## The Regressive Left and Dialectics

#### by Sophie Dulesh

*"Panta cwrei, oudei menei."* Everything flows, nothing stays. —Heraclitus

The term 'dialectics' defines a way of interpreting the universe and as used here is rooted in the axiom that everything is in a state of constant flux that involves inevitable contradictions, in which gradual quantitative changes end up creating a new qualitative reality.

According to Wikipedia: "The Regressive Left (or Liberals) is a political epithet used to negatively characterize some leftists who are accused of politically regressive views [such as] tolerating illiberal principles for the sake of multiculturalism and cultural relativism, most often in the context of radical extremism within Islam."

#### A. The regressive left and extremism/ racism/Islamism

The term "Regressive Left" was coined in 2012 by Maajid Nawaz, a co-founder of Quilliam, a British counter-extremism think tank. Nawaz describes the Regressive Left as:

...a section of the left that has... an inherent hesitation to challenge some of the bigotry that can occur within minority communities... for the sake of political correctness, for the sake of tolerating what they believe are "*the others*' *culture*" and respecting different lifestyles.<sup>1</sup>

The Regressive Left believes that it is fighting against The Evil: the neocolonialist West exerting state-organized violence through military invasions. However, the same Regressive Left shies away from criticizing the violence of Islamic extremists; it is ready to ally itself with the most repressive organizations to avoid at any cost the appearance of being Eurocentric or – heaven forbid! – seeming to consider some cultures as perhaps less advanced in some ways.

The Regressive Left arose from the socialpolitical movement of 20<sup>th-</sup>century Europe known as the New Left. In the Frankfurt School of philosophers of the 1960s, it was called 'left fascism' (Jürgen Habermas). Theodor Adorno, the leading School philosopher, saw in the rise of this movement 'a grisly new mutation' of repressive authoritarianism on steroids not unlike that of Nazi Germany. French philosopher Alain Finkielkraut predicted that the militance of the Regressive Left would be for the 21<sup>st</sup> century what communism had been for the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

To achieve its goal of forcibly equalizing all cultures, the Regressive Left lowers the moral bar regarding "*the others*' *culture*" quite consciously: the grand goal of "fighting colonial attitudes" justifies its own appalling – even if not acknowledged as such – double standard. It believes that its goal justifies *any* means.

Maajid Nawaz submits:

[In the West] a great liberal betrayal is afoot... I call them 'regressive leftists,' they are in fact reverse racists. They have a poverty of expectation for minority [groups] ... they censure liberal Muslims and choose to side instead with every regressive reactionary in the name of 'cultural authenticity' and anti-colonialism... Among the left, this is a remnant of the socialist approach that prioritizes group identity over individual autonomy... Classical liberalism focuses on individual autonomy... The great liberal betrayal of this generation is that in the name of liberalism, communal rights have been prioritized over individual autonomy within minority groups [of] ex-Muslims, gay or feminist Muslims, and other most vulnerable groups... Among the right, it is ironically

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a throwback from the British colonial 'divide and rule' approach...

The solution lies in encouraging pluralism, which leads to secularism, which leads to liberalism. Islamism [radical literalistic Islam with emphasis on Sharia] is an ideology.<sup>1</sup>

The politics of 'group identity' is a trend to form political alliances based exclusively on race or ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual preference, disability, or some other particularism rather than on ideology and social position.

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However, applying an unfettered double standard, the Regressive Left feels righteous when setting the moral bar impossibly high for the majority culture in Western countries. It is a textbook example of injustice and as such it breeds only bitter resentment in subjected groups. Denis MacEoin writes:

Today, of course, there is a general trend to picture Western achievements in a uniformly negative light, often for valid reasons, including our former use of slavery or the mistreatment of Native Americans. This negativity is, however, highly selective: there are, of course, no calls for Muslim governments to apologize

for their slave trade or the Arab conquests... Why, for example, are Western Christian empires considered a blight on mankind while the great many Muslim empires of the past which lasted over a much longer period, engaged in the largest and longest-lasting slave trade in history, sought to impose one religion over all others, and placed enormous barriers on rational thought from about the 10th century, all regarded as a blessing?<sup>2</sup>

The liberal narrative portrays the West and the US as uniquely evil in the Atlantic slave trade (involving an estimated 11.7 million slaves between 1450 and 1900), while conveniently forgetting the Islamic one (17 million slaves between 650 and 1920).<sup>3,4</sup>

Ali Rivzi writes: "Consider the Arab-Islamic imperialism of seventh-century Mecca, which spread as far west as Spain and east as India in a matter of decades, and to this day has an intractable chokehold on the lives and minds of over a billion people." <sup>5</sup>

*The Independent* comments: "In a disastrous irony, the pro-Islamist Left has ended up in the same place as the White far-right... driven by a pathological anti-Americanism that is quite attractive to a certain type of degenerated progressives." <sup>6</sup>

Maryam Namazie's One Law for All anti-Shariah report "Siding with the Oppressor" (2013) reports on how the pro-Islamist Left works enthusiastically with religious fascists who, among other things, advocate the murder of homosexuals. Bill Maher, Richard Dawkins, and many others publicly rebuff the Regressive Left.<sup>7</sup> Show host Dave Rubin views the Regressive Left as the leftist version of the Tea Party.<sup>8</sup> Peter Boghossian defines the term as a pejorative used to describe those on the left who have made the "strangest bedfellows" with the Islamists.<sup>9</sup>

"Regressive leftists thus demonstrate a curiously illiberal, isolationist, and even censuring attitude towards any criticism [of Islamism], and in doing so, they not only betray universal liberal values but also abandon defending the most vulnerable liberal members living inside the Muslim community such as women, homosexuals and apostates, [excusing] the illiberal attacks as 'their culture.' The greatest danger is that the Regressive Leftists are willing to give up free speech out of fear of offending minorities, which will lead to censorship imposed by those minorities."<sup>1</sup>

In an interview about her new book *Challenges* of *Dawa*, Ayaan Hirsi Ali stated, "Islam the religion is a Trojan horse that conceals Islamism the political movement [dawa]... The Islamists are infiltrating all the institutions [such as ACLU] that were historic and fought for rights. It's a liberal blind spot... Western liberals are complicit in an Islamist cultural segregation." <sup>10</sup>

In 2006, Sam Harris used the phrase "Head-inthe-sand Liberals" to describe those in denial who,

"despite abundant evidence to the contrary, ...continue to imagine that Muslim terrorism springs from economic despair, lack of education and American militarism."<sup>11</sup>

Harris considers activists like Reza Aslan, Glenn Greenwald, Jeremy Corbyn, Noam Chomsky, Abby Martin, Cenk Uygur, Chris Hedges, C.J. Werlemann, and several others as the vanguard of the Regressive Left.

Chomsky defended Pol Pot's genocide in Cambodia only to twist and deny his position later, but never to admit his mistake. "Chomsky continues to deny that he was wrong...He responds to criticisms by misrepresenting his own positions, misrepresenting his critics' positions, and describing his detractors as morally lower than 'neo-Nazis and neo-Stalinists.' Consequently, his refusal to reconsider his words has led to continued misinterpretations...Misconceptions, it seems, have a very long life" (Wikipedia, accessed 28 May 2017).

Writing in *The American Thinker*, Rachel Neuwirth offers:

Noam Chomsky... an idol of leftist academics and journalists everywhere, has created hundreds of anti-Israel books, articles, recorded interviews and lectures – all his own. Chomsky repeats every distortion and libel directed against the Jewish state that has appeared in Arab, Western, and 'pro-peace' Israeli publications, to which he adds some conspiracy theories of his own devising.<sup>12</sup>

Ali Rizvi quotes Iraqi writer Faisal Al-Mutar: "Many [Western liberals] have betrayed us liberals in... Muslim countries, and sided with the Islamists against us." <sup>5</sup>

Lee Harris warns about inept Western attempts to handle Islamism:

The civil [Western] party [erroneously] thinks that the ruthless party can be accommodated to civil standards by means of patience and forbearance... We attribute his ruthlessness to some defect in his psychology. Perhaps, he has an inferiority complex and is acting out with us. Perhaps, we are an authority figure, and he is rebelling against us... We blame ruthlessness on someone's religion or culture or economic status; we never dream of identifying it for what it is – an intentionally chosen intimidating strategy that works...Islamism is an ideology.<sup>13</sup>

Statistics on terrorism convincingly document that poverty is not a major factor in radicalization; many terrorists come from well-to-do families.

The principal obstacle for the Regressive Left is that

...*the facts have almost no effect on them.* After all, the immigrants to Britain, France and Germany include not only Muslims, but also Chinese and Hindus, many of whom are extremely poor. And yet, after less than two generations, not one of these minorities has undergone any kind of radicalization. On the contrary, their absorption is astounding.<sup>2</sup>

"We have not got to grips with the symbiotic relationship between Islamism with far-right hatred, and the Regressive Left that is prepared to excuse Islamism," stated Haras Rafiq, an exdirector of Quilliam.<sup>1</sup> Asra Nomani, a co-founder of the Muslim Reform Movement, exposed how the Regressive Left helps the Muslim Right ("a real Muslim is a conservative one with a medieval outlook, and anyone who deviates is a sellout") and why both the Leftist media and Muslim Right fuel anti-American hysteria and enforce the Islamist agenda.<sup>14</sup>

# B. The Regressive Left fuels (a) multiculturalism and moral relativism, (b) anti-democracy, (c) anti-Semitism

a) The Regressive Left fuels multiculturalism and moral relativism

The Regressive Left enthusiastically promotes multiculturalism. The idea, when first introduced, seemed attractive, but the reality has turned out to be odious. We must remain receptive to lessons from reality at all times.

Multiculturalism, "a delectable lie," <sup>15</sup> has turned out to be a barrier that not only justifies a failure to integrate but on the contrary promotes the creation of closed ethnic enclaves that enforce identity politics. Canada's Parliament passed the *Act for the Preservation and Enhancement of Multiculturalism* on July 7, 1988, and augmented its error in 1991 by establishing the Department of Multiculturalism.

Even now, "...the West is still suffering from the damage done by multiculturalism, living proof that the road to hell is paved with good inten tions." <sup>16</sup> Multiculturalism betrays the most vulnerable Muslims – women, minorities, LGTB – because it sanctifies any oppressive archaic tribal tradition as *'their culture'* on the falsely anti-racist pretext that all cultures are of equal moral value.

In other words, the dogma of the Regressive Left is based on *cultural and moral relativism*: a claim that there are no objective criteria to assess one culture or moral code against another. While the rising white supremacy movement may regrettably make the claim *seem* justifiable, it is nevertheless a grand fallacy that is easily

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exposed: all cultures are not equal, gender equality is better than patriarchy, democracy is better than theocracy, religious tolerance is better than a "thought police," etc. By inducing a paranoid fear of being accused of prejudice through the use of words such as "Islamophobia," multiculturalism entrenches the "racism of lower expectations."

> b) The Regressive Left fuels anti-democracy

> The rise of so-called political correctness, an offspring of the doctrine of multiculturalism, promoted disproportionately but not exclusively on university campuses, parallels the rise of the Regressive Left's authoritarian anti-liberalism. In US universities, 18 percent of social sciences professors self-identify as Marxists. In the words of Jonathan Chait:

Political correctness challenges that bedrock liberal ideal [of a free marketplace of ideas]. While *politically* less threatening than conservatism (the far right still commands far more power in American life), the politically correct left is actually more *philosophically* threatening. It is an undemocratic creed.<sup>17</sup>

Democracy is under real

threat. "Voters in most European countries and the US are increasingly less likely to believe it is essential to live in a democracy. This effect is stronger among younger people and right-wing voters." <sup>18</sup>

Disproportionally shrinking is the system of checks and balances essential to keep democracy working. Without limits placed on the majority, intolerance rules and populist leaders regard the votes of the majority as a license to crush dissent. Tony Blair, the prime minister of Britain from 1997 to 2007, submits, "The rightist populism, on both sides of the Atlantic, is intent on blowing up traditional conservative politics and replacing it with a new coalition, comprising traditionally left-leaning supporters in working-class communities who feel left behind by globalization, and traditionally right-leaning supporters who hate liberalism. Both constituencies believe that traditional culture is at risk from immigration and 'political correctness.' Both believe in the nationstate as opposed to international alliances. Both feel let down by the so-called elites and think that the solution is an authoritarian figure strong enough not to care what a biased establishment thinks about him. This is a revolution that is partly economic, but mainly cultural. They [Left] agree with the right-wing populists about elites, though for the left the elites are the wealthy, while for the right they're the liberals. This leftist populism is a profound error." <sup>19</sup>

#### c) The Regressive Left fuels anti-Semitism

The right-wing populist movement and the Regressive Left are both increasingly interwoven and linked with globally rising anti-Semitism. It is not only Islamist anti-Semitism that is on the upswing.

The social media continue to be a platform for hate speech: 40 million users were exposed to anti-Semitic posts on Twitter in October, 2016, alone. The UN's voting pattern places first in the Wiesenthal list of the top ten anti-Semitic, anti-Israel cases for 2016. Maajid Nawaz laments:

Israel is not the biggest problem in the Middle East, by a long shot. But you wouldn't know that from the disproportionate way in which the UN has treated the country...To this day, 47 resolutions concerning the Israel-Palestine conflict have been adopted by the UNSC... These were more than those focused on Syria, North Korea, Iran, and South Sudan *combined*.

Arabs, Muslims, Islamists, liberals, leftists, and our international organizations share this institutional bias... We have allowed our political, religious, and ideological tribalism to shape our emotional response to the point of developing an unhealthy obsession with Israel. It is post-truth.<sup>20</sup>

As are, one might add, the latest UNESCO votes denying any historical connection between Israel and Jerusalem.

According to the US National Counterterrorism Center's 2011 report, in 2010 radical Sunnis were responsible for 9,092 or 68.95% of all terrorism deaths in the world, which is *more than twice* that of all the world's other terrorist groups combined. In 2010, Sunnis made up 19.76% of the world's people. Per capita, Sunnis committed 3.49 times more terrorist killings than all the rest of the world. Yet Israel is uniquely in the cross-hairs of the UN's skewed focus.

From an excellent article by Matti Friedman, a former AP reporter:

The Jews of the Middle East are outnumbered by the Arabs of the Middle East 60 to one, and by the world's Muslims 200 to one. Half of the Jews in Israel are there because their families were forced from their homes in the 20th century not by Christians in Europe, but by Muslims in the Middle East. Israel currently has Hezbollah on its northern border, Al-Qaeda on its north-eastern and southern borders, and Hamas in Gaza. None of these groups seek an end to the occupation, but rather openly wish to destroy Israel. *But it is naïve to point out these facts: the facts don't matter*: We are in the world of symbols. In this world, Israel has become a symbol of what is wrong – not Hamas, not Hezbollah, not Great Britain, not America, not Russia.

I believe it's important to recognise the pathologies at play in order to make sense of things.<sup>21</sup> [Emphasis is mine.]

Israel has been singled out in global media, demonized, dehumanized and delegitimized since its inception. "...In Pakistan, everyone was convinced that the Jews did [9/11] and a ludicrous rumor about four hundred Jews staying home the morning of the attack spread online like herpes." <sup>10</sup> This is anti-Semitism.

Should this global injustice give Israel a free pass from criticism 'in compensation'? Ex-Chief Rabbi of the British Commonwealth, Lord Jonathan Sacks offers:

Antisemitism is not criticism. It is the denial of Jews' collective right to exist... The antisemitism flooding through the Arab and Islamic world today is as wide-spread and virulent as it was in Europe between 1880 and 1945, and it is being disseminated world-wide through the Internet... It changes form over time. In the 1930s, anti-Semites chanted 'Jews to Palestine.' Today they chant 'Jews out of Palestine'... Today [they do] so by blaming Israel or Jews – in the classic Blood Libel/*Protocols of the Elders of Zion* style – for

controlling America, dominating Europe, manipulating the economy, owning the media, perpetrating 9/11 and terrorist attacks, creating AIDS and Ebola, the 2004 tsunami and global warming. In the Middle Ages Jews were hated for their religion, in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries for their race and today for their nation-state, Israel. In the West, antisemitism is now usually disguised as anti-Zionism.<sup>22</sup>

Addressing his fellow Arabs, Canadian-Arab scholar Fred Maroon writes:

You know that Jews... were ethnically cleansed from all Arab countries. You also know that when Jews faced the Holocaust, no country in the world provided them a safe haven. Despite this knowledge, you selflessly want to give up Jewish sovereignty over the... only safe haven for Jews who face discrimination and violence anywhere in the world... [You claim that] your stand is genuine and not meant to appease the anti-Semites. You have insisted that your opposition to Israel is not conformism to the anti-Zionist orthodoxy of the Radical Left.<sup>23</sup>

Jonathan Sacks stresses the most critical facet of anti-Semitism:

The significance of antisemitism, though, is its effect not on Jews but on anti-Semites. It allows them to see themselves as victims. It enables them to abdicate moral responsibility... [W]hen [anti-Semites] criticize Israel, they find they no longer stand along. This brings within the fold such strange fellow travelers as the far right, the anti-globalization left, and some notoriously politicized human rights organizations, surely the oddest coalition ever assembled in support of people practicing terror to bring about theocracy. My point is that we still have not understood what antisemitism is and the role it plays in the legitimation of evil... It gives rise to that complex of psychological regressions that lead to evil on a monumental scale: splitting, projection, pathological dualism, dehumanization, demonization, a sense of victimhood, and the use of a scapegoat to evade moral responsibility.<sup>22</sup>

#### Sacks also notes:

The hate that begins with Jews never ends with Jews... [Antisemitic views] are widespread throughout the Muslim world, including communities in Europe, and they are slowly infecting the far left, the far right, academic circles, unions, and even some churches. Having cured itself of the virus of antisemitism, Europe is being reinfected by parts of the world that never went through the self-reckoning which Europe undertook...<sup>24</sup>

Edward Tabash, an expert in constitutional law, submits:

I am not arguing that secular humanists have no basis for criticizing religious influence in Israel's government. However, such criticisms apply with even greater force to Israel's enemies. In addition to a historical/legal argument for Israel's right to exist, if any religious preferentialism constitutes a basis for delegitimizing Israel's status as a sovereign nation, such preferentialism even more strongly delegitimizes the right to exist claimed by those Arab nations who refuse to recognize Israel's sovereignty.<sup>25</sup>

Renowned British scholar Denis MacEoin offers:

No one holds meetings to call for reform in Islamic states. Instead, people pass resolutions condemning the only country that defends those rights for all its citizens. In Israel, the Christian community is the only one anywhere in the Middle East to have grown in numbers since 1948... There are no apartheid laws in Israel... Israel is, in every respect, a free society. When you support the Palestinians exclusively, you offer support to censorship and state control of expression.<sup>2</sup>

I dare to offer a few more quotes below from the online question-and-answer site Quora. They are not academic but rather highly emotional statements which therefore have a more powerful impact.

i) Sam Morningstar, in answering the question: "Who were the meanest people you ever met?" I used to think it was a subculture of aggressive, racist, usually uber-conservative, White males... It's almost like they hate Native Americans' existence... But, in the last few years, they are matched by radical Leftist identity politicians of all races and backgrounds who will attack anyone that dares to disagree with them in any measure. And they will do this with a level of vitriol and personal attacks that matches the most vile racist White guy who hates Native Americans with a passion. The level of insanity and mean-spiritedness is pretty much the same...

ii) Salman Khan:

I have Muslim friends from all around the globe. If one thing is the common denominator of them all, it's not Islam. It is their mandatory anti-Israel Facebook posts. Their views are so skewed... [like] it's always Israel's fault. I will understand if people look at these Muslims and think that hating Israel is one of the 5 pillars of Islam.

Elsewhere Khan writes:

"[They are] ...those who are more interested in rhetorically defending marginalized minorities than standing up for reason and rationality."

iii) Walid Hosseini:

Progressives and liberals see the world and relate to others on the basis of racial, cultural, socio-economic, sexual and gender identities over individual identities... In so far as they do this on the basis of race, it is a racist mindset... I couldn't care less that they do so with the claimed intent of furthering social justice; it is highly racist and offensive.

iv) Majid Rafizadeh:

UK news media is dominated by the liberal left BBC and its Islamic apologist narrative... Dear Liberal, if you truly stand for values such as peace, social justice, liberty & freedoms, your *apologetic* view of radical Islam is in total contradiction with those values. Your view hinders efforts of many Muslims to make a peaceful reformation in Islam precisely to *advance* those values.

#### C. Dialectics And the Regressive Left

How can well-meaning socially conscious people support a double standard, *ignore facts* and betray the interests of the most vulnerable, all while believing that they are in the avant-garde of progressive thinking?

Comedian Stephen Colbert calls it "truthiness": claims that feel right, even if they have *no basis in fact*, and that people want to believe because they fit their preexisting attitudes.

Reality is purposefully out of focus for the Regressive Leftists who still heed the old clarion call of anti-imperialism, even though decolonization in the last few decades has been a remarkable success: in the 1970s, 30 countries were liberal democracies, while in 2016, it was 93.

As Y.N. Harari put it, "People continue to conduct a heroic struggle against racism without noticing that the battlefront has shifted, and that the place of racism in imperial ideology has now been replaced by 'culturism'... We no longer say, 'It's their blood.' We say, 'It's *their culture*.'"<sup>26</sup>

Ignoring facts in favor of emotions defines the tendency of certain groups in America to eulogize *all* non-white people killed by police, even those who committed proven terror acts, like Abdul Razak Ali Artan, who in 2016 injured 11 students by ramming his car into them and afterwards trying to stab them to death with a butcher knife.

Such "true believers" will never be swayed by unwanted realities.

Or consider this: "Many of the graphic images of dead children [allegedly from the 2014 Gaza war] attributed to Israeli bombardment that are circulating online are from Syria [and have nothing to do with Israel], based on a BBC report."<sup>27</sup> Libelous deceit, is it not? Still, people blame Israel for those dead Syrian children.

At least one major reason for the intransigence of the Regressive Left could be that they are unwittingly committing an anti-dialectic fallacy. Our lives all follow the same curve: a stage of absorbing new concepts leading to a period of top creativity, followed by a decline. Of course, the actual age when decline happens varies in different people and in the same person in relation to different topics. But one remembers oneself as part of the avant-garde of progressive thinking. Suddenly a split opens between oneself and others from the same cohort. One angrily suspects that the others have deviated, betrayed their principles – and one lashes out at the "traitors."

But the real reason may be that one has lost the dialectic approach to reality. Today, unbeknownst to a person, new problems may be demanding urgent attention, but he missed it because he is still in "yesterday's mode of thinking." This unwitting loss of a dialectical approach has happened many times in history, always with dismal consequences. It is vital to include a reality check in our daily life lest we suffer from what is called "the law of unintended consequences." No omission of a reality check is possible without grave consequences.

Consider what happened in Yellowstone Park when humans killed off the wolves and then deer killed off the forest. Wolves were reintroduced and the forest recovered, the number of beaver colonies increased nine-fold, and ecosystems were re-established. Or think about Israel, where huge swamps harbouring malarial mosquitoes were successfully drained in the 1950s, albeit at great human cost. However, the peaty wetlands had filtered nitrates before they reached Lake Kinneret, and this habitat for animals and migrating birds disappeared. So Israel recreated some wetlands – and the amphibians, boars, and half a billion migrating birds all returned. Yet another example of the law of unintended consequences – on a grander scale – is the rosy dream of socialism, which seeks total equality of reward according to need, not work. This dream, alas, is overturned by the reality of the economic impotence of such an arrangement.

Not only individuals, but also groups and worldviews can fall into the anti-dialectic fallacy at their own peril. Take the once progressive Amnesty International as an example. *The Economist* now accuses Amnesty of peculiar anti-Western bias: "...reserving more pages to human rights abuses in Britain and the US than in Belarus and Saudi Arabia." "Morally bankrupt Amnesty" (in the words of Salman Rushdie) sponsored a rally in Brussels, where Islamists celebrated the 9/11 attacks, denied the Holocaust and demonized gays and Jews.<sup>28</sup> Clearly, it is high time for Amnesty to make a reality check.

People are conservative. Reality checks of our mental constructs must be carried out daily to keep our receptivity to life's lessons acute. The Regressive Left refuses to recognize this. It remembers that for a good three generations, it was the unquestioned forerunner, so what could possibly make its position less valid over the next fifty years? It believes in its own infallibility. An anti-dialectic approach is a commonly unacknowledged but nevertheless grave error to beware of. And, as David Rand warns, Canadians should be on guard:

Canada is a very easy target for regressive-left ideas, a total pushover in fact. The reason is obvious: Canada is ground-zero for the ideology of multiculturalism, promoted by Pierre-Elliott Trudeau in his heyday and continuing to be very influential, indeed totally dominant, to the point that the federal government even has a Canadian Multiculturalism Act, enacted under one of Trudeau's successors, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, and giving that ideology force of law. This gives the regressive left a stranglehold over politics in Canada and greatly hampers efforts to secularize.<sup>29</sup>

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Sophie Dulesh MD, PhD, Dr of Science, worked for 27 years as a medical practitioner and researcher in Russia before immigrating to Canada in 1980, where she worked as an MD for another 23 years. Since then, Sophie has pursued many other interests, including philosophy, the history of religion, and writing on a range of subjects.

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