

ENGLISH VERSION

# ruhr / triennale triennale triennale

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## Rimini Protokoll Situation Rooms

Turbinenhalle, Jahrhunderthalle Bochum

Ministerium für Familie, Kinder,  
Jugend, Kultur und Sport  
des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen



EUROPÄISCHE UNION  
Investition in unsere Zukunft  
Europäischer Fonds  
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KULTURSTIFTUNG  
DES  
BUNDES

# Rimini Protokoll (Haug / Kaegi / Wetzel): Situation Rooms

A multiplayer video piece

Premiere

A marksman  
A peace activist  
A lawyer representing civilian victims of drone attacks  
A security systems developer  
A journalist from South Sudan  
A war photographer  
A Mexican drug gang operative  
A chief protocol officer  
An activist against weapons financing  
A manager of defense systems  
A surgeon for Doctors without Borders  
A refugee from Syria  
A first lieutenant, Indian Air Force  
One of the families from Libya stranded as boat refugees in Italy  
A cafeteria manager in a Russian arms factory  
A member of the German parliament  
A child soldier  
A computer hacker  
A factory worker in the weapons industry  
A soldier from the Israeli Defense Forces

**23 August to 15 September 2013**  
Turbinehalle, Jahrhunderthalle Bochum

**duration** — approx 1 h 20 min

**tumbletalk 2** — 25 August: approx 1 pm  
Museum Folkwang, Essen

**freitagsküche** — 13 September: approx 6 pm till 12 pm

A production of Rimini Apparat and Ruhrtriennale in cooperation with Schauspielhaus Zürich, SPIELART Festival & Münchner Kammerspiele, Perth International Arts Festival, Grande Halle et Parc de la Villette Paris, HAU – Hebbel am Ufer Berlin, Künstlerhaus Mousonturm Frankfurt am Main, Onassis Cultural Center-Athens.

Funded by Kulturstiftung des Bundes and the mayor of Berlin – Senatskanzlei – Kulturelle Angelegenheiten.

Production and technics — Team Rimini Protokoll  
 and team Ruhrtriennale  
 Production manager Ruhrtriennale — Elisabeth Krefta  
 Production manager Rimini Protokoll — Heidrun Schlegel  
  
 Stage assistant — Claudia Bartel, Ute Freitag,  
 Sophie Reinhard, Leonie Süess  
 Assistance stage direction — Malte Hildebrand,  
 Ann-Kathrin Büdenbender  
 Video assistance — Philipp Hochleichter  
 Internship stage direction — Karen Admiraal,  
 Ann-Kathrin Büdenbender, Sybille Enders, Anabel Hogefeld,  
 Sebastian Klauke, Kristin Moldenhauer, Markus Posse, Belle Santos,  
 Yael Sherill, Zofia Smolarska, Thomas Zimmermann, Viktoria Metz  
 Internship — Eva Trummer  
 Internship scenography — Till Hörnig, Paulina Januszyk,  
 Laura Rehkuh, David Gieseke  
  
 Translation — Amina Orth, Günther Orth,  
 Djengizkhan Hasso, Riad Ben Ammar, Othman Saeed, Nahal Saeed  
 Translation / Subtitles — KITA Berlin  
 Voice over — Christoph Bovermann,  
 Jordan Smith, Michael Norton, René Stäbler,  
 Stephan Brymmer and others

by — Helgard Haug,  
 Stefan Kaegi,  
 Daniel Wetzel  
 Scenography — Dominic Huber / blendwerk  
 Video — Chris Kondek  
 Sound — Frank Böhle  
 Technical leading / light — Sven Nichterlein  
 Research — Cornelius Puschke,  
 Malte Hildebrand  
 Production and technics — Team Rimini Protokoll  
 and team Ruhrtriennale

With — Abu Abdu Al Homssi, *Syria*  
 Shahzad Akbar, *Pakistan*  
 Jan van Aken, *Germany*  
 Narendra Divekar, *India*  
 Nathan Fain, *World Wide Web*  
 Reto Hürlimann, *Switzerland*  
 Maurizio Gambarini, *Germany*  
 Andreas Geikowski, *Germany*  
 Marcel Gloor, *Switzerland*  
 Barbara Happe, *Germany*  
 Volker Herzog, *Germany*  
 Richard Khamis, *South Sudan*  
 Wolfgang Ohlert, *Germany*  
 Irina Panibratowa, *Russia*  
 Ulrich Pfaff, *Germany*  
 Emmanuel Thaunay, *France*  
 Amir Yagel, *Israel*  
 Yaoundé Mulamba Nkita, *Congo*  
 Familie R, *Libya*  
 Alberto X, *Mexico*

plus — Karen Admiraal, Christopher Dell, Alexander Lurz

## Situation Rooms

A multiplayer video piece

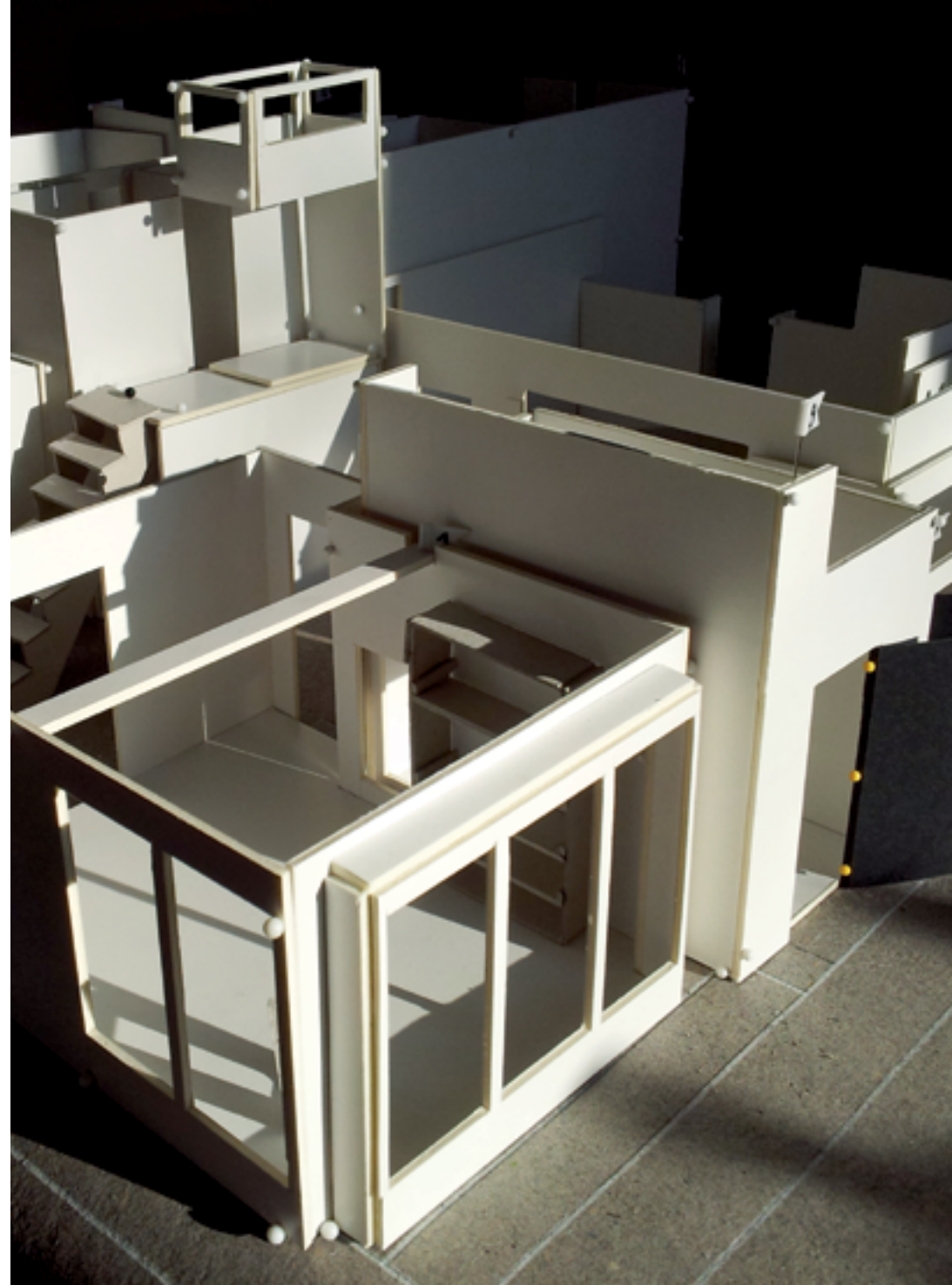
May 2011, a photo flashes onto screens around the world. It shows 13 people in a room. The expressions on their faces speak volumes: triumph, fascination, scorn, horror, skepticism, preoccupation. The photo from the White House *Situation Room* documents the end of a manhunt that was pursued with all possible weapons.

*Situation Rooms* gathers 20 people from all over the world whose biographies have been shaped by weapons in a film set that recreates the globalised world of pistols and rocket-propelled grenades, of assault rifles and drones, of rulers and refugees, becoming a labyrinth of unexpected neighborhoods and intersections.

With the personal narratives of the ‘inhabitants’, the images start to move and the audience follows the individual trails of the cameras they have been given. They start to inhabit the building, while following what they see and hear on their equipment. The audience does not sit opposite the piece to watch and judge it from the outside; instead, the spectators ensnare themselves in a network of incidents, slipping into the perspectives of the protagonists, whose traces are followed by other spectators.

One spectator sits at the desk of a production manager for defense systems. At the same time, another follows the film of a Pakistani lawyer representing victims of American drone attacks in a cramped room with surveillance monitors. On her way there, she sees a third spectator who follows his film into the shooting range of a Berlin gun club, listening to Germany’s shooting champion. Around the corner stands another spectator in the role of a doctor carrying out amputations in Sierra Leone, while in the room next door a press photographer sorts pictures of German army missions in Afghanistan, only to stand in the shooting range and do exactly to the same actions he observed a few moments before, thereby becoming a subject for observation himself.

The audience gradually becomes entangled in the film set’s spatial and material labyrinth; each individual re-enacting one part in a complex multi-perspective film shoot.



## Theatrum Belli

### Nikolaus Hirsch

What is a “theater of war”? Not an obscure realm of performative arts, but a classical concept of warfare. The concept plays a central role in Carl von Clausewitz’s treatise *On War*.

*“This term denotes properly such a portion of the space over which war prevails as has its boundaries protected, and thus possesses a kind of independence. This protection may consist in fortresses, or important natural obstacles presented by the country, or even in its being separated by a considerable distance from the rest of the space embraced in the war. Such a portion is not a mere piece of the whole, but a small whole complete in itself; and consequently it is more or less in such a condition that changes which take place at other points in the seat of war have only an indirect and no direct influence upon it.”*

The concept of the theater of war that arose in the seventeenth century, *teatrum belli*, still used today in the Pentagons of this-world, is an attempt at containment. Not in order to avoid war, but as a strategy for limiting military actions in a spatial sense. Distance is created: independent sites of war and adjacent war sites. Dimensions are reduced: from the general space of war to the theater of war. Actions are simplified from complex strategy to simple operation.

Today, in the age of the National Security Agency, the Department of Homeland Security, and the militarization of information stretching across all social realms, the limitation of war in spatially and strategically separate operations seems like an anachronism. Does it still make sense to divide the space of armed conflict into independent theaters of war? Is not everything linked to everything else?

## Situation Room

After the military disaster of the Cuban Bay of Pigs, John F. Kennedy had the Situation Room built in the White House. The failed landing in Communist Cuba, according to the view of the American president and his generals, was due to a lack of real-time information. The operation collapsed into an incoherent sequence of acts. Threads of information did not come together. What was supposed to take place simultaneously was loose and incoherent piecework. What was lacking was a “situation.”

Fifty years later, on May 1, 2011 at around 4 pm in the Situation Room of the White House, everything changed. We see the spell-bound faces of President Obama, Secretary of State Hilary Clinton, and the national security team of the American government as they follow Operation Neptune’s Spear in real time.

It is 1 am in Pakistan. Osama bin Laden, the most wanted man in the world, is asleep in his home in Abbotabad, Pakistan. A few minutes later, he will be shot dead by a special unit of Navy SEALs.

All information is available, networked in real time, visible on various monitors. Diverse sites and spaces are linked to one another, a house, an unmanned drone, a commando unit in Pakistan, and this small, windowless room with a brown table and seven black leather office chairs in Washington, DC.

The Situation Room creates a situation. Where previously there was only incoherent information, now various sites are linked in space and time; it is no accident that the prototype of the Internet was developed by the military. The situation summed up so a decision can be made. Simultaneous events are live-streamed into a room where various perspectives become a single gaze. Despite the complexity of the global space, this one site seems to be the place where it is possible to get an overview and make a decision, resulting in a linear chain of action leading to the Commander in Chief.

## Theater War / War Theater

In Rimini Protokoll's Situation Rooms the theater of war is deconstructed once again. The plot and its participants are not brought together simultaneously in a single room, as in the White House, but disentangled in a theater installation from various situational spaces and thus made legible. The roles, taken on by spectators through iPad instructions run from classical victim-perpetrator categories to the gray zones of economics and human rights policy: the refugee, the drone pilot, the weapons manager, the human rights lawyer, the weapons expert, the parliamentarian, the computer hacker, the drug gang member, the photojournalist, the marksman, the weapons technician, the NGO employee, the surgeon for Doctors without Borders, the journalist and the lecturer, the protocol chief, the cafeteria director, the pacifist, the distributor of bullet-proof clothing, the boat refugee, the child soldier.

Every spectator sees an individual part of the plot that places him in the role of an expert, carefully researched by Rimini Protokoll. The sequence of roles is different for each spectator – beginning as an arms dealer or as a human rights lawyer. Regardless: this story of war has no beginning and no end. What was first, the weapon and then the armed revolt, or was it the other way around?

Even after decades of conflict research, peace missions, UN interventions, it remains unclear how to break the cycle of violence: on the contrary. According to the United Nations, the number of armed conflicts is constantly increasing. The booming and horrifically innovative military industrial complex is constantly inventing new tasks. Experts construct their own roles and refine their expertise: the craft of war and anti-war.

Increasing numbers of people work on the one side or the other, for or against war. Avoiding any simple moralizing, Rimini Protokoll shows that “for” and “against” isn't quite so simple,

but that increasingly the terrain of ethics itself is a minefield. Even human rights are part of the “war” system. An industry of compassion, be it in official mission of the United Nations or an NGO, has taken shape. Well intended and necessary, yet ultimately part of the logic of war: it has an uncanny way of confirming and perpetuating the system. The old war in which soldiers fought against soldiers has given way to a war that increasingly spreads and gradually involves increasing parts of our society.

## The Architecture of War

As the actors of war have changed, the space of war has also been transformed. The logic of this new theater of war is collateral and asymmetrical. Military engagement does not take place on a joint, symmetric battlefield, but between incompatible, asymmetric spatial constellations; the Al Qaida rebel in rough mountain terrain against a drone warrior with a joystick in a tidy office.

War has been shifted to the next level, outsourced to another space. Rimini Protokoll has built 15 rooms, variously coded depending on the scenario, condensed in a spatial arrangement that reconstructs the global architecture of war: a military hospital, a street in Homs, an internet café in Jordan, a Mexican cemetery, a drone control station and a terrace in Pakistan, an office in Saudi Arabia, a weapons fair in Abu Dhabi, a conference room in Berlin, an Iranian nuclear plant, the hacker club, the office of an arms producer, the shooting range of the marksmen, a weapons production hall, an asylum-seekers in Germany, a schoolroom in South Sudan, a cafeteria in Russia, an operating tent in Sierra Leone, the conference room at the headquarters of Doctors without Borders in Paris.

Linked via doors, elevators, stairs, and corridors, a structure emerges full of twisting spaces that each open their own microsystems. Each situation room develops its own logic of action. The

logic of the spaces is collateral. It lies literally adjacent, in the next subset of war.

The links between these sites are rarely causal or linear. As in Giovanni Battista Piranesi's 1761 *Carceri*, the result is a labyrinthine spatial arrangement of links, directions, and traces, impossible to disentangle and yet exhibiting a horrifying reason. Each situation, each involvement is plausible in itself and from the perspective of the experts logical and reasonable. But this is a rationality that meets its limits, and often achieves the opposite of its humanist, enlightenment agenda: a reason that builds Piranesian prisons or, as in Goya's 1799 print, *The Sleep of Reason Gives Birth to Monsters*.

The new monstrously-intelligent war of the 21st century, as Rimini Protokoll shows in the microcosm of Situation Rooms, is everywhere at the same time. The *teatrum belli*, conceived by Clausewitz as a spatial-strategic tool of localizable and controllable war, has become a simultaneous stage. Space has become global and claustrophobic at the same time. The actions are as horrifying as they are banal. All information is available, but can no longer be encapsulated.

**Nikolaus Hirsch** is an architect, curator and director of Städelshule and Portikus in Frankfurt. His architectural work includes the award-winning Dresden Synagogue. Hirsch curates the upcoming "Gwangju Folly" project for the Gwangju Biennale.





## A marksman

“This is my sport equipment: a Smith & Wesson Revolver, 38 caliber special. Especially developed for the Bianchi Cup. The special thing about this weapon is its long wooden grip. This allows the weapon to be held in a stable lying position.

To be a good marksman, you have to train on a regular basis. Not just at the shooting range, but also at home. At home, it's possible to do what we call 'dry training.' This means you have to become one with the weapon. Pick up the weapon as often as possible.

This is a special 38-caliber bullet cartridge. The outside here, that's the bullet case, the long bit. Here on the bottom you can see the primer. That's the bullet. And here inside the case is the propellant. And on top is the bullet. The bullet moves at a speed of 300 meters per second towards its target.

I assume that you've never fired a gun? To shoot, stand with your legs spread, a bit wider than your shoulders. Pick up the weapon with your strong hand, which is usually the right. Now check if the weapon is loaded. To do this, pull this lever forward and swing the barrel out.

The strength comes only from your lower arms. Your shoulders and your upper arms are relaxed. Now I move from the 45 degree angle to a 90 degree angle. This is when you place your finger on the trigger. Now simply hold the point at the target and pull the trigger slowly backward until it shoots.”

**Andreas Geikowski, Germany**, has been a police officer since 1989, working primarily as a marksmanship trainer for fellow police officers and sport shooters. An active gun sportsman since 1992, he has been the Berlin, German, European, and world champion several times in dynamic high caliber shooting with revolver and pistol, sponsored by the companies Heckler & Koch, H&N Geschosse, and Triebel Berlin.



## A peace activist

“The house I grew up in is located in Oberndorf, a town dedicated to weapons production.

My father built our modest home with his salary from the Mauser weapons factory. As children, when we went upstairs to the attic window, we could see a large concentration camp for forced laborers from Russia and Poland.

During its so-called ‘boom years’ during the Third Reich, the factory employed 11,000 workers.

During the war, one third of the Mauser factory was destroyed. In the two-thirds that remained, production was gradually resumed; on the hill, a new weapons factory was founded, Heckler & Koch, which in the meantime has achieved fame around the world: from here, weapons – weapons for warfare – are exported to 80 different countries.

Every fourteen minutes, someone is killed with a bullet from a gun made by Heckler & Koch. When I was a young man, I also worked here for a while, but haven’t been back for 50 years; I spent a great deal of time underway in Africa.

When I retired, I returned to Oberndorf and found a monument commemorating the forced laborers directly in front of my parent’s former home. I expanded it into a monument warning against war and fascism.

Naturally the monument is a constant provocation, because so many people here live directly or indirectly from warfare and armaments production. I am regularly subject to physical attack, the area around the monument gets ravaged frequently, and occasionally the monument is even shot at.”

**Ulrich Pfaff, Germany,** holds a degree in theology and currently works as a peace worker in Oberndorf, a center of arms production. Before his return to Germany, he served as a development aid worker for Brot für die Welt in various African countries.



## A lawyer representing civilian victims of drone attacks

“I used to think that drones are killing bad men in Pakistan – how could they not? After all it’s America, a country founded on principles of freedom, rule of law, due process and justice for all!

I was blindfolded with perceptions labeled as facts till I discovered reality for myself in 2010 when I was introduced to a number of civilian victims – including women, children, elderly, farmers, traders, rescuers... Today I am going to Peshawar High Court to represent civilian victims of drone strikes:

My Lords, today I am before you to present the case of 50 civilian victims of drone strike killed on 17th March 2011.

My Lords, on that day two sub tribes of Waziristan were gathered to settle a Chromite mining dispute before the Council of Elders which is as respectable forum of adjudication as this honorable Court. It’s called Jirga.

My Lords these were civilians gathered for a civilian purpose in an open space, minding their own business on their own locality. Guns and bigger turbans are part of their culture, that does not make them terrorists or legitimate targets for killing.

My Lords, I ask for justice. Redressal of wrong done to them. My Lords I ask for justice from the American government, from that ‘cubicle warrior’ who killed my clients believing to be doing the right thing.

My Lords, I ask for justice from Pakistani government which is sitting aside as silent spectator and failing to protect its citizens against extra judicial killings.”

**Shahzad Akbar, Pakistan**, qualified as a barrister in England and enrolled as a practicing attorney with the Punjab Bar Council. He is a leading human rights lawyer in Islamabad. He represents the growing number of victims’ families in Waziristan affected by drone strikes in Pakistani courts. Shahzad has been teaching human rights law at the Islamic International University in Islamabad intermittently since 2004.



## A security systems developer

“This jacket protects against both the rain and bullets. The model is called the Black Pearl Coat. I usually sell this model to business people working in dangerous regions, in Afghanistan, Iraq, or, at the moment Mali. I’ve been called the ‘Armani of bullet-proof wear’ for this collection.

I have tried out all these bullet-proof vests myself: here’s a picture of me in Colombia with Miguel Caballero shooting a 38-caliber at me.

I survived. I admit that I was a bit afraid, because it was my first time. But the protection was perfect.

I remember one day when I was in Nigeria to deliver a bullet-proof vest. Suddenly we got caught in an ambush and stood under heavy fire.

When we had barely made it to safety, my customer congratulated me: he was still alive, and able to confirm that the material is flawless.”

**Emmanuel Thauhay, France,** grew up in Corsica as the son of a military boot maker. A member of the Foreign Legion, he participated in several special missions abroad, including Lebanon and Algeria. For several years now he has been building up his own company, regularly visiting weapons fairs around the world. A longside bullet-proof vests, metal-detecting gloves for explosives detection, and armored vehicles, he also offers unmanned vehicles that can be operated by remote control using cameras and, if desired, ammunition.



## A journalist from South Sudan

“We are now in South Sudan.

These are my bodyguards provided to protect me night and day. The guy on the right is holding a Kalashnikov and the guy on the left is holding a G3. These are the kind of guns used in the civil-wars. They are still everywhere! That means, there is no trust in the peace.

I’m setting up radio stations. We put up containers and install technical equipment. We want to inform the people, play good music and train child-soldiers to become journalists.

I’m inviting you into my studio. Please come over here. Let’s take a seat – let’s do some work.

The government in Khartoum had introduced the Shari’ah and the people of South Sudan took up guns against the decision. And suddenly there were arms all over the place everywhere and I’ll try to trace back where the guns came from:

The government troops in the North had German G3s produced through license in Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. The freedom-fighters in the South bought Kalashnikovs from Eastern Europe mostly from Ukraine. The warring sides captured weapons from each other so that all used the two types of guns to kill each other. The result is 2 million people died and many other million people are on the run. When the war broke out I was in Cairo.

I had a hard time thinking of whether I should go back to Sudan, take up a gun and join the rebellion or I should go to Europe for further studies so that I could come back and help my people later ...

I chose the second option and went to Leipzig and now that the war is over I am back in South Sudan at Miraya.

We have to disarm. The guns are ready to hand.”

**Richard Khamis, South Sudan**, is a journalist and development aid worker, who has recently served on assistance projects in Juba, the capital of the new republic of South Sudan, working for UN Radio Miraya FM. Previously, as the head of programming for UN Radio (2006–2009), he began a “call-in show” program on disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration.



## A war photographer

“What do you need to go to war?

Night-vision goggles, fireproof underwear, a bullet-proof vest, courage, faith in God, first aid materials and training. It's essential to know that things can always get dangerous!

Then I need my photographic equipment, because I'm going as a photographer. I could have become a soldier as well; many men in my family became soldiers.

When I'm underway, I never stay for long in the same place: I go, take photos, and disappear again as quickly as possible.

Now we have to go up this ladder. The flag back there isn't waving! Here we have a switch, we can turn it on if we want it to wave. But I really don't manipulate the pictures I take. For my pictures, the truth has to suffice.

In Iraq I got caught in an ambush: 12 Marines were killed, many others were wounded, and I got shot at. It was like getting caught between a hammer and an anvil, despite my bullet-proof vest. I broke a rib, I was knocked over and was so stunned that I first remained sitting. An American used the time to shoot back and kill the attacker.

Afterward, the American came running over to me and showed me his victim very proudly. I took a counter-shot and photographed the dead person: he lost his head, I kept mine.

Now let's descend the ladder and then go to the right. Carefully.”

**Maurizio Gambarini, Germany.** After completing basic training with Fernspähkompanie 100 (Intelligence and Reconnaissance) in Braunschweig, Maurizio Gambarini worked as a photographer for several publications, including Bild, Kölner Express, and Focus. Since 2003, he has worked as a dpa photographer primarily in war and crisis zones: Congo, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Angola, and Mali. Since 2012 he has published ca. 8,000 photographs and taken around 80,000.



## A Mexican drug gang operative

“Here I am among all the dead. I came here to remember them once more. I never wanted to see them again.

Ezequiel Murillo. One of those dirty brats who fill the prisons in Juárez, just 18 or 19 years old. They kill for money. One day we sent him off to bring drugs over the border. He went crazy and began shooting about like a wild man; he would have become a danger for us. We don’t want to risk anything for a brat like that, so I sent him to hell.

Jorge ‘Thousand Stories’ Yañez. He always arrived with a thousand stories to explain what happened. He was supposed to deliver the cars hiding the drugs to the customer. But he always came back high on coke without the car or the money. So one day I sent Caballo to collect, and he killed him.

Cristina and Rodrigo Ramírez. The married couple used my car to smuggle drugs over the border, but they got caught. The Americans found my name in the car registration. So they arrested me for it and gave me three years. My lawyer got them out of prison, and the organization had them decapitated: they showed me a picture.

Joseph Velázquez. That was my lawyer. He took too much of my money. When I came out of prison, the Línea had planned his death. Now it was his head in the photograph.

I began working in the Línea under a relative of mine who asked me if I wanted to get rich with him. Whenever they had to speak to me, they sent over a bus full of strong-arm men. They grabbed me, put a hood over my head, and brought me to a secure house. Sometimes they tortured me. But I know that they would never beat me, never mind kill me. I’ve made some of them multi-millionaires. That’s why they respect me.”

**Alberto X, Mexico.** Trained as an auto mechanic, he joined the drug gang La Línea. After observing the border controls over a long-term period, he developed a virtually risk-free system for drug transfer, allowing many tons of cocaine and marijuana to make their way across the US-Mexico border.



## A chief protocol officer

“This is Conference Room 1 at the conference center of Krauss-Maffei Wegmann in Munich ... I am here today as protocol officer responsible for the official handover of 120 Leopard 2 tanks on the ground of Krauss-Maffei Wegmann to the Chilean Army Inspector.

At the moment, the delegations are still observing the practical demonstration on the factory's own testing grounds. Here, the Leo not only is driven through a moat, but at the end of the demonstration serves champagne on a tray affixed to the main gun on the front of the tank to the guests of honor seated on the podium.

During my active years of service, I drove the Leo myself at the military training ground Munster Nord. Its advantage is that the motor is in the back, for a smoother ride. The entire chassis thinks along with the driver and adjusts to the terrain. Not a drop of champagne is lost.

The Leo is top of the line, the best tank, but not the most expensive. The Americans ones are more expensive. A Leo only costs 3 million. But it has an enormous deterrent potential, a great show of force!

At the beginning, no Leos were sent to Afghanistan because the German government said that it's not a war. Now there are six stationed there: and since then, not a single German soldier has died.”

**Wolfgang Ohlert, Germany, Oberstleutnant.** During his active years as a professional soldier he was responsible for organizing the Munich Security Conference, formerly known as the Wehrkundetagung. Serving in the Balkan region in 1999, he experienced the concrete impact of international arms trading on site. As a protocol officer, he organized programs for high-ranking guests of the Defense Ministry. Tours of the arms industry in Germany were often part of the program.



## An activist against weapons financing

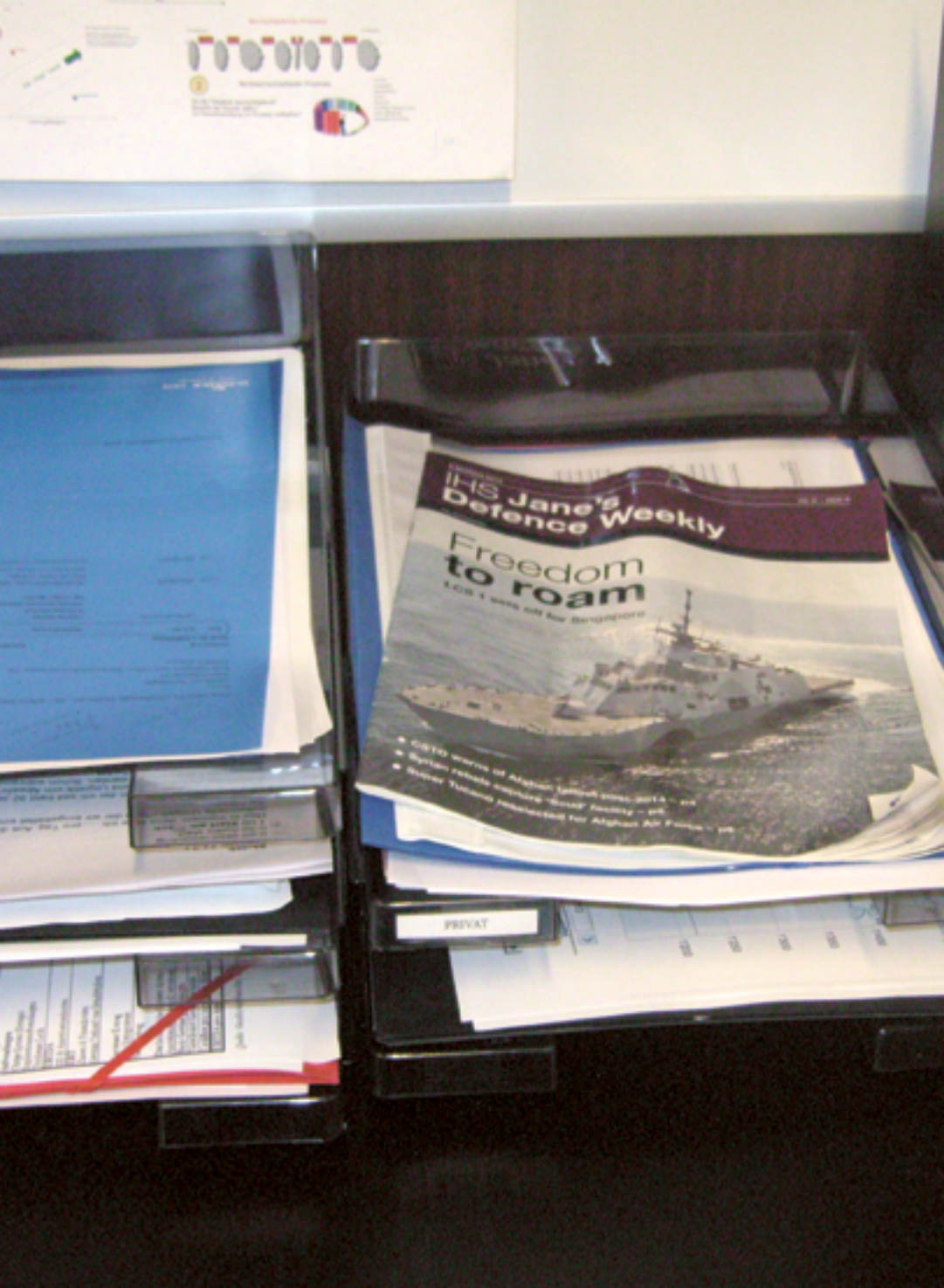
“An example: Gaddafi had the civilian population of Misrata bombed with cluster munitions in 2011: an especially perfidious weapon, because many cluster munitions do not explode immediately upon contact with the ground, but remain as ticking time bombs.

Our research showed that the maker of these bombs was the Spanish company Instalaza. The most important financier of Instalaza during the time of manufacture was Deutsche Bank. Our headline on Misrata was surely not to the bank’s liking: “Deutsche Bank finances cluster munitions.” Deutsche Bank likes to sit out conflicts like this. This is why I regularly appear at the shareholders meeting. In 2011, we invited Serbian mine defuser Branislav Kapetanović to the shareholders meeting: he lost both legs and both arms while doing his job.

Branislav appealed to the chief executive officer of Deutsche Bank, Mr. Ackermann, to pull out of the business with cluster munitions. Normally, we barely get listened to. Everyone eats their sandwiches, and it makes no difference what we say. But suddenly everyone was listening. Because of the applause, Ackermann was forced to respond directly, and said that he personally was also against cluster munitions and we need to check whether it’s possible to get out of this line of business.

Then, quite excited, I went up to the lectern and said, ‘There’s nothing left to check! Just divest now!’ Then Mr. Ackermann saw himself forced to react once again, and said, ‘You can be quite sure that we will be getting out of this business some time soon.’ Months later, research in financial banks showed that Deutsche Bank has even increased its involvement! So the only answer is to go on, on both sides.”

**Barbara Happe, Germany**, holds a doctorate in political science and has worked for 13 years for the environmentalist and human rights organization Urgewald. The aim of her work is to promote the strict regulation of banks and other financial service providers and their financial involvements, especially in the armaments sector.



## A manager of defense systems

“On these tours, our visitors are always surprised by the cleanliness and the precise way our employees work. Unlike customers from Central Europe, customers from the Middle East place great importance on the external appearance of our systems, and like to touch the paint job – as if it were a sports car.

For most of our employees it makes no difference if they make tools or weapons systems. For our employees, the technical challenge of their work and the secure job take priority.

Of course we like speaking to officials and politicians, because these decision-makers have an influence on the potential future exports of our systems. The delivery of weapons to exotic countries like Somalia or North Korea or Sudan is not permitted. But there are other less regulated arms producers, like China, who serve these customers.

There are politicians who attack us for our business. But I’m proud to be able to contribute to the security of our customers.”

**Reto Hürlimann, Switzerland,** is a manager for defense systems in eastern Switzerland. Already during his service with the Swiss military, his technical abilities and leadership skills were highly in demand. In the company, he worked his way from a toolmaker trainee to become a key member of the staff. Over the years, his work has brought him to North America, Africa, and the Middle East.



## A surgeon for Doctors without Borders

“We’re here in Paris, at the headquarters of Doctors without Borders. I’m a surgeon and am being prepared for my work in Sierra Leone. The city of Freetown is surrounded by rebel forces, the airport is under siege. We, Doctors without Borders, are the last medical NGO on site. I’m the last surgeon.

Come along with me to the Connaught Hospital on a normal workday. Here’s a patient with a typical injury from the war: both hands were cut off. The rebels had referred back to a speech made by the former President Kabbah in which he said that the people should place their hands in his. Horrifically, they then told the patient that he should bring his hands to Kabbah. The patient then begged to be killed, but instead they cut off his upper lip with a machete. I was able to put it back in place, and the surgery was even relatively successful.

These machete injuries, inflicted face to face, left a deep impression on me, much more so than a normal gun wound. The injuries caused by drones will be different still, because there’s no contact at all with the enemy.

The events from this period still haunt me in my dreams, so that I have to get up a night to check if my children still have their hands.”

**Volker Herzog, Germany.** After training as a surgeon, Volker Herzog worked for 22 years as a surgeon at Evangelisches Hubertus Krankenhaus, Berlin-Zehlendorf. His first project as a war zone surgeon for Doctors without Borders brought him to Sri Lanka in 1998, additional missions brought him to Ethiopia, Sudan, and Liberia, later followed by the Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone.



## A refugee from Syria

“My father worked in a clothing factory, my mother was a housewife. After ninth grade, I started selling women’s clothing and soon had my own jeans shop for women at the Homs Bazaar. I was passionate about playing soccer and our team Al Karama. I began looking for a wife, and found an apartment, preparing it for a future family. Then, people began demonstrating for freedom in Homs and all over Syria, and the police and secret service reacted extremely aggressively. I was participating in a peaceful demonstration when I got shot in the leg by a policeman in June 2011. My life changed overnight. I had to hide, because the wounded were hunted down as rebels and were often tortured or killed. After six months of hiding in Homs, I left for Jordan on January 1, 2012, after 3 more months the German Foreign Ministry made it possible for me to travel to Hannover. In Germany my gun wound on my leg was operated upon, but my foot remained paralyzed. Soon back pain set in due to poor posture. After my operation, I was supposed to be brought back to Jordan, but I was afraid to go back there because the humanitarian situation for Syrian refugees in Jordan is very bad indeed. After seven long months I was granted political asylum in July 2013. Now I’m looking for an apartment and learning German. Of my nine siblings, I’m only in contact with two brothers and a sister, I know nothing of the rest of my family. I dream of a returning to a liberated Syria.”

**Abu Abdu al Homssi, Syria**, was born in 1974 in the Bab Drid neighborhood in Homs and lived there his whole life until 2012. He appears under a pseudonym.



## A first lieutenant, Indian Air Force

“We are in Kashmir, in India.

We received the orders to fly an assault squad to eliminate a group of Pakistan trained terrorists hiding in some shepherd huts in the mountains. I have been there many times before. There we fight against Pakistan trained and armed terrorists who infiltrate into India across the line of control.

Let us now go to my workplace. Please take a seat and install your screen. This is an assault type carrying helicopter – we call it the Dhruv. We fly low and fast, both by day and by night. We eliminate all the terrorists whom we call anti national elements or ANEs.

If I start to worry »that the guy might be innocent and maybe there are women and kids in there« – I cannot fight and win! For us it is very simple: We locate – fire and forget! Drones are observing the area constantly. You can't have a pilot flying for 24 hours. But you can have a drone there for 24 hours, day and night. As long as it's got fuel it keeps orbiting, keeps observing.

They give us real time intel as to where the militants are hiding. The terrain is very cold and so the drones show a sharp contrast of the body-heat against the cold terrain. As soon as the person leaves his hut it shows up very clearly on the camera. And I am sure they are not there to have a picnic, also. They have to be militants.”

**Narendra Divekar, India**, Lieutenant Colonel, served as a helicopter pilot in the Indian Army with over 20 years of military service and has participated in military operations against Pakistan in the Siachen Glacier, the world's highest battlefield as well as in the Kashmir Valley. He was awarded the Sena Medal as well as two Chief of the Army Staff Commendations, all for flying duties in active military operations.



### One of the families from Libya stranded as boat refugees in Italy

»We thought we were going to get a real ferry with a real captain. But then we saw that there were only boats, dozens leaving each day, filled to the brim, the adults all holding children in their arms.

We felt like we were being shot towards Europe, boat after boat. We thought about documentaries on television from the BBC or al-Arabiya where boat refugees drown. We had a bad feeling, but there was no alternative, so we became resigned to our fate.

Remember when the boat got damaged? The man guiding the boat had no training at all. I think he had only had a brief practice before setting off. For the first four hours we just went around in a circle. In the middle of the crossing, the water pump broke down. More and more water leaked into the boat. People started screaming, some of us prayed.

After two nights and a day we arrived, completely exhausted. But we felt reborn, we never thought we would arrive there alive. We hoped that things would now be better and that we could send the children to school.«

**Family R, Libya.** Rushwan was born in Tuwasha, Darfur what is now North Sudan. In 1994, he traveled to Tripoli, Libya, where he studied business. In 2006, he married Aziza, who was born in Niala, Darfur. She studied medical engineering in Tripoli. During the NATO bombing of Libya in 2011 – and because of rumors spread by the North Sudanese government that the Sudanese in Libya were all mercenaries for Gaddafi – they found themselves forced to abandon their life in Zawiya as a young family with a good income – more than 1000 € monthly – and to flee the country. They spent 8 months in a refugee camp, receiving no information about their future and while their case was left unprocessed. On March 21, 2012, they decided to make their way to Germany to build up a new life for themselves and their three children. The children are now 13 months, three and five years old.



## A cafeteria manager in a Russian arms factory

“There are 3 large factories in my hometown in Russia: one of the factories makes detergent. The other repairs large ships and my husband works as an engineer in the third large factory. Once I asked him, ‘What do you do there? And what does this factory make?’ He said that it’s a secret.

I also work at the factory, I run the cafeterias. Here’s a plan where you can see how the factory is set up. At the main entrance, there are armed soldiers. Those who work in this factory have to have a special ID. The 15 cafeterias and production areas are all underground: from above all that’s visible is the forest.

Once we inspected cafeteria Number 3, and when we came back our colleagues said, ‘You have a guardian angel!’ I asked why, and they answered, ‘Well Irina, you just got a second chance at life. The cafeteria just exploded an hour ago with all the workers in it, and everyone died.’

From everything I have seen and heard in this factory – I’m now sure that they produce explosives for Katyusha (rockets).

When I came to Germany with my children, my husband stayed behind in Perm. The police asked many questions about what my profession was, but I answered none of them.”

**Irina Panibratowa, Russia,** is a nutritional engineer. She worked from 1981–1992 in 15 underground cafeterias at the weapons factory Kirova near the city of Perm. In 1992, she moved to Germany, where she now works at Autostadt Wolfsburg in visitor services.



## A member of the German parliament and his assistant

It's 2011. I'm on the road in Saudi Arabia. Accompanied by journalists, I'm visiting General Al-Saleh, the main arms purchaser for the Saudi army. I came here because the Saudis apparently want to buy the German Leopard tank. That would be the biggest scandal in German export history. For 30 years, the Saudis have wanted to purchase the Leo, until now to no avail. Officially I have no information, the Federal Government keeps everything secret.

I didn't learn much from Mr. Al-Saleh either. Just that Krauss-Maffei Wegmann, the tank maker, came to his office once. Now we're here at IDEX, 2013. You can find every imaginable weapon here, on offer just like sewing machines at a consumer fair. The only difference is that here the final product doesn't get shown. Alongside a sewing machine at a fair, there's always a nice dress on display. But here, you don't see the piles of corpses.

You might think that the other political parties just ignore me, but they don't, there are more and more debates about weapons exports in the Bundestag and among the public, so that even the conservatives cannot ignore the issue.

I believe that my children will live to see a world without weapons.

**Jan van Aken, Germany**, is a trained biologist who has been working for over ten years around the world for the cause of disarmament. With the Sunshine Project, a small NGO, he began working for the better control of biological weapons, later serving as a biological weapons inspector for the United Nations. Since 2009, he has been a member of the German Bundestag for the Left party, leading a campaign against German arms exportation.

**Alexander Lurz, Germany**, studied history and political science in Berlin and Potsdam. Since 2010 he has been working as an assistant to Jan van Aken.



## A child soldier

“This is my school in Kisangani, the Democratic Republic of Congo. I am 9 years old. At school we learn to read and write in French. At home we speak Lingala and Swaheli. That’s the president of the republic, his name is Joseph Desiré Mobuto Sese Seko Demo Marshall President. My father is a soldier in his army. I rarely see him. He’s probably now fighting against the rebels again.

There’s a whistle every morning: the flag! We have to raise the flag, and sing the hymn of the Republic of Zaire.

Suddenly I hear gunshots. We look to the left and the right and up. The teachers panic, ‘To the floor! To the floor!’

We all got down on the floor. We looked around to find out what was happening. We didn’t move. We watched: from here

we saw how they began beating and torturing our teachers. I tried to flee, but they caught me and said to us: No, now your fathers are no longer the soldiers, now you are the soldiers! So I became a soldier and now fight for Laurent Désiré Kabila. And Mobuto is finished.

Now we have to take down the flag.”

**Yaoundé Mulamba Nkita, Congo**, was born the son of a soldier in Mobuto’s army in the Congo. At age 9, his school was attacked by Kabila’s rebel army and Yaoundé was drafted as a child soldier. During the war from 1998 to 2003, he fought in the jungles of the country and participated in the taking of Kinshasa. After the victory of Laurent Kabila, he was promoted to the presidential guard, from which he was demobilized at age 14. He then began working at Espace Massolo, an art center in Kinshasa. He has lived in Paris for ten years now, working on several projects across Europe.

## A computer hacker

"In Israel I was part of a team of hackers working for major bank companies to test their systems. In this job it was all about finding existing holes in the network into existing systems. Once inside a the bank we would look for ways to steal money from one account and send it to another or create money in an account out of thin air by adding a few 0's in an opportune place.

Another job I've had is analyzing and hacking electronic door entry cards known as RFID. These are used at airports, banks and nuclear power plants.

In this world you don't know when a simple tool you develop might get transformed into a weapon by somebody else and you have no say over where it gets used or against whom:

For example, Dean, this friend of mine, developed a tool 6 years ago called "metasploit" that is used to test the security of systems. It is common for developers of such tools to release them open source. Dean doesn't even work in the field of security anymore and he went off and became a designer. But last year emails were found between engineers at the Iranian enrichment plant claiming that his tool was being used to attack them.

Apparently his tool was used to gain access to the systems and Iranian scientists reported that computers would start playing a song by AC/DC at max volume in the middle of the night – the song was Thunderstruck."

**Nathan Fain**, born in the USA, has lived in Jerusalem, Israel, and currently lives in Berlin, Germany.

		Channel	Throttle
Stop A	H	0	1
B	H	1	0
C	H	0	0
Stop C R	H	0	0
Stop C L	H	0	0
Stop C C	H	0	0
Full A Center	H	0	1
Some	H	0	1
Half	H	0	1
3/4	H	0	1
Right Trim	H	0	1
Left Trim	H	0	1



## A factory worker in the weapons industry

“When I started out here, there were still no computers. Everything was drawn by hand.

In the 1970s, we still produced for Nigeria and Iran. But in the 1990s things didn’t go so well. At least I’ve survived all the waves of firings until now. I used to make washing machine parts. Today we make hi-tech weaponry. The work basically remained the same: finishing, polishing, metalworking, and of course gauging.

I remember when the Saudi king came to visit during the 1980s. There was a huge hullabaloo about that.

Where the guns are delivered, we have no idea. At the company we have fictional names for our customers. For example, Arosa, Davos, Rapperswil...

I have never seen these systems in use. Our company has testing grounds in the mountains where they test the systems. At the Christmas party, they sometimes show us videos showing how the systems work.

In the evening, I sometimes watch the news. In the early 1980s, during the first Gulf War, they showed how Teheran was defended. They used the guns that we had delivered to the Shah. And then there are our guidance systems. On television I could show my wife how the guns worked – now we’re working on them again.”

**Marcel Gloor, Switzerland**, born in Zug, in 1948, trained as a toolmaker from 1965 to 1969. After working as a toolmaker in the civilian realm until 1975, Gloor began training as a driller in the weaponry department, where he became responsible for tool making and training. Later he began making weapon parts and components. In 2013, Marcel Gloor went into early retirement.



## A soldier from the Israeli Defense Forces

“I just finished high school. I was 18. My dream in this age was to have sex already with a girl.

I didn’t know back then that the south, the north, the east and the west, the railways, the buses and the junctions of Israel will all look totally different to me from now on.

How was the army for me? At first, I had to get used to speak in plural and not in singular form.

We were all there always together: We smoked cheap cigarettes like crazy and eat shawarma at 4 am in Ber-Sheva central bus station while waiting for the first bus to take us to the base in Gaza at Sunday morning.

We were all addicted to Coca-Cola and energy drinks.

We all hated the horrible patrol in Gaza border of four in the morning which was always freezing.

We were there together when we lay down in an ambush and looked for hours on the lights coming from houses in Gaza or Hebron and immediately think about our own home.

So now? I can’t let go of the army. It will always be part of me. Wherever I’ll go. Whatever I’ll chose to do. But I’m not a victim, I chose to do it, I was not forced against my will. I can allow myself to criticize my country and the Israeli government, and to hate its decisions. I allow myself because I’m part of it and in some way I joined the army because I believe in democracy and if I came to serve as a democratic act – now it’s a democratic act as well that I speak about it: the almost impossible situation of a young guy becoming a commander ... a sniper ... a combat soldier.”

**Amir Yagel, Israel**, born in 1988 in Kibutz Geshor. Served in the Israel Defense Forces IDF between 2007-2010. Completed his service in the rank of a sergeant.





## Minimally Invasive Frame Shifts

Harald Welzer

Rimini Protokoll works with minimal frame shifts and almost never with professional actors, but “experts,” people appearing in exactly the role that they play in real life. By bringing this role to the stage, the frame is changed and the definition is shifted. Usually, a politician is not placed on the stage and represents a politician. A politician stands on a market square or before a television camera and represents authenticity. By shifting the frame, Rimini Protokoll constantly works on perforating reality, making it more permeable than usual. But not from the position of didactic omniscience, but, surgically speaking, in a minimally invasive way. Rimini Protokoll only changes a single variable and thus makes the line separating possibility and reality thinner, more transparent.

But in so doing, they make it clear that everything could be different in that moment; that the given reality is actually always unstable. It is revealed to be just one possible version of many conceivable realities.

A central principle of the work of Rimini Protokoll is the systematic inclusion of chance in their performances. Just as individual participants holding strange speeches can disturb the routine of a shareholders meeting, holding up posters or leave the hall under protest, chance, always virulent, contributes to the perforation of reality. We can learn something from that: only when the fragments of other definitions and understandings of the world are given the chance to appear, is it possible to open spaces of possibility that remain systematically closed when following a single path.

**Rimini Protokoll** Helgard Haug, Stefan Kaegi, and Daniel Wetzel have studied Applied Theatrescience in Giessen and have been working as a team since 2000. They work in the area of theater, a team of author-directors. Their work in the realm of theater, sound and radio plays, film, installation emerge in constellations of two or three and solo as well. Since 2002, all their works have been written collectively under the label Rimini Protokoll. At the focus of their work is the continuous development of the tools of the theater to allow for unusual perspectives on our reality.

For example, Haug/Kaegi/Wetzel have declared a Daimler Shareholder Meeting to be a piece of theater, or staged 100 % Stadt (100 % City) with 100 statistically representative residents of cities like Berlin, Zurich, London, Melbourne, Copenhagen, or San Diego. In Berlin and Dresden, they developed accessible Stasi installations/sound plays. At the moment, they are touring with Nigerian-European business people (*Lagos Business Angels*), the paraplegic MC Hallwachs (*Qualitätskontrolle* (Haug/Wetzel), or setting cities to music for hordes of spectators with 50 headphones (*Remote X* (Kaegi)).

They have been awarded the NRW Impulse Preis for *Shooting Bourbaki* (2003); *Deadline* (2004) and *Wallenstein – eine dokumentarische Inszenierung* (2006) were invited to the Berliner Theatertreffen. *Mnemopark* was awarded the Jury Prize at the festival “Politik im freien Theater” in Berlin in 2005, and in 2007 *Karl Marx: Das Kapital. Erster Band* won both the audience prize at Festival Stücke07 and the Mülheimer Dramatiker Preis that same year.

In November 2006, they were awarded a special prize at the Deutscher Theaterpreis Der Faust, in April 2008 they were awarded the European Theatre Prize for the category “new realities.” In 2008, they were awarded the Hörspielpreis der Kriegsblinden for *Karl Marx: Das Kapital, Erster Band* (*Peymannbeschimpfung* was also nominated). 2011 they were awarded the Silver Lion of the 41th biennale of Venice, established to honour new theatrical realities.

Since 2004, Rimini Protocol established their headquarters in Berlin with a production office in Hebbel am Ufer.

The spatial scenarios of the set designer and theatre impresario **Dominic Huber**, born in 1972, open up new zones for the performing arts. His preferred performance venues are spaces which can be observed not only from the auditorium, but which can be entered and experienced by individuals or entire groups. Following the precepts of “augmented reality,” they aim to expand sensual perception and the perception of reality. Real spaces, situations or facts are purposefully complemented, activated, manipulated or modified through artistic intervention. The viewer engages actively with surprising characteristics of his surroundings, exploring them.

After studying architecture at the ETH Zurich, Dominic Huber founded the company blendwerk GmbH together with Christa Wenger. Productions in Zurich, Berlin, Aachen, Brussels, Lausanne, Basel and other cities followed. Together with Bernhard Mikeska (mikeska:plus:blendwerk) Huber designed a series of installational theatre projects, for example *Rashomon: Truth lies next door*, *Marienbad: coming soon* and *Je t’aime : Je t’aime* at the Frankfurt Schauspiel. As a stage designer, he collaborates with renowned theatre personalities like Peter Licht, Stefan Kaegi, Lola Arias and Sebastian Nübling.

In 2009 Huber received the Workshop Stipend of the City of Zurich. His theatre installation *Hotel Savoy* was produced at the Goethe Institute New York on 5th Avenue in 2010. This was followed by his own projects: *Hotel Savoy* as a four-storey installation at Berlin’s HAU1 as well as *Warten auf die Barbaren* in Zurich, Basel and Berlin. *Prime Time*, an installation in a residential building involving real inhabitants, was shown as part of the festival *Ciudades Paralelas* in Zurich, Berlin, Buenos Aires and Warsaw.

**Chris Kondek**, born in Boston in 1962, first experimented with video on the New York theatre scene during the mid-1980s. His first regular cooperation began with the Wooster Group in 1989, when he worked on the production *Brace up!*, an adaptation of Chekhov's *Three Sisters*, followed by *The Emperor Jones* and *Fish Story*. Initially, he was listed as a 'lighting designer' – the term 'video artist' had not been established yet. During the 1990s he worked for Robert Wilson and Michael Nyman. Laurie Anderson, a progressive artist with previous experience in the area of video technology, hired him to work on her multimedia concert *The Nerve Bible* in 1995 and for the opera *Songs and Stories from Moby Dick* in 1998.

In 1999 Kondek moved to Berlin, where he was involved in three productions at the Berliner Volksbühne in 2000/01; under the direction of René Pollesch, various films were staged within one season. Further projects with renowned directors followed, with Kondek's video work for the choreographer Meg Stuart first attracting the attention of the critics. From 2003 onwards, he has worked regularly with Stefan Pucher, in whose productions video plays an important role. *Othello* was invited to the Berlin Theatre Meeting in 2005, as was *The Tempest* three years later.

At the same time, Kondek explored the directorial challenge of staging virtual stock-market transactions and laws of the financial markets. His production *Dead Cat Bounce*, which features speculation with the audience's admission fees during the performance itself, won two prizes at the 6th German Theatre Festival 'Politics in the Free Theatre Scene' (the prize of the ZDF Theatre Channel and the prize of the Goethe Institute). The piece has been invited to numerous guest performances in Germany and abroad.

In 2011 Kondek's production *Money – It came from outer space* received the Goethe Institute prize at the 8th Festival "Politics in the Free Theatre Scene".





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