

INTELLIGENCE DOSSIER

CASE: COD7CF60-68CF-425A-BB8B-EB1E2B7C9267

DATE: 12/15/2025

OPEN SOURCE INTELLIGENCE (OSINT)

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SUBJECT: PROJECT FOR THE NEW AMERI...

UNCLASSIFIED // OPEN SOURCE INTELLIGENCE REPORT

SUBJECT: Project for the New American Century (PNAC) - Ideological Influence Analysis

ANALYST: Marie-Soleil Seshat Landry

DATE: December 15, 2025

SOURCE: Open Source Intelligence (OSINT)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY (BLUF)

The Project for the New American Century (PNAC) was a highly influential neoconservative think tank, active from 1997 to 2006, based in Washington, D.C.. Its core mission was to promote American global leadership through a "Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity," advocating for significant increases in defense spending and a proactive, interventionist foreign policy. PNAC's ideas and members played a substantial role in shaping the foreign policy of the George W. Bush administration, most notably influencing the strategic rationale and public discourse leading to the 2003 Iraq War. While PNAC itself is defunct, its intellectual legacy continues to resonate within certain foreign policy circles.

THREAT LEVEL ASSESSMENT

Direct Threat: LOW. The Project for the New American Century, as a formal organization, ceased operations in 2006, and its successor, the Foreign Policy Initiative, dissolved in 2017. Therefore, there is no direct, ongoing operational threat from PNAC as an entity.

Historical Influence & Ideological Proliferation: HIGH. The ideas championed by PNAC, particularly its advocacy for unilateral military intervention and "benevolent global hegemony," had profound and lasting consequences on international relations, U.S. foreign policy, and regional stability, especially in the Middle East. The continued adherence to similar foreign policy doctrines by individuals previously associated with PNAC or by new organizations sharing its core tenets represents an enduring area of concern regarding potential future conflict escalation and challenges to international norms.

IDENTITY & VERIFICATION

- **Official Name:** Project for the New American Century (PNAC)
- **Type:** Neoconservative public policy think tank; non-profit educational organization
- **Foundation:** Established in the spring of 1997
- **Founders:** William Kristol and Robert Kagan
- **Location:** Washington, D.C., United States
- **Period of Activity:** 1997 to 2006
- **Stated Goal:** "To promote American global leadership" and "to promote American principles and interests abroad"
- **Key Publications:**
 - "Statement of Principles" (June 3, 1997)
 - "Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategies, Forces, and Resources For a New Century" (September 2000)
- **Key Personnel/Signatories (partial list, also served in Bush Admin):**
 - Dick Cheney (Vice President)

- Donald Rumsfeld (Secretary of Defense)
- Paul Wolfowitz (Deputy Secretary of Defense)
- John R. Bolton (Under Secretary of State)
- Richard Perle (Defense Policy Board Chairman)
- Elliott Abrams (Special Assistant to the President)
- William J. Bennett (various advisory roles)
- Zalmay Khalilzad (Ambassador to Afghanistan and Iraq)
- **Successor Organization:** The Foreign Policy Initiative (FPI), co-founded by William Kristol and Robert Kagan in 2009, dissolved in 2017.
- **Affiliations:** PNAC had strong ties and shared offices with the American Enterprise Institute (AEI).

HUMAN RIGHTS & LEGAL COMPLIANCE AUDIT

PNAC, as a think tank, was not directly involved in military operations or state actions, and therefore did not directly commit violations of International Humanitarian Law (IHL) or human rights. However, its significant influence on U.S. foreign policy, particularly concerning the Iraq War, warrants an audit of the implications of its advocacy.

- **Advocacy for Preemptive Action:** PNAC's reports and letters consistently advocated for regime change in Iraq, even prior to the 9/11 attacks and explicitly "even if evidence does not link Iraq directly to the attack". This advocacy for preemptive military intervention without clear, direct threats or international mandates raises serious questions regarding compliance with international law, particularly the UN Charter's prohibitions on the use of force.
- **Promotion of "Benevolent Global Hegemony" and "Total Global Military Domination":** PNAC's foundational documents and key publications, such as "Rebuilding America's Defenses," promoted the concept of maintaining U.S. military preeminence and "total global military domination" to secure a "unipolar" world order. Critics argue that such concepts can undermine principles of national sovereignty, self-determination, and foster an environment where military solutions are prioritized over

diplomatic ones, potentially increasing the likelihood of conflicts with significant human rights implications.

- **Influence on the Iraq War:** Many observers and academics suggest that PNAC played a key role in shaping the foreign policy of the Bush administration and building support for the Iraq War. The war itself led to widespread human rights concerns, including civilian casualties, displacement, and allegations of abuses by various parties, highlighting the indirect but significant impact of PNAC's policy advocacy on situations where IHL and human rights were challenged.
- **Critique of UN Human Rights Bodies (Indirect):** While not directly from PNAC, some associated figures and similar neoconservative viewpoints have been critical of UN human rights bodies, sometimes arguing they are biased or ineffective. Such critiques, when amplified, can weaken international mechanisms designed to monitor and protect human rights.

Conclusion: While PNAC itself committed no direct human rights abuses or IHL violations, its aggressive interventionist policy recommendations, which heavily influenced the U.S. decision to invade Iraq, created conditions that led to significant human rights and IHL concerns. The emphasis on military solutions and unilateral action arguably challenged the spirit and letter of international law designed to prevent conflict and protect civilians.

FINANCIAL FORENSIC ANALYSIS

PNAC was established as a non-profit educational organization. As such, its financial activities largely revolved around funding its operations as a think tank.

- **Funding Sources:** PNAC received grants from various conservative foundations. Between 2000 and 2003, it reportedly received \$170,000 in grants from the Earhart, Olin, and William J. Donner foundations.
- **Operational Spending:** Information regarding the detailed breakdown of PNAC's operational spending is not extensively public, but is generally consistent with a non-profit organization supporting research, publications, and advocacy.

- **Hidden Assets/Shell Companies:** No open-source intelligence suggests that PNAC, as an entity, maintained hidden assets or utilized shell companies for illicit financial gain. Its operations appear consistent with a publicly known think tank model.
- **Financial Influence via Third Parties:** A notable point regarding financial ethics and potential illicit influence relates to PNAC's advocacy concerning the Iraqi National Congress (INC) and its leader, Ahmed Chalabi. PNAC reportedly "funneled millions of taxpayer dollars" to the INC and Chalabi, despite Chalabi's prior conviction for bank fraud in Jordan. The stated goal was to gather support for their cause by "promising oil contracts to anyone that would help to put them in power in Iraq".
 - *Analysis:* While this is not direct evidence of PNAC's hidden assets, it highlights PNAC's engagement with actors involved in questionable financial activities (Chalabi's conviction) and the use of financial incentives (promised oil contracts) to influence geopolitical outcomes. This raises concerns about the ethical implications of using taxpayer funds and leveraging future economic benefits to drive regime change, potentially constituting a form of financial illicit networking to achieve policy objectives.

Conclusion: PNAC's direct funding sources were publicly declared for a non-profit. However, its advocacy for and apparent involvement in channeling funds to controversial figures like Ahmed Chalabi, under promises of future economic benefits (oil contracts) in a post-regime-change Iraq, demonstrates a willingness to engage with ethically questionable financial strategies to advance its policy goals. This constitutes a significant red flag in the context of financial probity and influence.

WARMONGERING & CONFLICT MITIGATION ANALYSIS

PNAC's foundational ideology and specific policy recommendations demonstrably leaned towards an assertive, military-centric approach to U.S. foreign policy, which has been widely interpreted as advocating for and contributing to a climate of warmongering.

- **"Neo-Reaganite" Foreign Policy:** From its inception, PNAC called for a "Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity," asserting that American global leadership was beneficial for both the U.S. and the world. This framed U.S. power, especially military power, as a tool for global good.
- **"Rebuilding America's Defenses":** The September 2000 report, "Rebuilding America's Defenses," explicitly advocated for "total global military domination" and substantial increases in defense spending. It proposed developing global missile defenses, controlling "space and cyberspace," and modernizing U.S. forces to maintain preeminence. Crucially, the report stated that the "process of transformation," including large increases in funding, was unlikely "absent some catastrophic and catalyzing event—like a new Pearl Harbor".
- **Consistent Advocacy for Iraq War:**
 - **Pre-9/11:** PNAC members actively lobbied for the removal of Saddam Hussein from power as early as 1998, sending letters to President Clinton urging a "new strategy" focused on regime change in Iraq. They argued that containment was failing and that Saddam Hussein posed a risk of acquiring Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs).
 - **Post-9/11:** Immediately following the September 11, 2001, attacks, PNAC sent a letter to President George W. Bush, advocating that "any strategy aiming at the eradication of terrorism and its sponsors must include a determined effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq," even acknowledging that "even if evidence does not link Iraq directly to the attack". This indicates a pre-existing agenda to target Iraq, independent of direct ties to the 9/11 attackers.
- **Influence on Bush Administration:** A significant number of PNAC signatories and members, including Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, occupied key positions in the George W. Bush administration. These individuals actively pushed the Iraq agenda, with Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz reportedly holding "secret meetings" about opening a second front against Saddam Hussein, excluding then-Secretary of State Colin Powell. Critics widely assert that PNAC's influence was instrumental in the decision to invade Iraq.

- **Disregard for Diplomatic Alternatives:** PNAC's rhetoric consistently emphasized military strength and preemptive action, often downplaying or outright dismissing diplomatic solutions and "containment" policies as ineffective. This preference for military solutions over conflict mitigation through diplomacy contributed to an environment conducive to war.

Conclusion: PNAC's consistent and explicit advocacy for aggressive military expansion, regime change, and preemptive war, coupled with the placement of its key members in high-level governmental positions, demonstrates a clear pattern of warmongering rhetoric and substantial influence on actions that led to significant armed conflict. The organization's documents, particularly "Rebuilding America's Defenses," provided a detailed blueprint for military dominance and hinted at the need for a "catalyzing event" to implement its vision, ultimately aligning with the policy decisions that led to the Iraq War.

NETWORK ANALYSIS

The following Mermaid graph visualizes the key actors, publications, and influence pathways of the Project for the New American Century (PNAC).

CONCLUSION & STRATEGIC RECOMMENDATIONS

The Project for the New American Century (PNAC) served as a highly influential neoconservative think tank, successfully articulating and promoting a vision for robust American global leadership rooted in military strength and proactive interventionism. Its foundational documents, particularly the "Statement of Principles" and "Rebuilding America's Defenses," provided a conceptual and strategic framework that resonated deeply within certain political circles and significantly shaped U.S. foreign policy in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The direct involvement of numerous PNAC signatories in high-level positions within the George W. Bush administration facilitated the translation of these ideological tenets into concrete policy, most notably the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

While PNAC itself is no longer active, its legacy underscores the profound

impact that well-organized and ideologically coherent think tanks can have on national and international affairs. The advocacy for preemptive military action and "benevolent global hegemony," though now viewed critically by many in light of its consequences, highlights a persistent strand of thought within foreign policy discourse. The engagement with figures like Ahmed Chalabi, involving promises of future oil contracts, also points to the ethical complexities and potential for financial impropriety in the pursuit of geopolitical objectives.

Strategic Recommendations:

- **Historical Case Study Review:** Maintain PNAC as a critical case study in the curriculum for intelligence analysts, focusing on how ideological frameworks developed by non-governmental entities can profoundly influence state foreign policy, lead to armed conflict, and challenge international legal norms.
- **Think Tank Scrutiny:** Continue rigorous, ethical OSINT monitoring of influential think tanks and policy advocacy groups, regardless of their political alignment. Focus on their funding sources, key personnel, explicit and implicit policy recommendations, and their networks of influence within governmental structures.
- **Narrative and Rhetoric Analysis:** Prioritize the analysis of rhetoric employed by influential policy groups, particularly any language that normalizes preemptive military action, "regime change," or frames conflict as an inevitable or desirable solution to geopolitical challenges. Pay close attention to calls for "catalyzing events" that might justify significant policy shifts.
- **Financial Influence Mapping:** Enhance capabilities for mapping financial flows and incentives used by advocacy groups to influence policy or support specific political actors abroad, especially when such activities involve individuals or entities with documented histories of financial misconduct.
- **IHL and Human Rights Impact Assessment:** Integrate a mandatory, forward-looking International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Impact Assessment into the analysis of any proposed foreign policy shifts or military interventions advocated by influential non-state actors. This

ensures that potential consequences are considered before policy adoption.

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