All over the world most women have no rights whatsoever to decide upon important matters which concern their lives. Women suffer from oppressions of two kinds: 1) the general social oppression of the people, and 2) sexism - oppression and discrimination because of their sex.

**There are five main forms of oppression:**

- Ideological oppression, brainwash by certain cultural traditions, religion, advertising and propaganda. Manipulation with concepts that play upon women’s feelings and susceptibilities. Widespread patriarchal and authoritarian attitudes and capitalistic mentality in all areas.
- State oppression, hierarchical forms of organisation with command lines downwards from the top in most interpersonal relations, also in the so-called private life.
- Economic exploitation and repression, as a consumer and a worker in the home and in low-salary women’s jobs.
- Violence, under the auspices of the society as well as in the private sphere - indirectly when there is coercion because of lack of alternatives and direct physical violence.
- Lack of organisation, tyranny of structurelessness which pulverizes responsibility and creates weakness and inactivity.

These factors work together and contribute simultaneously to sustain each other in a vicious circle. There is no panacea to break the circle, but it isn’t unbreakable.

Anarcha-feminism is a matter of consciousness. The consciousness which puts guardians off work. The principles of a liberating society thus stand perfectly clear to us.

Anarcha-feminism means women’s independence and freedom on an equal footing with men. A social organisation and a social life where no-one is superior or inferior to anyone and everybody is involved with co-ordination, women as well as men. This goes for all levels of social life, also the private sphere.

Anarcha-feminism implies that women themselves decide and take care of their own matters, individually in personal matters, and together with other women in matters which concern several women. In matters which concern both sexes essentially and concretely women and men shall decide on an equal footing.

Women must have decision-making power over their own bodies, and all matters concerning contraception and childbirth are to be decided upon by women themselves.

It must be fought both individually and collectively against male domination, attitudes of ownership and control over women, against repressive laws and for women’s economic and social autonomy and independence.

Crisis centres, day care centres, study and discussion groups, women’s cultural activities etc. must be established, and be run under women’s own direction.

The traditional patriarchal nuclear family should be replaced by free associations between men and women based on equal rights to decide for both parts and with respect for the individual person’s autonomy and integrity.

Sex-stereotyping in education, media and at the place of work must be abolished. Radical sharing of the work by the sexes in ordinary jobs, domestic life and education is a suitable means.

The structure of working life must be radically changed, with more part-time work and equal organisation and co-operation at home as well as in society. The difference between men’s work and women’s work must be abolished. Nursing and taking care of the children must become the concern of men just as much as women.

Female power and female prime ministers will neither lead the majority of women to their ends nor abolish oppression. Marxist and bourgeoisie feminists are misleading the fight for women’s liberation. For most women, there is not going to be any feminism without anarchism. In other words, anarcha-feminism does not stand for female power or female prime ministers; it stands for organisation without power and without prime ministers.

The double oppression of women demands a double fight and double organising: on the one hand in feminist federations, on the other hand in the organisations of anarchists. The anarcha-feminists form a junction in this double organising.

A serious anarchism must also be feminist otherwise it is a question of patriarchal half-anarchism and not real anarchism. It is the task of anarcha-feminists to secure the feminist feature in anarchism. There will be no anarchism without feminism.

An essential point in anarcha-feminism is that the changes must begin today, not tomorrow or after the revolution. The revolution shall be permanent. We must start today by seeing through the oppression in daily life and do something to break the pattern here and now.

We must act autonomously, without delegating to any leaders the right to decide what we wish and what we shall do: we must make decisions by ourselves in personal matters, together with other women in purely female matters, and together with the male fellows in common matters.

**Notes:** The origin of the Anarcha-feminist Manifesto is in Norway. The Anarcha-feminist Manifesto is the summary of the feminist political program unanimously agreed upon by the third congress of the Anarchist Federation of Norway, 1-7 of June 1982. The manifesto was first published in Norwegian in “Folkebladet” (fjA) no. 1 1983 pp. 4-5. Soon after the “Manifesto” was published in CRIFA-Bulletin no. 44 mars-april 1983 in French (p. 12) and English (p. 13). Later on the French version was used as the basis for a translation to English that was published on the Internet. The “Manifesto” is also translated to other languages. Anarcha-feminist greetings from Anna Quist, co-writer of the “Anarcha-feminist Manifesto.” Translated from French (Bulletin C.R.I.F.A. No. 44 mars-april 1983 p. 12).

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