<u>**4. NARRATIVE**</u>

A.) Summary of the Request

Overview The Center for History and New Media (CHNM) at George Mason University (GMU), a nationally recognized center that combines cutting edge digital media with the latest and best historical scholarship to promote an inclusive and democratic understanding of the past as well as a broad historical literacy, is requesting $297,968 to create a premier bi-lingual Russian-English interactive web-based exhibit: *Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives*. The web exhibit will provide an innovative, multifaceted consideration of the human struggle for survival in the Gulag, the brutal and often lethal Soviet system of forced labor concentration camps and internal exile. The Gulag was an inhuman system that consumed millions of lives, and the web exhibit will reveal that stark brutality while engaging the public to think about the diversity of the Gulag experience, the ethical quandaries of survival in extreme situations, and the difficulties entailed in overcoming the legacy of past injustice.

Prior to the opening of secret Soviet archives in the late 1980s, historians believed the Gulag operated largely as a system of death camps. While the Gulag was a place of mass death, perhaps the most important revelation of the archival era has been the discovery that no less than 20 percent of the camp population was released every year. The web exhibit will explore the struggle of Gulag prisoners to be among that group of survivors. A great diversity marked the struggle to survive the Gulag. Drawing on the latest scholarship about the Gulag and playing off Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's famous Gulag novella, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, the web exhibit will show how there were many different days for many different Ivans (and Bohdans, Katias, and Alibeks). The Gulag was neither a single unified experience nor a single institution. The Gulag was comprised of a wide variety of forms of detention—all harsh but not uniformly so—and held a wide array of prisoners, both political prisoners and regular criminals of different nationalities and genders with different life experiences. Soviet authorities sought constantly to pigeonhole their prisoners into categories based on these elements of their identity, and an individual prisoner's Gulag experience and even his or her chance for survival depended heavily upon those categories. Ivan Denisovich was just one prisoner in one location at one time. The web exhibit will open up the variety of experiences of the Gulag in ways that will be compelling to a general audience while grounded in the latest historical scholarship.

The web exhibit will provide an engaging multimedia experience and will break free of the limiting format of simple narrative to allow the visitor to explore Gulag history in a variety of directions and at a variety of levels. The web visitor will be able to follow the history of the Gulag chronologically and thematically, all the while being drawn into the Gulag experience through the struggle for survival of well-chosen individual prisoners whose life stories reveal the complexity, diversity, and difficulty of survival in this extreme institution. This approach will engage visitors in the deeply human story of struggle and resistance that give this history a universal appeal. In addition to the narrative of the history of the Gulag, the site will incorporate a rich database of other archival resources, including Gulag artifacts, photographs, prisoner artwork, video, audio, Quick Time Virtual Reality panorama displays, and other materials. For those resources we will benefit from our close alliance with the Gulag Museum in Perm, Russia. Additional material for those wishing to explore the subject further will include streaming video of the October 2006 scholarly conference being held at Harvard University on the history and legacy of the Gulag, an annotated bibliography, and Gulag-related curricular materials. A prototype of the website is available at http://gulaghistory.org (username: "neh" and password: "gulag"). The total project budget is $597,208, which includes more than 50 percent in cost sharing from GMU and the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University.

B.) Introduction: Discussion of the Historical Subject, Interpretive Approach, Humanities Themes, Scholarship and Public Engagement

1. Discussion of the Historical Subject: Many people know Solzhenitsyn's famous story *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. The novella traces one typical day in the ten-year sentence of Gulag inmate Ivan Denisovich Shukhov. He wakes in a frigid barrack inside a heavily guarded camp zone. Ever-present guards count and recount the prisoners throughout the day. He marches to work under armed guard only to arrive at a work site that with its barbed wire and watchtowers looks little different from a camp zone. Guards watch over prisoners throughout the working day before escorting them back to the camp zone, where the prisoners are all frisked prior to reentering the camp. Many Gulag prisoners experienced many days just like Ivan Denisovich's *One Day,* but one novel, no matter how powerful, cannot embrace the full story of the Gulag or the diverse lives of its prisoners.

On the night of November 1, 1937, a twenty-one year old Moscow librarian, Militsa Stefanskaia was arrested for alleged "counterrevolutionary activity." Her story is all at once familiar and unexpected. While several hundred thousand of her fellow arrestees in that fateful year were executed, hundreds of thousands of others were sentenced to Gulag camps. In Stefanskaia's case, seven months' imprisonment and interrogation resulted in a three-year sentence in Gulag forced labor camps. Yet for Stefanskaia, internment in a camp did not mean living behind barbed wire in a heavily guarded camp zone. After her spring 1938 arrival at the large agricultural forced labor camp, Karlag, located deep in the Kazakh steppe, she found herself living a relatively unguarded life. This was not that unusual at Karlag, a camp dedicated to extracting agricultural products from a semi-desert larger than many European countries. Many Karlag prisoners lived as modern nomads, traveling the far-flung corners of the camp's steppe with their herds of migratory grazing livestock. These prisoners lived without barbed wire or barracks and often even without guard—practices by no means unique to Karlag.

Soon after her arrival, Militsa Stefanskaia got a job with the camp veterinarian, which allowed her to live at the camp veterinary station. She was free to move about the camp's territory at will to care for ill sheep. She could not, of course, stray from the camp environs, but her experience is far from that of Solzhenitsyn's Ivan Denisovich who was constantly under the eyes of armed guards. Later, she left the veterinary service and went to work on one of the camp's dairy farms, where she met and fell in love with a fellow prisoner, Igor Frolov, who used his contacts to set him and Stefanskaia up in their own residence near one of Karlag's remote lakes. The two managed to live together for quite some time, as Karlag authorities thought little out of the ordinary when seeing a male and female prisoner moving about freely through the camp's territory. Eventually, Stefanskaia even became pregnant, gave birth to a son and was released from the camp.

Militsa Stefanskaia's story is not unique in Gulag history. Prisoners constantly sought to acquire their own space to live in the camps, and in doing so to avoid the degradation and the loss of self that many identified as the first sign of failure to survive the Gulag. In love, Stefanskaia found her sense of self, her key to survival. Different prisoners found different ways to survive based on their own identities, life experiences, and location in the Gulag. Many, of course, did not survive at all. Yet, Stefanskaia's story reflects the great diversity of life and of that struggle to survive in the Gulag.

This web exhibit will draw on many such life (and death) stories. Through such individual stories, the visitor will be exposed to the multiple ways in which people experienced the Gulag and the difficult moral questions that arise when your struggle for survival directly impinges on another prisoner's chances to live.

a. What was the Gulag? The term is an acronym for the Soviet bureaucratic institution, *Glavnoe upravlenie ispravitel'no-trudovykh lagerei* (Main Administration of Corrective Labor Camps), tasked

with oversight of the Soviet forced labor concentration camp and internal exile system. But "Gulag" has come to represent the entire Soviet penal system throughout the period 1917-1991. Often understood incorrectly as a system only for political prisoners, the Gulag served more generally holding millions of people convicted of various political and non-political crimes in a myriad of different types of prisons, concentration camps, and internal exile.

b. The Institutions and Scope of the Gulag: One key element in the quest to survive the Gulag was the type and location of the institution in which prisoners spent their sentence. Gulag prisons primarily served as the place of detention for those under investigation. For most Gulag prisoners, an interrogation prison was the first stop before transfer to a forced labor camp. Only a small portion of Gulag inmates, usually those deemed too dangerous or too famous to be placed in regular forced labor camps, actually served their sentence in prisons. Surviving a Gulag prison meant primarily avoiding the passage of a death sentence—something over which prisoners rarely had control.

The Gulag included a great variety of forced labor concentration camps—"corrective labor camps and colonies" in official Soviet parlance. This was the primary place of detention for nearly all who had been individually convicted of an alleged crime. Many prisoners lived in a camp zone surrounded by a fence or barbed wire, overlooked by manned watchtowers and containing a number of overcrowded, poorly heated barracks. During non-working hours, they were usually relatively free to move about the camp zone. However, not all forced labor camp prisoners lived in the typical camp zone. Many lived a relatively unguarded existence in outposts on the Kazakh steppe or in the frozen Siberian countryside. Others lived in especially strict regime camps with locked barracks, barred windows, and heavily restricted and guarded movements within the camp zone. The largest Soviet concentration camps, and consequently the largest number of prisoners, sat at the geographic extremes of the Soviet Union, though camps existed in virtually every part of the Soviet Union. Some of the most famous Gulag camp locales—Kolyma, Vorkuta, Noril'sk, Solovki, and Karaganda—struck fear into prisoners much like the more famous place names of the Nazi camp system. The more oppressive and controlled the conditions of one's camp and the more remote geographically, the less chance the prisoner had to survive.

The system of internal exile was used mostly for large groups of people condemned not for particular "crimes" but for membership in a suspect group sometimes defined by class—as with the so-called "rich" peasants (kulaks) deported during the early 1930s drive to collectivize agriculture—and sometimes including entire nationalities, such as the Soviet Germans, Chechens, Crimean Tatars, and others deported en masse before and during World War II. Exile typically required that a person live within a fixed region deep in Siberia or Central Asia. Exiles had to report periodically to the local secret police, and leaving the region of exile without permission was treated as escape and subject to very stiff penalties. The highest death rates among exiles usually occurred during and immediately after forced deportation. After exile communities had built the necessary infrastructure of survival in their new homes, they lived quite similar to other local Soviet populations in remote regions.

The Gulag was a mass, social institution. Before the opening of the archives in the late Soviet and post-Soviet eras, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Robert Conquest, and others speculated that the Gulag's population was in the tens of millions. We now know with a degree of accuracy that the total population of prisons, camps and exile reached a maximum in the early 1950s just before Stalin's death of 5.2 million people. Throughout its history, some 18 million people passed through the prisons and camps of the Gulag, and perhaps another 6 or 7 million were subject to internal exile. Though these numbers are smaller than once thought, they still bespeak a massive institution that touched all parts of Soviet society.

We have also learned much about the makeup of the prisoner population since the archives have opened. Whereas our near exclusive reliance on memoirs from political prisoners once gave us the impression that they dominated the Gulag, we now know that most prisoners were not politicals. On the one hand, this

meant that many Gulag prisoners were like prisoners in any country. The Gulag held the Soviet Union's robbers, rapists, murderers, and thieves. But, the Gulag was more than that. Not only did it hold political prisoners—a group that included not only real opponents of the Soviet regime, but also those only thought to be potential opponents, or even fully loyal Soviet citizens caught up merely for telling a joke about Stalin or simply denounced by a jealous neighbor—the Gulag was also filled with millions of other victims of arbitrary and draconian legal campaigns under which petty theft or unexcused absences from work were punished by many years in concentration camps.

c. The Functions of the Gulag: The Gulag was simultaneously a detention system, a forced labor system, and a penal system participating in a radically utopian drive to build a "socialist" society. These various functions sometimes competed with and sometimes complemented one another.

First, the Gulag was a system of detention aimed to isolate those deemed unfit for or dangerous to Soviet society. In this respect, it mirrored detention institutions in any country, even if the ways of defining the "unfit" differed. Soviet leaders frequently spoke of the Gulag system as a prophylactic measure aimed at protecting society from criminals, class enemies, and enemies of the people. Often, however, this role as detention system was undercut by another function of the Gulag; its role as a system of forced labor. Much of the diversity of Gulag institutions can be understood as an outcome of its economic roles.

All able-bodied Gulag inmates (and many who were not really able) had to work, and this massive system actively participated in the Soviet economy and the opening of new and remote regions to economic exploitation. Gulag inmates mined gold, copper and coal; built cities, railroads, canals and highways; felled trees and operated vast agricultural enterprises. The first wave of Gulag scholars (and even some who write today) saw the Gulag primarily as a slave labor system. In this story, the Gulag arose and expanded primarily as a result of Stalin's crash industrialization policies, which created a need for a labor force in the geographic extremes of the Soviet Union. Recent scholarship, however, has revealed the economic inefficiency of Gulag labor. Current estimates rate the average Gulag laborer as perhaps 50 percent less productive than the average free laborer. This reduction in efficiency more than offset any "savings" associated with not paying wages to prisoners and made the Gulag a financial burden to the Soviet state.

Initially, however, Gulag masters believed that they were using essentially "free" labor. Consequently, Soviet economic planners utilized Gulag laborers on a variety of projects that ultimately proved to have little or no economic value. While the Gulag's employees strove constantly to make their system more economically productive, new evidence suggests that economic motivation was not the primary explanation for the growth of the Gulag. Arrests occurred chaotically and inefficiently, not at the urging of camp administrators, but as a result of various politicized legal campaigns.

Gulag prisoners were never treated in an undifferentiated fashion, and this in part served the Gulag's third major function; it was an active participant in the utopian drive to build a new "socialist" society and a new "Soviet man." Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, in his *Gulag Archipelago* relates the tale of a prisoner ship headed for the Dalstroi gold fields of the notorious Kolyma. Kolyma was located in the extreme northeast of the Soviet Union, and was reputedly one of the coldest inhabited places on the planet. As the prisoner caravan approached Magadan, the ships became stuck in the icy waters of the Kolyma River. The prisoners were forced to disembark and walk across the frozen river to the shore. Solzhenitsyn writes, "Nonetheless, continuing to play out the farce of correction, in other words, pretending they had brought not simply bones with which to pave the gold-bearing Kolyma but temporarily isolated Soviet citizens who would yet return to creative life, they were greeted by the Dalstroi orchestra. The orchestra played marches and waltzes." What could possibly seem more out of place than an orchestra trumpeting the arrival of a prisoner caravan into the depths of the Gulag?

This seeming paradox raises an important set of issues about the Gulag. In the Gulag, forced labor, high death rates and an oppressive atmosphere of violence, cold, and constant hunger coexisted with camp newspapers and cultural activities, a constant propaganda barrage of correction and re-education and the steady release of a significant portion of the prisoner population. Perhaps the most important revelation about the Gulag since the opening of the archives is the release every year of no less than 20 percent of the camp population. The annual number of releases from 1934-1953 was never less than 150,000 and reached 500,000 or more. Furthermore, corrective "re-education" practices endured in the camps from the prisoner's arrival until his or her departure (dead or alive).

The Gulag upon closer reflection comes to appear as a "last chance" for a prisoner to remake himself into a fit Soviet citizen. The Bolsheviks were engaged in a radical project to build a utopian "socialist" society. In accord with their Manichaean worldview, they fully expected violent opposition to stand in the way of building that perfect society. Many whom they understood as their most implacable enemies, they merely executed, but many others were kept alive (at least temporarily) in the Gulag. The Bolsheviks retained their fundamental belief in the malleability of the human soul according to social conditions, and they believed that labor was the key to "reforging" criminals. They saw the very harshness of the Gulag as necessary to break down a criminal's resistance in order to rebuild him or her into a proper Soviet citizen.

This strange coexistence of corrective practices and mass death sat at the heart of the Gulag. Thus, categorizing prisoners along multiple lines of identity and behavior was a key part of the ongoing attempt to define a line between those who could be reclaimed for Soviet society and those who were destined to die in the camps. Where prisoners fell on that line had very direct consequences for how they lived and whether they survived the Gulag experience.

d. The Chronology of the Gulag: The Gulag was thoroughly integrated into the fabric of the Soviet Union. Major historical events and turning points greatly affected the lives and fates of Gulag inmates and exiles. In many respects, the Gulag was born with the 1917 October Revolution itself. Yet, the explosion of the Gulag population awaited Stalin's "revolution from above." Soviet authorities attempted with great haste to cleanse their newly emerging society of the criminals, class enemies and political opponents who seemed to contaminate the new world.

The 1920s and the early 1930s represented the acme of Soviet belief in the capacity to rehabilitate prisoners by means of corrective labor. Corrective labor camps were not only openly discussed; they were a source of pride. The Bolsheviks claimed to be transforming humans as proudly as they were transforming nature. Nonetheless, this transformation was a much bloodier affair than was ever acknowledged in public. The early years of Stalin's Gulag saw higher prisoner death rates than any period other than the war. As with nearly everything associated with the "revolution from above," things were quick and chaotic. Prisoners often arrived in the middle of nowhere and were forced to build the very camps that would imprison them. Until they could do so, they were subjected to the elements, to extremely meager food supplies, and to mass death.

As the 1930s progressed, optimism and openness about penal practices gave way to skepticism and secrecy. With the declaration in 1936 that socialism was achieved, capitalism could no longer function as a legitimate excuse for crime, and the Soviet penal system became notably less compromising toward enemies and lawbreakers. The "Great Terror" of 1937-1938 brought a massive number of executions in and out of the Gulag, as many of those who failed to prove their rehabilitation during the period of "building socialism" were annihilated. Nonetheless, the drive to re-educate prisoners never disappeared. Not all prisoners were killed, and releases continued.

The war marked another turning point in Gulag history, as new prisoner contingents from the annexed territories of Western Ukraine, Western Belorussia and the Baltic carried with them the living memory of different systems of government, different penal institutions, and often explicitly anti-Soviet nationalist ideologies. The years 1941-1942 saw the largest prisoner discharges at any time in the Stalin era, when some one million inmates sentenced for relatively minor crimes were released into the Red Army. Many went on to earn orders and medals for their deeds during the war. Not all inmates, however, could join the Red Army, as political prisoners were left behind in the camps. For those left behind, the war years were the most difficult in Gulag history. Prisoner death rates in 1941-1942 approached 25 percent of the prisoner population per year. Survival in the Gulag throughout the war was a difficult prospect indeed.

The late 1940s was the apogee of the Gulag system, when the system became rigidified and prisoner populations reached historic maximums. At the same time, prisoner death rates reached historic lows. Only Stalin's death in 1953 made the Gulag's decline thinkable. Within three weeks of Stalin's death, the first major amnesty was declared, starting the Gulag's population decline. The partial nature of the amnesty, especially its near total exclusion of political prisoners, touched off an unprecedented wave of prisoner uprisings. Soon after the strikes, the Gulag as the massive phenomenon containing millions of prisoners came to an end. Khrushchev's 1956 "secret speech" denouncing Stalin set in motion the radical shrinking of the mass labor camps and the end of the system of exile. Forced labor camps persisted until the Gorbachev era, but they became much smaller and ever more focused on recidivists and serious criminals.

e. Connections to the Present–The Story of the Gulag Museum: Except for the brief period of Khrushchev's "Thaw," during which Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was published with official approval in the Soviet Union, the topic of the Gulag was forbidden until the late Gorbachev era. With Gorbachev's new policies of openness, a torrent of material on the darkest aspects of Soviet history flooded newspapers, journals and publishers in the late 1980s. Soviet readers voraciously consumed every new revelation of their past. Organizations like Memorial sprang to life seeking to assist victims of Soviet political repression and preserve the memory of the Gulag. Since that time, Memorial's various local branches throughout Russia have been outspoken defenders of human rights in Russia and have sought to preserve the memory of Soviet repression through collecting and disseminating reminiscences, diaries, artwork, camp artifacts and other Gulag-related materials.

The last camp for political prisoners, located outside of Perm, Russia, closed in 1988. The next year, a Ukrainian film crew made a documentary film about the great Ukrainian poet Vasil Stus' who died in there in the late 1980s. Some members of the KGB set about to destroy the camp remains after that film. But, in the early 1990s, Memorial activists set out to reconstruct and preserve the camp, and in 1995 it opened as the Gulag Museum, which continues to restore the site. The Gulag Museum is an important collaborator on this website project.

Emerging from injustice is a process that has no neatly defined endpoint and has historically been very difficult in every country. Russia still struggles with the legacy of the Gulag and the Soviet past. In 1993, a public opinion poll revealed that only 7 percent of the Russian population evaluated Stalin's rule positively. By 2003, a similar poll saw the brutal dictator's "approval rating" rise to 53 percent. In January 2005, Russian politicians even considered placing a new Stalin monument in Moscow to mark the sixtieth anniversary of the end of World War II. Russian history textbooks increasingly refuse to deal with Soviet injustice in an open fashion. Russians more and more speak of their need to be ruled by an "iron hand." President Vladimir Putin has increasingly resorted to an authoritarian style of rule. In part, this website will foster serious conversations about dealing with the legacy of injustice.

2. Interpretive Approach: The fundamental interpretive approach of *Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives* is to draw the web visitor into the history of the Gulag through the story of struggle for survival by individual

prisoners. Like the identification cards handed out at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, web visitors will be randomly assigned one of twenty prisoners to follow through the Gulag experience as they move through the exhibit. Each general aspect of prisoners' lives in the Gulag will be accompanied by specific elements of the chosen prisoner's story. (*For an example of this approach, see the extended discussion in User Experience [5a] below*.) The visitor will see how every aspect of prisoners' lives in the camps directly affected their capacity to survive until release, and they will see the survival strategies of individual prisoners. Visitors will gain an understanding that different types of prisoners imprisoned in different time periods had markedly different Gulag experiences. Although it was once thought that stories about slavery, the Holocaust, and the Gulag were too "depressing" for museum visitors (or visitors to websites), the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum and a number of other museums and historic sites dealing with the grim realities of history have shown that there is a deep public interest in confronting stories of injustice and trying to understand human survival under extreme adversity.

Our key strategy for making the history of the Gulag engaging to general visitors is to fill the site and the narrative with intriguing, surprising, and compelling stories of individuals such as:

- Alexander Dolgun—American citizen and employee of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, arrested in 1948 on false charges of espionage, Gulag prisoner from 1948-1956. Dolgun was picked up on a Moscow street in 1948 and spent over a year of torturous interrogation in Moscow's notorious prisons, before being shipped off to the notorious special camp Steplag. Dolgun survived, in part, by cultivating a relationship with the Gulag's professional criminals, serving as their storyteller. Dolgun was released from the Gulag in 1956.

- Ivan Kovalev—1980s political prisoner in Perm. Kovalev protested the illegal punishment of prisoners who failed to fill their work quota by refusing to work and thus being kept in solitary confinement on starvation rations for nine months. Kovalev now lives in New Jersey and is completing an oral history project for the United States National Park Service (NPS) exhibit, portions of which will be used in this web project.

- Kapiton Ivanovich Kuznetsov—Red Army officer, veteran of World War II and Nazi POW camps, Gulag prisoner from 1948-1960 for alleged cooperation with Nazi POW camp authorities, conviction eventually overturned for lack of evidence. Kuznetsov was the leader of a prisoners' commission during the forty-day Kengir uprising of 1954, the largest and longest prisoner uprising in the history of the Gulag. Shortly after Soviet soldiers and tanks crushed the uprising, Kuznetsov's original conviction was overturned, but he was kept in the Gulag for charges arising from the uprising itself. Kuznetsov was finally released from the Gulag in 1960.

- Ostrikova and Reshtanenko—Often, we know the least about those prisoners who died in the camps. Such is the case with these two female prisoners in post-World War II Karlag. In February 1951, they were transferred to a high security subdivision of Karlag, whereupon they informed the camp commander that they had a hostile relationship with some prisoners in that particular camp zone. After their warnings were ignored, a fellow prisoner suffocated Reshtanenko with a sheet before beating Ostrikova to death with a piece of gridiron.

- Vissarion Nikolaevich Pilishchuk—Arrested in 1938, prisoner at Karlag during World War II. Pilishchuk, even though a prisoner, was caught up in the patriotic drive to support the Soviet war effort, when he risked his life to dive for two hours in and out of the icy waters of the Sherubai-Nura River to place explosive for removing an ice clog threatening the integrity of the Dzhartass dam. Pilishchuk became gravely ill, but he believed that loss of the dam would threaten the camp's efforts to provide agricultural products to support the war effort. His feat was more than matched by many other former prisoners who risked their lives for Soviet power at the front.

Pilishchuk survived to write about his Gulag experience in the early 1990s.

- Vasilii Petrovich Selivanov— Arrested in 1938, member of the "Genuine Orthodox Church," a religious group that foreswore all interaction with Soviet authorities, whom they referred to as a "satanic force." Selivanov's fingerprints and mug shot were only obtained with the use of force, a fact noted in his prisoner file but also evident from the smudged fingerprints and the blurry photograph that appears to show bound hands. Members of the Church constantly spread rumors in the Gulag of Biblical prophecies that foretold the fall of "godless" Soviet power in 1940. For this crime of spreading "false rumors," two Church members received additional sentences and two others were executed.

- An anonymous camp employee—Fifteen-year veteran of the post-war camp system. In a 1964 letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party after the publication of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, this camp employee complained bitterly that Solzhenitsyn presented all prisoners as innocent. If only innocent people were imprisoned, he wrote, "then where did they send the genuine enemies of Soviet power?" The anonymous author also complained that Solzhenitsyn unfairly branded camp guards as uniformly evil and callously failed to understand that prisoner informants were doing a service to their fellow prisoners by preventing criminal activity in the camp. The letter is a testament to the power of Soviet indoctrination of Gulag employees.

This sharp focus on these individual stories will humanize the visitor's understanding of the Gulag, while revealing one of the main themes of the exhibit—the diversity of lives and experiences in the Gulag. Following these individual prisoners through their experiences will draw together the chronological and thematic approaches to understanding the Gulag—tracing those paths followed by every prisoner from arrest and interrogation to death or release, but placing the paths in a particular chronological frame. The tie of chronology and theme will bring the larger issues of Soviet and world history into the frame, offering a bigger picture of Soviet history through the Gulag. By providing personal stories and a clear chronology, we intend to engage general audiences in this important history, while also rooting our presentation in the new scholarly work that is reshaping understandings of this experience.

Finally, an examination of the work of the Gulag Museum brings the story not to an end but to a new beginning in which post-Soviet states attempt to deal with the legacies of Soviet history. Here, too, the visitor confronts ethical and political dilemmas. How should a past history of injustice be remembered and memorialized in the present?

3. Humanities Themes: The Gulag is key not only to understanding Soviet history, but also more generally to understanding the ideologically driven world of the twentieth century. In drawing the visitor into the compelling stories of the Gulag, the web exhibit will engage its audience in an in-depth consideration of many important humanities themes, including:

a. Ethics in Extreme Situations: Ethical questions related to the struggle for survival will appear throughout the web exhibit. Prisoners constantly faced moral dilemmas. A substantial number of Gulag memoirists managed to survive, because they received a position in the camps that enabled them to avoid doing heavy physical labor. Yet, these positions came with sometimes enormous ethical costs. Janusz Bardach faced one such dilemma, as detailed further in the User Experience section (5a). Should a prisoner lie about his level of medical expertise to get a job working in the camp hospital, if he would then fail to provide adequate medical care to other prisoners? Prisoners faced such dilemmas at almost every point of their camp existence. Web visitors will be asked to contemplate how they would have responded in such situations.

b. Socialist Ideology in Power: Throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, many revolutionaries preached the need for socialist revolution. The Russian Revolution was the first great experiment in building a socialist society, yet its outcome was not the classless utopia of Marxist vision but the unspeakable brutality of the Gulag. The exhibit will allow the visitor to explore and consider the relationship between the utopian promise and the brutal reality.

c. The History of the Soviet Union: The Soviet Union was one of the most important players in the twentieth century world—first the chief opponent of Nazism and later the second superpower of the Cold War. The web exhibit will allow the visitor to explore the darkest pages of that country's history and to ponder the sources of its power to emerge from World War II victorious and the weaknesses that led to its failure to survive the century intact.

d. The History of Concentration Camp Systems: Concentration camps first appeared in the late nineteenth century and thus are an essentially modern phenomenon. The web exhibit will allow the visitor to explore one particular concentration camp system to ponder the questions of their purposes and their relationship to more common forms of detention-like prisons. These questions are given particular importance since concentration camps were not limited to totalitarian systems and they continue to exist today.

e. Human Rights: The Gulag egregiously violated human rights, and many of its former inmates joined the Soviet dissident and human rights movements from the 1960s to 1980s. The web exhibit will allow the visitor to consider the questions of human rights. What aspects of the Gulag violated human rights? Would the Gulag have been acceptable if no political prisoners were interned?

f. Coping with Legacies of Injustice: The question of how to deal with past injustices haunts the modern world. Truth commissions, prosecutions, reparations, and official forgetting are among the many different strategies taken around the world to confront the past. In presenting the story of the transformation of the Perm camp into a Gulag Museum, the site will ask the web visitor to ponder how Russia is (or is not) dealing with the legacies of the Gulag. Links to the website of the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience (http://www.sitesofconscience.org/), which includes the Gulag Museum, will invite the visitor to consider how dealing with past injustice is an ongoing worldwide concern.

*4. Scholarship***:** With a project director who is at the lead of a new generation of historians writing the history of the Gulag based on newly accessible archives, and a stellar scholarly advisory board composed of some of the top North American historians of the Soviet Union, *Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives* will be strongly grounded in the most recent scholarship on the study of the Gulag.

For many years, the inaccessibility of official archival sources greatly inhibited the study of the Gulag. The first major study of the Gulag, David Dallin and Boris Nicolaevsky's 1947 *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia*, argued the primacy of the economic motivation for the creation and expansion of the Gulag. They understood and presented the Gulag primarily as a "resurgence of slavery in Stalin's Russia." Robert Conquest's highly influential 1968 volume, *The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties*, addressed the Gulag extensively, arguing that "the labor camp was one of the pillars of Stalin's whole system." He maintained that the camps were not primarily a means of economic exploitation but were "*politically* efficient. They effectively isolated masses of potential troublemakers, and were a great disincentive to any sort of anti-Stalinist activity, or even talk." He saw life in the camps as a slow, steady march toward death. Prisoners were worked as hard as possible and given a precisely measured amount of food to guarantee that they would not survive. Conquest depicted the labor camps as "death" camps from which very few made it out alive.

The most significant publication in the pre-archival period, the foundation of Gulag studies, was Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's multi-volume "experiment in literary investigation," *The Gulag Archipelago* first published in 1973. Solzhenitsyn's work remains the most comprehensive available study of everyday life in the Gulag. While alternative sources confirm most of his conclusions about living conditions in the camps, his speculations about the number and the socio-ethnic makeup of the camp population have proved less accurate, as has his interpretation of the Gulag's overall significance and purpose. For him, the spread of the Gulag represents the triumph of immorality cloaked in the justification of ideology. "Thanks to *ideology*, the twentieth century was fated to experience evildoing on a scale calculated in the millions." For him, too, the Gulag was a system "invented for *destruction*." For Solzhenitsyn, human nature contains an evil, dark side. Ideology effaces any checks on that evil, directly resulting in situations such as the Gulag.

The opening of the former Soviet archives has only recently begun to change conceptions of the Gulag in ways that have been described in the *Discussion of the Historical Subject* above. New knowledge about the size, make-up, and turnover of the Gulag population are only now leading to a fundamental reconsideration of the Gulag's role in the Soviet Union. The most important archival revelation remains a preliminary study by J. Arch Getty and others showing that the Gulag had a revolving door with approximately 20 percent of inmates released every year; the Gulag was not the death chamber imagined by Conquest and Solzhenitsyn. One ramification of this revelation is the need to pay more attention to what, if anything, Soviet penal authorities were doing to make their inmates ready for release.

Barnes, the project director for *Gulag: Many Lives, Many Days*, is actively involved in the new scholarship on the Gulag. He is preparing a book manuscript on the history of the Gulag that takes these new archival revelations not as an endpoint but as a basis upon which to pose new and important questions about the nature and role of the Gulag. Barnes will lead a major international conference on the history and legacy of the Gulag that will bring together economists, historians, Slavicists, and other scholars to discuss the most recent research on the Gulag. The conference will be held at Harvard University's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies in October 2006. A final conference schedule is still being prepared, but tentative speakers include: project advisers Anne Applebaum, Lynne Viola, Amir Weiner, and Viktor Shmyrov, along with Paul Gregory, Simon Ertz, Leonid Borodkin, Oleg Khlevniuk, Galina Ivanova, Miriam Dobson, Wilson Bell, Alan Barenberg, Golfo Alexopoulos, James Heinzen, Marc Elie, Sonia Ketchian, Cynthia Ruder, Dariusz Tolczyk, Thomas Lahusen, Norman Naimark, Nicolas Werth, Denis Kozlov, and many others. The conference will provide an important element to the project, allowing visitors to explore recent scholarship via streaming video of the conference on the website. Furthermore, the final phase of website development will be able to incorporate information from that conference.

5. *What the Audience Should Learn*: For a topic of such broad historical importance—the history of the Gulag is probably one of the half-dozen most important topics in twentieth-century history—public knowledge and understanding is surprisingly limited and fragmented. The major exception is among the readers of project adviser Anne Applebaum's recent Pulitzer Prize winning *Gulag: A History*. The success of her book indicates the substantial public audience for this topic, but her book has only scratched the surface and tapped a limited portion of the public audience (while also creating a hunger for more information among its readers). Indeed, the only works on the Gulag to have truly reached a broad public audience are the stories and books of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. But, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* is now over forty years old, and his magisterial history of the Gulag, *The Gulag Archipelago*, is now over thirty years old. These works, while groundbreaking, only portray a limited slice of Gulag history and do not take into account the newly-available archival materials.

Surprisingly, there have been almost no major public historical works on the Gulag in English—no major documentary films or television series and no major historical museums or exhibits. The gap on the web

is even more striking. The only web-based exhibits are very limited in scope. The Open Society Archive has a small exhibit (http://www.osa.ceu.hu/gulag/), that is eclectic, rather than a comprehensive, focusing on print materials in the collections of the Open Society Archive. Moscow's Memorial organization has a small English-language version of their web exhibit (http://www.memo.ru/museum/endex.htm). It includes a number of very interesting Gulag art pieces and artifacts, but it is not an online exhibit as much as it is an archive of materials. Finally, a fascinating collection of Nikolai Getman's Gulag art can be found at http://www.jamestown.org/getman.php. Like the others, this is a limited collection with little context that does not attempt to present an overall picture of the Gulag.

Even Russian and Soviet history, in general, is strikingly absent in English on the web. The best site is *Seventeen Moments in Soviet History* (http://www.soviethistory.org), which is aimed at teachers of Soviet history and their students. The site is quite different in scope and in purpose from the proposed Gulag website. Another valuable site, but also with a very different focus, is *Meeting of Frontiers* (http://frontiers.loc.gov/), which was created by the Library of Congress and other libraries, and provides a comparative history of American and Russian expansion through frontier territories in each nation's continent. CHNM's *World History Sources* (a projected funded by NEH) provides reviews of the 200 best world history websites; so far, we have not found any specific Russian history websites worthy of inclusion beyond these two. (The only other partial exception is the *Marxists Internet Archive*, a comprehensive resource on Marxism [http://www.marxists.org/].) NEH's *Edsitement* portal includes only one site in Russian history or culture—the website of the Russian Studies program at Bucknell (http://www.bucknell.edu/Russian/), which is largely a portal to more specialized sites on aspects of Russian culture (more than history). Significantly, it offers subcategories such as art, cuisine, holidays, and music, but not history.

The relative paucity of Gulag content on the web contrasted to other similarly major topics—for example, the Holocaust or Apartheid for which there are a number of high quality websites—is startling. Beyond reading the work of Applebaum and Solzhenitsyn and a few other scholars, the public has almost no where to turn for historical information and interpretation. *Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives* will correct this deficiency by providing visitors with a clear, accessible, and engaging history—accompanied by rich visual, audio, and film resources and grounded in the most recent scholarship. We believe that it will quickly establish itself as the first place that web surfers go to learn about the Gulag.

C.) Project Description: Project Components, Brief History of Project to Date

1. Project Components: The website, which will be available in both English and Russian, will consist of six main sections: **Days and Lives, Visit Perm-36 Camp, Search the Archive, Read and Write Reflections, Learn More, and Read the Stories**. The abbreviated names of the sections, which will appear in site menus, are listed in brackets. (*For more details, see User Experience [5a] and Site Specifications [5h].*)

a. Days and Lives [Days & Lives] is the main multi-media Flash exhibit and is discussed at length in the User Experience and Site Specification sections below (5a and 5h).

b. Visit Perm-36 Camp [Camp] is a mini-exhibit that focuses on the history of the last Soviet forced labor camp for political prisoners and its transformation into a Gulag Museum. Visit Perm-36 Camp will be set up as a map of the Gulag camp Perm-36, now the Gulag Museum. Visitors will click on various locations within the grounds of the historic site to enter a virtual tour of the Museum grounds. Primarily, the virtual tour will consist of Quick Time VR (QTVR) panoramas of the Museum and artifacts that reside within it. Whether of the camp grounds, a punishment cell, or barracks, panoramas will offer 360-degree presentations of the Museum, which will allow the visitor to feel as if they have really stood at the Gulag Museum in Perm. Other visual materials will illustrate the current activities of the Gulag Museum.

Text, video, and audio will document the transformation of this labor camp into a Museum.

c. Search the Archive [Archive] is a search page that allows the visitor to explore the hundreds of digital objects available on the website. The Archive will house all materials utilized in other parts of the website and will include many additional materials that are not directly used in the exhibits. Extended versions of audio and video materials will be available via Search the Archive, along with prisoner biographies, QTVR panoramas, artifacts, photographs, artwork, and texts. Search functions will allow users to seek out particular materials based upon keywords, camp location, topics, prisoner name, prisoner category, and media type.

d. Read and Write Reflections [Reflect] will offer an interactive element for the website. Visitors will be encouraged to share their reactions to the site. Former Gulag inmates and the families of former Gulag inmates will be particularly encouraged to share their experiences. Reflections will go through a vetting process for interest and reliability and then be posted in this section for others to read. Additionally, four live online chats with Gulag scholars (Project Director Steven Barnes and three project advisers, Anne Applebaum, Lynne Viola, and Viktor Shmyrov) will occur on this part of the site—both to make humanities scholars more available to the general public and to publicize the website. Transcripts of these chat sessions will be made available in this location.

e. Learn More [Learn More] will serve a number of functions. First, it will house an up-to-date bibliography on the burgeoning study of Gulag history. Second, it will hold a selection of Gulag-related lesson plans that will be created by the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University. Third, it will provide a list of links to related websites—not primarily sites in Russian and Soviet history, which are limited, but sites that deal with related historical and humanities themes such as human rights, injustice, and incarceration. Fourth, it will house streaming video of the October 2006 international scholarly conference on the history and legacy of the Gulag that will be held at Harvard University. Finally, Learn More will serve as a source of information about the NPS traveling exhibit on the history and legacy of the Gulag. The exhibit script for the traveling exhibit and the schedule of the traveling exhibit will be presented along with schedules for any related programming at host sites.

f. Read the Stories [Stories] will be a database of the individual prisoner stories used in the main exhibit. Visitors will be able to browse twenty prisoner stories by prisoner photograph, name and six different prisoner categories (*political prisoners, criminals, religious prisoners, women, children, and nationalities)*.

g. List of Materials to be Used on Website: *Gulag: Many Days and Many Lives* site will include the following materials *(See Appendix F for sample items.)*:

1. Photographs: 100 historical photographs. From Perm Gulag Museum, Memorial, and Hoover Institution Archives.

2. Art: 25 drawings and paintings by Gulag prisoners. From Perm Gulag Museum, Memorial, Hoover Institution Archives, and Jamestown Foundation.

3. Text: 75 text documents, including published memoirs, letters, and labor camp records. From Perm Gulag Museum, Memorial, Hoover Institution Archives, and individual copyright holders.

4. Films: 10 excerpts from historical films. From Open Society Archives at Budapest, Krasnogorsk Film Archive, and Hoover Institution Archives.

5. Oral Histories: 10 oral histories conducted by the NPS in conjunction with their traveling Gulag exhibit. The NPS has secured all necessary permissions.

6. QTVR: 5 artifacts and 10 panoramas, including grounds, buildings, and artifacts at Perm-36 camp and the remains of a camp zone in Spassk, just south of Karaganda, Kazakhstan. To be filmed and produced by CHNM.

7. Prisoner Biographies: 20 detailed biographies compiled from memoirs and prison documents. To be compiled by CHNM from published and archival sources.

(Note on Permissions: We have secured permissions and commitment from Perm Gulag museum, which will provide the bulk of materials for the website. We will also seek agreements on the use of materials with Hoover Institute Archive; Memorial Museum in Moscow and St. Petersburg; Open Society Archives at Budapest; Krasnogorsk Film Archive; and the Jamestown Foundation.)

2. Brief History of Project to Date: The project emerged from contacts among project director Steven A. Barnes, the NPS, the Gulag Museum in Perm, Russia, and CHNM. In 2001, the NPS and the Gulag Museum, both founding members of the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience (http://www.sitesofconscience.org/), entered discussions on the preparation of a traveling exhibit on the history and legacy of the Gulag that would travel to various U.S. National Historic Sites starting with Ellis Island. Preparations for that exhibit are ongoing with a scheduled opening of February 2006.

In 2003, the NPS hired Barnes to serve as a subject matter specialist consultant on script development for the traveling Gulag exhibit. In December 2003, Barnes met with representatives from the NPS and the Gulag Museum at Ellis Island. During these meetings, Barnes first proposed to the Gulag Museum representatives the creation of a separate web-based exhibit on the history of the Gulag utilizing many of the materials from the traveling exhibit. After his hire as Assistant Professor of History at GMU, Barnes applied for and received a seed grant from the university to develop a limited internet database of materials used in the traveling exhibit. The grant project runs from January through December 2005 with technical expertise provided by CHNM. Although this project has developed separately from the NPS traveling exhibit, we have their full cooperation and permission to use materials developed for that exhibit.

In the fall of 2004, CHNM, Barnes, and the Gulag Museum developed the present plan for an expanded, multi-media web exhibit. Additionally, in the fall of 2004, the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies agreed to make a $75,000 in-kind contribution toward the exhibit by drafting and making available curricular materials and by organizing and making available via streaming video a major international scholarly conference on the history and legacy of the Gulag to be held in October 2006.

D.) Audience: **Public Engagement in Humanities, Expected Audience, Publicity, Audience Evaluation**

1. Public Engagement in the Humanities: As noted above, the Gulag is one of the most important topics of twentieth-century history, both for its own sake but also for its relation to the broad humanities themes addressed. The website, carefully designed to engage its visitor through powerful human stories of struggle, resistance and survival, will draw segments of the public into the dilemmas and debates posed in these humanities themes.

The website is designed to appeal to a broad public audience, but will be based upon the most rigorous and most recent historical scholarship. To increase the ties between the community of humanities scholars

and the general public, we will publicize and host four online live chats in which visitors can pose questions to specialists on the history and legacy of the Gulag.

2. Expected Audience: The primary audience for *Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives* will be a general public audience. The website will attract those interested in the history of the Soviet Union, the history of Stalinism, the history of concentration camps, the history of socialism, the history of the Cold War, and the history of the twentieth century. But we expect even those without a prior interest in these subjects to be drawn in by the powerful stories of individuals who lived, suffered, and often survived in the Gulag.

Contributing to the website's appeal will be the combination of a clear, basic narrative and multiple, supplementary pathways. The main exhibit, the renderings of the Gulag Museum in Perm, the video of the scholarly conference, the searchable archive of artifacts, documents, photos, videos, and the curricular materials will provide a great variety of types of material aimed at different learning styles and interests. Finally, the relationship of the website to the NPS traveling exhibit on the history and legacy of the Gulag will greatly enhance its visibility and the level of interest.

In addition to this primary, general audience, we see two important secondary audiences for the website. The first is students and teachers, who will find the site a valuable resource for high school and college courses in world literature, world history, Western Civilization, and Russian history. Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* is a standard text in high school and college literature courses (CHNM's "syllabus finder" locates almost three hundred college courses assigning it) and our site will provide a much-needed historical context for those reading this classic. CHNM has already established a large and regular audience among history students and teachers through its many other websites and projects. CHNM projects have twice received the James Harvey Robinson Prize of American Historical Association for their "outstanding contribution to the teaching and learning of history."

Second, we expect a significant international audience for the site. We will provide a Russian language version of the site and we anticipate that the site will provoke considerable discussion in the former Soviet Union where favorable views of Stalin have become much more common in recent years. Additionally, the Russian language site will be of great interest to the many Russian-speaking émigrés from the former Soviet Union, who typically have a very strong interest in the history of their former homeland. CHNM's webmaster, Elena Razlogova, who is a native speaker of Russian, holds a PhD in Cultural Studies, and has extensive new media experience, will oversee the development of the Russian language version of the site.

3. Publicity: We will use five main strategies to promote *Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives* to national audiences: links to the NPS traveling exhibit, links to the Harvard University Davis Center conference, media coverage, online promotion, and direct mail.

Between February and July 2006, the NPS will premier their traveling exhibit at Ellis Island. Based on 2004 attendance figures, Ellis Island expects approximately 860,000 visitors during its run. The exhibit will then travel to Boston and five other National Historic Sites over the next two years. NPS has promised us a prominent mention of the website in the exhibit, including dedicated computer terminals as part of the exhibit on which individuals will be able to view the website and notation of the web address in all publicity materials. In addition, we will have a postcard promoting the website (and telling people they can "learn more" at http://gulaghistory.org) at every stop. We will only have a preliminary version of the site available in February 2006, but we will have the site fully launched by September 2007 when the traveling exhibit will be on its way to the Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historic Site in Atlanta, Georgia. (*See Appendix E for the NPS traveling exhibit schedule*.)

Another major promotional opportunity will come from our close association with the first major international conference on the history and legacy of the Gulag, which will be held at Harvard University's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies in October 2006. The conference will coincide with the NPS traveling exhibit's stay at Boston University. We will benefit from publicity connected to that conference and from making the talks from that conference available via streaming media on our website.

Both the traveling exhibit and the conference will bring national media exposure to the subject of the Gulag, and we will use that attention to promote the website extensively. CHNM has considerable experience in using the national and international media to promote its websites. Our *September 11 Digital Archive*, for example, was the subject of literally dozens of stories in such major outlets as the Associated Press, Reuters, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post*, the BBC, CNN and MSNBC. Not only has the work on the *September 11 Digital Archive* given us experience in crafting effective press releases, but we also have a large "rolodex" of press contacts (particularly among reporters who cover technology and especially the web) that we can exploit to promote *Gulag*. We believe that the powerful interest surrounding the topic and our experience in media promotion will result in major coverage for the site. Continuing current controversies over neo-authoritarianism in Russia provide a likely "hook" for news coverage of the history of the Gulag.

CHNM also has considerable strength in online promotion. That we have one of the most heavily trafficked history websites—with 250 million hits, 22 million page views and 8 million visitors annually—puts us in a good position to promote *Gulag* to history-minded web surfers through links, banners, and cross-promotion. We are also very experienced in techniques of search engine optimization and directory placement that are crucial to bringing traffic to a website. As a result, many of our sites are among the top two or three sites in their category in their Google ranking. (For example, if you put "French Revolution," "September 11" or "history of science and technology" in Google, our sites are in the top three results.) Two leaders of CHNM (Dan Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig) have just written the very first guide directed specifically at building audiences for history websites as one of the chapters of their forthcoming book, *Digital History*, and we will draw extensively on that work in promoting *Gulag*.

Naturally, we will also promote *Gulag* through online mailing lists, especially those available at H-NET. (This will be particularly important in reaching our secondary audience of teachers and students.) CHNM also has regular access to the mailings of *History News Network* (*HNN*), an online history news magazine, which goes to 11,000 people twice a week. *HNN* will also give us free banner ads on its website, which has more than 200,000 unique visitors per month. Finally, we will purchase "Gulag" as a Google AdWord, which will attract those who are surfing the web looking for information on the history of the Gulag.

These online promotions will focus particularly on the four online live chats with scholars and other specialists on the Gulag, which will be held in September 2007 in conjunction with the full launch of the site. We will also use direct mail to promote these chats and the site, in general. We have found on our other projects that a postcard mailing to those particularly interested in the topic—for example, teachers and professors of Russian history—helps to build an audience.

We have had significant success in promoting sites with these techniques. Our French Revolution site, a topic of comparable historical significance and also funded by NEH, gets almost 600,000 visitors per year, and we would expect a comparable audience for the Gulag site.

4. Audience Evaluation: We will evaluate the site in every stage of development. This will help develop and refine the website, including user interface design, and humanities content. (*See fuller discussion under Evaluation and Field Testing [5b]*.)

E.) Organization History

1. The Center for History and New Media: Founded in 1994, CHNM is internationally known for combining cutting edge digital media with high quality historical scholarship to promote an inclusive and democratic understanding of the past as well as broad historical literacy. CHNM's work has been recognized with major awards and grants from the American Historical Association, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Department of Education, the Library of Congress, and the Sloan, Rockefeller, Gould, Hewlett, Delmas, and Kellogg Foundations. In 2003, CHNM's work was recognized by the Richard W. Lyman Award (awarded by the National Humanities Center and the Rockefeller Foundation), given to CHNM's founder and director Roy Rosenzweig for his "outstanding achievement in the use of information technology to advance scholarship and teaching in the humanities." This was only the second time that the Award had been made.

CHNM maintains a wide range of online history projects directed at diverse topics and audiences, making them available at no cost through its website (http://chnm.gmu.edu/). Among these are *World History Matters* (http://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorymatters/), which help teachers and their students locate, analyze, and learn from online primary sources; *ECHO: Exploring and Collecting History Online* (http://echo.gmu.edu/), which collects, organizes, and preserves digital materials in the recent history of science and technology; and *History News Network* (http://chnm.gmu.edu/hnn/), a web-based magazine that places current events in historical perspective. CHNM and the American Social History Project/Center for Media and Learning at The Graduate Center of The City University of New York have collaborated on several projects also presented through the CHNM website, including *The September 11 Digital Archive* (http://911digitalarchive.org), which has collected more than 150,000 digital objects related to the September 11th attacks; *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution* (http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution), an online archive and teaching resource, *History Matters* (http://historymatters.gmu.edu), a resource center and portal for teachers of U.S. history, and *The Lost Museum* (http://www.lostmuseum.cuny.edu/), a recreation of P. T. Barnum's American Museum. In 2004, CHNM's websites had 250 million hits and 8 million visitors. CHNM has a staff of more than twenty and an annual budget of more than $1.3 million. It also has a $2 million endowment (achieved with the assistance of a $500,000 Challenge Grant from NEH), which guarantees the long-term stability of CHNM and will insure that the Gulag project will remain available on the web beyond this project funding. Indeed, other major websites—including the award-winning and NEH-funded *DoHistory*—have moved to CHNM because they see us a stable, long-term home for digital history projects.

2. The Gulag Museum, Perm, Russia (*See Appendix B for Letters of Commitment and additional institutional information.*): was founded in 1995 near Perm, Russia at the foot of the Western side of the Ural Mountains. A group of activists sought to preserve the remains of the last camp for political prisoners in the Soviet Union, which was not closed until 1988. At its founding, the grounds of the former political camp known as Perm-36 had been largely destroyed. Over its ten years, the Gulag Museum has completed a substantial reconstruction of the camp site to serve as a place of memory and a national historic site for Russians to ponder the legacy of the Soviet past. The site now houses its own museum exhibit on the history of the Gulag in general and of Perm-36 in particular. Its staff prepares traveling exhibits to bring their work from the periphery of European Russia to the rest of Russia and the world. They prepare curricular materials for Russian secondary schools, organize academic conferences and seminars on the history of political repression and totalitarianism in the Soviet Union, and undertake a host of other activities designed to raise public awareness of an unjust past in part of their quest to promote democratic values and civic consciousness in contemporary Russian society.

As part of their work, the Gulag Museum has undertaken major expeditions to the abandoned sites of other former Soviet Gulag camps. Through this and other collection building activities, they have

gathered a substantial collection of Gulag artifacts, photographs, prisoner artwork and other materials that will form the visual backbone of *Gulag: Many Lives, Many Days*. The Gulag Museum and its staff will work closely with the web exhibit design team throughout the project, providing assistance in selection of appropriate materials, providing digital scans of chosen materials and granting permission for the use of materials. (*See Appendix F for sample materials*.)

F.) The Project Team *(See Appendix A for CVs)* includes subject matter and digital public history experts. The Project Team has developed the initial website design and will carry the project through its completion, including all aspects of design, construction, coordination of evaluation and maintenance of the completed site. Steven A. Barnes will lead the team.

Steven A. Barnes (Project Director) is Assistant Professor of History at GMU. Barnes is the preeminent young scholar using newly available archives to reconceptualize historical understandings of the Gulag. Barnes received his Ph.D. from Stanford University, where he completed a dissertation on the history of the Gulag entitled: "Soviet Society Confined: The Gulag in the Karaganda Region of Kazakhstan, 1930s-1950s." Barnes has completed field research in central Moscow Gulag archives along with local field research in central Kazakhstan, one of the Gulag's largest outposts. He is currently completing a book on the history of daily life in the Gulag entitled *Behind Barbed Wire: The Gulag and the Politics of Modernity*. He has published his work in the journals *International Labor and Working Class History* and *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*. Barnes is a subject matter consultant for the NPS and the Gulag Museum in Perm, Russia for "GULAG: Soviet Labor Camps and the Struggle for Freedom," a traveling museum exhibit scheduled to open at Ellis Island in May 2006 before traveling around the United States for two years. Additionally, Barnes will be organizing and leading the October 2006 international conference on the history and legacy of the Gulag to be held at Harvard University's Davis Center. *As Project Director, Barnes will be in charge of the overall project. He will oversee the historical subject matter content of the website, and in conjunction with the website design team will be responsible for gathering and choosing visual and multimedia content for the website and for writing the basic narrative.*

Roy Rosenzweig (Principal Investigator) is Mark and Barbara Fried Professor of History and New Media at GMU, where he also heads the Center on History and New Media. He is the author, co-author, and co-editor of numerous books including *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park*; *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*; *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920*; *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public*, and *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Presenting, and Preserving the Past on the Web*. He was co-creator of the CD-ROM, *Who Built America?*, which won James Harvey Robinson Prize of American Historical Association for its "outstanding contribution to the teaching and learning of history," as well as the website *History Matters*, which won the same prize. He currently serves as Vice-President of the American Historical Association and he recently won the Richard W. Lyman Award (awarded by the National Humanities Center and the Rockefeller Foundation) for "outstanding achievement in the use of information technology to advance scholarship and teaching in the humanities." In 2004, he received the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities Award for Excellence in the Humanities. *As Principal Investigator, Rosenzweig has overall responsibility for all aspects of the project, both historical and technical. He will take part in all key decisions related to the project and will chair the project's Advisory Board.*

Stephanie Hurter (Project Manager and Web Designer) is an interactive media designer specializing in history and humanities websites as well as a doctoral student in history at GMU. Hurter has worked as information architect and web designer for GMU's *Technology Across the Curriculum* special websites projects, CHNM's *Teaching American History* projects, and their other award winning sites, including consulting on *World History Sources, Women and World History, History Matters,* and *Echo*. She has

also worked with historians in the development of online interactive student modules for the American history survey course at GMU. *As Project Manager and Web Designer, Hurter will have day-to-day responsibility for coordinating the project. She will work closely with the project director, project historians, and programmer on all facets of the project, including constructing the architecture and design of the site. She will have primary responsibility for technical and visual aspects of the website's design. Hurter will head up the website design team that will develop the site's visual look and choose visual and multimedia content for the site.*

Amanda Shuman (Multimedia Developer) is an experienced web and multimedia developer, who has managed the technical aspects for several CHNM websites, including *World History Matters, Women in World History, History Matters,* and several *Teaching American History* grant projects. She has a proven track record in developing effective, functional sites in a timely manner using sophisticated and solid technology. She has a B.S. in business information technology from Virginia Tech and is completing a Masters Degree in history at GMU. *As Multimedia Developer, Shuman will have primary responsibility for programming the website's dynamic content, including the Flash components and XML files. Shuman will create and manage the database and prepare all dynamic (PHP) pages. In addition, Shuman will assist in the creation and development of all QuickTime VR components and the editing and preparation of audio and video files.*

Elena Razlogova (Webmaster and International Liaison*)* has extensive experience as webmaster for CHNM. Razlogova received her Ph.D. in Cultural Studies from George Mason University in 2004, where she wrote her dissertation, "The Voice of the Listener: Americans and the Radio Industry, 1920-1950." Her dissertation will be published by the University of Pennsylvania Press. She has extensive experience in website design, database development and technical coordination of other new media history projects including *The Guantanomobile Project, World History Matters,* and *History Matters.* Razlogova is a native Russian speaker. *As Webmaster and International Liaison, Razlogova will be responsible for website security and maintenance. Utilizing her extensive contacts in Russia, Razlogova will serve as the primary liaison with the Gulag Museum in Perm, Russia and will coordinate contacts with other content providers in Russia. She will also oversee the development of the Russian version of the site.*

Graduate Research Assistants will be students in GMU's history doctoral program. That program requires course work in history and new media, which will insure that they are familiar with issues involved in using the web to reach a broad public audience as well having advanced competency in historical research. *The research assistants will support both the historical and technical aspects of the problem. For example, they will research the prisoner biographies and will enter the metadata for the images, sound, text, and video provided in the Archive section.*

Scholarly Advisory Board: *(See Appendix A for CVs and Appendix B for Letters of Commitment.)* In addition to Barnes who will be leading the project and is a specialist in the history of the Gulag, a team of four of the top North American scholars in Soviet history will work closely with the project team to shape the exhibit, provide ongoing evaluation and ensure the scholarly integrity of the exhibit. A fifth scholar consultant specializes in digital public history, art, and design and will evaluate the website design and construction based on his specialty. A sixth consultant is the author of a Pulitzer Prize winning popular history of the Gulag.

- **Peter Holquist** is Associate Professor of History at Cornell University and Director of Undergraduate Studies in the Department of History. He received his Ph.D. with distinction from Columbia University. Holquist is a specialist on Imperial Russian and Soviet history and has written very important studies of the early use of concentration camps, state violence and surveillance in the Soviet Union including his *Making War, Forging Revolution: Russia's Continuum of Crisis, 1914-1921*. Holquist is also co-editor and co-founder of the journal *Kritika:*

Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History which has in its six years quickly become a leading journal in the field of Russian history.

- **Stephen Kotkin** is Professor of History at Princeton University and Director of the Program in Russian Studies. He received his Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. Kotkin is one of the leading U.S. specialists in Soviet history and has written the enormously influential *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* along with *Armageddon Averted: The Soviet Collapse, 1970-2000* and numerous other books and articles. Kotkin is currently a Guggenheim fellow and is currently completing his book *Lost in Siberia: Dreamworlds of Eurasia* which studies the Ob River valley of Siberia over seven centuries.

- **Lynne Viola** is Professor of History at the University of Toronto. She received her Ph.D. from Princeton University. Few scholars have more knowledge of the former Soviet archives than Viola. She has published numerous volumes including authoring *Peasant Rebels Under Stalin: Collectivization and the Culture of Peasant Resistance*, co-editing the five-volume documentary publication *Tragediia sovetskoi derevnoi* (forthcoming in English as *The Tragedy of the Soviet Countryside*), and editing *Contending with Stalinism: Soviet Power and Popular Resistance*. She has been a Guggenheim fellow and is currently completing her book *The Other Archipelago: The Birth of the Gulag and the Origins of Forced Labour in the Soviet Union, 1930 to 1953,* which traces the state repression of the peasantry during the Stalin Era.

- **Amir Weiner** is Associate Professor of History at Stanford University. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia University. Weiner is a specialist on Soviet history from World War II until the fall of the Soviet Union. He has written extensively on state violence and the modern state. He has published *Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution* and edited *Landscaping the Human Garden: Twentieth-Century Population Management in a Comparative Framework*. He is completing *Wild West, Window on the West: Russia's Western Frontier, 1939 to Present.*

- **Joshua Brown** is Executive Director, Center for Media and Learning/American Social History Project, The Graduate Center, The City University of New York. He has extensive experience as an artist, historian, and creator of award-winning historical websites. His cartoons and illustrations appear in popular and scholarly publications as well as digital media. He is author of *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America* and *The Hungry Eye*, a serialized online historical novel, and co-editor of *History from South Africa: Alternative Visions and Practices*. He received Columbia University's 1994 Bancroft Dissertation Prize as well as grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and NEH.

- **Anne Applebaum** is columnist and member of the editorial board of the *Washington Post*. She has a B.A. summa cum laude from Yale University and is a former Marshall Scholar. As the author of the 2004 Pulitzer Prize winner in general non-fiction, *Gulag: A History*, Applebaum will bring to the project her success at making the subject of the Gulag accessible for a general audience.

Gulag Museum Scholars and Staff: The scholars and staff of the Gulag Museum in Perm, Russia have ten years experience presenting the history and legacy of the Gulag to public audiences and will work closely with the Project Team on the selection of appropriate materials for inclusion in the web exhibit.

- **Viktor Shmyrov** has been the Director of the Gulag Museum in Perm, Russia since 1994. He holds the degree Candidate of the Historical Sciences (an approximate Russian equivalent of a Ph.D.) from Perm State University and was previously a dean at Perm State University. He has

written two books, numerous articles, and organized multiple conferences on the history of repression in the Soviet Union. Shmyrov and his team at the Gulag Museum will provide the bulk of the visual material to be used on the site.

G.) Plan of Work

Phase 1: October 2005—January 2006

- Gather feedback about current prototype including the design, usability, and structure
- Design site architecture and structure
- Create preliminary design and gather feedback
- Set-up of initial Gulag database to hold source materials and annotations
- Research and select specific places to photograph panoramas in preparation for the VR site elements
- Research and select artifacts to photograph in preparation for the VR site elements
- Travel to Russia to research and select the following:
    - o 100 photographs (drawn primarily from the Perm Museum)
    - o Art: 25 drawings and paintings (mainly from Memorial)
    - o Film: 10 film clips. Watch and select film to copy in Russia and bring back to CHNM for digitization and editing
    - o Take photographs of artifacts from Gulag and panoramic photographs of Perm-36 Camp
- Research and compile final list of 20 prisoners for **Stories** section
- Research museum and library collections for 75 textual documents (those either in English or in Russian): published and unpublished memoirs (of Gulag workers, political criminals, and other types of prisoners), letters, prison documents, and other associated texts
- Research and request copyright and permissions for all materials
- Review NPS oral interviews with Gulag survivors and select appropriate materials
- Confirm scholars scheduled to conduct forums
- Davis Center to create lesson plans for **Learn More** section of the website
- Annotate website links for the **Learn More** section
- Write text for introductory section (chronological overview with timeline)
- Write biographies for the twenty selected prisoners
- Write exhibit narrative for each of the eight topics in the **Days & Lives** section
- Begin translation of site content into Russian (ongoing)
- Digitize and prepare materials (texts, photographs, and artwork) for the database—including image editing of the scanned items (ongoing)
- Begin translation of Russian memoirs and documents into English (ongoing)
- Begin entry of materials (texts, photographs, artwork) into the database (ongoing)
- Annotate photographs from Perm and add annotations to the database (ongoing)
- Annotate textual documents and add annotations to the database (ongoing)
- Create Search **Archive** dynamic page
- Consultants review website
- Scholarly Advisory Board evaluates site materials, content, and design
- Preliminary testing and evaluation with selected student and public groups

Phase 2: February 2006—August 2006
- Review and revise site design and structure based on feedback from testing
- Digitize and transcribe selected oral interviews
- Edit and create audio clips of oral interviews
- Annotate films and VR materials and add annotations to the database (ongoing)
- Enter prisoner stories and biographies into the database (ongoing)

- Develop templates for all Flash movies
- Create dynamic pages for **Stories** and **Reflect** sections
- Continue design and content development of eight topic sections (ongoing)
- Publicize preliminary website through the NPS's traveling exhibit on the Gulag
- Visitors to NPS exhibit evaluate preliminary version of site
- Enter lesson plans from Davis Center into **Learn More** section of the website.
- Develop XML Schema and begin creation of XML and XSL files for the narrative sections in both English and Russian
- Create Flash movie for introductory section of **Days & Lives**
- Begin initial production of QTVR artifacts and panoramas
- Continue to add materials to the database (ongoing)
- Scholarly Advisory Board evaluates site materials, content, design, and navigation
- Gulag Museum Scholars review website
- Revise website design and content per evaluation from Scholarly Advisory Board, consultants and Gulag Museum Scholars
- Further testing and evaluation with selected student and public groups

Phase 3: September 2006—May 2007
- Create QTVR artifacts
- Create QTVR panoramas of Perm-36 Camp
- Film Davis Center conference proceedings
- Digitize and edit conference proceedings, including creation of streaming QuickTime files
- Continue design of eight topic sections (ongoing)
- Continue Flash development of eight topic sections (ongoing)
- Continue to add materials to the database (ongoing)
- Scholarly Advisory Board evaluates site materials, content, design, and navigation
- Test with focus groups
- Revise website design and content per evaluation from Board and focus groups
- Implement chat software for upcoming forums (in the **Reflect** section)

Phase 4: June 2007—October 2007
- Edit site design and content based on field testing results
- Compile bibliography for the *Learn More* section
-
- Revise, update, and finish development of Flash movies and all dynamic content pages
- Final testing with Scholarly Advisory Board, educators, students, and the general public
- Final revisions
- Publicity through online venues, news media, publications, and direct mail
- Four online, live chat sessions held in fall with historians and other Gulag researchers and experts in conjunction with launch
- Launch

H.) Fundraising Plan

The project has already received substantial in-kind contributions from GMU and Harvard University. As a result, no additional fundraising is necessary to meet the project budget or the cost share requirements.

5. SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR WEBSITE PROJECTS

(*The marketing plan requested has been discussed in the Publicity section [4d3] above.*)

A.) User Experience: The title and design of the website convey the many lives, experiences, and ethical dilemmas prisoners faced in the Gulag. The focus on "lives" provides an entry point for non-specialist visitors who will be attracted to the dramatic stories of struggle and survival in the harsh environment of the Gulag. (*See Site Specifications[5h] and screen shots of the website prototype*; the prototype is available at http://gulaghistory.org; username neh; password gulag.)

In order to make the site attractive to the general user, the website will combine a mediated user experience in the interactive **Days & Lives** Exhibit section with a more flexible exploratory experience in all other sections. We decided on a compromise between a linear and open narrative in order to tap the web both as an immersive audiovisual experience and as a virtual archive. As new media theorist Lev Manovich argues, "narrative" and "database" offer competing ways of making sense of the world and are often in tension within new media forms like the web. We have tried to make that a productive tension in *Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives* by allowing visitors both modes of interaction with the history of the Gulag.

The Exhibit section of the site will offer a more traditional narrative, albeit one that also takes advantage of the ability of digital media to offer multiple paths and experiences. It will guide the visitor in order to produce an empathetic connection between the visitor and actual Gulag prisoners. After a brief chronological overview, the user will be randomly assigned a real prisoner from a database of twenty biographies. This prisoner will accompany her through all other topical subsections of the Exhibit, until in the final *Fates* section, where the visitor will learn whether her prisoner survived the Gulag or not. The non-specialist visitor will be prepared for the Exhibit's experiential and personalized approach from seeing films like *Amistad* and visiting sites like the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Like these dramatic historical reconstructions, the site will forge an intimate connection between the viewer and the prisoners' struggles against a brutal and unjust institution. (In this approach, we draw on the work of our GMU colleague Alison Landsberg, who has described the powerful ways such films and museums can produce "empathy" through "prosthetic memories.")

Once the Exhibit experience is completed, visitors can link to other sections of the site that will provide multiple opportunities to respond to the Exhibit and to learn more about the history of the Gulag. The Exhibit, rendered entirely in Flash, will narrate the Gulag story through a collection of prisoner biographies, documents, artifacts, artwork, photographs, QuickTime movies, sound files, and interactive QTVR panoramas and 3D renderings of artifacts. This collection will reside in a database, which can also be searched directly through the **Archive** section, linked from both the front page and an internal Site Menu available on every page at the top right. This menu will also include links to all of the sections: **Days and Lives**, **Visit Perm-36 Camp**, **Search the Archive**, **Read and Write Reflections**, **Read the Stories, and Learn More.** The **Reflect** section will be similar to, but also go beyond, the typical museum guestbook, soliciting both the submission of first-person accounts of the Gulag, as well as reactions to the Exhibit. By searching the **Archive,** browsing prisoner **Stories**, and exploring the QTVR panoramas of the Perm-36 labor **Camp,** visitors will be able to create their own path through Gulag history.

Sample User Experience: After a thirty-second introductory Flash movie introducing artifacts and prisoner photographs accompanied by timeline numbers and quotes from documents and memoirs, the visitor to *The Gulag: Many Days and Many Lives* begins with the **Home Page** (*See Site Specifications, 5h, Figure 1.0*). She encounters, on the left, a Gulag camp gate inviting her to enter the exhibit, **Days and Lives**. On the right, she also sees direct links to site content: **Visit Perm-36 Camp**, **Search the Archive**,

Read and Write Reflections, **Learn More**, and **Read the Stories**. On the top right, she can choose between the English and Russian versions of the site.

The visitor chooses the prominent **Enter the Exhibit: Days and Lives** link, which takes her to an introductory **Chronological Overview** of the Gulag system rendered in Flash (*See Site Specifications [5h] Figure 2.1*)—the path we expect that most first-time visitors will take. (The general Site Menu is always available to her at the top right of the screen, outside of the Flash space.) The Period Menu at the bottom guides her through five distinct periods in Gulag history (*Origins*, *1930s*, *World War II*, *Post-War*, and *Post-Stalin*), from the early Soviet camps to the post-Stalin era. When she chooses a particular Period, dates on a Timeline at the top light up to show the span of that Period. A brief five-paragraph essay, which will provide the kind of overview offered in the *Discussion of the Historical Subject* section [4B1] of this proposal (but written for a general audience), will be illustrated with historical footage, photographs, audio, and maps, and will convey the immense stretch of the forced labor system in time and space. As with the Exhibit, in general, it will emphasize personal stories and the themes of struggle and survival that will appeal to general visitors without a specific historical interest in the topic. At the end, our visitor clicks the link at the bottom right *Enter the Lives*.

A transitional **Prisoner Introduction** page informs her that she will be assigned one real prisoner, whose life she will follow throughout the rest of the Flash presentation. When she initially entered the **Lives** section, our visitor was randomly assigned this real prisoner from a biographical database of different types of inmates, including political prisoners, criminals, religious prisoners, women, children, and nationalities. All of the prisoner information is automatically pulled from the record of the assigned prisoner located in the Gulag database. Out of twenty possible prisoner biographies, our visitor was assigned Janusz Bardach, a Polish Jew. On the left, our visitor sees the prisoner's photograph and on the right, Bardach's biography up to his arrest.

Our visitor then enters a two-tiered Flash space (*See Site Specifications [5h] Figure 2.3*). The **Topics Pane** at the bottom narrates eight different aspects of the Gulag experience: *Arrest*, *Labor*, *Deprivation*, *Inmates*, *Guards*, *Re-education*, *Survival*, and *Fates*. Our visitor begins with *Arrest*, but she knows she can use the Topic Menu above the **Topics Pane** to move between the different topics. She explores the *Arrest* topic first, studying reports of interrogations that preceded incarceration, photographs of transit camps where inmates stayed on the way to their final destination, and listening to patriotic orchestra music that "welcomed" some prisoners as they entered a particular camp. As our visitor moves through the topic, by dragging a scroll bar to move from left to right, the pane space allows her to compare different points of view on a particular topic or event. As she listens to marches and waltzes, she reads Alexander Solzhenitsyn's interpretation of the Kolyma orchestra's purpose—as "the farce of correction." Through juxtapositions of interpretations and artifacts, the visitor both perceives the official ideology aimed at producing "proper" Soviet citizens and learns about everyday survival strategies in the camps.

Still browsing the *Arrest* topic, our visitor notices that the **Individual Prisoner Pane**, just above the **Topics Pane**, displays the arrest story of her Gulag prisoner, Janusz Bardach. On the left, she sees the prisoner's photograph. On the right side of the Pane, the visitor sees photographs of four other real prisoners, and an invitation to click on any of them to read a new story. Each time she moves to a different topic, four additional prisoners are selected from the database in order to provide the widest possible variety of individual experiences for this particular topic.

From a memoir excerpt displayed in the middle of the Pane, she learns that Bardach lived in Poland until 1939, when the Nazis and Soviets joined forces to dismantle the country. Bardach ended up on the Soviet side of the new border and was drafted into service as a Red Army tank driver. Always suspect in Soviet eyes as a former Polish citizen and as a Jew, a simple tank accident led to his arrest and court marshal for "treason" and "sabotage." Bardach was sentenced to death, forced to dig and kneel in front of his own

grave to await a shot in the head that never came. After this last-minute reprieve, Soviet authorities shipped him off to Kolyma, the most notorious and deadly of Gulag forced labor camps. The visitor realizes the fateful circumstances that could lead a young man into years of hellish incarceration.

As our visitor moves from one topic to another, the information in the **Individual Prisoner Pane** changes as well. Throughout, she learns about the general story of the Gulag, while following Bardach's struggle to survive the Gulag's deadliest years in its deadliest outpost. In the *Labor* topic, she learns that he avoided typically lethal mining and construction work after lying to camp officials by presenting himself as a third-year medical student. Medical expertise was greatly needed in these deadly years, and Bardach was employed as a camp *fel'dsher* (medical assistant). The **Topics Pane** shows the visitor historical footage of prisoners digging a highway in Kolyma. The explanatory text notes that the highway was built entirely with manual prison labor. The visitor realizes that inmates were often forced to dissemble to survive in the camps and are led to ponder the ethical dilemmas of Bardach's dissembling in particular. Did Bardach's own strategy of survival imperil others?

Our visitor continues to move through the site. When she arrives at the *Survival* topic, she learns in the **Topics Pane** about ethical dilemmas, resistance, rebellions, and everyday strategies of survival in the Gulag. In the **Individual Prisoner Pane**, she learns about other difficult moral choices Bardach faced working at a psychiatric hospital just before his release. His duty was to administer shots to patients— shots that were slowly killing them. Bardach recognized this, but if he refused, he could be sent back to the mining camp. On the right side of the **Individual Prisoner Pane**, the visitor chooses one of the four other individual examples of real prisoners. The visitor meets another Kolyma prisoner, Nikolai Getman. She learns that Getman avoided heavy labor through his art. Getman's job at Kolyma included painting Stalin portraits and making prisoner identification tags. Getman explains how his fellow prisoners implored him to survive so that he could tell the world about their plight through his paintings. The visitor views one of Getman's works made long after he was released which portrays human suffering in the Gulag. She understands that although there was rarely an overt rebellion among the inmates, for some prisoners mere survival constituted defiance of the regime.

When our visitor moves from *Survival* to *Fates*, the **Individual Prisoner Pane** returns to Bardach's story. She will learn much detail of this one prisoner's life, but looking at different individual stories in each topical section also allows her to further explore the different survival strategies and accompanying ethical dilemmas prisoners faced in the camps.

When our visitor enters the *Fates* topic, she has arrived at the end of her journey. In the **Topics Pane**, she learns that many Gulag prisoners died in the camps. In the **Individual Prisoner Pane**, she sees her assigned prisoner's fate—Bardach was released in 1946. In an unexpected way, Bardach's Gulag incarceration saved his life, as he learned that his entire family, except his brother, died in the Holocaust. Using his experience as a *fel'dsher* in the Gulag, he went on to earn a medical degree. He ultimately escaped the Soviet Union and became a celebrated clef palate surgeon, teaching plastic surgery at the University of Iowa for many years before his death in 2002. From a link on the right, our visitor learns that she can go to the **Stories** section to find out the fates of all the other individuals she had previously selected in the **Individual Prisoner Pane** while she was browsing through the different topics.

While exploring the *Fates* topic, our visitor wants to find out more about the prisoner gravesite, where inmates' resting places are marked by nothing but soup can bottoms with prisoner identification numbers etched on them. She clicks on the picture of the gravesite—a new window opens explaining that the gravesite was filmed in Siberia. In the same window, she explores a QTVR panorama of the site, seeing the desolate surroundings and the many graves, marked only by numbers. A note with a link informs her that she can explore similar panoramas in the Perm-36 **Camp** section of the site.

Our visitor also sees links encouraging her to view the **Stories** of other prisoners, to explore the Perm-36 **Camp**, to search the **Archive**, to **Reflect** on the Exhibit, or to **Learn More**. Learning about individual prisoner stories in the Exhibit allowed our visitor to connect with the private dimension behind the general statistics of Gulag deaths, so she decides to explore this section further. She clicks on the **Stories** link. She arrives in the **Stories** section where she browses the twenty prisoner biographies, including those she encountered in the **Days & Lives** (*See Site Specifications [5h] Figure 6.0*).

Our visitor read Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* in high school and found the book enlightening, but now, after going through the Exhibit, she realizes that experiences of the Gulag were much more varied than that book suggests. She chooses **Reflect** from the Site Menu at the top right. In the **Reflect** section of the site, she records her memories and reactions in the online form and submits the form (*See Site Specifications [5h] Figure 5.0*). (A special effort will be made to get those with direct knowledge of the Gulag experience to offer reflections.)

Because our visitor was intrigued by the panorama of a gravesite, she then decides to browse other QTVR panoramas and artifacts. She clicks on **Camp** in the Site Menu at the top right and arrives to the **Camp** section (*See Site Specifications [5h] Figure 3.0*). A map of the former Soviet Union appears, with dots showing the locations of many Gulag camps in the country. She clicks on the highlighted Perm camp area of the map and a map of the actual Perm Labor Camp (now a Gulag Museum) opens. She notices on the camp map hot spots, which denote artifacts and panoramas of the camp that were rendered in QTVR. She clicks on the barracks hot spot. A new window opens where she explores a panorama of a watchtower.

The visitor wonders how typical the Perm Camp might be, and so she chooses the **Learn More** option from the Site Menu. There she finds a menu offering a *Bibliography*, *Lesson Plans*, *Links*, *Talks*, and *Traveling Exhibit* (*See Site Specifications[5h] Figure 7.0*). She clicks on *Talks* and sees a list of talks presented at a recent scholarly conference held at Harvard University's Davis Center on the Gulag. She chooses the talk on the different types of Gulag camps. A new window opens with a streaming video of the talk. After the talk is over, the visitor decides to find out what books on the Gulag the speaker had published and selects *Bibliography* from the menu. She discovers that the site's annotated bibliography of leading scholarly and popular works on the Gulag includes two works by the speaker.

Our visitor feels that she still has a lot more to explore in the **Archive** section, but she wants to come back to the site armed with an in-depth knowledge of the subject. She closes her browser and heads to the library to check out two of the books recommended in the annotated bibliography.

B.) Evaluation and Field Testing: During the planning phase, we will make use of expert evaluation of exhibit narrative and archival data by academic advisers and staff at participating museums. Although students are not our primary audience, the heterogeneous student body at GMU offers an inexpensive (free) set of testers and evaluators for the site. Thus, we will preview the site for undergraduate and graduate students in Russian history, Western Civilization, museum studies, and history and new media. In these classes, students will compare the Flash interface and search function on *Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives* site with other online exhibits, and will write online reviews and response papers discussing specifically how clearly we have designed the site's navigation menus, popup windows, QTVR interface, and search forms, as well as to what extent the design, media content, and narrative conveys the main idea of the multiple experiences of the Gulag.

During the implementation phase, expert evaluation and secondary student audience testing described above will complement extensive general audience testing. General audience user tests will be conducted in conjunction with the NPS Gulag exhibit. Visitors will be able to browse the website on computer stations at the exhibit and will be asked to complete a questionnaire evaluating the navigation, historical narrative, and media content of the site. CHNM will also announce the site on its mailing list and ask

subscribers to fill out a questionnaire when visiting the site for the first time. The Center's subscribers include members of the general public due to the large number of regular nonacademic visitors to popular sites such as *September 11th Digital Archive*. These surveys will be done when the site is in its final testing phase; when the site is first made public; and each time we add a significant number of artifacts and prisoner biographies to the archive. In conducting these surveys, we will be paying particular attention to what paths users take through the site; how much time they spend on the exhibit and other sections of the site; how they access and study documents, images, films, and QTVR content of the site; how they use our interactive features; and whether the narrative is of adequate length and complexity for a general reader. These surveys will guide the refinement of the overall user interface, artifact selection, and narrative content of the website.

C.) Technical Plan:

1. Static Visual Content will consist of graphics created specifically for site design and navigation as well as photographed and scanned museum materials, including photographs, drawings, paintings, artifacts, and documents. Graphics will be produced using Adobe Illustrator, Adobe Photoshop and ImageReady and saved "for web," at screen resolution (72 dpi) either in .gif or .jpg formats. Documents, photographs, drawings, and paintings will be either scanned directly on a flatbed scanner or photographed on a copy stand using a digital camera at participating museums, and saved at 300-600 dpi resolution in .tiff format. Artifacts will be photographed with a digital camera, also to be saved as 300 or 600 dpi .tiff files, at museums and historical sites where these artifacts reside.

Items from the Gulag Museum will be burned to CDs by Gulag Museum staff and mailed to the designers, who will then format them in Photoshop and save them "for web." (*See Appendix F for some sample materials from the Gulag Museum.*) A version of the image will be uploaded to the server to be viewed by searching the database in the **Archive** section, or accessed in a new window from within the Flash exhibit. Some of the images will be directly embedded into Macromedia Flash and included in the interactive Flash exhibit. The Flash files, saved as .fla files and published as .swf, will be uploaded to the server where they can be viewed in the **Days & Lives** section, using Flash Player version 7 or higher.

2. Dynamic Visual Content will include films from the time period, oral histories, QTVR files, and interactive Flash content. Films and oral histories will be digitized from VHS tapes or, where available, from Betacam tapes, provided by Krasnogorsk film archive, participating museums, and oral history organizations. The tapes will be mailed to the developers, who will use a Super VHS ET Professional machine to digitize all video materials and then edit them using Apple's Final Cut Pro 4.0. Specific clips from the films will be imported into Macromedia Flash and embedded in the interactive Flash exhibit of the **Days & Lives** section, as described above. Larger film excerpts will be compressed using Discreet Cleaner Pro and streamed as QuickTime files. All of the clips will be available via the **Archive** section. CHNM is already streaming QuickTime on its server and so has the infrastructure in place. The Gulag Davis Center conference talks in the **Learn More** section will be videotaped during the conference by organizers, and delivered in original format to CHNM upon completion. These video files will also be processed and streamed in QuickTime.

All QTVR files will be photographed at participating museums and historic sites using a tripod and digital camera that creates 200-300 MB .jpg files. These images will then be burned on CDs and mailed to designers and developers, who will process them in QuickTime VR to create the panoramas and 3D renderings of artifacts. The developers will also store metadata for each panorama and object in the database. These QTVR files will be uploaded to the server and explored in the **Camp** section, or accessed by a search on the database in the **Archive** section. Users will also be able to access some of the QTVR files in the **Days & Lives** section, by clicking on an image of the object or place within the Flash exhibit. The interactive Flash exhibit will include site graphics, static images of museum artifacts, and video clips.

3. Audio Content will consist of music and audio files from the time period and oral interviews collected by the NPS, which has secured all necessary permissions. Audio will be mailed to the developers as cassette tapes or, where available, CDs. Audio materials will be digitized using Apple's Soundtrack and edited in Bias Peak. Shorter audio clips will be embedded into Macromedia Flash to be included in the interactive Flash exhibit in the **Days & Lives** section, as described above. Longer versions will be compressed in Discreet Cleaner and saved to the server as streaming QuickTime files. These larger clips will be accessed via a new window within the Flash exhibit or via the **Archive** section.

4. Text Content will primarily consist of the Flash exhibit narrative and database content, including metadata for the artifacts and documents and biographies of Gulag prisoners. We will provide web forms for exhibit authors to enter the interpretive text. The exhibit narrative will be stored in XML files and referenced in the database. The XML files will be displayed in the Flash exhibit of the **Days & Lives** section.

5. Database Architecture will be designed to include all archival metadata, prisoner biographies, and links to media content. The database setup will enable us to add artifacts and metadata and make changes to biographies and artifact annotations in a way that makes all additions and changes simultaneously available to all parts of the site, including the **Archive**, **Camp**, and **Days & Lives** section. We will provide web forms for museum staff to enter archival data. Metadata text will appear in popup windows in the Flash exhibit, in popup windows of the **Camp** section, and in search results in the **Archive** section.

Prisoner biographies will be entered using special web forms to enter specific facts and quotes culled from personal memoirs and official documents. Specific fields will refer to the main Flash exhibit topics (*Arrest*, *Labor*, *Deprivation*, *Inmates*, *Guards*, *Re-education*, *Survival*, and *Fates*). Prisoner biographies will be displayed in the **Individual Prisoner Pane** in the **Days & Lives** section and will also be available in the **Stories** section.

Reactions to the exhibit and first-person accounts in the **Reflect** section will be collected through online submission forms and stored in a MySQL database. We will also create a database setup for the interface for the online live chats; the basic format will be similar to that used by organizations like Washingtonpost.com.

D.) Software and Hardware*: Gulag: Many Days and Many Lives* will be served by the hardware on the CHNM web server, in a secure data center at George Mason University with 24-hour maintenance, support, and uninterruptible power backup from a generator. The hardware includes a Dell PowerEdge 2600 server with 2 GB RAM, 365 GB RAID-1 storage, and two 2.8 GB processors. The backup system includes mirror backup to an identical server with a setup to switch the servers instantaneously in case of failure; incremental backup to another Dell PowerEdge 2400 backup server that allows the recovery of files changed or deleted weeks or months earlier; and an external weekly backup to two 300 GB firewire drives. This hardware currently supports more than twenty frequently visited websites at approximately 5 million hits per week and is capable of carrying at least twice the current traffic. (CHNM very recently received an Academic Excellence Equipment Award from Sun Microsystems, and we will be upgrading to faster Sun equipment in the next few months.)

The site will use the server-side software that have been running on the CHNM server for the last five years and that supports all current CHNM websites. The software consists almost entirely of standard open-source applications for a Linux operating system: Linux RedHat 9 Professional Operating System; Apache 2.0 Server; MySQL 4.0 Database; PHP 4.3 Scripting Engine. The combination of MySQL and PHP allows us to create and serve a complex, easily updatable database that will provide many different searching options in the **Archive** section. The database can also be embedded seamlessly into the Flash

exhibit in the **Days & Lives** section. When not embedded in a Flash movie, audio and video will be streamed directly using QuickTime and Realserver 9, which CHNM also runs off its own server.

The site will not require any client-side software beyond the Macromedia Flash player and QuickTime player plug-ins, which are both free to download over the web and are supported by all current browsers and the Windows, Macintosh, and Linux operating systems. Macromedia research indicates that Flash is accessible by nearly 99 percent of current Internet users. QuickTime is only very slightly behind Windows Media Player in its market penetration. The site will also use JavaScript, Cascading Style Sheets (CSS), and HTML that is supported by Internet Explorer 5 and higher, Netscape 5 and higher, and Firefox 1.0 and higher for both Macintosh and PC; and Safari 1.0 for Macintosh.

We will develop the interactive exhibit in Macromedia Flash MX 2004 Professional, which provides designers and developers with an interface that makes the layout of a site easier and more adaptable as changes are made. This newest version of the Flash software also includes several new accessibility features for users with screen readers. The text that will appear on the Flash and PHP pages will be stored as XML files, which allows us to provide a printable version of the exhibit. In addition, XML allows us to provide an English and Russian version of the text portions of the exhibit using the same Flash interface. The database and XML setup will also enable us to revise and update the site in the future without changing any of the existing Flash interface. We will use QuickTimeVR to create QTVR panoramas and 3D renditions of various artifacts. All media rich files will be processed using industry standard software: Adobe Photoshop CS for images, Apple Final Cut Pro 4 for video, Bias Peak 4 for audio, and Discreet Cleaner 6 for file compression.

E.) Permissions: As noted in the attached letter of commitment, the Gulag Museum in Perm, Russia has agreed to collaborate on this project. The Gulag Museum will provide the majority of visual materials to be used in the web exhibit. Negotiations are ongoing to determine exact fees for permissions to use material from other institutions, including Memorial's Moscow and St. Petersburg branches, each of which have a large collection of Gulag art, artifacts and manuscript memoirs, and for permission to use archival film footage available at the Russian State Archive of Film and Photographic Documents in Krasnogorsk.

F.) Site Management: The website will reside on the CHNM web server, in a secure data center at GMU with twenty-four-hour maintenance, support, and power backup. CHNM staff will provide routine server maintenance, security patches, daily log analysis, daily incremental backups, and weekly offsite backups. Updates of site interface will take advantage of log data on popular search phrases and paths through site.

Administrative interface for the site's database will include an online submission form allowing Gulag museums and oral history projects to update the website's collections with video materials of the interviews, as well as artifacts and memoirs from participating museums.

Visitors will record their feedback in the main database through a form on the **Reflect** section of the site, receiving an automated thank you note in response. Another submission form on the **Reflect** section will also serve to collect in the database personal stories of former Gulag prisoners. This second form will include a release allowing us to make these stories public. CHNM staff will review these reactions and personal narratives before posting.

G.) Prototype and Samples of Previous Work: A visual prototype of the website *Gulag: Many Days, Many Lives* can be viewed at http://gulaghistory.org using "neh" as the username and "gulag" as the password.

Samples of CHNM work can be found at http://chnm.gmu.edu. See especially the websites listed under

the Projects section (http://chnm.gmu.edu/projects.php). Of particular relevance to this project are: *Women in World History* and *World History Sources* (http://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorymatters/*)*, which help teachers and their students locate, analyze, and learn from online primary sources; *ECHO: Exploring and Collecting History Online* (http://echo.gmu.edu/*)*, which collects, organizes and preserves digital materials in the history of science, technology, and industry; *The September 11 Digital Archive* (http://911digitalarchive.org), which has collected more than 150,000 digital objects related to the September 11th attacks; *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution* (http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution); and *History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web* (http://historymatters.gmu.edu*)*. CHNM has also developed a number of digital tools for historians, which are available at http://chnm.gmu.edu/tools/.

H.) Site Specifications:

1. Overview

This document outlines the structure of the site, including its sections, features, and functional specifications. For anticipated user path, see "User Experience" section. For online prototype, go to http://gulaghistory.org. (Username: "neh"; password: "gulag".)

2. General Comments

Audience: The primary audience for the website will be the general public. We expect even those without a prior interest in the subject to be drawn in by the powerful stories of individuals who lived, suffered, and sometimes survived in the Gulag. In addition to the general public, we anticipate two secondary audiences for the website: an audience of students and teachers and an international Russian-speaking public. We will provide a Russian language version of the entire site. No prior knowledge of the subject is assumed. The explanatory text will be understandable at a level of a high school student. We expect most visitors to encounter the site via their home computers.

Design Goals: We hope to draw the web visitor into the story of the Gulag through the story of struggle for survival of individual prisoners. This sharp focus on the individual experience will humanize the visitor's understanding of the Gulag, while revealing one of the main themes of the exhibit—the diversity of lives and experiences in the Gulag.

The website's appeal will stem from the combination of a clear, mediated narrative of the Exhibit, rendered entirely in Flash, and multiple, supplementary pathways ensured by the database structure implemented in PHP/MySQL. The main Flash Exhibit, the QTVR renderings of the Gulag Museum in Perm, the QuickTime video of the scholarly conference, the searchable MySQL database of artifacts, documents, photos, videos, and the curricular materials will provide a great variety of types of material aimed at different learning styles and interests.

Technical and Accessibility Goals: Current standards and software for Flash, Cascading Style Sheets (CSS), JavaScript, and PHP/MySQL will allow us to make the website dynamic yet accessible to all popular browsers.

The site will not require any client-side software beyond the Macromedia Flash player and QuickTime player plug-ins, which are both free to download over the web and are supported by all current browsers and the Windows, Macintosh, and Linux operating systems. Macromedia research indicates that Flash is accessible by nearly 99 percent of current Internet users. QuickTime is a leading cross-platform multimedia technology—more than 10 million copies of free QuickTime player are downloaded every month. The site will also use JavaScript, Cascading Style Sheets (CSS), and HTML that is supported by

Internet Explorer 5 and higher, Netscape 5 and higher, and Firefox 1.0 and higher for both Macintosh and PC; and Safari 1.0 for Macintosh.

We will develop the interactive exhibit in Macromedia Flash MX 2004 Professional, which includes several new accessibility features for users with screen readers. To insure a smooth installation or upgrade of the current Flash player for users who don't already have it, we will set up a test page to detect the presence and version number of Flash and to prompt the user for an upgrade. The user will be directed to a site where the install program is downloaded, and then the user will run it.

All images and graphics on HTML pages will have "alt-text" (alternative text) tags to make the site accessible to the visually impaired via screen reader technology. The text that will appear on the Flash and HTML pages will be stored as XML files, which allows us to provide a printable version of the exhibit. In addition, XML allows us to provide an English and Russian version of the text portions of the exhibit using the same Flash interface. The database and XML setup will also enable us to revise and update the site in the future without changing any of the existing Flash interface.

3. Site Overview Specifications

0.1 Navigation

Overview: The website structure will combine mediated user experience in the Exhibit section with a more flexible interactive experience in all other sections. The Exhibit is designed to provide a historical and topical overview of the Gulag while also engaging the visitor through empathetic connections with the struggles of Gulag prisoners. Once the Exhibit experience is completed, links to other sections will provide multiple opportunities to learn more about the history of the Gulag.

The structure will include as few sections and subsections as possible. Clicking on the Banner located at the top of every page will take the visitor back to the home page. A Site Menu will be available from all site pages. Section menus will be available from all pages in respective sections, with the exception of the Exhibit section. A bottom navigation bar is provided on every page.

0.1.1 Site Menu:

On the Home Page *(See Figure 1.0)*, the primary navigation choices are in the center of the screen; on all other pages, the menu is on the top right as well as on the bottom of the page. The text below in *italics* appears on the home page; the abbreviated text in brackets appears on all internal page menus:

1. *Enter the Exhibit: Days and Lives* [**Days & Lives**]: Go back to the beginning of the exhibit.
2. *Visit Perm-36 Camp* [**Camp**]: Explore QTVR panoramas of Perm-36 labor camp and 3D renditions of its artifacts.
3. *Search the Archive* [**Archive**]: Search the entire collection, including documents, artifacts, artwork, photographs, memoirs, oral histories, historical footage; QTVR files (panoramas of camps and 3D renditions of artifacts); and prisoner biographies (compiled from official records and memoirs).
4. *Read and Write Reflections* [**Reflect**]**:** Share your reactions to the exhibit or your own Gulag experience.
5. *Read the Stories* [**Stories**]: Browse twenty prisoner biographies.
6. *Learn More* [**Learn More**]: Study a bibliography of works on the Gulag, lesson plans for teaching Gulag history, a list of recommended annotated links, streaming QuickTime files of a conference on Gulag history held at Harvard University, and information on traveling exhibit.

In addition, a menu at the bottom will duplicate all the above items with an added link to the **About** section of the site, which explains how to use the site, gives a history of the project, and provides credit and contact information.

Design notes: Placing the Site Menu both at the top and bottom of each page will simplify navigation and insure compliance with accessibility guidelines.

Technical specifications: The top and bottom site menus on the internal pages will be placed in include files for easy editing.
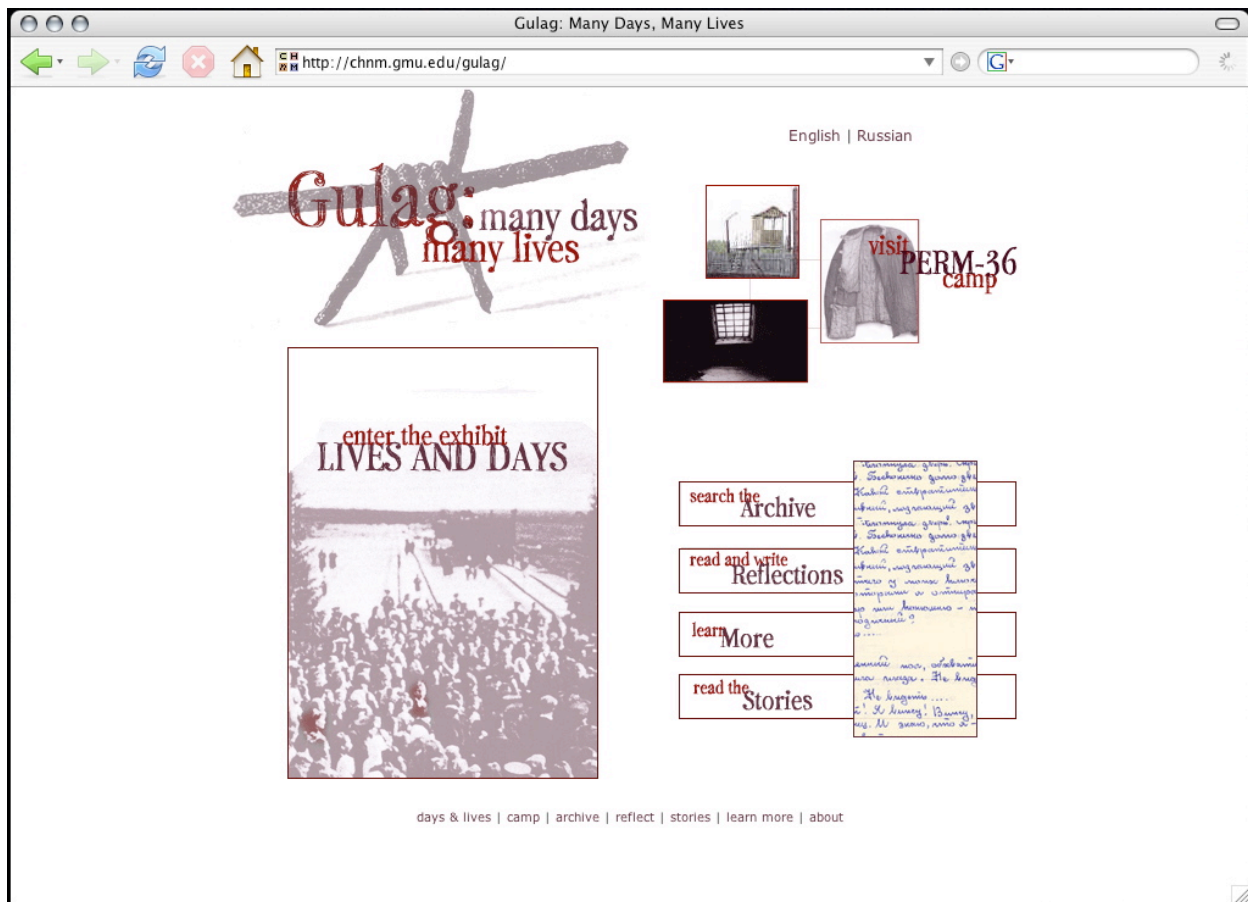

Figure 1.0 Home Page

1.0 Home Page *(See Figure 1.0)*

Overview: The home page will introduce the subject and visual atmosphere of the Gulag. This page will provide a prominent link into the exhibit, **Days and Lives**, as well as links to all the top-level pages:

a. Enter the Exhibit: Days and Lives (2.0)
b. Visit Perm-36 Camp (3.0)
c. Search the Archive (4.0)
d. Read and Write Reflections (5.0)
e. Read the Stories (6.0)
f. Learn More (7.0)

g. About (1.1)

Design Notes: The Home Page will use pictures of prison clothes, prisoner crowds, and barbed wire, and will render these images and navigation menus in light grey and maroon colors on a white background. These visual elements of the site will convey the realities of Gulag life—the bitter cold environment, the scarcity in everyday material life, and the difficulties of survival in such a harsh environment.

Technical specifications: The home page will be rendered in HTML/CSS with minimum of JavaScript rollovers, to make sure that it loads quickly in every browser and on every connection.

1.1. About

Overview: The About page will provide a short introduction explaining the site's approach to the subject; how to use the site; a list of the project's staff, authors, and consultants; and contact information.

Design Notes: N/A

Technical Specifications: This page will be rendered in HTML/CSS, with header and footer includes files providing easy access to the other sections of the site.

2.0 Days and Lives

Overview: This section of the site presents the main exhibit and narrative, including a chronological overview of the Gulag and an account of the varieties of Gulag experience, from arrest to either death in the labor camps or survival and life after the camps. It will consist of three main subsections:

2.1. Days: Chronological Overview
2.2. Lives: Prisoner Introduction
2.3. Days and Lives: Story of Gulag told through major topics and individual life stories

Design Notes: In order to provide a more engaging (as well as guided and mediated) user experience in the Exhibit section, the user will follow one prisoner's story from the beginning to the end. Once the user completes the *Chronological Overview* subsection of the Exhibit, she will not be able to return to it from the latter subsections. Immediately after the Chronological Overview, the user will be given a real prisoner who will accompany her through all other subsections of the Exhibit, until the final *Fates* section, where the visitor will learn whether her assigned prisoner survived the Gulag. Each user will be randomly assigned one of twenty prisoners from a database of prisoner biographies. Following the story of this one prisoner will create a personal connection between the contemporary user and the victims and survivors of the Gulag system. This device has been used successfully in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Technical Specifications: The **Days and Lives** exhibit will be rendered entirely in Flash, with embedded links to HTML popup windows where users can view larger versions of images, films, and QTVR files, accompanied by short annotations and archival metadata. The archival metadata will be pulled from the database. The English and Russian text for the Flash exhibit will be stored in XML files, making them easy to edit and allowing a quick switch between English and Russian site content. In addition, header and footer include files will be used for the Site Menu, providing easy access to other sections of the site.

Figure 2.1 Exhibit: Days: Chronological Overview.

2.1 Days: Chronological Overview *(See Figure 2.1)*

Overview: This subsection will provide a historical overview of the Gulag system. It will consist of five parts, each presenting a short illustrated introduction to a particular period in Gulag history. A timeline at the top will highlight the specific years a chronological period covers. The periods are:

1. Origins.
2. 1930s.
3. World War II.
4. Post-War.
5. Post-Stalin.

Design Notes: This section will be brief so as to move the user on to the personal prisoner experience that follows.

Technical Specifications: See 2.0.

2.2 Lives: Prisoner Introduction

Overview: This section will introduce a real Gulag prisoner whose story the user will follow from arrest to ultimate fate. The page will include the prisoner's photograph and biography up to the time of arrest.

Design Notes: This subsection will emphasize the personal nature of the exhibit by attempting to foster a closer connection between the contemporary user and a real Gulag prisoner.

Technical Specifications: See 2.0.

2.3 Days and Lives: Topics (*See Figure 2.3*)

Overview: This subsection is central to the exhibit. It combines the real prisoner's personal experience of the Gulag with more general facts about Gulag life. For each topic listed, the prisoner's personal experience will be displayed in the top Individual Prisoner Pane, with more general information in the bottom Topics Pane. The Topics menu will separate the two panes. The topics will include:

1. Arrest
2. Labor
3. Deprivation
4. Inmates
5. Guards
6. Re-education
7. Survival
8. Fates

The Individual Prisoner Pane will display the assigned prisoner's biographical information, as well as related images, artifacts, and quotes from memoirs. The user will be able to click on each image or artifact to view a larger version of the image and its archival metadata. On the left, a menu consisting of four additional portraits will provide access to four other prisoner stories. Each time the user selects a new topic, she will be returned to the story of her assigned prisoner.

The Topics Pane will display images, documents, audio, video, and artifacts relevant to each topic accompanied by explanatory text. The user will be able to click on each image or artifact to view a larger version of the image, a movie, or a QTVR file, as well as related archival metadata. A scroll bar at the bottom of the pane will allow the user to scroll in order to see additional images and text pertaining to the topic.

Design Notes: This subsection will cover the different dilemmas prisoners faced in the Gulag, conveyed through the many diverse materials presented and analyzed in the Topics Pane. At the same time it focuses in on the story of a particular prisoner by using the top Individual Prisoner Pane to convey the inmate's experience within a topic. Access to aspects of four other prisoners' lives will give the user additional perspectives in addition to the particular story of her prisoner, and show what choices other prisoners had to make in their attempt to survive.
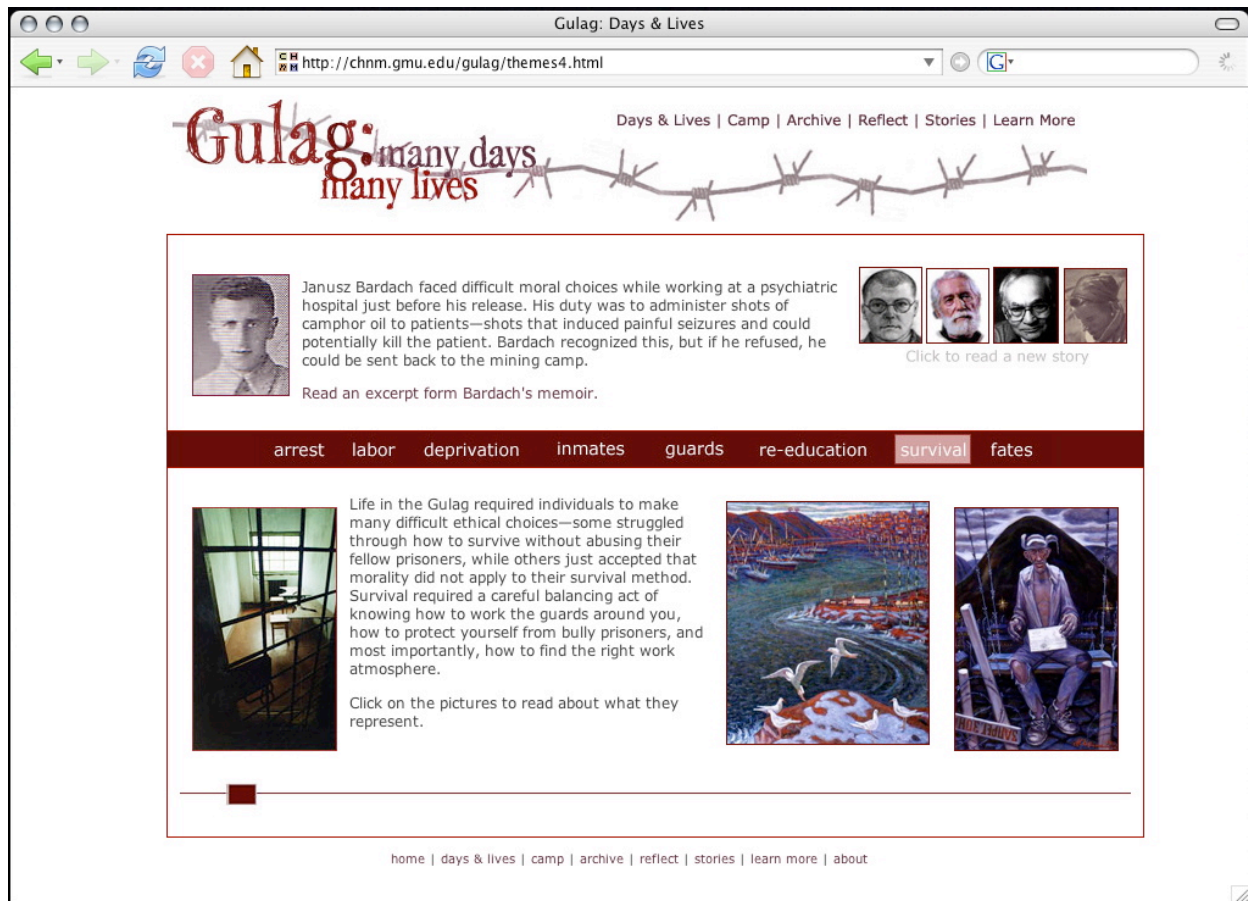
Technical Specifications: See 2.0.

Figure 2.3. Exhibit: Lives: Topics.

3.0. Visit Perm-36 Camp *(See Figure 3.0)*

Overview: This section will introduce the Perm-36 Camp, now a Gulag museum, through QTVR panoramic tours of the camp, QTVR 3D artifacts and audio and video interviews. It will present a map of the former Soviet Union with dots showing the locations of many Gulag camps in the country. The Perm camp will be highlighted. Clicking on the Perm camp area on the map will bring up a bird's-eye view of the camp, linking various hotspots on the image to ten QTVR panoramas and five QTVR 3D renditions of artifacts. Clicking on a building, such as a watchtower, will bring up a QTVR panorama of the tower (*see Figure 3.1*), and information describing that area of the camp.

Design notes: The QTVR files and interactive maps will be designed to provide an illusion of spatial exploration for the user.

Technical Specifications: Interactive features of maps will be designed in JavaScript. QTVR artifacts will be created from digital photographs and video made at Perm Camp, using Apple QuickTime VR software. The popup windows showing the QTVR panoramas and artifacts will contain relevant metadata pulled from the database.
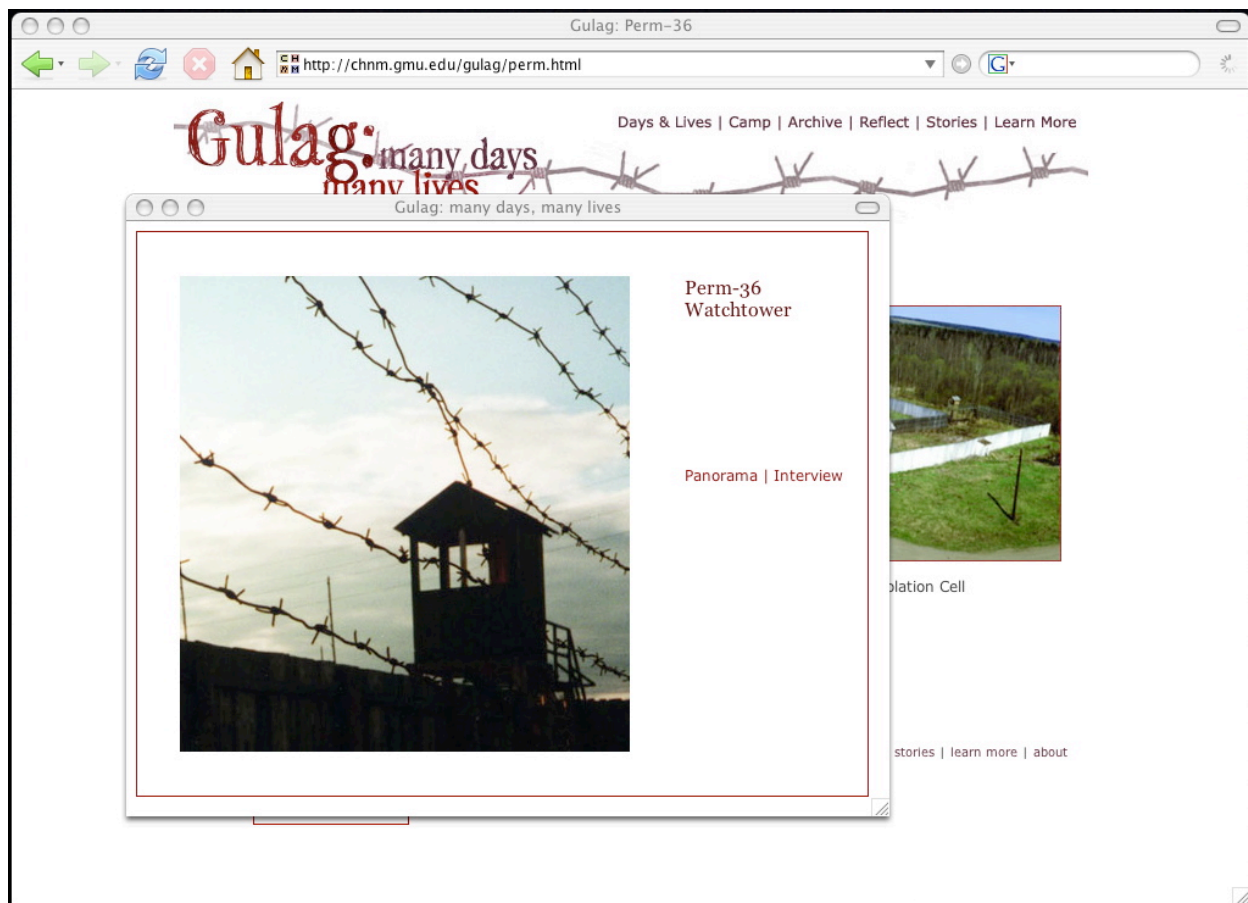
Figure 3.0 Perm-36 Camp.

Figure 3.1. Perm Camp: Detail: Watchtower.

4.0. Search the Archive *(See Figure 4.0)*

Overview: This section will consist of a search form allowing the user to search through the hundreds of digital objects included in the database and on the site, including documents, artifacts, artwork, photographs, memoirs, oral histories, historical footage; QTVR files (panoramas of camps and 3D renditions of artifacts); and prisoner biographies (compiled from official records and memoirs). Search options will include:

1. Keyword
2. Camp Location (Perm, Kolyma, Karaganda, etc.)
3. Time Period (Origins, 1930s, World War II, Post-War, and Post-Stalin)
4. Prisoner name
5. Prisoner Characteristics (Political, Criminal, Religious, Women, Children, and Nationalities)
6. Document Type (Photograph, Artwork, Text, QTVR, Audio, Video)
7. Topic (Entry, Labor, Deprivation, Inmates, Guards, Re-education, Survival, and Fates)

The search results page will display the link to the object and an excerpt from the annotation. Small icons will denote the document type for each object to make it easier for the user to scan through the list of results. Clicking on an object link will open a popup window displaying a larger version of an image, document, or a movie or QTVR file, accompanied by an annotation and archival metadata.

Design Notes: The combination of keyword search and multiple search options will allow the user to perform general exploratory searches as well as searches for particular prisoners, documents, and other artifacts.

Technical Specification: The search form and search results page will be rendered in PHP and will pull data from a MySQL database. The coding for the object's popup window that opens from the search results page will also be used when linking the same object from the Flash exhibit section—this will make it easier to edit the text and code for each popup window. CHNM has extensive experience in designing MySQL databases with PHP front-ends; that is the format of most CHNM web projects.

Figure 4.0. Archive Search Page

5.0. Read and Write Reflections *(See Figure 5.0)*

Overview: This section will provide the interface to read and share reactions to the exhibit. In addition, a person can submit his or her own Gulag experiences. It will be divided into three main sections:

1. Reactions: Thoughts about the Gulag and reactions to the exhibit.
2. First-Person Accounts: Accounts of personal experience of the Gulags.
3. Forums: During the final phase of website development, prominent scholars whose work involves topics related to the Gulag will host four live chat sessions.

Design Notes: This section will present a simple interface for entering stories, with a minimum of fields, to encourage more people to post. For the submission of first-person accounts, we will also include a permissions release form. Clicking on the Submit button will mean that the writer accepts the terms of the release.

Technical Specifications: Reactions to the exhibit and first-person accounts will be collected through PHP submission forms and stored in a MySQL database. CHNM has extensive experience in collecting online commentary through its *Echo* project and especially *the September 11 Digital Archive*, which has gathered online more than 16,000 accounts of 9/11/2001. We will also use MySQL and PHP to build the interface for the online chat; the basic format will be similar to that used by organizations like *Washingtonpost.com*. (We have spoken to them about using their software, but it is a very old set-up and we can easily build the same functionality using newer code.)

Figure 5.0 Reflect.

6.0 Read the Stories *(See Figure 6.0)*

Overview: This section will present twenty prisoner biographies, compiled from memoirs and camp documents. Users can browse through photographs of prisoners. Clicking on a photograph will bring up a popup window containing a biographical narrative accompanied by related personal photographs, documents, and quotes from memoirs.

Design Notes: Presenting biographies through portraits of prisoners will add a personal dimension to this section of the site. It is crucial to our interpretative strategy, which seeks to engage visitors through personal stories while also conveying the point that the Gulag experience was much more diverse than previously recognized.

Technical specifications: Biographical information and related materials will be pulled from the MySQL database and rendered in PHP. The same prisoner database data will be used for the Individual Prisoner Pane in the Days and Lives exhibit section. This will help in editing the text of the prisoner stories, provide a uniform database structure for the site's sections, and allow users to make connections between different sections of the site.
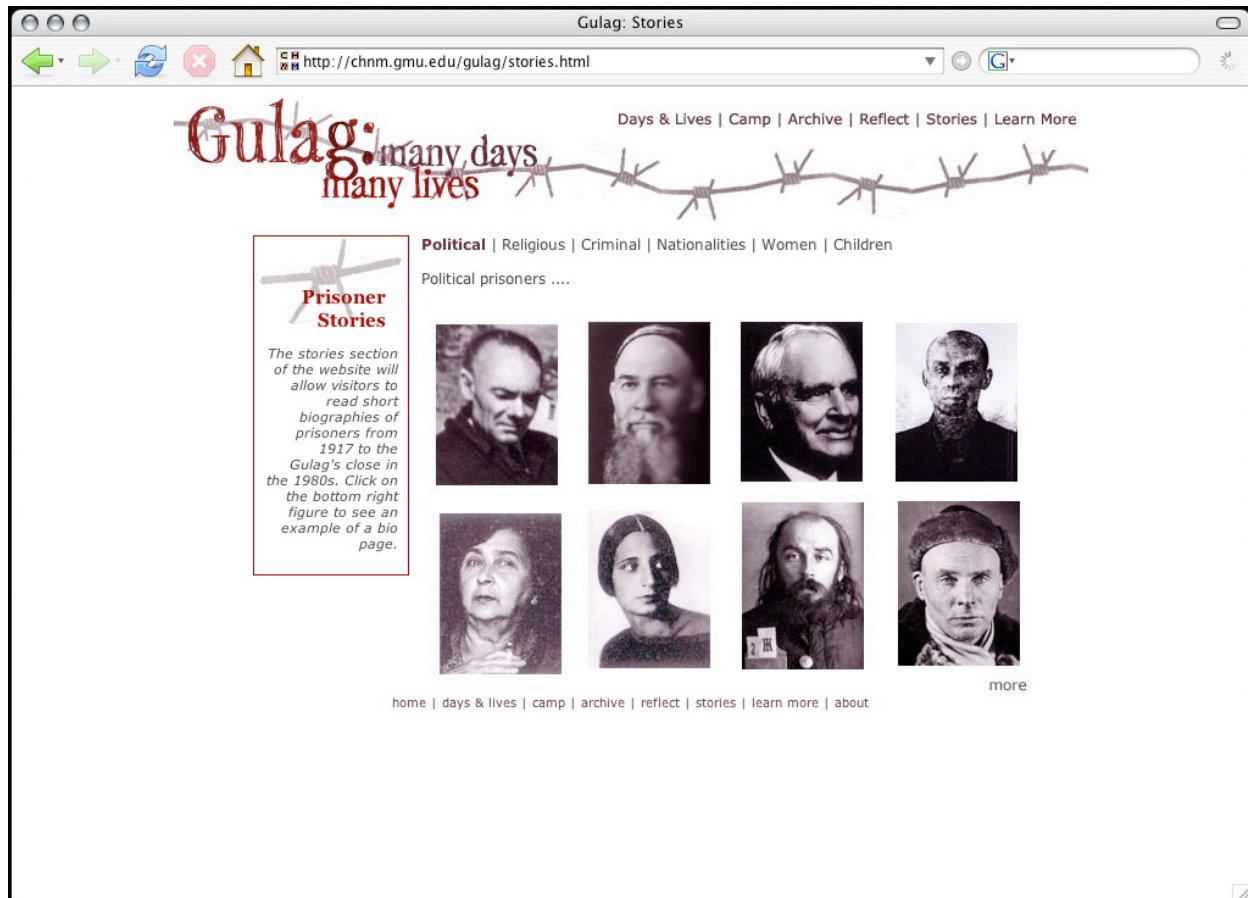

Figure 6.0 Prisoner Stories.

7.0. Learn More (See Figure 7.0)

Overview: This section will present additional materials for those users who want to learn more about the subject or are preparing to lecture about the Gulag in a classroom setting. It is directed both at members of our general audience who are looking for a more in-depth discussion of issues in the history of the Gulag, and at our secondary audience of teachers and students at the high school and college levels. These materials will include:

1. Bibliography: Annotated list of works on the Gulag.

2. Lesson Plans: Extensive materials for teaching Gulag history developed in collaboration with the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University.

3. Links: A list of recommended annotated web links.

4. Talks: Streaming QuickTime files of talks to be given at a conference on Gulag history held at Harvard University's Davis Center.

5. Traveling Exhibit: Information about the Park Service traveling exhibit

Design Notes: We will include printed versions of the talks for those users who want to scan through the text without viewing the entire presentation.

Technical Specifications: Conference talks will be videotaped during the conference by organizers and delivered in original format to CHNM upon completion. Video files will be processed and streamed in QuickTime. CHNM is already streaming QuickTime on its server and so has the infrastructure in place.

Figure 7.0 Learn More.

<u>**6. APPENDICES**</u>

<u>**Appendix A:**</u>   **Curricula Vitae of Project Staff and Consultants**

<u>**Appendix B:**</u>   **Letters of Commitment from Collaborating Institution and Consultants**

<u>**Appendix C:**</u>   **Selected Bibliography**

<u>**Appendix D:**</u>   **List of Documentary Films**

<u>**Appendix E:**</u>   **U.S. National Park Service Traveling Gulag Exhibit Schedule**

<u>**Appendix F:**</u>   **Sample Materials from the Gulag Museum, Perm, Russia**