

The Stigmatization of Conspiratorial

Beliefs: Origins and Implications

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Abstract

The rise in popularity in the phrases “conspiracy theory” and “conspiracy theorist” is directly associated with the use of propaganda/psychological operations principles by certain authorities for preventing the public from challenging the status quo. In this paper, I begin by discussing the evolutionary mechanisms for conspiracies and conspiratorial beliefs. I then present a combination of anecdotal and empirical evidence for demonstrating why and how authorities are stigmatizing conspiratorial beliefs. Toward the latter half of this article, I discuss the underlying issue of political corruption and the importance of democracy for counteracting it. I conclude by arguing that justice and social evolution can only occur if there is greater public scrutiny concerning the intents and actions of authorities, which can only happen if people become more responsible toward the management of their lives. In the context of this paper, this means that the public will need to educate itself as to how it can be manipulated into surrendering its rights and freedoms.

Introduction

During the 21st century, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of articles and broadcasts released by the news industry concerning the topic of conspiracy theories.¹⁻¹⁰ What these have in common is that they reflect upon how there has been a surge in the number of conspiracy theories with an international significance since the advent of the internet. They also indicate that these conspiracy theories tend to propagate mainly in Europe and North America. Additionally, the news industry presents the notion that they tend to be promoted by people who are delusional and/or paranoid. This notion is supported by a number of studies, some of which also suggest that these conspiracy theories are a threat to democracy and/or social order.¹¹⁻¹³

According to the Collins Dictionary, a conspiracy theory is defined as “a belief that a group of people are secretly trying to harm someone or achieve something.” In

addition, the dictionary states, “You usually use this term to suggest that you think this is unlikely.”¹⁴ Although there does not appear to be any legal definition for “conspiracy theory”, we find that a conspiracy is defined “when people work together by agreement to commit an illegal act. A conspiracy may exist when the parties use legal means to accomplish an illegal result, or to use illegal means to achieve something that in itself is lawful.”¹⁵ Hence, neither of these definitions suggest that conspiracy theories are the product of delusion or paranoia, although the Collins Dictionary states that the term tends to be used for dismissing any belief about there being a conspiracy.

Although this is not a new topic of contention, it is worth examining because it affects public receptivity of issues that are serious enough to warrant a thorough investigation. With that being said, the purpose of this article is to show how public opinion is being manipulated in order to advance the interests of wealthy and powerful people. Using a variety of perspectives from psychology, sociology and political studies, I explain why “conspiracy theories” exist. I also elaborate on why there are efforts being made to dismiss them and to dissuade people from asking serious questions about serious issues. A secondary purpose of this article is to show how important it is to think critically and to explore what it means to know, or in the context of this article, to not know.

Research and Analysis

Conspiratorial Beliefs and their Mechanisms

Why do people hold beliefs about conspiracies, even though they may be wrong?

There are three reasons for this, which are epistemic, existential and social.¹⁶

Respectively, people have epistemic motives in the sense that they have a need for finding the reason(s) behind the occurrence of events in order to help themselves form a conceptual understanding of how nature functions. In the context of conspiratorial beliefs, this allows them to assign blame to people they perceive as

being responsible for an event that they may not necessarily understand. People also have existential motives for conspiratorial beliefs as this helps them to feel safe in their environment, and for giving themselves a sense of control over events that affect them. Lastly, people may have social motives for these beliefs as this helps them to identify individuals who are not a part of their social circle and who may be acting against their best interests.

Essentially, what psychological research suggests is that conspiracy theories arise because of factors that are genetic and environmental.¹⁷ Respectively, humans have the ability to think critically, which forms the basis for conspiratorial beliefs. However, the genetic aspect does not function alone; from an environmental perspective, our hunter-gatherer ancestors had developed the capacity for conspiratorial thinking as a byproduct of evolutionary adaptation to situations where they encountered real conspiracies. As such, it goes without saying that our ancestors had valid reasons for having conspiratorial beliefs.¹⁸ At the time, people were motivated toward aggressive and/or violent behavior as they competed in a struggle for scarce resources, with food being a prime example. Yet, this was not the only reason; because of their need for health, safety, love and self-esteem, people conspired against each other for reasons that do not directly relate to survival. Historically, people have struggled to attain and maintain peace because they did not know how to do so. Similarly and conversely, according to archeological evidence, aggressive and/or violent conspiratorial behavior is not something that remains constant throughout human history, which suggests that people will avoid conspiring against each other if they can.¹⁹ In this sense, whether it relates to the need for finding a mate, for improving one's social status, or even ideological reasons, people are motivated toward conspiratorial behavior because of factors that are genetic, but that are reinforced by environmental parameters.

The Stigmatization of Conspiratorial Beliefs: The Why and the How

Before we examine the why and the how of conspiracy theories and their social stigma it is important that we establish which theories are considered as controversial in accordance to prevailing social beliefs and norms, given that they are reflective of what authorities consider as factual. According to authorities, which are generally represented by government, the news industry and certain academic individuals and organizations, some of the most popular conspiracy theories challenge the following: the assassination of former President John F. Kennedy, the Apollo 11 moon landing, the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the anthropogenic global warming theory, the COVID-19 pandemic and the New World Order.²⁰ For the purpose of this article I will not examine the above-mentioned issues in detail as this has already been done by independent researchers. Some of these researchers have been able to expose the biggest logical flaws made by authorities, as well as examine evidence that they have failed to analyze. Because of how complex and significant these conspiracies are I provide source references at the end of this article, all of which contain information that is so vital for understanding the state of our planet, as well as the state of our science and technology that in ignoring it we do so at our own peril.²¹⁻²⁶ As such, when taking into account all of the analysis and evidence-gathering conducted over the years we can now confidently declare that the explanations provided by authorities on the above-mentioned issues are false. With that being said, I discuss the significance of stigmatization and what it entails.

Stigmatization is a concept that describes the separation of people from civilization because of them deviating from socially accepted standards of thought and behavior, and/or as a consequence of them having a certain attribute or a set of attributes that are considered as socially unacceptable. As such, stigmatization involves the use of power by authoritarian entities for labeling, stereotyping and discriminating against people, causing them to lose their social status.²⁷ The act of stigmatizing

conspiracy theories and their proponents is done for two specific purposes. The first is to quash critical inquiry, and the second is to prevent people from challenging the status quo. When considering this, as well as what I have mentioned in the introduction, it should come as no surprise then that some studies confirm that proponents of conspiracy theories tend to be stigmatized and face the potential of social exclusion due to the concern that they will cause social and political disorder.²⁸⁻²⁹

The rise in popularity of the phrases “conspiracy theory” and “conspiracy theorist” can be traced to a document released by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1967 with the title of “Countering Criticism of the Warren Report”.³⁰ This document has gained noticeable recognition in the alternative media due to its social and political significance.³¹⁻⁴¹ What these media sources have in common is that they portray authorities as being anti-democratic and even conspiratorial. In addition, they are frequently derided and scorned by the news industry because they promote perspectives that are on the fringe of what is considered socially acceptable, bearing in mind this is a decision made by authorities, and not the public. With that being said, the reasons why the CIA’s document has received recognition becomes apparent when we take the time to analyze what the document states, and then put it into context. What is remarkable about this document is that it was released with the intent of curtailing criticism of the official investigation into the assassination of the former American president, John F. Kennedy. Indeed, what we find is that the CIA recommended that the media avoid publicizing criticism about the official investigation unless it was already being discussed. The agency even went as far as recommending propaganda techniques for preventing the circulation of conspiracy-related claims abroad, as well as for refuting critics of the Warren Commission. For instance, we find the following statement on the first page of the document “The aim of this dispatch is to provide material for countering and discrediting the claims of the conspiracy theorists so as to inhibit the circulation of such claims in other countries.”⁴² Although the phrases “conspiracy theory” and “conspiracy theorist” are

not new, the alternative media credits the CIA with having transformed the meaning of those phrases. Additionally, the intelligence agency had been forming relationships with journalists and reporters in the news industry since at least the 1960's for the purpose of gathering and disseminating intelligence.⁴³ Putting this into context, ever since the New York Times had partnered with the CIA, the use of the above-mentioned phrases has been on the rise since the mid-1980's.⁴⁴ However, the New York Times is not the only news company that has partnered with the CIA, and neither of these organizations are the only ones influencing public opinion, both domestically and abroad.

The propaganda techniques used for influencing public opinion are essentially the same as those that have been used in military warfare for undermining enemy objectives. According to a textbook entitled *Psychological Operations*, which was published by the U.S Air Force's center for professional military education "Propaganda and disinformation that seek to cause people to trade freedom for lies is a most insidious and dangerous threat, and freedom is far too precious a thing to be defended by haphazard efforts." Additionally, "There is no need to lie because properly packaged truth is the very best propaganda."⁴⁵ Therefore, the framing of public opinion, whether it is done domestically or abroad is accomplished by presenting facts that support a narrative while omitting to present any that may challenge its integrity. Alternatively, lies are promoted for manufacturing an illusory narrative, although this would not qualify as the "very best propaganda". In whichever way we look at it, propaganda involves the strategic exploitation of peoples' ignorance in order to gain a competitive advantage over them. Thus, when a conspiracy occurs authorities use propaganda/psychological operations principles for creating a narrative that appears as logically and factually valid, but that would collapse under focused scrutiny.

During relatively recent years, agnotology has grown into an academic discipline dedicated toward the study of ignorance and the absence of knowledge.⁴⁶ If there is one thing we have learned from agnotology is that what we know that we know is

minute in comparison to what we know that we do not know. This is one of the main reasons why propaganda/psychological operations are effective for manipulating peoples' thoughts and behaviors. As such, the phrases "conspiracy theory" and "conspiracy theorist" are effective for preventing the status quo from being challenged because they act as a barrier that must not be crossed, figuratively speaking. What this does is it prevents people from thinking critically about sociopolitical issues that may have significant, adverse consequences on their short-term and long-term health and safety.⁴⁷

The social scientist Stanley Milgram gained recognition in the 20th century for having conducted the controversial Milgram experiment, which was a study for learning about obedience.⁴⁸ Essentially, Milgram was interested in studying the extent to which people were willing to obey an instruction if it caused distress to another person. What he learned was that a certain majority of people obey what authorities order them to do, even if it involves killing an innocent person. What the Milgram experiment's results suggest is that obedience to authority is a behavioral trait that is encultured to people when they are children. Hence, this trait is taught and then reinforced in different situations during a person's life, whether it be in their family, school(s) and/or their workplace(s).⁴⁹ Thus, when authorities label people as "conspiracy theorists" they do so in the expectation that people will respond by not promoting conspiratorial beliefs; to put it another way, the people are expected to feel guilty by association, which is an emotional reaction to propaganda. The question that remains is - who benefits the most by dictating what public opinion ought to be?

On the Dangers of Political Corruption and the Necessity of Democracy

It is no secret that the corruption and politicization of science has potentially devastating consequences for societies. Yet, it is apparent that we have made little progress in this regard. In a recently published commentary article, some

researchers have pointed out something that is often inconveniently ignored by the general public and that is often conveniently dismissed (but not ignored) by authorities:

Political agendas influence what kinds of questions we ask and what methods are seen as legitimate to answer those questions. They influence what is prioritized for research funding, which in turn, determines what research is well resourced, what questions get answered, and what knowledge gets produced and into the “evidence base”. Science is not objective, not value-free. It never has been; it has always been subject to the context in which it was discovered, interpreted, and applied.⁵⁰

When bringing this into the context of this article and basing it upon the available evidence, “conspiracy theorists” can be vindicated insofar as they have been able to detect logical fallacies and/or analyze evidence that authorities have omitted from consideration. The fact that we are witnessing an increase in the number of “conspiracy theories” serves as an indication that there is a growing distrust of authorities. According to a study that has focused on how conspiracy believers think, it has been revealed that they tend to not be cognitively impaired, delusional or even paranoid.⁵¹ The main reason for this is because they tend to not appeal to authority, in the sense that they are able to believe in their own judgement without having to depend entirely on anyone else’s, irrespective of their background. What the study’s results suggest is that because of their willingness to criticize the intents and actions of authorities, what happens is that they challenge the relationship of trust that exists between the general public and the authorities. From such an aspect, it is understandable as to why “conspiracy theorists” are stigmatized. Yet, given how the stigmatization occurs in societies that are supposedly democratic and that are open to constructive dialogue, this would seem as a contradiction in values.

Democracy and the freedom that it is associated with assumes that people are able to govern themselves responsibly without having to be entirely dependent on authorities for the management of their health and safety, as well as the tangible

and intangible resources they need for survival. It also assumes that societies function as one unit, where the people acknowledge their intent to work together toward a common goal. By necessity, this requires deliberation and transparency at all levels of organization. Apparently, a democracy in the strictest and most technical sense of the term is an ideal because we do not have any such examples in our history.⁵²⁻⁵³ Although we have examples of nations that exhibit democratic characteristics in every continent except for Antarctica, it would be disingenuous to say that they are democracies. The point of bringing this into the discussion is for recognizing that the risk of political corruption is always existent. In our history, one of the nations that has arguably exhibited the most democratic values is the United States of America. I have chosen this nation as an example because it has the Declaration of Independence, which is possibly the only document of its kind in the world where it is explicitly stated that its existence is dedicated toward “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”. It also has the Constitution, which grants its people with a number of rights, with freedom of expression being one example.⁵⁴ The former American president John F. Kennedy recognized the importance of freedom of expression, as well as the other principles contained within these documents when he once declared during a speech “We are not afraid to entrust the American people with unpleasant facts, foreign ideas, alien philosophies, and competitive values. For a nation that is afraid to let its people judge the truth and falsehood in an open market is a nation that is afraid of its people.”⁵⁵ The former president’s speech would not have been so ironic had he not been assassinated. Because of his relative popularity with the public and relative unpopularity with certain vested interests, his assassination and the ensuing investigation by authorities have been subject to substantial scrutiny over the years and have led to Kennedy’s death becoming one of the best-known “conspiracy theories”. In the context of this article, this is a giveaway that the official theory of his death is more akin to fantasy than reality. Otherwise, why would so many people be so skeptical and suspicious if they had no reason to?

In a comprehensive article describing the mechanisms by which U.S. authorities have been able to undermine the freedoms and rights of the public in the aftermath of 9/11, Laurie Manwell refers to a concept known as “state crimes against democracy”. In her article she uses the concept for describing how authorities masquerading as proponents of democracy can deceive people into surrendering their rights in response to a cause that is manufactured by them.⁵⁶ More specifically, Manwell explains how the passing of PATRIOT Acts I and II, including the deaths caused by the proceeding war on terror have been justified through the use of propaganda by the government and the news industry for convincing people to exchange freedom for security. In this regard, the “one-percent doctrine”, a term that originates from the Bush administration had been used as a tool of precaution for justifying the need to protect the people against a foreign threat (terrorists) that was never proven to exist. As such, Manwell responds to these findings that democracy can only be protected if the public is educated as to how they can be manipulated by authorities into surrendering their freedoms and rights. As we can observe, the importance of this revelation is paramount to understanding how dictatorships can arise without the public being entirely aware of it.

Apparently, there are not enough people educated on the topic of state crimes against democracy, and certainly not to the extent that is required for understanding the entire significance of 9/11. Nearly 20 years later the COVID-19 pandemic has demonstrated how it is possible for billions of people to be deceived into surrendering their freedoms and rights in response to another illusory threat, except this time it is a virus.⁵⁷ Similarly with 9/11, the precautionary principle has been subverted so that the burden of proof is on the public rather than on the authorities.⁵⁸ The consequence is that emergency measures employed by governments for reducing or preventing the spread of infection, such as masking, social distancing, quarantining, curfews and lockdowns do not need to be justified with scientific evidence. Likewise, the pharmaceutical industry is authorizing itself to lead a global vaccination campaign in spite of medical trials having been

insufficient for determining the safety and efficacy of the vaccines. Under normal circumstances, this course of action would be indictable as criminal. However, authorities are attempting to convince the public into accepting this reality as the “new normal”, which is a term that describes a post-pandemic world that is defined by centralization and where authorities have more power to control, manage and enforce rules and regulations.⁵⁹ Indeed, even the eminent World Economic Forum has announced that this pandemic represents a unique opportunity for what it calls The Great Reset, which is an initiative that will “inform all those determining the future state of global relations, the direction of national economies, the priorities of societies, the nature of business models and the management of a global commons.”⁶⁰ Hence, what we are essentially witnessing is the rise of a new world order, which in the past has been primarily only discussed by “conspiracy theorists”.

Given the extent to which political corruption has prevailed and how the abuse of power has led to untold suffering on a global scale, we can no longer ignore “conspiracy theories”, especially not those that I have mentioned in this article. We can also no longer ignore “conspiracy theorists”. In fact, the phrase “conspiracy theorist” ought to be replaced with “conspiracy analyst” because in the same way police detectives collect evidence for forensic purposes, conspiracy analysts also collect evidence except they do this for raising awareness and for encouraging social action against conspiracies. Although not all conspiracy analysts are equal in terms of their ability to apply critical thinking and logic, we must consider how they have correctly identified certain conspiracies, such as those mentioned in this article. If there is anything we can deduce from studying conspiracies, especially those that are international in scale is that they are not new phenomena. The evidence speaks for itself and we even have testimony to prove this.

At the end of the 18th century, John Robison published a book that in many ways serves as a case study of conspiracy analysis. In his book, he exposes the corrupt and deceitful practices of the Order of the Illuminati (bearing in mind that the latter has been a topic of discussion among conspiracy analysts for reasons that are

related to the concept of a new world order). At the time, Robison was a respected physicist, a high-ranking freemason and Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. If credentials are of any import then this should be considered as noteworthy. What Robison explained was that most of the social and political problems that were witnessed in Europe at the time were not caused by the actions of the poor, but rather, by the actions of an alliance of wealthy elite who perceived themselves as being “illuminated”. For instance, members of the Illuminati had infiltrated and corrupted the fraternal organization of the Freemasons and had exploited its value system, with the motto “liberty, equality, fraternity” being one example of such a value. They did this to mask the fact that they had intended to stage a coup against France by toppling its government and transforming its religious order. The Illuminati were the prime suspects concerning the French Revolution and apparently, they had intended to do the same to all of the world’s nations. On page 32 of his book, Robison writes the following for describing those responsible for the conspiracy:

Grasping at every mean of gratification, they are inattentive to the rights of inferiors whom they despise, and, despising, oppress. Perhaps their own superiority has been acquired by injustice. Perhaps most sovereignties have been acquired by oppression. Princes and Rulers are but men; as such, they abuse many of their greatest blessings.⁶¹

Ever since his findings were published, it seems little has changed. More than two hundred years later, David Rockefeller, the grandson of oil tycoon John D. Rockefeller published his autobiography called *Memoirs*. The book contains a particular quotation on page 405 that has been publicized by conspiracy analysts due to its revealing nature, which reads as thus:

For more than a century ideological extremists on either end of the political spectrum have seized upon well-publicized incidents such as my encounter with Castro to attack the Rockefeller family for the inordinate influence they claim we wield over American political and economic institutions. Some even believe we are

part of a secret cabal working against the best interests of the United States, characterizing my family and me as “internationalists” and of conspiring with others around the world to build a more integrated global political and economic structure – one world, if you will. If that’s the charge, I stand guilty, and I am proud of it.⁶²

As we can observe, in the opinion of David Rockefeller, conspiracy allegations and related claims are propagated by ideological extremists. If we were to play the devil’s advocate (pardon the pun), then perhaps this is true to some extent. After all, as Rockefeller explains, there has been much material progress around the globe, partly because of his actions, and those of his family. For example, one of the reasons it has been possible for conspiracy analysts to share this quotation and make it visible among the billions of people who use the internet is mainly because of oil. Therefore, it is not the material progress that is problematic, but rather, it is the way in which it is being carried out. Even though we have made great advances in science and technology, partly due to the actions of many conspirators, with David Rockefeller being one of them, what is problematic is the way in which the changes have taken place. Both the intent and the behavior of the conspirators is wrong on the basis that they are imposing their wills upon the world’s population. It is also wrong because they are dictating to a considerable extent the rate of social progress, using whatever means necessary to achieve their objectives, all of which is accomplished without the direct consent of the people. It is for this reason we must strive for democracy. This revelation also serves as a reminder that freedom is a privilege that has one major weakness; it always carries the possibility of abuse. This abuse does not only occur when people relinquish it in exchange for comfort. It also occurs when people use it to exploit others. When both scenarios occur at the same time, a democratic dictatorship manifests where authorities convince the public to give them freedom in the form of consent so that the public can be governed at its own expense. Considering how such a scenario involves an element of slavery, which is far from accidental, we can therefore come to no other

conclusion that anyone who argues that such a scenario is not true is either naively ignorant or deceptively dishonest.

Conclusion

Conspiracies and their associated theories arise as a result of genetic and environmental factors and they exist because of humans adapting to situations that may pose a risk to their survival. However, they do not always arise just because of the struggle to survive. Due to the human need for health, safety, love, self-esteem and meaning, people conspire for reasons that have more to do with ideology than with anything else.

Throughout this article, I have demonstrated that the phrases “conspiracy theory” and “conspiracy theorist” are used as propaganda techniques by certain authorities for dissuading the public from asking serious questions about serious issues. Examples of such issues include but are not limited to: the assassination of former President John F. Kennedy, the Apollo 11 moon landing, the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the anthropogenic global warming theory, the COVID-19 pandemic and the New World Order. Given how extensive and profound these issues are, especially when accounting for all of the disinformation and misinformation that has been propagated for justifying their official theories, they should serve as case studies as to how the subjective reality of humans can be manipulated to such an extent so that the future direction of nations can be planned in accordance to an elitist agenda.

Although it is incorrect to assert that all social, economic and political events across the world are the consequence of an international conspiracy, it is also incorrect to assert the opposite. If there is one thing that is certain is that if the public does not investigate and ponder on the variety of scientific perspectives, including the significance of the evidence I have examined and made reference to in this article, then there can be no democracy and no freedom in any meaningful sense. For there

to be justice, everyone must realize that their rights and freedoms can only exist if they are willing to use them to build a world dedicated toward democracy and social evolution. In this regard, everyone, that is, we must all assume responsibility because if we don't then who will?

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²¹ The Mary Ferrell Foundation dedicates itself toward the dissemination of information that not only refutes the official theory of John F. Kennedy's assassination, as per the Warren Commission report's conclusions, but it also presents evidence showing that his death was an act of conspiracy primarily involving organized criminal groups, intelligence agencies, law enforcement agencies and certain departments of the U.S. government. Link:
https://maryferrell.org/pages/About_MFF.html.

²² The first person to expose the Apollo 11 moon landing conspiracy was Bill Kaysing when he published a book in 1976 entitled *We Never Went to the Moon*. Notably, he has received substantial criticism by authorities due to the controversy his research findings have provoked. Nevertheless, recent research making use of grey literature sources confirms the validity of Kaysing's findings. Link:
<http://checktheevidencecom.ipage.com/checktheevidence.com/pdf/Apollo-RemovingTruthsProtectiveLayers-Booklet.pdf>.

²³ The work of Dr. Judy Wood on 9/11 refutes the research findings of the National Institutes of Standards and Technology, the 9/11 Commission report, as well as those of the Architects and Engineers for 9/11 Truth, specifically with regards to the destruction of the Twin Towers, including World Trade Center 7. Her research findings demonstrate that these buildings were destroyed using technology that is currently unacknowledged by authorities and that violates scientific principles upheld by academia. Link: <http://wheredidthetowersgo.com/about/>.

²⁴ The anthropogenic global warming theory has never been proven with empirical evidence. The Nongovernmental International Panel on Climate Change is an organization that has published research in this regard where it shows how climatic change is not driven by excess, anthropogenic carbon dioxide emissions. It also challenges the research findings of its counterpart, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change where it addresses the many biases contained in its publications. Link: <http://climatechangereconsidered.org/about-the-nipcc/>.

²⁵ Andrew Johnson, an independent researcher manages a website dedicated to the investigation of the COVID-19 pandemic where he has published reports detailing how the pandemic represents the greatest act of fraud in the 21st century. He also provides information sources and documents showing the ways in which political corruption is affecting the future of humanity. Link: <https://cvpandemicinvestigation.com/>.

²⁶ The late historian and investigative journalist Eustace Mullins published a little-known yet revealing book entitled *The World Order* where he detailed how the world's problems are primarily caused by a group of people who are mainly comprised of bankers, business executives and politicians. He examines how this cabal has a history that goes back to ancient Babylonian times and that its ultimate goal is to implement a global, communist dictatorship. Link: <http://www.eustacemullins.us/wp-content/works/Books/Eustace%20Mullins%20-%20The%20World%20Order,%20Our%20Secret%20Rulers,%202nd%20edition,%201992.pdf>.

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