

# DADA IN THE UNDERGROUND: *LINKECK* AND WEST BERLIN'S ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN NEWSPAPERS, 1968–69

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## ABSTRACT

This article explores the importance of periodicals for the 1960s protest movements in West Germany. It opens with the significance of both mainstream news media and New Left journals. Attention then turns to a different class of periodical, the anti-authoritarian underground newspaper, examined here through one emblematic example, *linkeck* [*leftangle*], which was produced in a centre of revolt, West Berlin, in 1968–69. While *linkeck* had limited circulation and was short-lived, it achieved notoriety and gave rise to a series of successors. To understand *linkeck*'s impact and meanings, this article comments on its origins in an anti-authoritarian commune and its philosophy on work, politics and relationships; its ephemerality; its influences and interests; its distinctive style and its conflicts with the law. In conclusion, the essay argues that *linkeck* epitomizes anti-authoritarian themes and form, and that periodicals were the movements' most characteristic genre. Throughout, the essay also considers key resonances between *linkeck* and earlier twentieth-century (anti-)artistic avant-gardes, notably Dada.

*Keywords:* The Federal Republic of Germany; 1960s; protest movements; West Berlin; *linkeck*; anti-authoritarianism; periodicals; alternative newspapers; underground culture; anarchism; avant-garde; Dada; 1968

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PERIODICALS OF MANY KINDS were centrally important for the protest movements which changed the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), or West Germany, in the 1960s.<sup>1</sup> On one level, mainstream media provided reports and ideas which fuelled the era's intense politics. On another, they were themselves often the news. Increasingly too, as the decade progressed, protesters paid critical attention to the press's part in upholding what they saw as a repressive status quo. Conservative media especially became a target of critique and campaigning, and partly as a result, the protest movements produced more of their own periodicals.<sup>2</sup> Such dissident reviews reward study because they reveal the thematic preoccupations of the FRG's '1968' in especially immediate ways; and because they showcase the remarkable,

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avant-garde textuality of its protest. As such, they are acute seismographs of West Germany's fast-moving anti-authoritarian culture, in terms of both content and style – insofar as those intensely interdependent dimensions are really separable at all.<sup>3</sup>

This study opens with selected examples of the era's mainstream media and their political significance, as well as more conventional reviews which contributed to New Left thought, in order to underline the importance and diversity of periodical culture in revolt. Subsequently, the essay presents a very different genre, namely sub-canonical, often short-lived, counter-cultural newspapers which began to appear around 1968 in West Berlin, challenging both mainstream and more traditional oppositional media. The hallmarks of these new reviews include a demotic approach; polemical, often aggressive language and distinctive, montage-style layouts. They are explored here through one emblematic example, *linkeck* [*leftangle*] (1968–69).<sup>4</sup> This article considers *linkeck's* history, conceptualization and mode of production; its influences and themes; and its distinctive aesthetic, which echoes that of Dada and other disruptive twentieth-century movements which blended art and action. The conclusion argues that this newspaper crystallizes key features of anti-authoritarian thought and style; and that periodicals could be considered the most distinctive, essential anti-authoritarian genre, just as they were for earlier avant-gardes.

#### *Making news: Reviews in context*

Protesters relied on the FRG's rich press landscape for domestic and international news which fuelled their activism. In addition, media themselves made headlines, and in this respect helped catalyse the New Left. For example, in 1962, the reputable, centre-left-leaning news magazine *Der Spiegel* [*The Mirror*] ran an article about West German military defence, and the conservative Christlich Demokratische Union/Christlich-Soziale Union (CDU/CSU) government accused it of treason.<sup>5</sup> Night-time police raids followed at the magazine's offices and employees' homes, and staff were arrested, including illegally. Courts found no case for *Der Spiegel* to answer, and Defence Minister Franz Josef Strauß (CSU) resigned. Nonetheless, in the young Republic these events, known as the '*Spiegel* affair', seemed to highlight the limits of press freedom, and alarm on that count did not ebb.

Rather, concern intensified, in particular around the conservative Springer media corporation, which published many newspapers and magazines in West Germany. Such was the corporation's influence that protesters increasingly considered it an illegal monopoly on the news: an important anti-authoritarian campaign demanded 'Enteignet Springer' [Expropriate Springer]. Springer took a pro-Establishment, virulently anti-protest stance, to the extent that many held it responsible, for instance, for the near-fatal assassination attempt on the prominent activist Rudi Dutschke in April 1968. Protesters claimed, referencing Springer's flagship tabloid daily *Bild* [*Picture*] and its aggressive criticism of Dutschke and others, 'Bild schoß mit' [Bild Shot Too].<sup>6</sup> The twin notions that press freedom was threatened, and that right-wing media were inciting violence against dissidents, stoked genuine fears of a return to fascism.<sup>7</sup>

Anti-authoritarian critiques of media widened and deepened in response to the ideas of Critical Theorist Herbert Marcuse about ‘repressive tolerance’.<sup>8</sup> Marcuse argued that liberal democracies’ claims to protect free speech and news are bogus, for ultimately all their commercially available media support capitalism. That is, such societies claim to permit non-conformism, but in reality suppress moves towards genuine change. On that analysis, not only Springer, but even centre-left and liberal publications like *Der Spiegel* or the august news weekly *Die Zeit* [*The Times*] were increasingly considered to be figleaves for the state’s (supposed) own interests.

Content of interest to protesters often found expression in less obviously news-oriented periodicals, like the satirical magazine *pardon* (1962–82). More prominent was the monthly magazine *konkret* [*concrete*] (1957–), significantly to the left of *Der Spiegel*, and, reportedly, covertly funded by the illegal German Communist Party until the mid-1960s.<sup>9</sup> The growing importance of *konkret* for the times is indicated by its shift in late 1968 from appearing monthly to every two weeks. Originally a student paper, in the 1960s it was known for investigative and polemical journalism by writers like Günter Wallraff or Ulrike Meinhof, before she co-founded the underground Baader-Meinhof Group, later known as the Red Army Faction (RAF). In the 1960s *konkret* included aesthetic contributions too: in 1966, for example, important poems and graphic artworks against the Vietnam War. It also reflected some trends in pop culture by foregrounding conventionally sexualized, semi-nude photographs of women.

The most eminent high cultural review linked to protest was *Kursbuch* [*Railway Timetable*] (1965–).<sup>10</sup> It was launched by the prestigious publishing house Suhrkamp Verlag and edited at that time by Karl Markus Michel and Hans Magnus Enzensberger, one of anti-authoritarianism’s most distinctive voices.<sup>11</sup> A 1965 announcement declared:

In [dem] ersten Heft wird gehandelt von Grenzübertritten in Berlin, vom Verlust einer Kneipe, von einer Stadt in Finnland, von der Lage der Intelligenz, von den Rechten und den Möglichkeiten der Schriftsteller, vom Frankfurter Auschwitz-Prozeß. [...]

In künftigen Heften [...] wird die Rede sein von den Thesen der Kommunistischen Partei Chinas und von der mathematischen Grundlagenforschung, ferner von Ballonfahrern, ferner davon, was der Ausdruck bedeutet: Es wird von etwas die Rede sein.<sup>12</sup>

[The first issue will treat border transgressions in Berlin, the loss of a pub, a town in Finland, the state of the intelligentsia, the rights of and options for literary authors, the Auschwitz trials in Frankfurt. [...]]

In future issues there will be talk of the theses of the Chinese Communist Party and the fundamentals of mathematical research; plus of hot air balloonists, plus of what it means to say: there will be talk of something.]

The first issue’s authors ranged from the renowned Samuel Beckett and Jean-Paul Sartre to the then-emergent Jürgen Becker and Peter O. Chotjewitz. *Kursbuch*’s themed issues delivered the promised eclecticism and drew in historical as well as contemporary texts, highlighting links between them. For instance, *Kursbuch* 5, on

language, structuralism and philosophy, included passages from the Florentine Codex, a sixteenth-century account of Aztec thought and art, relating them to contemporary anti-colonialism.<sup>13</sup>

*Kürsbuch's* startling intellectual and thematic range corresponded to the syncretic character of anti-authoritarian thought, partly derived from Critical Theory. Consequently, it became a remarkable political forum; one contemporary leftist intellectual, Peter Hamm, even argued that *Kürsbuch 2*, on revolutionary internationalism, triggered the protest movements themselves.<sup>14</sup> That assertion overlooks *inter alia* the formative role of 'Third-World' subjects in the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, it illustrates just how theoretically informed anti-authoritarianism was; and *Kürsbuch's* influence on New Left analysis.

Also significant for the nascent protest movements were less mainstream reviews, including student publications like *FU-Spiegel* [*FU Mirror*] at West Berlin's Freie Universität (FU); *diskus* in Frankfurt am Main or *neue kritik* [*new critique*] (1960–70); *neue kritik* was the journal of the Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund [German Socialist Student Federation] (SDS), the era's pre-eminent leftist student organization.<sup>16</sup> From the early 1960s too, more marginal, independent periodicals connected with less orthodox political praxis. For example, the collective Subversive Aktion [Subversive Action] (1963–66), a matrix of radical anti-authoritarianism, had partial roots in Munich avant-garde literary magazines.<sup>17</sup> These reviews were *ludus* (1961) and *flöte und schafott* [*flute and scaffold*] (1962–63), later renamed *texturen* [*textures*] (1963–64).<sup>18</sup> In turn, Subversive Aktion produced a less literary, more politically-oriented underground periodical, *Anschlag* [*Attack*] (1964–66).<sup>19</sup>

### *linkeck*

By 1967–68, anti-authoritarian newspapers were coming to the fore in West Berlin, reflecting ways in which parts of *Der Spiegel's*, *konkret's* or *Kürsbuch's* readerships were embracing alternative activism and lifestyles and looking for new means to communicate. Nineteen sixty-seven saw the launch of *Oberbaumblatt* [*Oberbaum Paper*] which had eight issues, between two and six pages in length, and two supplements.<sup>20</sup> It was produced by the small publisher Oberbaumpresse, which brought out important texts for the burgeoning movement, including serious expressions of anti-authoritarian thought by high-profile names like Dutschke.

Nonetheless, perhaps partly because *Oberbaumblatt* remained comparatively more conventional in its expression and forms, more theoretically-inclined, and because its numbers were often short in length, another paper, *linkeck* would later be described as the 'erste antiautoritäre Zeitung' [first anti-authoritarian newspaper].<sup>21</sup> Produced by a fluctuating collective, *linkeck* appeared in ten irregularly-numbered, mostly undated, issues, between six and twelve large-format newsprint pages in length.<sup>22</sup> The first appeared just a week after *Oberbaumblatt's* last issue, on 29 February 1968; the last, undated, in 1969.<sup>23</sup> Circulation rose from 3000 to 8000 copies.<sup>24</sup>

A co-founder of *linkeck*, the publisher Bernd Kramer, later reflected: 'Mit einer Zeitung beginnt alle politische Arbeit' [All political work starts with a newspaper].<sup>25</sup>

This remark identifies the symbolic and culture as political battlegrounds, especially powerful in the context of anti-Springer campaigning. It also expresses a wish to make the news not only by featuring in it, but also by setting a new agenda for it, independent of mainstream media.<sup>26</sup> This aspiration to become a subject, not an object, in media discourse reflects, too, the ideal of creating political and discursive counter-spheres, rather than participating in established ones. In these senses, *linkeck* was a success, since its notoriety was disproportionate to its short life and limited circulation.<sup>27</sup> *Bild*, for instance, called it a ‘linke[s] Terrorblatt’ [left-wing terror paper].<sup>28</sup> Thus *linkeck* epitomized a moment in anti-authoritarian history in which conservative media inadvertently, yet powerfully, amplified the movement’s messages.<sup>29</sup> This paper also inspired many successors.<sup>30</sup>

### *An emblematic newspaper*

The title *linkeck* emerged in discussion amongst its editorial collective, as a participant recalled in 1987:

Mehrheitlich war doch klar, der Name der Zeitung würde oben links in einem Rechteck stehen. S. zeichnete ein Rechteck [...] dann noch eines und noch eines, wir diskutieren die verschiedenen Vorschläge: *Kämpfender Adam*? Nein, [...] [d]ieser Mann hat sich kampflös mit seiner Geliebten aus dem Garten Eden exkommunizieren lassen, also kein Vorbild für die rebellische Jugend. *Subversive Aktion*? Die gab’s schon 1965, außerdem zu bleistiftig, zu akademisch. *Palast-Revolt*? Lächerlich: wir alle lebten in lausigen Löchern [...] *Hoch auf dem roten Traktor*? Oh nein, wir sind doch keine Bolschewisten, [...] Dann Unverhofftes: S. zeichnete nun schon sein 15. Rechteck [...] Rechteck?!?! Scheiße! Sind wir denn [...] eigentlich an die Gesetze der herkömmlichen Geometrie, an den Lehrsatz Euklids gebunden? [...] Wenn es ein Rechteck gibt, dann gibt es ab heute ein L i n k e c k ! Nur, wie das grafisch darstellen? Überflüssig: in das Rechteck *schreiben* wir *linkeck*.<sup>31</sup>

[Most of us agreed that the name of the paper would appear top left in a rectangle. S. drew a rectangle [...] then another and another, we discussed the various suggestions: *Adam – Street Fighting Man*? No, [...] the man had let himself and his lover be excommunicated from the Garden of Eden without a fight, so wasn’t a role model for rebellious youth. *Subversive Action*? No, already been done in 1965, and in any case, too wordy, too academic. *Palace Revolt*? Ridiculous: we were all living in lousy holes [...] *High Up on the Red Tractor*? Oh no, we definitely aren’t Bolsheviks, [...] then something unexpected happened: S. was drawing his fifteenth rectangle, [...] A rectangle?!?! Shit! Are we [...] bound to the rules of conventional geometry, Euclidean precepts? [...] If there’s such a thing as a rectangle, then from today on, there’s a *leftangle*! Only how do we draw one? So what: let’s *write leftangle* in the rectangle.]

The origin of *linkeck*’s title lies, then, in characteristically anti-authoritarian wordplay. The German noun for ‘rectangle’, ‘Rechteck’, is a compound of ‘recht’ [right] and ‘Eck[e]’ [‘angle’ or ‘corner’]. The neologism ‘linkeck’ mimics it by combining ‘link’ [left] and ‘eck’ to emphasize political positionality and disregard for the old, right down to the rules of language and mathematics. As such, it crystallizes anti-authoritarian visions of overthrowing the very fundamentals of life, albeit in this case with knowingly hubristic hyperbole.

This story suggests a degree of retrospective self-styling. Nonetheless, it reflects *linkeck's* anarchist orientation, in rejecting a title evoking orthodox USSR Communist culture (*'Hoch auf dem roten Traktor'*). It underlines unconditional revolt (rather than the Biblical Adam and Eve's compliance with authority); alternative lifestyles (living in low-cost 'lausige Löcher') and distance from theoretically-oriented forebears like Subversive Aktion.

Emphasized too is the value of collective identity, discursive process, play, wit and pleasure as political tools. The account foregrounds a do-it-yourself ethos and spontaneity, while the free associations it describes echo the psychoanalytic principles which were important to anti-authoritarianism. The paper's inventive title, encountered apparently accidentally in ludic speech and doodling, is a kind of discursive *objet trouvé* [found object], so resonating with the techniques of early twentieth-century Dada, and later, Surrealism, movements which likewise worked, partially inspired by psychoanalysis, with free association and unexpected found objects. Moreover, the title implicitly invites reflection on relationships between language and power through the defamiliarizing distantiation of words, again reminiscent of Dada in particular, and Modernist strategies in general.

While the rectangle design was not used for long in *linkeck's* masthead, its description stresses a heterogeneous textuality which valorizes the visual and sensory as well as the printed word. An historian of Germany's anarchist press, Bernd Drücke, describes *linkeck's* innovative aesthetic as a 'dadaistisch inspirierte[s] Schnibbellayout' [dada-inspired cut-up layout].<sup>32</sup> This observation is supported by comparison of *linkeck's* look with Dadaist works, and those of other Modernist movements like Cubism, with their intensive, disruptive collages of word and image.<sup>33</sup> In context too, *linkeck's* emphasis on internationalism is in keeping with Berlin's Dada heritage, which looked to global horizons.

The title and styling of *linkeck* thus hint at important avant-garde substrates in anti-authoritarianism, even where the paper appears to be emphatically political, not aesthetic. These impulses are evidenced also for instance in Enzensberger's *Kirsbuch* essay 'Gemeinplätze, die Neueste Literatur betreffend' [Commonplaces on Our Most Recent Literature] (1968).<sup>34</sup> This piece, an indispensable guide to anti-authoritarian writing, redefines literature for a revolutionary age in expansive ways which link Surrealist antecedents to West Berlin anti-authoritarians' distinctive, provocative amalgams of text and action. That legacy derived from more explicitly avant-gardist groups like Subversive Aktion, which in turn had partial origins in the Dada- and Surrealist-inspired Situationist International (SI) and art groups like Gruppe SPUR.<sup>35</sup>

Documents like *linkeck* can thus be understood as continuations of longer, aesthetic avant-garde traditions, not least because, as the critic and historian of the avant-garde, Stephen Bury, has argued, alongside the art manifesto, little magazines were the 'medium par excellence of the avant garde'.<sup>36</sup> That said, *linkeck's* producers would no doubt, in the words of Richard Hülsenbeck's 'Dadaistisches Manifest' [Dada Manifesto] (1918), first presented and published in Berlin, have roundly rejected 'die weltverbessenden Theorien literarischer Hohlköpfe!'

[the world-bettering theories of empty-headed literati!].<sup>37</sup> In this sense too, the contradictions in their work chimes with those of Dada as celebrated by Hülsenbeck, who concludes: ‘Gegen dies Manifesto sein, heißt Dadaist sein!’ [To be against this manifesto is to be a Dadaist!].<sup>38</sup>

*Commune, cash, work, love*

This newspaper was produced by an eponymous commune which sought to break down conventional, oppressive relationships and subjectivities through shared activism, work and domestic life.<sup>39</sup> The group saw itself in this respect as a political template, and, like some of its peers, documented its experiences in print. In *linkeck* 4, a self-reflexive text describes an originary ‘Hoffnung, durch gemeinsame politische Praxis das Innenverhältnis zu entwickeln’ [hope that internal relationships could be developed by means of a shared political practice] and a ‘Vorstellung, daß linkeck Resultat von politischen Aktionen sein sollte und nicht nur für politische Aktionen’ [idea that linkeck should be the outcome of political actions, not just exist to produce them].<sup>40</sup> At stake here is the idea that shared activism will transform interpersonal relationships and the nature of the group itself, and *vice versa*.

The group had its own printing press, which opened up new ways of thinking about work. The paper was not only a publication for others to read, but a means, along with other political outputs, like posters, postcards and pirate editions of cult texts, for the collective to earn a living without participating directly in capitalist economic activity.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, the text cited above describes a ‘Hoffnung, nicht nur über die entfremdete Lohnarbeit eine Vermittlung zueinander herzustellen’ [hope to create an exchange between ourselves not only via alienated paid work]. Thus, in theory, *linkeck*’s value lay partly in the process of its production.<sup>42</sup> In practice, this ideal was unfulfilled, because, for example, the group also took on external printing jobs in order to stay afloat, causing rifts within it, and could not agree on sharing tasks.<sup>43</sup>

Self-reflexive reports in *linkeck* highlight inter-personal disagreements, viewed politically. The paper’s fifth issue reports on the parenting of a couple in the commune:

Beide praktizierten grauenhaft linkes Familienleben [...] kleinbürgerlichen Minifaschismus. Die Kinder wurden kaum erzogen, sie wurden geschlagen, wenn die beschissenen häuslichen Verhältnisse bei den beiden sich in Aggressionen umsetzten. Zu kleines Zimmer, ehrgeiziges und fleißiges FU-Studium, brutales Leistungsprinzip bestimmte das gesamte Verhalten.<sup>44</sup>

[Both of them went in for horrible leftist family life [...] petty-bourgeois mini-fascism. The children were barely brought up at all, they were beaten when the parents’ shitty domestic circumstances tipped over into aggression on their part. A room that was too small, ambitious hard work studying at the FU, all these behaviours were dominated by a brutal high-performance ethos.]

The expression ‘Minifaschismus’ was not only an especially offensive insult in post-Nazi Germany. It is also informed by the Weimar-era Marxist psychoanalysis of Wilhelm Reich, rediscovered by anti-authoritarians including the *linkeck* group. In

this thinking, fascism begins in the authoritarian nuclear family. The text goes on to accuse the parents' relationship, too, of being authoritarian and (sexually) coercive of the woman, although she is nonetheless accused of deep complicity in it. Her attempts to study for school leaving certificate-level qualifications are also criticized.

A counter-attack by the father and husband in question appears alongside, rejecting the claims about child and sexual abuse and defending his wife's pursuit of education as an emancipatory strategy. Striking, nonetheless, is the way two men (the first author is unnamed but identifies himself as male) squabble here over interpretations of a woman's experience, without reflecting on the absence of her voice. Such discourse resonates with the criticism already being levelled at sexist anti-authoritarian culture by the *Neue Frauenbewegung* [New Women's Movement].<sup>45</sup>

Elsewhere in *linkeck* 5, an ex-member, Klaus S., reckoned angrily with the group.<sup>46</sup> A railway worker, he describes joining *linkeck* with a view to learning to write. He reports however that his position remained that of a 'Scheiß-Prolet' [bloody prole], who was allocated only manual, menial work. Klaus S. criticizes what he sees as the commune's entitled attitudes and laziness, relying on him for practical tasks and money. Thus, class fault-lines appear in *linkeck* too.

### *Intertextuality I: Influences and themes*

In addition to accounts of its domestic and political troubles, *linkeck* carried heterogeneous material by, or about, figures and groups like West Berlin's scandalous collective Kommune I (KI), Malcolm X, the SI, the Black Panthers, Mao Zedong, Mikhail Bakunin, Reich, Leon Trotsky, Karl Liebknecht and Dutschke.<sup>47</sup> Alongside international politics, it covered West Berlin and West Germany, and the Nazi pasts of prominent contemporary figures. The paper conducted attacks on the Springer press and other media, as well as other anti-authoritarian papers and groups.<sup>48</sup> In general, it highlighted developments in the counter-culture, especially the contemporary rise in illegal actions and, eventually, violence. Concomitantly, *linkeck* drew attention to the experiences of activists in the judicial system. Examples are Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Thorwald Proll and Horst Söhnlein, all convicted of arson in a department store in Frankfurt am Main in April 1968, as a precursor to Baader and Ensslin's co-founding of the RAF with Meinhof and others.

Other controversial contents included calls to violent resistance; *linkeck* 2 reflects on making petrol bombs out of glass bottles: 'Also bereitet Euch vor. Die Benzin- und Petroleumlager gehen schon zur Neige, die Lumpensammler klagen über Flaschenrückgang. Vögeln ist nicht der einzige revolutionäre Akt, greift auch zur Flasche' [So get ready. Stocks of petrol and paraffin are running low already, the rag and bone men are complaining of a lack of empty bottles. Screwing isn't the only revolutionary act, grab yourselves a bottle too].<sup>49</sup> Further, similar content included instructions for making or using improvised bombs.<sup>50</sup>

At the same time, *linkeck* discussed pop culture, with items on artists like the Rolling Stones, Frank Zappa, Tangerine Dream as well as Western films. Striking



too is its frequent use of pornographic images, primarily of women. As well as likely seeking to provoke conflict with the law, such imagery would have mapped with anti-authoritarian interpretations of Marcuse's arguments about the de-sublimating potential of obscenity, and Reich's, about supposed sexual liberation.<sup>51</sup> At the same time, this stereotypical imagery reflects the era's gender politics, which the women's movement was beginning to reject. The paper carried more incidental items, too, like satirical quizzes or puzzles, and curiosities like a full-page death announcement for the collective's cat. It included advertisements for other anti-authoritarian publications, projects and anti-authoritarian-friendly businesses, showing how *linkeck* networked with other New Left periodicals and publishers, and offering insight into everyday anti-authoritarian culture. In all these preoccupations too, *linkeck* feels reminiscent of Hülsenbeck's manifesto, which invokes the language of violence and explosion and links it to the phenomena of everyday urban life, the new and the now.

### *Intertextuality II: Style*

The densely packed pages of *linkeck* mix passages of printed text with slogans or short remarks, both handwritten and printed. Different typefaces and headline styles abound, and even where type is traditionally set, *linkeck* eschews conventional layout, placing passages sideways, diagonally, or scattering sections of them across a page. These features make reading the paper itself a palpably physical experience, drawing attention to its materiality. In this respect too, *linkeck* perpetuates experiments associated with earlier avant-garde art publications.<sup>52</sup> Later issues especially incorporate cut-up texts and handwritten comments alongside print, generating an ostentatiously home-made, palimpsestic, collage-like feel. Visual imagery proliferates, including original drawings, cartoons, doodles and photographs; the largest is a complex cartoon titled 'Der Apo-Popanz' [The APO Puppet] which satirizes what it sees as the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition's foolish attempts at co-opting workers.<sup>53</sup> This image takes up a double page in *linkeck* 4, likely a centrefold to pull out as a poster.

A further conspicuous formal feature is *linkeck*'s mix of original texts and images with words and pictures from elsewhere. Some is likely syndicated, like the pieces on Anglo-American pop culture.<sup>54</sup> Another important class of text is documentation of *linkeck*'s many legal battles. Apparently faked official documents and correspondence play a part too.<sup>55</sup> Cuttings like texts, photographs and cartoons from other papers are often pasted in, with critical or satirical intent, and sometimes adaptations. For instance, *linkeck* had a particular animosity towards Hans-Joachim Stenzel, who produced aggressive caricatures of protesters for West Berlin's Springer tabloid *B.Z.*. These cartoons contributed to the city's febrile tensions and the paper pilfers and repurposes them satirically.<sup>56</sup>

Thus, *linkeck* moved away from the longer texts, high theory and conventional, professional presentation of periodicals like *Kursbuch* or *neue kritik*. That said, the paper's spontaneous, home-made appearance is deceptive, in that it was in fact produced with real expertise; Kramer, for instance, was a trained typesetter and *linkeck*'s

visual aesthetic and production, for instance on its elaborate covers, are in reality, and in contrast, say, to its successor *FLZZ*, technically sophisticated.<sup>57</sup> The fact that *linkeck* was printed by its writers dovetails with the ways in which Dada and other avant-gardes celebrated the idea of authors as technicians, and of dissolving the boundaries between these professions.<sup>58</sup> Its striking mix of typefaces and erratic layout also harks back distinctly to experimental Modernist styles.<sup>59</sup>

At times, *linkeck* discusses the SI, a contemporary avant-garde, international organization which had a formative influence on the protest movements, including in the FRG.<sup>60</sup> A key discursive strategy the SI used was *détournement*, the appropriation of the words and images of the capitalist world to subversive ends.<sup>61</sup> And Enzensberger's 'Gemeinplätze, die Neueste Literatur betreffend' argued that the main prerequisite of revolutionary literature is a critical 'Gegenseitigkeit' [reciprocity], dialogue in which all parties become both authors and readers; *linkeck*'s insistent montages echo this concept and its heteroglossic poetics maps with both the SI's and Enzensberger's ideas.

### *Ephemerality*

The short run of *linkeck* is typical of its genre. Most obviously, this limited lifetime was due to the fragile inner dynamic of the *linkeck* collective. Domestic tensions were augmented by disagreements about the paper itself, for example over the provocative use of a swastika on the cover of *linkeck* 3, which some group members opposed, arguing that potential working-class readers would not grasp its irony. The dissenters left to found a rival paper, *Charlie kaputt* (1968–69) taking key equipment, including the printing press, with them.<sup>62</sup>

Furthermore, the paper's rapid end reflects what another founder-member, Lothar Binger, later described as the experience, around 1968, of 'eine Beschleunigung der Ereignisse [...], wie sie niemals zuvor und niemals danach in dieser Dichte wieder erlebt werden konnte' [an acceleration of events [...], which we never experienced in the same density either before or after].<sup>63</sup> That is to say, the ephemerality of anti-authoritarian reviews reflects fast-moving times.

In a related way, *linkeck*'s short life is suggestive also of a political and cultural ethos which, to a great extent, dispensed with formal organizations and hence, their associated stability. This principle had philosophical as well as practical origins. As Binger recorded at the end of an editorial meeting in 1968, which had discussed the very survival of the paper:

Linkeck-Leute wollen immer Avantgarde sein, haben Angst vor dem Altern ihrer Zeitung und ihrer Stadtpunkte [sic] schon bei der vierten Nummer. Merke: Linkeck wird nicht alt, indem es sein erscheinen einstellt. Das ist eine Möglichkeit, der Dialektik eins auszuwischen.<sup>64</sup>

[Linkeck people always want to be avant-garde, they fear that their paper and their positions will get old, as early as the fourth issue. Note: Linkeck can avoid getting old, by stopping production. That's one way to get one over on dialectics.]

Thus, *linkeck*'s transience reflects in part anarchist ideas of permanent revolution, and again, therefore, legacies of earlier twentieth-century avant-gardes.

### *Intertextuality III: Difficult relationships*

Complex personal and textual relationships existed between *linkeck* and other underground papers. One communitarian, Hartmut Sander, joined it from *Oberbaumblatt*, bringing with him printing skills as well as the press itself.<sup>65</sup> Likewise, *Charlie Kaputt*'s secession from *linkeck* exemplifies the ways anti-authoritarian reviews succeeded one another, as the collectives which produced them disagreed, split and founded rival publications. The products of that process include, in addition to *Charlie Kaputt*, *Agit 883* (1969–72), *FIZZ* (1971–72), *Hundert Blumen* [*A Hundred Flowers*] (1972–73) and *Bambule* [*Prison Riot*] (1972–74).<sup>66</sup> Some former *linkeck* members joined the best-known of these, *Agit 883*, notorious for links with the era's radicalized scene.<sup>67</sup> In turn, *Agit 883*'s editorship increasingly disagreed internally on political violence and, in 1971, more militant members broke away to produce *FIZZ*.<sup>68</sup> *FIZZ* was linked to illegal groups like the Umherschweifende Haschrebellen [*Drifting Hash Rebels*], from which the terrorist Bewegung 2. Juni [*Movement of the Second of June*] emerged. In turn, *FIZZ* was succeeded by *Hundert Blumen*.<sup>69</sup>

In general then, these reviews had fractious relationships with one another.<sup>70</sup> Yet at times too, they co-operated: *Hundert Blumen* and *Bambule* aimed to appear at co-ordinated, alternating intervals.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, connections between these papers track the era's shifting political currents. Their titles, too, contribute to that effect. Originally *Agit 883* 56 51, *Agit 883* was named after a telephone code for Kreuzberg, and this title is a political statement in itself. Kreuzberg was a traditionally working-class *quartier* neighbouring the city's Eastern zone. Here, as in neighbouring Neukölln, where *linkeck* was based, living and working space were comparatively inexpensive, and they became symbolically significant centres of alternative culture.<sup>72</sup> A *FIZZ* contributor later reflected: 'Wieso FIZZ? [...] das Geräusch, wenn Du eine Lunte anzündest'. [Why FIZZ? [...] it's the sound of somebody lighting a fuse].<sup>73</sup> *Hundert Blumen* references Chinese Communism and its Hundred Flowers Campaign of 1956–57, in which diverse ideas were supposed to bloom. *Bambule*, at one level, mirrors preoccupation with imprisoned activists of the time, especially as the illegal, violent political underground got under way.<sup>74</sup> At another, this title suggests that life under capitalism is a kind of prison, so any revolt is a prison riot. Moreover, it alludes to Meinhof's television drama, *Bambule*, about children in care.<sup>75</sup>

### *The law and 'linkeck'*

The paper documented numerous brushes with the law, in pursuit of its challenge to mainstream media and the authorities. For instance, *linkeck* 1's front page features a photograph of naked buttocks; injunctions to throw eggs and block traffic, as had previously occurred at West Berlin demonstrations; and a call to destroy the state. It also reproduces *B.Z.*'s masthead and the headline 'Vergast die Kommune!'

[Gas the Commune!], possibly a reference to KI.<sup>76</sup> This provocative mix triggered a police raid on the paper's premises, and (just as Hülsebeck's 'Dadaistisches Manifest' was confiscated by the authorities in 1918), it was seized for presenting indecent content, incitement to illegal actions (disrupting traffic and attacking the state) and infraction of copyright.<sup>77</sup>

Later, *linkeck* members claimed they had expected repercussions for the apparently murderous (yet in reality, satirical) incitement to gas communards.<sup>78</sup> But instead, *linkeck 2* reflected critically on the fact that it was unlicensed use of B.Z.'s branding, rather than the apparent call for fatal violence which generated the clash with the law. The absence of consequences for that particular headline points to the gulf of comprehension which existed by 1968 between the counterculture and the authorities. Moreover, this outcome apparently implied that the authorities considered offences against the intellectual property of the powerful to be worthy of sanction while calls for extreme violence against dissidents, in language reminiscent of Nazism, were not. Hence, *linkeck 1* could be understood by its editorship as having unmasked the FRG's true, brutal, hypocritical nature.

The paper continued to seek conflict with the law by, for instance, publishing savagely libellous stories or fake claims about many prominent West Berlin and West German figures, likely with a view to provoking prosecutions.<sup>79</sup> Even others on the New Left, like Dutschke, were targeted. Subsequently, numbers 1–6 of *linkeck* were seized by police for various offences.<sup>80</sup> From an anti-authoritarian perspective, these sanctions confirmed Marcuse's ideas about 'repressive tolerance', by showing how unruly publications were silenced.<sup>81</sup>

### Conclusion

This essay suggests that a panoply of magazines and papers contributed to the complex discourse of West German revolt, from the heavyweight *Der Spiegel* to the menacing *FLZZZ*. It focuses on one manifestation of this periodical culture around 1968: the anti-authoritarian underground newspaper, *linkeck*, and its distinctive content and forms which set the tone for important successors like *Agit 883*. This discussion demonstrates that *linkeck* embodies protest culture in essential ways. On the one hand, its themes, contradictions and conflicts are classically anti-authoritarian. On the other, *linkeck's* cut-up, citational style is resonant with New Left textuality generally. In these respects, close readings of *linkeck* stand as a brief cultural history of anti-authoritarianism itself. Importantly too, this analysis highlights the fact that the paper shares similarities with earlier artistic and political avant-gardes like Dada, from its brushes with the law to its enthusiasm for multiple typefaces and eccentric layout.

Furthermore, this article invites reflection on the particular status of periodicals in anti-authoritarian culture. Reviews lend themselves especially well to that culture, for (at least) six reasons. First, they are accessible, since they can be produced with relatively few resources, for instance in grass-roots projects. They can be sold more cheaply than books, too, and so reach a larger circulation. As a result, they are also more likely to be lent or passed on gratis, so their use value, as Enzensberger put it,

could exceed their exchange value. Indeed, underground papers like *linkeck*, differently from Enzensberger's *Kürsbuch*, actively aspired to undermine the very idea of the publishing industry. Second, a periodical is mobile in that it can be carried, read and shared anywhere. Third, it is agile in the figurative sense that it can respond more quickly than larger, slower-moving productions, such as whole books, to political situations like that of West Germany around 1968, where new events and ideas seemed to demand near-daily reorientation. Fourth, ephemerality is a philosophical quality in anti-authoritarian culture, which often resists the supposedly oppressive permanence of the closed, monolithic work, and instead placed emphasis on open-ended processes. The episodic character of the periodical aligns itself with such thinking, for by definition, each successive issue of a paper or magazine is designed to be superseded. Fifth, a periodical is generally not the product of one mind alone, but almost intrinsically collaborative, and hence attractive for a culture which valued collectivity. Finally, classic anti-authoritarian textuality draws on many voices at once, and in this respect it is Modernist, even literary, albeit in a contradictory, Enzensbergerian, avant-garde sense. Reviews, with their usually multiple contributions in each issue, showcase this kind of poetics especially powerfully. Thus, in the radical European tradition, and for all the reasons reflected here, the review is the most essential form of 1960s counterculture.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Christina von Hodenberg, 'Mass Media and the Generation of Conflict: West Germany's Long Sixties and the Formation of a Critical Public Sphere', *Contemporary European History*, 15,3 (2006), 367–95; Nick Thomas, *Protest Movements in 1960s West Germany: A Social History of Dissent and Democracy* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2003), pp. 165–68. Here, for concision, reference to the FRG includes West Berlin.

<sup>2</sup> Bernd Drücke, *Zwischen Schreibtisch und Straßenschlacht? Anarchismus und libertäre Presse in Ost- und West-Deutschland* (Ulm: Klemm und Oelschläger, 1998); Holger Jenrich, *Anarchistische Presse in Deutschland 1945–1985* (Grafenau-Döflingen: Trotzdem, 1988); *Deutsche literarische Zeitschriften 1945–1970: Ein Repertorium*, 4 vols, ed. by Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Bernhard Fischer and Thomas Dietzel (Munich, London, New York and Paris: K.G. Saur, 1992). The latter handbook includes *inter alia* little literary magazines which captured the era's political mood.

<sup>3</sup> Anti-authoritarianism was a distinctive trend in the wider protest movements, associated with a youthful, non-aligned, radical Left in centres like West Berlin and Frankfurt am Main, which often set the tone for the times.

<sup>4</sup> The paper was among over three hundred anarchist-inflected West German magazines published between 1965 and 1985; Drücke, *Zwischen Schreibtisch und Straßenschlacht?*, p. 153. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Stuart Parkes, *Writers and Politics in Germany 1945–2008* (Rochester, NY and Woodbridge: Camden House, 2009), p. 43, pp. 48–49.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Thomas, *Protest Movements in 1960s West Germany*, pp. 169–70; Ulrich Chaussy, *Die drei Leben des Rudi Dutschke: Eine Biographie* (Munich: Pendo, 1993), pp. 233–90.

<sup>7</sup> Activists compared founder Axel C. Springer to Julius Streicher, the editor of the Nazi-era anti-Semitic newspaper *Der Stürmer*; see *Provokationen: Die Studenten- und Jugendrevolte in ihren Flugblättern 1965–1971*, ed. by Jürgen Miermeister and Jochen Staadt (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1980), p. 144.

<sup>8</sup> Herbert Marcuse, ‘Repressive Tolerance’, in Robert Paul Wolff, Barrington Moore Jr and Herbert Marcuse, *A Critique of Pure Tolerance* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969), pp. 93–137. In German, the text appeared in pirate editions and as ‘Repressive Toleranz’ in Robert Paul Wolff, Barrington Moore and Herbert Marcuse, *Kritik der reinen Toleranz*, trans. by Alfred Schmidt (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1966), pp. 91–128.

<sup>9</sup> On *konkret* see, for example, *Vorwärts. Nieder. Hoch. Nie wieder. Vierzig Jahre konkret. Eine linke deutsche Geschichte 1957–1997*, ed. by Hermann L. Gremliza (Hamburg: Konkret, 1997); Frederik Obermaier, *Sex, Kommerz und Revolution. Vom Aufstieg und Untergang der Zeitschrift ‘konkret’ (1957–1973)* (Marburg: Tectum, 2011); Bettina Röhl, *So macht Kommunismus Spaß! Ulrike Meinhof, Klaus Rainer Röhl und die Akte konkret* (Hamburg: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Henning Marmulla, *Enzensbergers Kursbuch: Eine Zeitschrift um 68* (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2011); Kristof Niese, ‘Vademekum’ der Protestbewegung? *Transnationale Vermittlungen durch das Kursbuch von 1965 bis 1975* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2017); Vibeke Rützow-Petersen, *Kursbuch 1965–1975: Social and Literary Perspectives of West Germany* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988). See also *Kursbuch* <<https://kursbuch.online/>> [accessed 28 June 2022], which includes an archive of past numbers.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Wolfgang Kraushaar, ‘Vexierbild: Hans Magnus Enzensberger im Jahre 1968’, in *Hans Magnus Enzensberger und die Ideengeschichte der Bundesrepublik*, ed. by Dirk von Petersdorff (Heidelberg: Winter, 2010), pp. 45–63.

<sup>12</sup> Anon., ‘Ankündigung einer neuen Zeitschrift’ (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, [n.d.]), in *Kursbuch*, 2 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, [n.d.]), I, 1–4.

<sup>13</sup> Anon., ‘Beschreibung einiger Dinge: Aztekische Glossen aus dem Kodex Florentinus’, *Kursbuch* 5 (May 1966), 1–9. Taken from Bernardino de Sahagún, *Codex florentinus*, in an edition of 1953 by Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J.O. Anderson, and trans. by Benedikt Pfaff (one of Enzensberger’s pseudonyms).

<sup>14</sup> Peter Hamm, ‘Opposition – am Beispiel H.M. Enzensberger’, *kürbiskern* 3.4 (1968), 583–90, also in *Über Hans Magnus Enzensberger*, ed. by Joachim Schickel (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970), pp. 252–62 (p. 255).

<sup>15</sup> Cf., for example, Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012). The term ‘Third World’ here reflects contemporary usage.

<sup>16</sup> Siegwald Lönnendonker, Bernd Rabehl and Jochen Staadt, *Die antiautoritäre Revolte: Der sozialistische deutsche Studentenbund nach der Trennung von der SPD. Band 1: 1960–1967* (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2002), pp. 132–40.

<sup>17</sup> Inga Buhmann, *Ich habe mir eine Geschichte geschrieben* (1977) (Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins, 1998), pp. 84–88.

<sup>18</sup> Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Fischer and Dietzel, II, p. 465; *ibid.*, II, p. 748 respectively.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Subversive Aktion: Der Sinn der Aktion ist ihr Scheitern*, ed. by Frank Böckelmann and Herbert Nagel (Frankfurt am Main: Neue Kritik, 1976); *Richtlinien und Anschläge: Materialien zur Kritik der repressiven Gesellschaft*, ed. by Albrecht Goeschel (Munich: Hanser, 1968); Ingo Juchler, ‘Die Avantgardegruppe “Subversive Aktion” im Kontext der sich entwickelnden Studentenbewegung der sechziger Jahre’, *Weimarer Beiträge* 40 (1994), 72–88.

<sup>20</sup> Supplements dated 1 June 1967 and 21 February 1968.

<sup>21</sup> Bernd Drücke, ‘Von *linkeck* zu Bakunin – 35 Jahre Karin Kramer Verlag. Ein Interview mit Karin und Bernd Kramer [2005]’, in Bernd Drücke, *Ja! Anarchismus: Gelebte Utopie im 21. Jahrhundert. Interviews und Gespräche*, updated and expanded edition (Münster: UNRAST, 2018), pp. 121–30 (p. 123). On *linkeck*’s history, see also anon., untitled foreword in *linkeck*, ed. by Robert Halbach (Arkadien 1968/Berlin-Neukölln: Karin Kramer, 1987), [n.p.]; Lothar Binger, *68 selbstorganisiert und antiautoritär: Die Jahre 1967–1978* (Berlin: Lothar Binger, 2018), pp. 69–86; Drücke, *Zwischen Schreibtisch und*

*Straßenschlacht?*, pp. 153–54; Drücke, “‘Es kommt auf die Bedürfnisse an’”: Ein Nachruf von Bernd Drücke auf Karin Kramer [2014], in Drücke, *Ja! Anarchismus*, pp. 130–37; Jenrich, *Anarchistische Presse*, pp. 81–82. On the wider West Berlin context see for example *Gefundene Fragmente 1967–1980*, ed. by Bernd Kramer (Berlin: Karin Kramer, 2004); *Subkultur Berlin. Selbstdarstellung, Text-, Ton-, Bild-Dokumente, Esoterik der Kommunen, Rocker, subversiven Gruppen*, ed. by Hartmut Sander and Christian Ulrichs (Darmstadt: März, 1969). On *Oberbaumblatt* as precursor to *linkeck*, see Binger, *68 selbstorganisiert*, p. 69.

<sup>22</sup> These issues are numbers 1–3, followed, due to conflicts in the *linkeck* collective, by number 3a; 4; the next issue is not numbered, but referenced here for convenience as number 5. There follow two issues carrying the number 6, referenced here for convenience as 6.i and 6.ii; followed by numbers 7 and 9, in the absence of number 8. Halbach’s limited-edition, full-size facsimile reprint of *linkeck* appeared in 1987, underlining its cult status, and references to *linkeck* in this article are to the reprint. The *linkeck* reprint is unpaginated, so references to the paper here include only issue numbers. Generally, individual items were unsigned, so cited items appear unattributed. The reprint also includes an unattributed, untitled, unpaginated foreword which is divided into numbered segments with subheadings, cited here in place of page numbers. Scanned facsimiles of *linkeck*’s entire run are at <[https://www.mao-projekt.de/BRD/BER/ANA/Berlin\\_ANA\\_Linkeck.shtml](https://www.mao-projekt.de/BRD/BER/ANA/Berlin_ANA_Linkeck.shtml)>. Facsimiles of all *linkeck* covers are at <<https://68selbstorganisiert.wordpress.com/linkeck/>> [accessed 17 November 2022]; individual pages at <<https://aap68.yale.edu/linkeck>>; <[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wohlrabe-Artikel\\_aus\\_Linkeck,\\_Jg.\\_1,\\_Nr.\\_5,\\_O.\\_J.\\_\(1968\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wohlrabe-Artikel_aus_Linkeck,_Jg._1,_Nr._5,_O._J._(1968).jpg)> [accessed 17 November 2022].

<sup>23</sup> *Oberbaumblatt*’s last number, and *linkeck*’s first, mark the SDS’s Internationaler Vietnam-Kongreß [International Congress on Vietnam], 17–18 February 1968, West Berlin.

<sup>24</sup> Drücke, *Zwischen Schreibtisch und Straßenschlacht?*, p. 153; Jenrich, *Anarchistische Presse*, p. 82.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Drücke, ‘Von *linkeck* zu Bakunin’, p. 123.

<sup>26</sup> Binger, *68 selbstorganisiert*, p. 71.

<sup>27</sup> Halbach, ‘Editorial’, in Halbach, *linkeck*.

<sup>28</sup> Drücke, *Zwischen Schreibtisch und Straßenschlacht?*, p. 153.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. for example Dieter Kunzelmann, *Leisten Sie keinen Widerstand! Bilder aus meinem Leben* (Berlin: Transit, 1998), p. 29.

<sup>30</sup> Another legacy of *linkeck* was the long-lived, prolific anarchist publisher, Karin Kramer Verlag, Neukölln, run by two *linkeck* co-founders, Bernd and Karin Kramer, which published the 1987 *linkeck* reprint.

<sup>31</sup> Anon., ‘II Verquerte Geometrie: Was ist ein Linkeck’, in Halbach, *linkeck* [n.p.]. Cf. Drücke, ‘Von *linkeck* zu Bakunin’, pp. 123–24.

<sup>32</sup> Drücke, “‘Es kommt auf die Bedürfnisse an’”, p. 132.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. for example images in *Wetterleuchten! Künstlermanifeste des 20. Jahrhunderts*, [n. ed.] (Hamburg: Edition Nautilus, 2000); Stephen Bury, ‘Introduction’ in *Breaking the Rules: The Printed Face of the European Avant Garde 1900–1937*, ed. by Stephen Bury (London: The British Library, 2007), pp. 6–15, which also contains important images.

<sup>34</sup> Hans Magnus Enzensberger, ‘Gemeinplätze, die neueste Literatur betreffend’, *Kursbuch*, 15 (November 1968), 187–197 (p. 197). For a close reading of the essay’s significance for writing produced around ‘1968’, see, for example, Mererid Puw Davies, *Writing and the West German Protest Movements: The Textual Revolution* (London: imlr books, 2016), pp. 47–74.

<sup>35</sup> See note 19.

<sup>36</sup> Bury, ‘The Avant Garde and the Little Magazine’, in *Breaking the Rules*, pp. 38–51 (p. 51).

<sup>37</sup> Richard Hülsenbeck, ‘Dadaistisches Manifest’ (1918), in *Wetterleuchten!*, pp. 17–22 (pp. 21–22); ‘Dada Manifesto’, trans. by Rose-Carol Washton Long and translation ed. by Nancy Roth, in *German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism*, ed. by Rose-Carol Washton Long (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 267–69 (p. 269).

- <sup>38</sup> Hülsenbeck, 'Dadaistisches Manifest', p. 22 [p. 269].
- <sup>39</sup> Cf. for example, Binger, *68 selbstorganisiert*, p. 29, pp. 88–120; *Subkultur Berlin*, ed. by Sander and Ulrichs; *Das Alternative Milieu: Antibürgerlicher Lebensstil und linke Politik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europa, 1968–1983*, ed. by Sven Reichardt and Detlef Siegfried (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010).
- <sup>40</sup> 'Die ökonomische Lage der jungen Linken unter den Bedingungen des Kapitalismus', *linkeck* 4.
- <sup>41</sup> *linkeck* cost 50 or 60 Pfennig in West Berlin, and at times DM 1,- in West Germany. A regular subscription cost DM 9,50 for ten issues, though school student papers, students and young workers could receive it free or at reduced rates, ['Linkeck erscheint...'], *linkeck* 2; ['LINKECK erscheint...'], *linkeck* 4. Individuals selling the paper could keep 25 Pfennig per copy sold, 'Schüler!', *linkeck* 1. On other *linkeck* outputs, cf. anon., 'VIII linkeck – Printmedienhusar & immer wieder Springer', in Halbach.
- <sup>42</sup> From early on, *linkeck* documents its own lack of success in this respect.
- <sup>43</sup> 'Die ökonomische Lage der jungen Linken'.
- <sup>44</sup> 'Ereignisse bei linkeck', *linkeck* 5. Cf. Binger, *68 selbstorganisiert*, pp. 77–80; Binger explains he and his then-wife Lisa Binger were the couple in question, and Kramer their critic.
- <sup>45</sup> Cf. for example Buhmann, *Ich habe mir eine Geschichte geschrieben; Die 68erinnen: Porträt einer rebellischen Frauengeneration*, ed. by Ute Kätzel (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2002).
- <sup>46</sup> Klaus S., 'Warum ich von linkeck die Schnauze voll habe', *linkeck* 5.
- <sup>47</sup> On *linkeck*'s influences see Drücke, '“Es kommt auf die Bedürfnisse an”', p. 132.
- <sup>48</sup> 'Die ökonomische Lage der jungen Linken'; also cf. for example 'Oberbaumpresse Berlin', *linkeck* 5.
- <sup>49</sup> 'Molotow', *linkeck* 2.
- <sup>50</sup> See for example 'Bombenzigarre', *linkeck* 5; 'Totaler Widerstand', *linkeck* 6.i. *Der Spiegel* linked the latter piece to an arson attack of 4 November 1968 on the stables of West Berlin's mounted police, during which one horse was injured. Anon., 'VI. Die Kunst der Gewalt oder Die Punktfeuergrafik', in *linkeck*, ed. by Halbach. This commentary explains that the piece was sourced from a book published by the Schweizerische Unteroffizierverband [Swiss Association of Non-commissioned Army Officers], and legally available in the FRG.
- <sup>51</sup> Cf. for example Dagmar Herzog, *Sex After Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), pp. 141–83.
- <sup>52</sup> Bury, 'The *Livre d'artiste* and the Artist's Book', in *Breaking the Rules*, pp. 26–37.
- <sup>53</sup> Binger claims this unattributed image in his autobiography; see Binger, *68 selbstorganisiert*, pp. 82–84.
- <sup>54</sup> *Linkeck* claimed membership of the European Underground Press Syndicate, for example, in 'Schüler'.
- <sup>55</sup> See for example 'Protokoll', *linkeck* 5.
- <sup>56</sup> Cf. for example *linkeck* 4, 5, 9. Stenzel sued *linkeck* successfully for unlicensed use of his work and defamation.
- <sup>57</sup> Likewise, *Agit 883* was co-produced by a trained printer, Peter-Paul Zahl.
- <sup>58</sup> Cf. for example Sergej Tretjakow, 'Wortkonstrukteur' (1921), in *Wetterleuchten!*, pp. 37–38; Walter Benjamin, 'Der Autor als Produzent' (1934), in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. by Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, 7 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991), II.2, pp. 683–701.
- <sup>59</sup> Cf. for example Alan Bartram, *Bauhaus, Modernism and the Illustrated Book* (London: The British Library, 2004).



<sup>60</sup> Cf. for example, Sadie Plant, *The Most Radical Gesture: The Situationist International in a Postmodern Age* (London: Routledge, 1992). The *Situationist International* is discussed by Alex Corcos in the present special issue.

<sup>61</sup> Guy Debord and Gil J. Wolman, 'Methods of *Détournement*' (1956), in *Situationist International Anthology*, ed. and trans. by Ken Knabb (Berkeley CA: Bureau of Public Secrets, 1995), pp. 8–14; Plant, *The Most Radical Gesture*, pp. 86–87.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. for example, Binger, *68 selbstorganisiert*, p. 72; Drücke, 'Von *linkeck* zu Bakunin', p. 124; 'Hammer und Sichel oder Hakenkreuz', *linkeck* 3; 'Schwierigkeiten bei Linkeck', *linkeck* 3a.

<sup>63</sup> Binger, *68 selbstorganisiert*, p. 12.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>66</sup> See Drücke, "'Es kommt auf die Bedürfnisse an'", pp. 131–32; Drücke, 'Von *linkeck* zu Bakunin', pp. 124–25. For overviews, see Drücke, *Zwischen Schreibtisch und Straßenschlacht?*, pp. 150–64; Jenrich, *Anarchistische Presse*, pp. 81–137.

<sup>67</sup> Anon., 'VIII linkeck – Printmedienhusar & immer wieder Springer', in Halbach. The longer-lived *Agit 883* has been more studied than other papers. See Drücke, *Zwischen Schreibtisch und Straßenschlacht?*, pp. 154–56; Jenrich, *Anarchistische Presse*, pp. 82–85; *agit 883: Bewegung Revolte Underground in Westberlin 1969–1972*, ed. by Rotaprint 25 (Hamburg and Berlin: Assoziation A, 2006), published with a CD-ROM of all issues of *Agit 883*, also at <<https://plakat.nadir.org/883/>> and <<http://www.883.infopartisan.net/>> [both accessed 29 June 2022].

<sup>68</sup> *FIZZ* was reprinted as *FIZZ Reprint 1–10* (Berlin Kreuzberg: Anti-Quariat Reprint Verlag Udo Koch/Klaus Decker, 1989). On *FIZZ*, see Drücke, *Zwischen Schreibtisch und Straßenschlacht?*, pp. 155–56; Knofo, untitled foreword in *FIZZ Reprint*, [n.p.].

<sup>69</sup> Jenrich, *Anarchistische Presse*, pp. 87–88.

<sup>70</sup> 'Die ökonomische Lage der jungen Linken'; cf., for example, 'Oberbaumpresse Berlin'.

<sup>71</sup> Jenrich, *Anarchistische Presse*, pp. 88–89.

<sup>72</sup> For accounts of anti-authoritarian life in West Berlin, see, for example, Binger, *68 selbstorganisiert*; Sander and Ulrichs.

<sup>73</sup> Knofo.

<sup>74</sup> On prison riots see, for example, *FIZZ* 8, October 1971, pp. 2–3.

<sup>75</sup> This work was not televised, as Meinhof joined the violent underground shortly before it was to be broadcast in 1970. The script appeared as Ulrike Marie Meinhof, *Bambule: Fürsorge – Sorge für wen?* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1971). It was advertised in *FIZZ* 6, Summer 1971, p. 2.

<sup>76</sup> *Linkeck* 1.

<sup>77</sup> See, for example, '[Linkeck war 2 Tage]', 'Frühlingsanfang', *linkeck* 2; Drücke, 'Von *linkeck* zu Bakunin', p. 126; Binger, *68 selbstorganisiert*, p. 72; Jenrich, *Anarchistische Presse*, p. 82.

<sup>78</sup> Anon., 'III Dreigeiteilt – niemals'; Drücke, "'Es kommt auf die Bedürfnisse an'", pp. 131–33.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. extensively, *linkeck* 9.

<sup>80</sup> Anon., 'III Dreigeiteilt – niemals', in *linkeck*, ed. by Halbach. There were sanctions and prosecutions, successful and unsuccessful, for infractions like defamation, libel, infringement of copyright and indecent imagery.

<sup>81</sup> *Agit 883* and *FIZZ* were frequently accused of supporting terrorism. Drücke, *Zwischen Schreibtisch und Straßenschlacht?*, p. 155.