

INTRODUCTION

It was Lenin who first used the term "social-imperialism" to mean "socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, the growth of opportunism into imperialism."

Lenin coined this phrase to describe those "socialists" of his age whose political opportunism led to brazen support for the European imperialist powers and to siding with their own imperialist ruling classes in WW I. Today Marxist-Leninists use the same expression to describe those "communists" whose political opportunism has transformed the world's first socialist country into a new imperialist state.

What kind of country is the present-day Soviet Union and what role does it play in today's world? Some, including the so-called "Communist" Party, U.S.A., still try to picture the Soviet Union as the great rear area of world revolution, backbone of the struggle for national liberation, leader of the socialist camp and "beacon to all progressive mankind," as, indeed, it was for nearly 40 years under Lenin and Stalin. But true Marxist-Leninists and ever-increasing numbers of progressive people throughout the world have come to see that the Soviet Union is one of two imperialist superpowers who collaborate to oppress the world's peoples even as they contend in uncontrolled rivalry for world hegemony.

At the close of World War II, the U.S. stood alone at the top of the imperialist dung heap. The old European powers and Japan lay crippled by war, and "the American century" seemed at hand. The only real rival to U.S. imperialism was the Soviet Union, which had borne the lion's share of the fighting against the Nazis. Battered but still strong and proud, the Soviet people held high the great banner of socialism. They continued to stand up to imperialism even as the U.S. assumed its new role as number one world cop. But with the takeover of the Soviet Communist Party by Khrushchev and his clique in 1956, the Soviet Union began to take a different course; its challenge to the U.S. became one of a very different sort.

Today, having suffered military defeat in Indochina, being attacked by the world's people on all sides, and facing an economic crisis of severe proportions, U.S. imperialism no longer is the sole top dog. The age of "Pax Americana" has developed into an age of renewed imperialist

rivalry. But this time the main imperialist rival to the U.S. is not Great Britain, France, Germany or Japan, but the Soviet Union. Even as U.S. strength has declined and U.S. policies are exposed, Soviet social-imperialism has been on the rise, spreading its power and influence around the globe at a rapid rate. Today the Mediterranean Sea, since WW II an American lake, is patrolled by a mammoth Soviet fleet. Moreover, in 1973 Soviet ships sailed through the Taiwan Straits for the first time, an obvious insult to the Chinese people, but also an open challenge to declining U. S. influence in Asia.

Soviet social-imperialism is more dangerous than U.S. imperialism in one very important respect. The U.S. imperialists with their obscene and hypocritical talk of "freedom" and "democracy" are more and more exposed. But the Soviet Union speaks words of "peace" and "socialism" and while reversing the Russian revolution and restoring capitalism in the world's first socialist state, the new Soviet rulers shamelessly use its glorious history as a cover for their betrayal and their imperialist actions.

But, as Lenin said, we must look beyond words to deeds:

—In words the Soviet Union stands for peace and "international detente", in deeds the Soviets have assembled the largest missile force in the world and, with the U.S. imperialists, have opened a new and more dangerous chapter in the arms race.

—In words the Soviet Union stands for support of national liberation struggles. In deeds the Soviet Union tries to suppress or sabotage these movements. For example, the Soviet Union refused to recognize the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk for three years, recognizing instead the puppet clique of Lon Nol. And the Soviet state insurance agency, GOSSTRAXH, even went so far as to insure arms shipments to the Lon Nol clique.

—In words the Soviet Union stands for equality among the minority peoples and Republics within the USSR. In deeds, the past 15 years has seen a reversal of earlier equalization, and now progress is being held back compared to Great Russia.

—In words, the Soviet Union stands for building socialism in its own country. In deeds they

have restored capitalism.

—In words the Soviet Union supports the struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against U.S.-backed Zionism. In deeds the Soviet Union is contending wildly with U.S. imperialism for hegemony in the Middle East even as the two superpowers collude to try and smash the real revolutionary movements of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. The two superpowers have continually cooked up behind-the-scenes deals designed to perpetuate a state of "no war, no peace" in the Middle East. This is designed to prevent real revolution from interfering with superpower imperialist contention.

—In words the Soviet Union supports the right of nations to self-determination and respects the sovereignty of other countries, yet in 1968 the Soviet Union invaded the sovereign state of Czechoslovakia and in 1971 organized the dismemberment of Pakistan by India, a move which only facilitated the suppression of the revolutionary movement in both these countries.

—In words the Soviet Union stands for unity of the socialist camp, yet in 1960 the Soviet Union viciously pulled out all its technicians and advisers from the People's Republic of China, taking even the blueprints for uncompleted projects, while committing the same sabotage and treachery against Albania. And today 1,200,000 Soviet troops are poised in offensive positions on the Chinese border; 300,000 of these troops militarily occupy the territory of the People's Republic of Mongolia, a nation of just 1.2 million people.

—In words the Soviet Union stands for the rights and interests of the working class, and true democracy for the great majority of society. In deeds, however, the Soviet social-imperialists have imposed fascist rule over the masses of Soviet people and have imprisoned thousands of Soviet citizens who are protesting against this rule.

And finally, in words the Soviet Union supports the struggle of all the world's peoples against U.S. imperialism, but in deeds the Soviet ruling class conspires with U.S. imperialism to suppress revolution and to interfere with the internal affairs of other nations, while at the same time contending with U.S. imperialism for world domination, even attempting to take over and use liberation movements and other revolutionary struggles for this purpose.

All this and more has been recognized by people around the world as a direct product of the rotten opportunism of the Soviet ruling clique.

Like the heads of U.S. imperialism, Brezhnev, Kosygin, etc., are hardly world heroes.

Yet here in the U.S. some people don't understand why such a big deal is made about it. U.S. imperialism is our main enemy, they say; we are not the Czechs.

True, for the American people U.S. imperialism is the system we can and must directly overthrow to achieve socialism here and make our greatest contribution to world revolution. It is a cruel and vicious system which makes life miserable for us and for people the world over. But U.S. imperialism doesn't exist in a vacuum. To defeat U.S. imperialism and aid the defeat of imperialism and reaction everywhere, we, the American people, must understand *all* the forces at work in the world. Our final goal must be the complete abolition of imperialism in all its forms, everywhere it exists.

Within the people's movement in the United States, even among those opposed to the "Communist Party" of the U.S.A., the influence of revisionist ideas is an important block holding back revolutionary struggle. Social pacificism, reliance on the "progressive" politicians of the bourgeoisie, reliance on union leadership, and other bourgeois representatives, all are ideas which keep people from seeing the need for mobilizing the masses of people, under the leadership of the working class and a genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, to make revolution. For those who want to make revolution in the United States, it is essential to understand the roots of revisionism in the class struggle, and to see that revisionism is an international phenomenon. The struggle against revisionism and all forms of opportunism must be a part of making revolution in this country, and is part of the international struggle of the working class to defeat imperialism and all reaction, and to build socialism.

"Who are our friends and who are our enemies?" Mao Tsetung asked and answered this important question for the Chinese people in their great revolutionary struggle. We, too, must answer this correctly. There are some who hold up the Soviet Union as a true friend of the American people and the people of the world. They try to convince us that the interests of the Soviet Union are our interests as well, and that the Soviet Union is leading the worldwide struggle against U.S. imperialism and for peace and socialism. Is this true? We will show in this Red Papers that it most certainly is not.