

# Conservative 'moles' cheer on Gorbachov

by Herbert Quinde

Two erstwhile anti-Soviet conservatives, the putative co-authors of the so-called "Reagan Doctrine," Joshua Muravchik, based at the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) and Jeane Kirkpatrick, the Reagan administration ambassador to the United Nations, are now characterizing Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov as a disillusioned communist who has had a Damascus Road conversion to become a "social democrat." This cheerleading of their philosophical counterparts in the East by these two right-wing social democrats, albeit for the first time publicly, provides added insight into why President Reagan dropped the thesis that the Soviet Union is the "Evil Empire," and why President Bush and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher have been carrying on such a shameless love affair with Gorbachov.

Muravchik sparked a controversy, at least inside the Washington Beltway, when an article entitled "Gorbachov's Intellectual Odyssey: Not Another Dubcek, But a Djilas of sorts?" which he had written for *The American Enterprise*, the journal of the AEI, was published in the March 5, 1990 issue of *New Republic*.

Muravchik compared Gorbachov's transformation to that of Milovan Djilas, who, at the end of World War II, was a top Yugoslavian Communist Party operative considered to be Tito's heir-apparent. He later broke with Tito, was jailed as a dissident, and, over the course of several decades, published harsh critiques of Leninism and Stalinism, and ended up advocating a "humanist" sort of Marxism. Muravchik concluded his article, "We should . . . do everything in our power that is not reckless to support and deepen glasnost and perestroika. In addition, we should continue to seek dialogue with Gorbachov not merely about trade and missiles but about values and principles, in the hope of furthering his evolution . . . to the logical conclusion of his 'new thinking.'"

## Kirkpatrick lauds Gorbachov

For those not so naive about the Reagan era "New Right," it was no surprise to find "conservative" ideologue Jeane Kirkpatrick hyping Muravchik's praise of Gorbachov. In a Feb. 13 *Washington Post* commentary, Kirkpatrick wrote, "Joshua Muravchik offers the most plausible explanation yet

of Gorbachov's own ideological evolution. . . . I think Muravchik is right. His explanation fits the facts and removes the mysteries of how Gorbachov, who seemed a conventional Marxist-Leninist, has moved so far away from dictatorship and toward institutions and relations based on consent."

But in the 1989/90 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, the journal of the New York Council on Foreign Relations, in an article entitled "Beyond the Cold War," Kirkpatrick wrote, "Gorbachov's sweeping program of political, cultural, and economic reform marks the end of totalitarianism in the Soviet Union." Ironically, these comments come just at the moment that Gorbachov is assuming dictatorial powers greater than those held by Adolf Hitler.

What Kirkpatrick and Muravchik are doing is exemplary of the "fifth-column" role played by social democrat and so-called neo-conservative "moles" who operated within the "Reagan Revolution." In the slimy and confused "intellectual" world of conservative political theory, devoid of an understanding of history or physical economy, and dominated by neo-liberals, libertarian free marketeers, and unrepentant Bukharinites and Trotskyites, keeping one's right-wing credentials while helping give Gorbachov's brand of communism a "human face" is not a difficult task. Muravchik justifies his "disinformation" using the empiricist trick of quoting Gorbachov's numerous platitudes about "freedom" and "democracy," reflective of the flawed analytical methodology which presently has currency in the White House.

Sol Sanders, an international political affairs writer and also a former socialist turned conservative, commented on Muravchik's piece, "I was shaken to hear that Gorbachov was compared to Djilas. Gorbachov is an anti-Semitic maneuvering . . . new dictator . . . more akin to [former Hungarian Prime Minister] Horthy . . . and corporatist economics." Does Muravchik's and Kirkpatrick's political genealogy account for their crush on Gorby?

Sanders once claimed that he personally recruited Kirkpatrick to the Young Peoples Socialist League while she was a college student. Muravchik is a second generation "social democrat." His father "Manny" Muravchik was a leading figure in the Jewish Labor Committee (JLC), an outgrowth of the splintering of the Communist Party U.S.A. (CPUSA) during the 1930s. David Dubinsky founded the JLC and later collaborated with Jay Lovestone, the former secretary general of the CPUSA and ally of Bolshevik Party founder Nikolai Bukharin who led the "Right Opposition" to Stalin. When Stalin purged Bukharin and Lovestone, he and his fellow-travelers traded on their anti-Stalinism to become the CIA and FBI's top "anti-communists," hence the term "right-winger."

The godfather of these "red" conservatives is Leo Cherne, the vice-chairman of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. (See *EIR* Special Report, "The Kalmanowitch Report: Moscow's Moles in the Reagan-Bush Administration," March 17, 1988).