity of the workers. Such struggles mobilise people and, when won, improve real conditions; but won or lost, their deeper value is educational, developing class consciousness and driving radicalisation.

The more militant and class-conscious society becomes, the more likely social movements are to converge and turn immediate battles into deliberate revolutionary practice. In this way the struggle for reforms becomes a path to revolution, and the convergence of movements through collective struggle and federalism becomes a force for revolutionary mass organisation. We seek the construction of this united working-class front and popular power.

Revolutionary social transformation

Our practice aims at social revolution: the end and replacement of the capitalist-statist system. This means dismantling the foundations of class society. No more classes; an end to both private and state ownership of production, political decision-making, and cultural power, clearing the way for libertarian socialism.

A social revolution differs from a political revolution in that it does not merely replace the state's rulers or nationalise property, but more fundamentally transforms the underlying social relations of society itself. We reject the strategy of Marxism-Leninism and "real

socialism”, such as the Soviet Union, for this reason: they replaced one ruling class with another, concentrating power in a party-state bureaucracy rather than the oppressed, whatever their intentions may have been.

Revolution is not a single insurrectionary moment that settles everything at once. It is a long process in which the oppressed self-organise, build popular power, and dismantle and replace the institutions of the system. Within it will come faster moments, socially disruptive, born of crisis or of accumulated strength, such as riots, strikes, and uprisings. A social rupture, a moment when the normal functioning of the capitalist-statist system breaks down and alternatives become viable, is the opening for anarchists to put their program into practice. But what such a moment yields depends on what was built before it. Hardship alone does not make a people revolutionary; only a self-managing socio-political culture, developed over time through daily class struggle, direct democracy, and direct action, can.

We need not wait for everyone to become an anarchist. We cannot convince all at once, and it would be naive to believe so, so we must put as much of our program into practice as we can among people who only partly agree, winning their trust through shared struggle. We speak of a gradual advance toward libertarian socialism.

Between rupture and consolidation lies a transition, in which gains must be defended and a practical program adapted to real conditions. We destroy nothing that meets human needs until we have something better to replace it with.

Emancipation cannot be imposed: libertarian socialism is only possible when the people broadly understand and want it through the recognition of their class interests, and to force it would betray our own ends. If however new forms of domination, or attempts to reinstate the old order of things, arise during the revolution, these must be resisted. There is no road to freedom through nationalised state property, militarised work, or the rule of a party bureaucracy.

We can cooperate with non-anarchist forces against a common enemy or for common goals, but the moment they take power and wield the state, we can only oppose them. Should we fail to prevent a new state from arising, we then fight for the weakest and most libertarian form possible, defending our gains from external reaction, its monopoly of force and decision-making redistributed as far as it will go into the hands of the oppressed, while

we stand with the masses and urge them to take possession and self-manage their own lives to progress the revolution further.

This is a hard line to walk, and class independence must hold throughout. Every transitional form must prefigure the end: rooted in federalised self-management, advancing always toward libertarian socialism.

The transition to libertarian socialism

The transition to libertarian socialism will take a long time, perhaps generations: a moral and cultural change that grows relations of solidarity and unravels the grip of capitalist-statist ideas. We cannot leap straight from capitalist-statism to “each according to their need” and expect production and distribution to fall into place overnight. The length of the road does not make starting it any less urgent. What follows is provisional, offered as a model open to revision, not a blueprint.

In general, workers’ councils and associations, organised by workplace and neighbourhood, will manage social, economic, political, and cultural life. Decisions are taken in assemblies from the bottom up; where wider coordination is needed, the assemblies elect delegates whose functions rotate and whose mandates can be revoked. Local, regional, and national decisions can be coordinated without decision-making power leaving the base.

Economy. The transitional form is a planned economy built from the bottom up. At its base, a council in each workplace runs daily operations through an assembly of its workers. Councils federate by sector to coordinate on capacity, needs, and resources while keeping their autonomy.

An Institute of Statistics and Coordination gathers data on what can be produced, what is available, and what people need, and turns it into clear overviews to guide allocation between sectors. It only informs; it does not command, and is governed by delegates from the federations, communes, and consumer associations.

Municipal communes organise consumption and local services, determining local needs so production answers them, and direct collectively controlled finance toward real needs-based consumption rather than profit.

Money stays for a while, as a unit of account, but its role as capital shrinks. All banks are seized and merged into one federalised social bank with local departments that allocate

funds by plan and by need, as decided by the communes. As workable moneyless models emerge through experience, money is phased out and the banking institution contracts into plain administrative accounting under social control.

Land and housing belong to the communes, while people hold secure use rights to their homes and plots: they may live in, work, and improve them, but not sell, mortgage, inherit, or speculate on them. When a user leaves or dies, the commune reallocates. Autonomy in daily use, without landlords or a market in land.

Politics. The state is to be replaced by popular self-administration. Through their federated councils and communes, workers decide and carry out everything public life depends on: education, health, transport, housing, water, energy, etc.

Law and justice are socialised and turned from punishment toward prevention, rehabilitation, and non-violent resolution, with decisions kept wherever possible among those directly concerned and mediation or jury procedures used only when agreement fails. Crime would mean any conscious act that increases human suffering, violates the equal freedom of all, or harms the material and spiritual well-being of others.

Social defence replaces the police. The first response to an offence is to find and remove its causes, so that crime shrinks to rare and genuinely pathological cases; force is used proportionately only against those who try to impose domination or inflict material harm. None of this becomes a standing professional institution, which would breed the very dangers of the police it replaced. Instead, it takes some form of rotation, as a civil service under the strict control of the communes, with care for the protection of minorities.

A people's militia, locally rooted, under social control, federated, with elected, rotating, and recallable officers, replaces the standing professional army to defend revolutionary gains against external reaction, never to project power for a state or faction.

Culture. All this rests on a deep cultural change. Communication and education are to be socialised, fostering a self-managed culture of solidarity built on autonomy, decentralised power, and federalism.

Such a society protects freedom of expression, assembly, belief, movement, sexuality, and lifestyle. Childrearing and education are public and comprehensive, developing people intellectually, practically, and physically; the media serves diversity, critical thinking, entertainment, and open debate.

Our trajectory

To rebuild the specific anarchist tradition of organisational dualism in the Netherlands, FVS sets itself five tasks.

First, to move beyond the cultural sphere into sustained work inside social movements, such as labour, neighbourhood, student, and tenant unions. We aim to shape social struggles and win them to a revolutionary libertarian socialist orientation with a program of our own, helping build a left-wing movement independent of parliamentary parties: grassroots, class-conscious, combative, committed to direct action, self-managed, federalist, and revolutionary.

Second, to build a real political force, one that not only contributes to the struggles of the oppressed but is recognised by other actors and movements, able to form alliances and draw workers in. We mean to restore anarchism to its historic role as an active instrument in workers' struggles, advancing a project of popular power that can transform Dutch society.

Third, to break with purism, which paralyses and isolates anarchism by refusing to face reality as it is. We must learn to navigate a social reality defined by contradictions and class struggle. While we lack strength, this will sometimes mean strategic alliances with forces outside our camp. Our principles remain our horizon, but we must know how to act on the world to reach them. An insular anarchism confined to "lifestyle", concerned only with carving out sub-cultural spaces, is not a political project and must also be left behind.

Fourth, to definitively abandon the synthesist "big tent" organisational model for a specific, programmatic organisation: united in theory, ideology, and practice, bound by collective responsibility and discipline. This means turning away from individualist and "anything goes" tendencies, even where they label themselves anarchist, and toward those who actually share our principles and our commitment to class struggle.

Fifth, to move past the fixation on informal consensus decision-making, which so often paralyses our movements or produces undemocratic outcomes. Formal consensus has its place as one method of voluntary decision-making, but it is not the only one. We aim for the broadest agreement we can reach, while not shying away from a majority vote when practical limits demand it.

FVS also takes up six lessons drawn from the history of anarchism in the Netherlands.

First, this is a long-term endeavour. Real progress takes patience and maturity, both individual and collective, and the steady accumulation of experience through militancy. As a young organisation, we begin with humility.

Second, unity comes through collective learning, not through fixating on minor differences and not through an incoherent pluralism that tolerates anything. We must build a culture free of distrust, hostility, and the constant threat of splits, while refusing to excuse inconsistency or unethical conduct. Freedom of thought, respect for minority positions, and rehabilitation before punishment should be the norm.

Third, our organisation should extend beyond a handful of cities across the country acting in isolation, which means leaving behind the culture of small personal affinity groups and building theoretical and strategic unity through shared education, experience, and collective action. This should be grounded in grassroots self-management and federalism, developing the whole from its parts; but the parts cannot stand wholly apart from the construction of the whole.

Fourth, growing nationally means creating the conditions for it: a proper process for joining, organised through concentric circles, so militants stay rather than revolving in and out, with real political training so that lessons and debates pass to newcomers. Growth in numbers must never outrun sustainable collective development.

Fifth, we cannot move forward without learning from the past and planning for the future. Popular power is built through social insertion, real engagement and anarchist influence in mass struggles, and through analysing reality and putting theory into practice. Good practice needs good theory, and good theory needs good practice; they are inseparable. Those who reject practice change nothing; those who reject theory act blindly, forever serving others' ends without knowing it.

Sixth, responsibility and discipline are vital, not as slavish obedience but as a voluntary commitment to uphold what we decide together. Each militant reliably does their part, or says when they cannot, so the organisation can adapt without disruption. Each is accountable for the organisation's well-being, and the organisation for its members. Tasks are shared fairly and supported collectively, and those who fail to fulfil their duties are held to account.

Our militancy

We look for a certain kind of militant, in our ranks and among those who want to join.

Militants are workers with their own lives and commitments; they need not study anarchism like intellectuals. What they need is a real interest in organised anarchism and a willingness to take part regularly and seriously, in the internal work of the organisation and in the social work of the movements.

In general, we seek militants already active in unions, movements, and struggles, and those who want to become active in our organisation.

Our militancy is grounded in the principles of the organisation, and it asks us to hold to some things and reject others.

We explicitly reject informality, individualism, and the dodging of responsibility; destructive criticism and disrespect; moralising that pulls us away from real political work; cultures of permanent infighting; arrogance, elitism, and claims of superiority; the tolerance of unethical conduct; punishment that goes beyond our libertarian principles; and the surveillance or policing of militants' private lives.

We stand for organic development, unity, and self-discipline; for constructive practice, not just criticism or inward-looking discourse; for working collectively, debating rationally, and developing a respectful capacity for criticism, self-criticism, and continuous learning. We stand for ethical relationships built on trust and respect, for strong ties among militants and in the places we do our social work, and for holding ourselves accountable to the values we set together.

We carry a new world in our hearts.