

INTELLIGENCE DOSSIER

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ANALYST: MARIE-SOLEIL SESHAT LANDRY

Analyst Profile: Analysis conducted by Marie-Soleil Seshat Landry.

Verification URL: marielandryspyshop.com

SUBJECT: GEORGE W BUSH'S RELATIONS...

UNCLASSIFIED // OPEN SOURCE INTELLIGENCE REPORT

SUBJECT: Analysis of George W. Bush's Relationship with the Project for the New American Century (PNAC)

ANALYST: Marie-Soleil Seshat Landry (marielandryspyshop.com)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY (BLUF): The Project for the New American Century (PNAC) was a neoconservative think tank active from 1997 to 2006, co-founded by William Kristol and Robert Kagan, which advocated for a robust American global leadership and military preeminence. George W. Bush did not directly found PNAC, but a significant number of individuals who signed PNAC's founding Statement of Principles and contributed to its key policy documents later served in high-level positions within his administration, including Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz. PNAC's policy recommendations, particularly those outlined in its "Rebuilding America's Defenses" report (2000), strongly aligned with and demonstrably influenced the Bush administration's foreign and defense policies, most notably its emphasis on increased military spending, missile defense, global power projection, and a proactive stance toward regime change in Iraq, even prior to the September 11th attacks. While academics debate the exact degree of

influence, the overlap in personnel and policy advocacy suggests a strong ideological alignment and a significant, albeit not exclusive, impact on the Bush administration's strategic direction.

THREAT LEVEL: N/A (Historical Analysis)

IDENTITY & VERIFICATION

- **Target:** George W. Bush (43rd U.S. President, 2001–2009)
- **Associated Entity:** The Project for the New American Century (PNAC)
- **Description of PNAC:** PNAC was a neoconservative think tank based in Washington, D.C., established in 1997 by William Kristol and Robert Kagan. Its stated mission was to "promote American global leadership" through a "Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity." PNAC officially ceased operations in 2006 and was later succeeded by the Foreign Policy Initiative (2009–2017).
- **Key PNAC Publications:**
 - "Statement of Principles" (June 3, 1997): Advocated for increased defense spending, strengthening democratic allies, challenging hostile regimes, and promoting political/economic freedom abroad.
 - "Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategies, Forces, and Resources For a New Century" (September 2000): This influential report called for maintaining U.S. military preeminence, increasing defense spending, developing global missile defenses, controlling space and cyberspace, and being prepared to fight multiple simultaneous major theater wars. It also noted that the process of military transformation might be accelerated by "some catastrophic and catalyzing event—like a new Pearl Harbor."
 - Letters to President Clinton (1998) and President Bush (post-9/11): Advocated for the removal of Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq.
- **Relationship Verification:** While George W. Bush was not a direct signatory or founder of PNAC, a significant number of its core members and signatories of its founding statement subsequently held key foreign and defense policy positions in his administration. These included Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Deputy

Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, Under Secretary of State for Arms Control John Bolton, and Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs Peter Rodman, among others. Jeb Bush, George W. Bush's brother, was also a founding member and played a role in producing "Rebuilding America's Defenses".

HUMAN RIGHTS & LEGAL COMPLIANCE AUDIT

PNAC's advocacy centered on a "Pax Americana" and global military dominance, with a readiness for unilateral action and regime change to advance U.S. interests. The "Rebuilding America's Defenses" report, released prior to the Bush presidency, implicitly and explicitly laid out strategies that could, depending on implementation, conflict with aspects of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and human rights conventions.

- **Pre-emptive War Doctrine:** PNAC's emphasis on "shaping circumstances before crises emerge, and to meet threats before they become dire" and its explicit calls for the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime, even without direct links to 9/11, aligns with the concept of pre-emptive or preventive war. This doctrine, as implemented by the Bush administration (e.g., the 2003 Iraq War), has been criticized for challenging established international legal frameworks that govern the use of force (Jus ad Bellum), typically requiring a direct or imminent threat.
- **Global Military Dominance & Power Projection:** The calls for "total global military domination," "control of the new 'international commons' of space and 'cyberspace,'" and a "larger U.S. security perimeter" imply an aggressive posture that could lead to widespread military interventions, increasing the risk of civilian casualties and displacement, which are central concerns of IHL.
- **Post-Conflict Planning:** While PNAC documents detailed military strategies, public sources do not indicate a comparable focus on comprehensive post-conflict stabilization, reconstruction, or adherence to occupation law as stipulated by the Geneva Conventions. The lack of a clear "Plan B" for Iraq's post-invasion phase, as noted by critics, contributed to instability and human rights challenges in the aftermath.

Direct evidence of PNAC *advocating* for specific human rights abuses or

violations of IHL (e.g., torture, indiscriminate attacks) is not explicitly found in public summaries of their documents. However, their broad strategic recommendations for military intervention and unilateral action, when adopted by the Bush administration, were perceived by some critics as creating conditions conducive to such violations or as being in tension with international legal norms.

FINANCIAL FORENSIC ANALYSIS

PNAC was established as a non-profit educational organization. Its funding primarily came from conservative foundations.

- **Funding Sources:** Between 2000 and 2003, PNAC reportedly received grants totaling \$170,000 from conservative foundations, including the Earhart, Olin, and William J. Donner foundations. The New Citizenship Project, which sponsored PNAC and whose chairman was William Kristol, received \$3.3 million in grants from 1994 to 2004, mainly from the Bradley, Olin, and Scaife Foundations. The Bradley Foundation was PNAC's largest foundation supporter, granting \$700,000 between 1997 and 2004.
- **Absence of Illicit Networks:** Publicly available information does not indicate any direct financial illicit networks or hidden assets involving George W. Bush and PNAC. PNAC operated as a policy advocacy group, and its financial activities appear to be consistent with a non-profit think tank.
- **Affiliations:** PNAC had strong ties to the American Enterprise Institute.

WARMONGERING & CONFLICT MITIGATION ANALYSIS

PNAC's publications and letters demonstrated a consistent advocacy for assertive military action and regime change, particularly concerning Iraq, which strongly correlates with the Bush administration's eventual foreign policy decisions.

- **Pre-9/11 Advocacy for Regime Change:** As early as 1998, PNAC members, including future Bush administration officials like Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz, and Donald Rumsfeld, signed open letters to President Clinton

urging the removal of Saddam Hussein from power, advocating military force if necessary. This indicates a pre-existing ideological commitment to intervention in Iraq, independent of the 9/11 attacks.

- **Post-9/11 Acceleration of Agenda:** Following the September 11, 2001, attacks, PNAC sent a letter to President Bush explicitly advocating for the removal of Saddam Hussein, even "if evidence does not link Iraq directly to the attack." This rhetoric framed the removal of Hussein as essential to the "War on Terror" and a means to "eradicate terrorism and its sponsors."
- **"Rebuilding America's Defenses" and Military Spending:** The report's recommendations for a significant increase in defense spending and a readiness for "multiple, simultaneous major-theater wars" were mirrored in Bush administration policies. The report also suggested that "some catastrophic and catalyzing event—like a new Pearl Harbor" might be necessary to accelerate these changes, a statement that gained retrospective attention after 9/11.
- **Influence on Iraq War:** Many observers and academics suggest that PNAC played a key role in shaping the Bush administration's foreign policy, particularly in building support for the Iraq War. The presence of numerous PNAC members in key positions within the Bush administration (e.g., Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz) provided a direct conduit for these ideas to influence policy. While some scholars argue PNAC's influence has been exaggerated, the alignment of its proposed strategies with the administration's actions is undeniable.

NETWORK ANALYSIS

CONCLUSION & STRATEGIC RECOMMENDATIONS

The relationship between George W. Bush's administration and the Project for the New American Century was characterized by a significant ideological alignment and overlapping personnel. PNAC, a neoconservative think tank, consistently advocated for a muscular, interventionist U.S. foreign policy focused on global military preeminence, increased defense spending, and a proactive stance against perceived threats, particularly in the Middle

East. Its key policy documents, notably "Rebuilding America's Defenses," served as a blueprint for many of the strategic shifts observed during the Bush presidency.

The placement of numerous PNAC signatories and members in high-level positions within the Bush administration (e.g., Vice President, Secretary of Defense) provided a direct channel for their neoconservative foreign policy vision to become actionable policy. This influence is most evident in the decision to invade Iraq in 2003, which PNAC had advocated for years prior to 9/11 and reiterated forcefully afterwards. While the direct causal link between PNAC's recommendations and every Bush administration action is subject to academic debate, the strong correlation in strategic objectives and the presence of key individuals suggest a substantial, if not definitive, influence.

Strategic Recommendations:

- **Historical Contextualization:** Future intelligence analyses should consider the role of influential think tanks and their personnel networks in shaping government foreign policy decisions, especially when there is significant ideological overlap.
 - **Policy Foresight:** Continue to monitor the publications and affiliations of influential non-governmental organizations and think tanks, as their stated policy goals can offer early indicators of potential future government actions, particularly if their members ascend to positions of power.
 - **Doctrine Evolution:** Analyze the long-term impact of doctrines advocated by groups like PNAC (e.g., pre-emptive war, global military preeminence) on international relations, stability, and adherence to international law.
 - **Debunking Disinformation:** Clearly distinguish between direct causation and strong correlation when analyzing the influence of external groups on government policy to prevent misattribution or the spread of conspiracy theories.
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