What motivated the Terror?

1. Stalin's megalomania and paranoia
   a. fed by Ryutin platform (see Sakwa, 199-200)
   b. Kirov's popularity

2. Economic expediency and rationality
   a. how to obtain gold and other raw materials from difficult-to-access locations

3. Political necessities
   a. fear of war and Third Column spies within Russia
   b. belief in reeducation through work and hard labor

4. Chaos theories
   a. people denounced other people in an increasing spiral violence
   b. vendettas and lack of control over little Stalins

Why Did the Party and People Submit?

1. Cult of the leader – blind following of Stalin

2. Cult of the party – the party must be right
   a. we must follow the party because the party is on the side of History

3. Culture of blame built into the Revolution
   a. voluntarism -> fear of wrecking
   b. who is guilty?
   c. powerful role of propaganda among an uneducated population

4. Culture of force and militancy from the Civil War and from the underground before 1917
   a. Stalin on Bolsheviks (see readings in Sakwa)
   b. peasant willingness to use force against “others”/outsiders (though not against one’s own)
   c. poverty and zero-sum mentality: if I denounce you, I can get your apartment

5. Culture of passivity in Russian history; absence of political experience

6. Absence of restraining systems
   a. no free press, no adequate legal defense
   b. Terror as an auto-immune disease

7. Fear and terror
   a. atomization and fear of authorities; defenselessness
   b. anonymity in the cities