

# HOMO LUDENS AS A REVOLUTIONARY – THE ROLE OF PLAY IN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ORANGE ALTERNATIVE

---



**MARTA MOLDOVAN-CYWIŃSKA**

Senior Lecturer PhD

Vistula University/ Vistula School of Hospitality, Warsaw, Poland

E-mail: [m.cywinska@vistula.edu.pl](mailto:m.cywinska@vistula.edu.pl)

Article code : 751-368

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.61215/ALLRO.2025.32.16>

**Abstract:** *This text presents homo ludens, described by Johann Huizinga, in a new context — as a revolutionary involved in the Orange Alternative protest and artistic movement. This description, preceded by a historical overview of the movement's activities, allows us to define the role of play in the activities of the "Oranges," with particular emphasis on happenings as an example of "political play," connections with the New Culture Movement, and the Dutch Provo movement. The text has been expanded to include the concept of homo ludens in the context of play as a revolutionary and conscious citizen. This is a kind of preliminary consideration for a portrait of the homo ludens of the Orange Alternative, which provides a basis for reflection on the significance and legacy of the most important interdisciplinary happening movement in Central and Eastern Europe.*

**Key words:** homo ludens, Orange Alternative, play, game, happening, Dutch Provo

\*

## 1. Instead of an introduction

The origins of the Orange Alternative protest-artistic protest movement Orange Alternative date back to 1981, when Waldemar "Major" Fydrych, then a student at the University of Wrocław, initiated a campaign to place drawings of dwarfs on white spots left after anti-government slogans had been painted over on the walls of Poland's largest cities. Over time, these individual actions turned into street happenings aimed at exposing the mechanisms of communist power through laughter, irony, and grotesque.

The movement was most active between 1986 and 1989, when spectacular performances were organized in Wrocław, Łódź, Warsaw, Lublin<sup>1</sup> and abroad,

---

<sup>1</sup> The author of this text participated in street events organized by the Orange Alternative in Lublin as a student of Romance Philology at Maria Curie- Skłodowska University in Lublin (Poland).

becoming one of the symbols of peaceful opposition to oppressive rule. The “orange” strategy, based on mocking the rigid form of anniversary celebrations and official state events, proved to be an extremely effective form of criticism of the communist system<sup>2</sup>. A common feature of the Orange Alternative's activities was their peaceful nature and satirical tone, which highlighted the helplessness of the apparatus of repression<sup>3</sup>, encouraging ordinary people to overcome their fear and take to the streets. The participants' intention was not only to stage a bloodless form of protest, but also to have fun in public spaces<sup>4</sup>. The regime could react in two ways – either ignore the harmless antics or try to end them with the intervention of the militia. Street happenings attracted mainly young oppositionists who were entering adulthood in the second half of the 1980s<sup>5</sup>.

The phenomenon of the Orange Alternative shows that it was not associated with either the official anti-communist opposition or any religious circles. It can be assumed that its name referred to “alternative” in the colloquial sense, coinciding with the mathematical concept of “disjoint alternatives.” The Orange Alternative reversed the logic of power, forcing it to react to seemingly apolitical actions, such as handing out rolls of toilet paper or wearing dwarf hats<sup>6</sup>. Its actions were playful in nature, often taking the form of carnival performances, which gave them a ritual and symbolic dimension. It was also an organized form of action on the borderline between art and politics in the name of freedom and normality, in opposition to reality, exposing and deconstructing the propaganda language of the authorities.

The activities of the Orange Alternative show that fun and absurdity can be an effective form of political opposition, and that homo ludens can become a non-violent revolutionary. Its activities are in line with Johan Huizinga's concept, who argued that fun is not only a form of entertainment, but an essential element of culture and a way of expressing opposition to the existing order. Homo ludens did not have to resort to violence to challenge the authority of power. Laughter, irony, and street actions can be more effective weapons than conventional forms of resistance.

---

<sup>2</sup>W. Fydrych, *Krasnoludki i gamonie*, Wydawnictwo Pomarańczowa Alternatywa, Warszawa 2006, p.34-37.

<sup>3</sup>Grindon G., *Prehistoria surrealizmu socjalistycznego od lat 60. do 80. – od Diggerów z San Francisco do Pomarańczowej Alternatywy*, „Obieg” 2013, 23.07., <http://archiwum-obieg.u-jazdowski.pl/teksty/29293> [27-09-2025].

<sup>4</sup>W. Fydrych, *Major*, Narodowe Centrum Kultury, Warszawa 2013, p.123-126.

<sup>5</sup>W. Fydrych W., *Waldemar “Major” Fydrych. Nie ma wolności bez krasnoludków*, <http://www.majorfydrych.com/> [27-09-2025].

<sup>6</sup>Dobosz B., Fydrych W., *Hokus Pokus, czyli Pomarańczowa Alternatywa*, Inicjatywa Wydawnicza Aspekt, Wrocław 1989, p.23-35.

## 2. The Orange Alternative phenomenon

The Orange Alternative was one of the most original and unusual phenomena of anti-communist opposition in communist Poland in the 1980s. This movement, which originated in Wrocław, combined elements of Dadaism, Surrealism, happenings, counterculture, and playful political resistance, constituting an alternative form of opposition to the authoritarian communist system. It originated from a group of anti-communist activists gathered in the Wrocław New Culture Movement. The initiative group held weekly meetings at the Progres student club. The Movement was very dynamic, especially considering the relatively small number of active members. It focused largely on organizing open discussions and meetings, but was not limited to them. Its goal was to carry out spontaneous social and artistic projects, which in practice consisted primarily of attempts to expose and ridicule the absurdities of the communist system<sup>7</sup>. As an independent protest and counterculture group, it developed its activities among young people in Wrocław beginning in fall of 1980 until General Wojciech Jaruzelski declared martial law on December 13, 1981.

As early as November 1980, a happening entitled Breaking Symmetry by Major Waldemar Fydrych took place. An important event was the Easter Peace March organized by Andrzej Dziewit in the spring of 1981. A group of members of the New Culture Movement who were present at the strikes began publishing a surrealist newspaper called Pomarańczowa Alternatywa (Orange Alternative).

In addition to the influence of Major's Manifesto of Socialist Surrealism<sup>8</sup>, the work of André Breton, especially his Manifesto of Surrealism, played an important role in this publication, edited by Andrzej Dziewit, Piotr "Pablo" Adamiec, Zenon Zegarski, and Major Fydrych<sup>9</sup>. The brilliant style of the newspaper and its caricature-like content made it very popular among the striking students. This success led to a conflict with the University Strike Committee, which did not accept this type of creative expression. The conflict intensified when the Strike Committee attempted to remove the editorial staff of the Orange Alternative from the strike.

The name of the movement and the color orange were a reference to the Dutch counterculture movement of the Provos, which developed between 1965 and 1967<sup>10</sup>, inspired by the street artist Robert Jasper Grootveld, the initiator of

---

<sup>7</sup> Dosse F., *Mai 68, les effets de l'histoire sur l'Histoire*, "Politix" 1989, Vol. 2, No. 6, [https://www.persee.fr/doc/polix\\_0295-2319\\_1989\\_num\\_2\\_6\\_1381](https://www.persee.fr/doc/polix_0295-2319_1989_num_2_6_1381) [26-09-2025]

<sup>8</sup> W. Fydrych *Manifest surrealizmu socjalistycznego*, <http://www.orangealternativemuseum.pl/#manifest-surrealizmu-socjalistycznego> [27-09-2025].

<sup>9</sup> W. Fydrych, *Pomarańczowa Alternatywa. Rewolucja krasnoludków*, Wydawnictwo Pomarańczowa Alternatywa, Warszawa 2007, p.14-19.

<sup>10</sup> Y. Frémion, *Provo - Amsterdam 1965-1967*, Nautilus, Toledo 2009, p.23-25.

numerous happenings and the “Provo Manifesto”<sup>11</sup>, as well as by Roel van Duijn, a painter, anarchist, and philosophy student at the University of Amsterdam, who was fascinated at the time by the ideas of Herbert Marcuse<sup>12</sup>, and above all by his work „One-Dimensional Man”, which defined the concept of freedom also in the context of the influence of so-called repressive power, while the criterion of free choice is not an absolute criterion. Provo is the name of a movement of a contestatory, anti-war, anti-imperialist and, above all, ecological nature, whose origins are described by van Duijn<sup>13</sup>. Its creators were anarchist artists who intended to shake up Dutch society by breaking with the traditional value system<sup>14</sup>, “humanizing” mutual relations, and taking action aimed at protecting the environment.

### 3. The concept of Homo ludens in the context of play

Play is often associated with dressing up, masks, imitation, hyperbole, and attempts to represent or work through specific meanings – both individual and communal. In this way, cosmic emotion is expressed and universal events are brought to life, e.g. through cult performances or musical productions. Here, play becomes a form of representing something greater than the individual – it refers to ideas, symbols, and a higher order. As Manfred Lurker wrote, “every image and creation refers to some idea, all existence is subordinate to a higher being”<sup>15</sup>. In his monograph „Homo Ludens: Play as a Source of Culture”, Johan Huizinga presents play as a fundamental element of human culture, emphasizing that play is a source of knowledge<sup>16</sup> and experience of the world for us. It is not merely entertainment, for it has the power to constitute order, inspiring people of literature and art. It can also be a symbolic act of great social and political significance.

Although it seems to be a separate set of activities, isolated in time and space, it is not detached from reality – even after it ends, play continues to influence the outside world, allowing us to feel the effects of competition. Its space is separated from the sphere of everyday life, often by designating a specific place – as in the case of

---

<sup>11</sup> Provotariat, Manifest aan heet amsterdamsche provotariaat, Provokatie nr 12/1.

<sup>12</sup> H. Marcuse, Człowiek jednowymiarowy, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa 1991.

<sup>13</sup> R. van Duijn, *Provo: de geschiedenis van de provotarische beweging 1965–1967*, Meulenhoff, Amsterdam 1985.

<sup>14</sup> *Interview met voormalig provo en kabouter Roel van Duijn* [http://www.roelvanduijn.nl/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/interview\\_roelvanduijn\\_200311.pdf](http://www.roelvanduijn.nl/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/interview_roelvanduijn_200311.pdf) [dostęp: 22.02.2025].

<sup>15</sup> M. Lurker, *Przesłanie symboli w mitach, kulturach i religiach*, Wydawnictwo Alethea, Warszawa 2023, p.23-24.

<sup>16</sup> J. Huizinga, *Homo ludens. Esej o zabawie jako elemencie kultury*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Aletheia, 2022, p.14.

rituals, cult spectacles, or artistic performances<sup>17</sup>. The mood of a ludic event is most often euphoric. Not only is it associated with competition and winning<sup>18</sup>, but also contains an element of timelessness.

Play can be treated with the utmost seriousness – by both children and adults<sup>19</sup>. This seriousness encompasses its symbolic and ritual power. It can be associated with destructive behavior through the presence of so-called “spoilsports the rules of the game, threatening the stability of a given community. Such a person may be expelled, but they may also create a new, alternative community – a community of players who continue to “play” even after the game is over. In this context, play also means deviating from norms and collectively separating oneself from a certain community. “Even after it is over, play casts its glow on the outside world”<sup>20</sup>, leaving a mark on the consciousness of participants and the structure of culture.

Huizinga emphasizes that play also involves an aspect of freedom – here it is worth referring to Bakhtin, who points to the connection between laughter and freedom<sup>21</sup>. Laughter also has a degrading function<sup>22</sup> – it can expose, unmask, and ironize reality. In the cultural sphere, laughter becomes self-deprecating, and those who make others laugh are often ridiculed themselves. We are not dealing here with the language of institutions, but with the language of culture – free, ironic, aesthetic.

According to Huizinga, play is not understood as an escapist form of activity, but as a constructive cultural practice that enables individuals and communities to symbolically work through reality. Play does not serve to escape from the world, but to reinterpret, transform, and temporarily reorganize it according to different rules – often more symbolic, ritualistic, or aesthetic. By creating a separate space<sup>23</sup>, play “rejects” prevailing social and institutional norms, creating an alternative order in which it is possible to test other models of action, relationships, and values. Such a space functions as a cultural laboratory in which reality is not negated but creatively reformulated.

As a being engaged in play and creativity, man appears in Huizinga's work as *homo ludens*, but also as *homo aestheticus* – one who experiences the world through form, image, ritual, and art. Their belonging to the world of play is illusory and temporary, but in a symbolic sense, it is timeless, which is why culture, as a collective

---

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p.37.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p.39.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p.40.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p.27.

<sup>21</sup> Bakhtin M., *Twórczość Franciszka Rabelais'go a kultura ludowa średniowiecza i renesansu*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków, 1975, p.164.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p.153.

<sup>23</sup> Huizinga, op.cit, p.37.

field of play and creativity, remains transhistorical. From Huizinga's perspective, man is not only homo sapiens, but above all homo ludens – a being who plays, creating culture through play, ritual, art, and laughter. Play is therefore not a marginal aspect of life, but its center – it is one of the deepest ways in which humans give meaning to their existence and co-create cultural reality<sup>24</sup>.

“Culture can be both noise and a buzz of associations arising during activities and exchanges between people, but when these are clarified, it turns into opinion.”<sup>25</sup>. Play as a form of ludic experience thus combines the characteristics of creativity, reflection, and ritual. Its temporary and illusory nature does not testify to its banality, but to its initiatory and transformative function – play allows us not so much to forget reality as to look at it from a different perspective, to filter it through the language of symbols, narratives, and emotions.

#### **4. Homo ludens as a revolutionary**

Play ridicules authority figures – it strips them of their seriousness, i.e., their power. Authority is based on seriousness, which legitimizes power and perpetuates the distance between the rulers and the ruled. In this arrangement, seriousness becomes a mechanism of social control, disciplining individuals and limiting their scope for arbitrary action. In this context, play and laughter perform a critical and subversive function – they enable a symbolic reversal of the order in which authority is ridiculed, deconstructed, and stripped of its sacred status. The representative of bloodless, violent change becomes a “playful revolutionary” seeking to bring about changes in the political, social, economic, or cultural system<sup>26</sup>. He does not take part in armed struggle or political upheaval, but in ideological, artistic, or social activities aimed at overthrowing the existing order. Fydrych was such a leader, and the Orange Alternative became a symbol of the bloodless anti-communist revolution in Europe.

In our times, nonviolent revolution, understood as a process of socio-political change taking place without the use of physical force, is increasingly becoming an area of activity based on imagination, humor, and the playful transformation of reality. In this context, laughter and the creative transformation of cultural symbols serve not only a communicative function, but also a transformative one. Referring to Bakhtin's concept<sup>27</sup>, laughter can be described as a form of “lower revolution” – non-violent, but effectively deconstructing existing structures of power, authority, and normativity. Carnival-like or grotesque laughter neutralizes the language of oppression,

---

<sup>24</sup> Grafter Gallery, *French Graffiti - The Evolution and Cultural Impact* <https://www.grafftergallery.com/2024/05/french-graffiti-evolution-and-cultural.html> [dostęp 27.09.2025].

<sup>25</sup> F. Inglis, *Culture, Sic!* Publishing House, Warsaw 2004, p. 50

<sup>26</sup> K. Skiba, *Komisariat naszym domem*, Narodowe Centrum Kultury, Warszawa 2014.

<sup>27</sup> M. Bachtin, op. cit, p.23-25.

introducing alternative meanings and new symbolic relationships into the social space. Examples of such actions can be seen, among others, in the artistic and performative practices of social movements such as the Orange Alternative, whose strategy of resistance was based on creatively transforming absurdity into a tool for exposing the ideological contradictions of the system. Through playful acts, street performances, and the use of irony and laughter, it became possible to reveal the inefficiency of the mechanisms of repression without the need for open conflict or aggression.

## **5. Homo ludens as a conscious citizen**

The concept of homo ludens introduced by Huizinga can be understood as a figure of a conscious citizen – an individual participating in social life not only by conforming to institutional norms, but also through creative, critical, and reflective cultural activity<sup>28</sup>. In this sense, play is not an escapist form of detachment from reality, but a space in which it becomes possible for a conscious citizen, who at the same time remains a “bloodless revolutionary”,<sup>29</sup> to test alternative social models. Play as a ludic practice enables citizens to develop a critical relationship with the surrounding world. Distance, irony, parody, and imagination become tools for dismantling the discourses of power, exposing the mechanisms of domination, and demythologizing authorities.

## **6. Homo ludens, The Orange Alternative and its “fun”**

The Orange Alternative fought against communist rule using humor, absurdity, and parody, organizing unusual street actions. Instead of traditional protests, they staged happenings: they painted gnomes on painted-over Solidarity slogans, handed out toilet paper, set up queues for vinegar, dressed up as gnomes, and organized absurd demonstrations, such as “Free the gnomes!”. Their actions ridiculed the system, showed its absurdity and repressiveness, and at the same time allowed people to release their fears. They were peaceful but very effective – the authorities did not know how to respond to them.

The most important events organized by the “orange” movement included:

Tubes, or smogging the city (April 1, 1986); Pot Festival – Centipede (April 1, 1987); Dwarves on Świdnicka Street (June 1, 1987); Anti-War Action – Peace

---

<sup>28</sup> J. Huizinga, *op. cit.*, p.34-57.

<sup>29</sup> W. Fydrych, *Pomarańczowa Alternatywa*, p.67-68.

Day (September 1, 1987); Toilet Paper – the so-called first round (October 1, 1987); Militia Day (October 7, 1987); Terrorist Day, or Al Fatah (October 11, 1987); Army Day, or Melon in Mayonnaise Maneuvers (October 12, 1987); Who's Afraid of Toilet Paper? – the so-called second distribution (October 15, 1987); Eve of the October Revolution (November 6, 1987); (1,000 participants) Bar Barbara red borscht and you go to jail; Referendum on Świdnicka Street (November 27, 1987); (1,500 participants) St. Nicholas Day (December 6, 1987); (2,000 participants) RIO-botniczy Carnival (February 16, 1988); Undercover Agent Day (March 1, 1988); Women's Day (March 8, 1988); Spring Day (March 21, 1988); (10,000 participants) Major's Trial (March 29, 1988); Dwarf Revolution (June 1, 1988); Welcome on Świdnicka Street (June 19, 1988); Brotherly Aid Forever Alive (August 19, 1988) Apartment on Świdnicka Street (October 21, 1988); Eve of the Great Anniversary (December 12, 1988); Carnival, or Herring on Świdnicka Street (February 7, 1989); Stalin's Funeral, or Funeral for Oneself (March 21, 1989) FSO, or Festival of Contemporary Art (June 1, 1989), ending with a concert by the bands Kormorany, Big Cyc, and Kult; Beggars' Carnival (February 12, 1990); (5,000 participants) Funeral of the Dwarves (June 1, 1990)<sup>30</sup>.

The Orange Alternative's happenings usually ended with participants being detained by the Citizens' Militia for disturbing public order. They managed to provoke it, for example, by arresting people dressed as Santa Claus or wearing orange hats or items of clothing in that color. Political fun – because that is how the street activities of the Orange Alternative can be described, as a form of playful action – depreciated seriousness through irony, parody, masquerade, and absurdity. In this sense, ridicule became a tool for depriving power of its symbolic force. This phenomenon was particularly evident in the movement's happenings ridiculing the then communist authorities in Poland, and their reactions (e.g., arrests for distributing toilet paper) further exacerbated the effect of embarrassment.

## **7. Significance and legacy**

The Orange Alternative brought a new model of political action to Polish public life, combining art, activism, and humor. Its activities were an example of social performance art, in which the boundaries between spectator and participant, art and politics, reality and fiction were blurred. The movement provided a space for an alternative community in which resistance was based not on violence, but on irony,

---

<sup>30</sup> W. Fydrych, *Major*, p.10-23.

creativity, and symbolic subversion. After 1989, the Orange Alternative lost its significance as a social movement, but its legacy is still present – both in scientific analyses in the fields of cultural studies, sociology, and art history, as well as in the practices of contemporary urban activism and engaged art. The movement thus implemented the idea of “laughter as a weapon,” fitting into Bakhtin's concept of folk laughter as a tool for overthrowing hierarchy and authority.

Ludic practices play a key role in the construction of collective identities and in processes of cultural communication. Participation in play allows for temporary identification with roles and situations which, although fictional, have a real impact on emotions, attitudes, and social relations. As Manfred Lurker notes, “every image and creation refers to some idea,” and “all existence is subordinate to a higher being”<sup>31</sup>. This means that play acts as an intermediary between everyday life and the sphere of transcendent meanings – mythological, religious, artistic.

Play can also have a critical and transgressive function – through laughter, irony, parody, or the grotesque. From an anthropological and cultural studies perspective, transgression plays an important role in the dynamics of culture. Transgressing taboos, norms, and social roles becomes a form of cultural innovation and creative tension in which the updating and transformation of value systems is possible. In this context, referring to Bakhtin's concept of folk laughter and its connection with freedom<sup>32</sup> allows us to show fun as a tool for demythologization and symbolic overthrow of authorities. However, this is not destruction in a nihilistic sense, but rather the updating of alternative ways of understanding the world.

\*

## References

- Bachtin M., *Twórczość Franciszka Rabelais'go a kultura ludowa średniowiecza i renesansu*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1975.
- Dobosz B., Fydrych W., *Hokus Pokus, czyli Pomarańczowa Alternatywa*, Wrocław: Inicjatywa Wydawnicza Aspekt, 1989.
- Dosse F., *Mai 68, les effets de l'histoire sur l'Histoire*, “Politix” 1989, Vol. 2, No. 6, [https://www.persee.fr/doc/polix\\_0295-2319\\_1989\\_num\\_2\\_6\\_1381](https://www.persee.fr/doc/polix_0295-2319_1989_num_2_6_1381) [26-09.2025].x
- Frémion Y., *Provo - Amsterdam 1965-1967*, Toledo: Nautilus 2009.
- Fydrych W., *Krasnoludki i gamonie*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Pomarańczowa Alternatywa 2006.
- Fydrych W., *Major*, Warszawa: Narodowe Centrum Kultury 2013.

---

<sup>31</sup> M. Lurker; op. cit, p.31.

<sup>32</sup> M. Bachtin, op.cit, p.164.

Fydrych W., *Manifest surrealizmu socjalistycznego*, <http://www.orangealternativemuseum.pl/#manifest-surrealizmu-socjalistycznego> [27-09-2025].

Fydrych W., *Pomarańczowa Alternatywa. Rewolucja krasnoludków*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Pomarańczowa Alternatywa 2007.

Fydrych W., Waldemar "Major" Fydrych. *Nie ma wolności bez krasnoludków*, <http://www.majorfydrych.com/> [27-09-2025].

Huizinga J. *Homo ludens. Esej o zabawie jako elemencie kultury*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Aletheia, 2022,

Grindon G., *Prehistoria surrealizmu socjalistycznego od lat 60. do 80. – od Diggerów z San Francisco do Pomarańczowej Alternatywy*, „Obieg” 2013, 23.07., <http://archiwum-obiegu-jazdowski.pl/teksty/29293> [dostęp: 27-09-2025].

Grafter Gallery, *French Graffiti - The Evolution and Cultural Impact* <https://www.graftergallery.com/2024/05/french-graffiti-evolution-and-cultural.html> [dostęp 27.09.2025].

GroenLinks: *Modieus masker af svp!* [http://www.roelvanduijn.nl/?page\\_id=69](http://www.roelvanduijn.nl/?page_id=69) [27-09-2025].

Huizinga J., *Homo ludens. Esej o zabawie jako elemencie kultury*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Aletheia, 2022,

Inglis F., *Kultura*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sic! 2007.

Marcuse H., *Człowiek jednowymiarowy*, Warszawa: PWN, 1991.

Lurker M., *Przesłanie symboli w mitach, kulturach i religiach*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Alethea 2023.

Provotariat, *Manifest aan heet amsterdamse provotariaat*, Provokatie nr 12/1

Skiba K., *Komisariat naszym domem*, Warszawa: Narodowe Centrum Kultury 2014.

Varela E., *Un passage par le mouvement Futuriste, le Cubisme et Dada à l'aube du XXe siècle*, [https://www.academia.edu/27585263/ Un passage par le mouvement Futuriste le Cubisme et Dada %C3%A0 laube du XXe si%C3%A8cle](https://www.academia.edu/27585263/Un_passage_par_le_mouvement_Futuriste_le_Cubisme_et_Dada_%C3%A0_l%27aube_du_XXe_si%C3%A8cle) [27-09-2025].

van Duijn R., *Provo: de geschiedenis van de provotarische beweging 1965–1967*, Amsterdam: Meulenhoff 1985.