



NOME

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SAMIZDATA  
EVIDENCE OF CONSPIRACY  
JACOB APPELBAUM  
11<sup>TH</sup> SEP - 31<sup>TH</sup> OCT  
CURATED BY TATIANA BAZZICHELLI

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**SAMIZDATA:  
HUMAN P2P NETWORKS AS  
ARTISTIC EVIDENCE**  
BY TATIANA BAZZICHELLI

Within the framework of my research on the concept of networked art, I've written that art is not merely to be identified with the artistic object itself, but through the nets of relationships and connections that happen before, during and after the realization of the artwork. What we experience in Jacob Appelbaum's exhibition *SAMIZDATA: Evidence of Conspiracy* are six cibachrome prints, portraying people whose work and life he admires and with whom he has worked together in various forms, and two installation projects on the Snowden files and related classified documents. But beneath the final artistic result lies a deep network of connections - invisible in the gallery space, but at the core of this show.

The title of the exhibition exemplifies it well: "Samizdata", inspired by the Russian *samizdat*, which etymologically derives from *sam*, "self", "by oneself" and *izdat*, an abbreviation of "publishing house", may be translated as "self-published". *Samizdat* began to spread as a grassroots network practice in the Soviet Union during the late fifties, as DIY-produced documents and publications were passed hand-to-hand to circumvent censorship — under threat of heavy punishment. If we apply this concept to the current debate on whistleblowing and to the strategy of leaking sensitive information, attention should also be focused on the networks of people who made the reporting of misconduct and exposure of crimes possible, and who are often under the radar.

In this exhibition, these connections are exemplified by networks of friendship, of relationship, and of grassroots collaboration between trusted people who share passions,

ideals and political views. The focal point in my conversations with Jacob Appelbaum leading up to this exhibition was not in identifying the show as a celebration of the Snowden affair, but of the people who made it possible — Bill Binney, Laura Poitras, Glenn Greenwald (with David Miranda), Julian Assange and Sarah Harrison — as well as others connected with the fight for social justice and civil liberty, as in the case of Ai Weiwei, who is also connected to Appelbaum through their *P2P* (Panda-to-Panda) project.

It was a combination of events and actions culminating in the Snowden affair that brought this group of people together — people not chosen by Snowden himself, but who, as he has described when referring to Laura Poitras, "chose themselves". Reflecting on the meaning of these words, and observing the photos and the installations in the show, a network of people emerges, interconnected through personal and working threads, which made a powerful geopolitical impact in the fight against mass surveillance and the advocacy of freedom of speech. In addition, their portraits are part of a gift culture and of peer-to-peer human networks, in their essence, private expressions of respect and admiration not initially conceived for exhibition or display. They were shot using expired Kodak EIR film, and given as gifts only to people who Appelbaum considers special because of what they have done and what they represent. The color infrared photography — previously used to expose hidden details during aerial surveillance — is metaphorically connected to the subjects of the portraits, people under surveillance who have themselves exposed geopolitical misconduct and wrongdoing. In Jacob Appelbaum's photos, we can without

a doubt see that the medium and the message are intimately connected.

The installation *P2P* (Panda-to-Panda) — “panda” also being a slang term for the Chinese secret police — is yet another part of the interconnected network of artistic evidence, containing Snowden materials and other classified documents. In this context, the collaboration with artist and dissident Ai Weiwei creates a peer-to-peer network that is not technological, but human, a network of people receiving the pandas because of their part in the fight for civil justice, “ensuring that the Snowden documents become truth cemented in cultural critique”, as Appelbaum suggested during one of our conversations.

Alongside, the project *Schuld, Scham & Angst* (Guilt, Shame & Fear), created specifically for this show, presents necklaces filled with shredded documents generated during the last several years of reporting on the Snowden files. The as yet undisclosed documents are mixed with journalistic notes and other published classified documents, giving the exhibition’s audience the possibility to carry a piece of evidence — evidence which, though shredded, can never be erased from history.

This exhibition, just as the Snowden Affair itself, is the result of a network, bringing many people together, working for a common project. Going beyond the usual categories of curator and artist, I decided to follow the methodology I usually apply when working as a researcher and “networker”, myself entering into the network configuration which the

show represents; to avoid defining it from above, but instead through a dialogue with the artist, in which the artist presents it according to his personal threads.

As will become clear in the following interview, this dialogical act is expanded through the visitors of the show, who will experience other threads of understanding. This is perhaps one of the goals of this show, to transform the practices of whistleblowing and the fight for social justice into something concrete — something that everyone can embody, beyond the creation of a few heroes and political stars. Because at the core of a few very remarkable actions are passions and the belief of common people who decide to make a difference in their everyday lives.

Tatiana Bazzichelli is a curator, networker and researcher, author of the books *Networked Disruption* (2013), *Networking* (2008), and co-editor of the book *Disrupting Business* (2013). She is Artistic Director of the Disruption Network Lab, an ongoing conference series on art, hacktivism, and disruption at Kunstquartier Bethanien in Berlin. She was program curator at the transmediale festival from 2011 to 2014, initiating the year-round reSource transmedial culture project, and was a postdoctoral researcher at the Centre for Digital Cultures, Leuphana University of Lüneburg. [www.disruptionlab.org](http://www.disruptionlab.org)

INTERVIEW WITH JACOB APPELBAUM.  
AUGUST 18, 2015  
BY TATIANA BAZZICHELLI

Let's speak about the title of the exhibition: *SAMIZDATA. Evidence of Conspiracy*. It is a piece of evidence of a specific moment in time. How would you describe it?

The exhibition is a documentation over a period of many years of different people who worked uncovering very specific truths that were previously hidden or unbelievable, and who worked to adapt that information into international culture — from journalism of all stripes, to film, to literature to art.

*Samizdat* is a Russian concept, an idea that represents information that is illegal and not possible for someone to easily acquire. *The Gulag Archipelago* by Solzhenitsyn was a core example of this in Russia, where you had to read, copy, or share it yourself, leave it in public places and risk being arrested for possession.

In this respect, WikiLeaks' data and the Snowden files can be said to be "samizdata". It is about information that people get in trouble for and risk legal consequences for sharing, talking about, and reporting on. If we look to whistleblowers, like the alleged whistleblower Chelsea Manning, we see that the punishment continues for having an expired tube of toothpaste, potentially resulting in indefinite detention long after her draconian sentence has been handed down. The alleged original crime is the sharing of information about war crimes. In re-purposing and re-sharing that, anyone who has touched it becomes tainted. So "samizdata" is in a sense the 21st century version of *samizdat*. I did not invent this word of course, it is a word that many people have talked about and I feel that it fits. *The Evidence of Conspiracy* as a subtitle is not to say that these photos are evidence of a conspiracy, where all of these people were working together. These people revealed evidence of conspiracies, stories that seemed like conspiracy theories, but were actually happening.

Could you tell us more about infrared photography and the cibachrome technique and the use of these as a critique of the progressive loss of liberty?

In the exhibition there are six prints, a portrait of Laura Poitras, Glenn Greenwald and David Miranda (together in the photograph), Julian Assange, Sarah Harrison, Bill Binney and Ai Weiwei. These are cibachrome prints, a fully analogue positive slide printing technique. The photos are shot with color infrared film, which is an expired aerial surveillance film that is cross-processed. This produces slides that have a little more information than you might otherwise have, and a little less information in other ways. The surveillance film is really interesting as a medium, because it is sensitive in the ultraviolet, and it is very sensitive in the near infrared and far infrared parts of the spectrum. This brings out tones, veins and structures in a way that helps us see things very differently.

From the perspective of the subject matter, that is, the people themselves and their critique of surveillance and the loss of liberty, I think it is beautiful irony and conceptually strong to use surveillance film to critique surveillance culture. In a world of digital surveillance, re-purposing analogue aerial agricultural surveillance film for the portraiture of people who are exposed to and who work to expose surveillance seemed the appropriate medium. As I mentioned, the technique of color infrared literally allows you to see sometimes through people's skin, it is a technique that enhances things that are subtle or unseen, to become revealed by the actual film itself. If you would take a portrait of your hand for example, you would in fact see veins more clearly. It is a very sensitive film and cibachrome is a very sensitive printing process with a very fragile but brilliant result.

I have been using this film for portraiture for some time. Only one of the photographs in this show was created for the show,

and that is the picture of Sarah Harrison. I had taken the other photos while working with each subject. The cibachrome printing was undertaken for the show, but color infrared film is something that I have worked with for many years. Kodak ceased production on this film years ago. There is essentially one person who buys old stock of this film and cuts it down to something smaller and then resells it again. I bought a bunch of this film, but it is rare, so I use it just to take a few pictures of a few people, and I don't waste it. Cibachrome printing became very rare as well; we produced the prints with one of the last photolabs in the world still offering this technique — we wanted to keep the process analogue, with respect to the film.

**The exhibition is part of a networked process that goes beyond the single case of the Snowden affair, focusing instead more broadly on strategies of transparency and the struggle for universal human rights and social justice. Can you explain this more deeply?**

What we see with Sarah Harrison being featured here, for example, is not just that she is an investigative journalist, but also a person who helped Snowden to exercise his fundamental right to seek and find asylum. If we look at these pictures we see that Bill Binney is a person who, having nothing at all to do with the Snowden affair, has uncovered and shown and spoken out about abuses that were taking place long before Snowden, that are very similar. In fact, some of the things that he discussed and talked about were of course facts that have been confirmed by the Snowden documents. The same is true with Julian Assange, Laura Poitras and Glenn Greenwald. These are people who have been working on uncovering issues of importance especially with regard to human rights and dignity for much longer than the world has known about Edward Snowden.

**The protagonists of your portraits are considered legitimate targets and are working to uncover misconduct of governments and organizations. What is the story they narrate in the show?**

These pictures are portraying regular people doing good things, and I deeply respect the good things that they are doing. If there is any story, it is the story of regular people,

normal people, working toward things that they love and making a very positive impact on the world. If you look at the personal histories of each of these people, you see that they have pretty incredible and interesting lives. They work toward what I think are pretty good moral and generally expressive forms of living. They have contributed to a cultural shift on issues of mass surveillance. Glenn Greenwald, for example, has contributed writing about issues of civil liberties, to document and to uncover what was actually happening in our everyday lives. Bill Binney is another example of just a regular person who saw things that he felt were wrong and who, at great personal expense, spoke out. This is true for each of the people in the show. I am very lucky to have been able to cross paths with these people in my life and to be able to photograph them. To give them these artistic gifts is the primary reason why I take photographs of most people, to honor them for what they have done.

**The exhibition is also the evidence of a process of networked art, and this is based on your personal connections. Why did you select these people in particular among your portfolio of photos?**

I feel like these people fit together well. There are many people who have done interesting things that would also fit into this show. There are lots of whistleblowers who are unknown or not as well known. There are many other people who are less vocal or not as well recognized and I think that is good to show all of that, but I think that these six photographs represent six different focal points, different types of people doing different types of work, and I felt that each of these people really represents something good along those lines. Sarah Harrison is not just a journalist, she is also a person who has knowledge about international legal issues and is extremely well traveled, and as a result is very well suited to help someone to seek and receive asylum which is their right. Julian Assange is much the same, he has his own set of skills, and the same is true for Laura Poitras and for each person in this show.

**This show is not about Snowden, but most of the people in the show are connected with the Snowden affair. Would you say it is rather a show related to the practice of whistleblowing as a form of social justice?**

In the show there are many different parallel threads that exist at the same time. There are people who are part of WikiLeaks, and there are people who are part of the Snowden affair. If you have learned about mass surveillance from Edward Snowden, then Sarah Harrison and Julian Assange and Bill Binney and Ai Weiwei won't make any sense; only Laura Poitras and Glenn Greenwald would make sense. If you have known about WikiLeaks you might see Glenn and Laura as deviating from the normal WikiLeaks narrative that some people think exists, about full documents as opposed to redacted documents. If you have been listening to Bill Binney you would see these people as the people who went outside of the normal lines of communication, where Bill followed every single step about how to blow the whistle and then was effectively silenced and people tried to harm him for speaking the truth. You would see similar criticisms and praise also of Weiwei or of David Miranda. Every person who sees this will see different threads, and these threads come together to form a tapestry of a whole bunch of tactics and a number of strategies.

**The installations in the show are another piece within the framework of "art as evidence", but they hide documents instead of making them transparent. If infrared film is used for the photos to reveal evidence and to expose details that cannot be normally seen, how do you connect the various pieces together?**

The documents that are shredded inside the pandas (*P2P*) help to contextualize what would otherwise be inaccessible information that people may be more interested in acquiring. This is a very different way of reaching people who are maybe not as interested in the dialogue but are absolutely interested in a cute panda bear. The name for the necklace pieces, the second installation, translated into English would be "guilt, shame and fear". Some people are purely afraid so they shred the documents thinking that if they tell the story they can just get away with telling this much of the story, but if they tell that much then surely that will be the thing that gets them arrested. Fear is not my primary motivator, and I feel extreme guilt and shame in fact for having to shred documents. I think almost every document I have ever read or have ever reported on should have been released to the public in full. Should we really redact names of people who commit criminal acts

simply because they're part of a powerful group? No. There is a great deal of shame and guilt for knowing those things and not being able to show every last bit of them. That is the cost of what has transpired at least with some of the Snowden reporting. It does not have to be that way and investigative journalism suggests that there could be another way where we could show all of the source documents. But this requires that people are willing to get over their guilt, and their fear, which they are not always willing to do. The installation re-contextualizes someone else's guilt, shame and fear into a beautiful piece of jewelry. Any journalists who see it will see that we have failed; that is a measure of our own failure.

The point of the *P2P* (Panda-to-Panda) installation is that people participate in a literal human network of smuggling of information that is the "Samizdat/Samizdat". These pandas were smuggled out of Beijing and they traveled around the world: there was one sent to Moscow, for Ed (Snowden). Julian (Assange) has one in the Ecuadorian embassy, other people have them in New York and Canada, they are here in Germany, they have traveled through a number of different places, so in this sense the point is about connecting people to take specific actions, to feel included in that. The installations are participatory pieces of art that include more people in the process.

**The discourse on transparency vs. privacy and safety is a really sensitive one. In the case of the Snowden files, how is it possible to guarantee transparency while also protecting the sources? How can this dialectic be solved to empower people politically beyond fear of surveillance and repression?**

I think that you can't guarantee transparency, actually. In the case of the Snowden files the goal has been to continuously release and to push back on narratives about what has actually been done. This gives people the opportunity to explain themselves, and often when they have been given this opportunity, they have lied. For example, they have lied in claiming they are not carrying out surveillance on cell phones and on people, but last week we saw that AT&T and other phone providers are again shown to be major collaborators. It seems that transparency is an aspect of this, but the main thing has been to increase the pressure and to bring out very

specific truths in a timely manner. It has also been to convince people of the correctness of some of the claims that have been made by Snowden and other people. The sources were not protected at all by the laws of the so-called liberal Western democracies. Shamefully for Western Europe, Eastern Europe, North America, South America, Africa, Asia, it is Russia that offered a place for Snowden to be safe. The protection of the source was in fact only provided by WikiLeaks, which assisted him in seeking and receiving asylum. I think that this is really sad and the disastrous consequence of a number of serious mistakes that the United States has made by waging such a war on whistleblowers. When you look at what has happened to Thomas Drake, Bill Binney, Jesselyn Radack, Kirk Wiebe and Ed Loomis, you see people whose lives have been utterly destroyed by trying to go through the normal protocols. The American system in particular seems to be very brutal towards people inside the so-called intelligence community, which is not so much of a community if you ask me. There is a reason that source protection had to be provided, and it was provided by a State that was not as directly affected.

The geopolitical nature obviously played into the fact that Snowden was given asylum, but I think it is important to understand that he has the right to seek and to receive asylum, and all of Europe failed except for Moscow. Only Russia gave it to him, and that is a great shame to the rest of us and specially to the Americans who have things like Guantanamo Bay or Barrett Brown in jail, or Chelsea Manning in prison for 35 years.

There are different kinds of people in this world: people who are able to go beyond their fear and do courageous things, and people who are not interested in doing that. It is important to understand that courage is not an absence of fear; it is taking action despite fear. Each of the people featured in this show made a positive difference. They probably failed many times before they became well known for having succeeded once.

**You have done many things in your life, as security analyst, hacktivist, investigative journalist, and now we are presenting you as an artist. In a sense, you were already an artist before, assuming that art is a networked process functional to the acquisition of more awareness.**

## **Which subjects are you interested in bringing into the art world?**

I am particularly interested in bringing utility into the art world. For example, Trevor Paglen and I have been working on a series of art pieces. One of them is called the *Autonomy Cube*, a sculpture in the Hans Haacke post minimalist tradition. This cube contains something that gives you autonomy: it gives you a copy of the Tor program, it gives you access to the Tor network, it allows you to connect through the Tor network, and it is also a node in the Tor network. This means that installing this piece in your museum turns it into a fundamental part of the infrastructure of the 21st century for free speech and autonomy. It is a kind of art that I feel particularly interested in sharing with the world, and in contributing to as an artist. It allows art institutions to actually be part of a worldwide network of things such as opening up lines of communication, securing people's fundamental right to anonymity, to free speech and thus to human rights.

In the case of the *Autonomy Cube* in particular, having the institutions be part of your literal every day use of the Internet, to provide freedom of expression and free speech, is very powerful. The more we can contextualize fundamental liberties into cultural objects, we will further them. When the police, for example, might like to seize something like a Tor relay because they think someone has done something wrong, it is an interesting fact that they would have to break into an art museum and steal a piece of art and destroy it. So, forcing them to do that in the open is part of the reason to have that as an art piece in a museum. If they do so, they have to pay the price of having gone into a museum and destroying it, or taking it offline in some way.

Art can challenge the security economics of surveillance. It is not necessarily against surveillance; it is rather for the freedom and the right to connect to each other, and to do so in a secure way. It is not someone's right to spy on me, but it is my right to have private correspondence. When we create art as an actual experience for people, it is very powerful. Obviously it remains to be seen how this will play out.

## SAMIZDATA: EVIDENCE OF CONSPIRACY BY KATE YOUNG

*Samizdata: Evidence of Conspiracy*, an exhibition by Berlin-based technologist and artist Jacob Appelbaum, is a series of color infrared portraits displayed as large scale cibachrome prints at NOME Gallery. They document preeminent advocates of truth, liberty, political transparency, civic engagement and personal privacy working in a world of disclosed corporate and government surveillance.

Historically, color infrared film was developed for military aerial surveillance, specifically for visualizing camouflaged targets. While the human eye cannot adequately separate a target wearing camouflage in a forest, color infrared technology can. The film detects chlorophyll in live foliage rendering it magenta or red. A green camouflage fabric does not have the same affect as live vegetation, making the target pop out against its surroundings. Technically, the film registers non-visible spectra of light. Qualities unseen to the human eye become detectable using this film, having both scientific and unique creative outcomes.

The photographs in this series are a selection from a large ongoing body of work that spans a decade of shooting color infrared portraits of Appelbaum's comrades. Over time, the irony and the parallels of shooting with this film became more and more clear-cut as he and his subjects started to shed light on the unknown world of mass surveillance, specifically with WikiLeaks and the Snowden disclosures. He has effectively reclaimed the original intent of this medium, turning it back on its initial purpose with a critical gaze.

Appelbaum is also a core member of the Tor Project, which develops and disperses a free software allowing for online anonymity. His involvement with Tor over the past decade places him at the front lines as a defender of privacy by opposing surveillance and providing alternatives. Organically, his art practice started to mirror his dedication to fighting for liberty by photographing people who work toward the same goal.

The portraits are historical documentation of people who are unified in their experience of being targets of harassment and surveillance because of their instrumental roles in bringing awareness to government and corporate corruption.

Determined to create a body of work using an entirely analogue process, Appelbaum decided upon making cibachrome prints, utilizing one of the last remaining cibachrome printers in the world for this series. In the tradition of *samizdat*, a movement of distributing censored documents by Russian dissidents during the Cold War era, distinction through physical form is key in identifying the document you wish to reveal to the world. Using the cibachrome process to make his prints distinguishes them from other papers used in traditional and digital printing. Cibachrome's color comes from an embedded dye layer already resting in the emulsion. Dye layers are broken down during a bleaching process, which in turn reveals the respective color. The prints appear to have physical depth and dimension that can be lost with other printing processes.

In this exhibition, Appelbaum will also be displaying works that contain shredded documents leaked by Snowden. This will include his sculptural collaboration with Ai Weiwei, *P2P* (Panda-2-Panda), which was presented earlier this year for Rhizome and the New Museum in New York. A limited edition necklace titled *Schuld, Scham & Angst* will also be included. The necklaces will be filled with unreleased, shredded documents used in his journalistic process.

A R T W O R K S

*GLENN GREENWALD & DAVID MIRANDA, SÃO PAULO, 2012*

Jacob Appelbaum  
Cibachrome print, 76,2cm/101,6cm



*LAURA POITRAS, BERLIN, 2013*

Jacob Appelbaum  
Cibachrome print, 76,2cm/101,6cm



*JULIAN ASSANGE, (UNDISCLOSED LOCATION  
NEAR BAIL MANSION OUTSIDE OF) LONDON, 2012*

Jacob Appelbaum  
Cibachrome print, 101,6cm/76,2



*SARAH HARRISON, BERLIN, 2015*

Jacob Appelbaum  
Cibachrome print, 76,2cm/101,6cm



*WILLIAM BINNEY, BERLIN, 2014*

Jacob Appelbaum  
Cibachrome print, 76,2cm/101,6cm



*AI WEIWEI, BEIJING, 2015*

Jacob Appelbaum  
Cibachrome print, 101,6cm/76,2cm



*P2P (PANDA-TO-PANDA), BEIJING, 2015*

Jacob Appelbaum and Ai Weiwei  
mixed media including shredded classified documents, 45cm, 25cm and 20cm  
Project commissioned by Rhizome and the New Museum in New York



*SCHULD, SCHAM & ANGST (BERLIN), 2015*

Jacob Appelbaum in collaboration with Manuela Benetton,  
Berit Gilma and Lusi Tornado.

Mixed media including shredded journalistic notes and classified documents















## JACOB APPELBAUM

Jacob Appelbaum is a post national independent computer security researcher, journalist and artist.

He lives and works in Berlin.

Photography by Kate Young



*Caonima*

*Kerji*

*@ aiww*

*Apelbaum*





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This show is dedicated to all of our comrades: free, underground, jailed, exiled, and buried. Solidarity and respect.

A project by **Jacob Appelbaum**  
Curated by **Tatiana Bazzichelli**

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