President Ronald Reagan
Oral History Project

Briefing Materials

Frank Carlucci

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FRANK CARLUCCI TIMELINE
Prepared by Rob Martin
Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 08/13/2001

1981

January
Caspar Weinberger reportedly informs President-elect Ronald Reagan that he will not serve in the Cabinet as Secretary of Defense unless he is permitted to name Frank Carlucci as his deputy secretary. Carlucci’s service as Carter’s Deputy Director of Central Intelligence makes him a controversial choice with White House personnel staff as well as with conservative Republicans, who are already wary that Weinberger will bring his reputation as “Cap the Knife” from OMB to the Defense Department. Conservatives are further angered when Weinberger fires several “hawkish” members of the defense transition team. (New York Times, 01/09/1981; Weinberger, Fighting for Peace, 42)

Weinberger nominates Carlucci as his deputy secretary. During the confirmation process, Carlucci calls for major increases in the defense budget, opposes SALT II, and expresses dissatisfaction with strategic reliance on MAD. (New Republic, 08/01/1988) Carlucci is subsequently confirmed by the Senate despite some opposition from conservative senators such as Jesse Helms.

Fifty-two American hostages held in Iran since November 1979 are released as Reagan is inaugurated on the 20th.

Carlucci, Weinberger, and OMB Director David Stockman agree at a meeting on the 30th to commit the Pentagon to a $1.5 trillion budget increase over the next five years. Stockman contends in his book that the five-year figure was the result of a “calculator error” in which he mistakenly thought the 7% increase he had agreed to was from the baseline of the defense budget as it then existed – not from the Administration’s already increased budget proposals. (Stockman, The Triumph of Politics, 106-109; New Republic, 08/01/1988; also see Fighting for Peace, 47-50)

March
John Hinckley attempts to assassinate Reagan on the 30th.

April
Carlucci sends a letter to the Justice Department urging a quick resolution to an antitrust lawsuit filed against AT&T. Weinberger reportedly fears the breakup of AT&T could undermine its ability to serve important military facilities. (Wall Street Journal, 04/10/1981)

Carlucci issues a memorandum entitled, “Improving the Acquisitions Process,” containing 31 initiatives to improve DoD procurement. The Carlucci initiatives include measures to increase up-front funding for weapons programs, cut costs,
streamline bureaucratic procedures, and make management changes. (Wirls, Buildup, 187)

May Weinberger and Carlucci reorganize the Defense Resources Board to make it an executive committee for the Pentagon in an effort to better coordinate DoD planning and acquisition. Carlucci is named an informal top executive officer of the committee. (New York Times, 05/10/1981)

July Carlucci calls for new initiative to increase competition in the defense acquisition process. (Buildup, 187)

August Stockman attempts to reduce the defense budget but is reportedly thwarted by Weinberger and Carlucci.

October Reagan announces that the U.S. would build the B-1 bomber and MX missiles.

1982

February Carlucci defends Reagan's proposed 18.1% increase in the military budget to $215.9 billion before the Senate Armed Services Committee as a more “honest” reflection of the true cost of weapons that would help to minimize cost overruns. (New York Times, 02/09/1982)

May After sensitive information concerning DoD’s five-year budget projections is leaked to the press, the Pentagon begins to conduct lie-detector tests of senior defense officials. (Wall Street Journal, 05/18/1982)

August U.S. Marines join peacekeeping force in Beirut on 25th.

December Congress refuses to fund MX missile on 7th.

Carlucci leaves the Pentagon to become president of Sears World Trade, Inc. Carlucci would go on to serve as chairman and chief executive officer of Sears World Trade, Inc. before leaving in 1986. Carlucci is succeeded as Deputy Secretary of Defense by Paul Thayer and, later, William H. Taft IV.

1983

March Reagan calls for development of space-based Strategic Defense Initiative in speech on 23rd.

October Truck-bomb explodes at U.S. Marine headquarters in Beirut on 23rd, killing over 225 Americans.

U.S. forces invade Grenada on 25th.

1985

January  Weinberger announces a “management streamlining” plan to reorganize DoD. Crafted in close consultation with Carlucci and Deputy Secretary Taft, Weinberger’s plan reportedly calls for the creation of an assistant secretary of defense for acquisition and logistics. (Buildup, 187)

March  Gorbachev becomes new Soviet leader on 11th.

June  Reagan announces he will convene the President’s Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management to be chaired by David Packard. The Packard Commission also includes Brent Scowcroft, William Clark, and Carlucci, who focuses on long-range planning and the budgeting and programming process. (Washington Post, 02/10/1986; www.defenselink.mil)

October  Senators Nunn and Goldwater present a staff study entitled, “Defense Reorganization: The Need for Change,” to the U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services on the 16th.

November  Reagan and Gorbachev hold first summit meeting in Geneva from the 19th to 21st. Although disagreement on SDI presents obstacles in arms control talks, the two leaders agree to continue working on an agreement to reduce intermediate-range missiles. (Levy, Encyclopedia of the Reagan-Bush Years, 350)

1986

February  The Packard Commission delivers an interim report to the President on the 28th. Reagan quickly begins to implement some of the recommendations provided in the report, including plans to create a Pentagon post for oversight of weapons procurement, to strengthen the JCS chair, to give the JCS chair independent staff support, and to create a vice-chair. Reagan also recommends two-year budgeting. The Packard recommendations are implemented through NSDD-219. (Buildup, 190)

April  U.S. planes bomb Libya on 13th in retaliation for sponsorship of terrorism.

June  The Packard Commission delivers its final report to the President.

September  The House and Senate pass the Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986 (PL-99-433) which reportedly enacts many of the
October

Reagan and Gorbachev attend summit at Reykjavik, Iceland.

November

First reports of Iran-contra affair appear on 6th.

U.S. intelligence confirms reports of a significant new Soviet radar system on the Polish border on the 10th. Administration officials are reportedly split on whether the system raises ABM treaty-compliance issues. (Washington Post, 12/05/1986)

National Security Advisor John Poindexter resigns on 25th as Reagan Administration acknowledges that Nicaraguan Contras received funds from arms-for-hostages deal with Iran.

December

Reagan announces Carlucci’s appointment as National Security Advisor on the 2nd. To encourage Carlucci to accept the position, Reagan promises Carlucci direct access to the Oval Office. Carlucci convinces Colin Powell, Carlucci’s former military aide at the Pentagon, to leave his command of the Army’s Fifth Corps in West Germany to serve as Carlucci’s deputy. Carlucci immediately creates a transition team to review the operations of the NSC and recommend personnel changes. (New York Times, 01/18/1987; Washington Post, 08/07/1988)

Reagan announces on the 2nd that Attorney General Ed Meese will relinquish control of the Iran-contra investigation to an independent counsel. Reagan also creates the Tower Commission to launch an investigation into the NSC staff’s procedures.

Lawrence Walsh is named special prosecutor to investigate Iran-contra on the 19th.

Kuwait requests protection from the U.S. against Iranian attacks on its tankers. Kuwait has reportedly come under fire for providing Iraq with funding during the Iran-Iraq war. (Wall Street Journal, 07/21/1987)

1987

January

Carlucci takes office as the President’s National Security Advisor on the 2nd and continues his transition team’s work reorganizing NSC. In addition to abolishing Oliver North’s old political-military affairs office, Carlucci creates a new interagency mechanism to oversee covert operations carried out by U.S. intelligence agencies, streamlines the NSC’s chain of command, and prepares a directive making it clear that the NSC is an advisory – not an operational – agency. (New York Times, 01/18/1987)

In his first staff meeting, Carlucci reportedly orders a policy review of the Contras
and their prospects for success in Nicaragua. *(Washington Post, 01/19/1987)*

Carlucci announces he is planning to make a personal reconnaissance trip to Central America, which is reportedly meant to signal the Administration’s continued support for the Reagan Doctrine. *(Washington Post, 01/19/1987)*

**February**  
Tower Commission releases report on the 26th on Iran-contra scandal. The report finds that Reagan had no knowledge of the diversion of funds to the Contras.

Howard Baker replaces Don Regan as chief of staff on the 27th. Carlucci is charged with the task of informing Regan that the President would accept his resignation, which is reportedly followed by Regan’s abrupt departure. *(Nancy Reagan, *My Turn*, 332)*

**March**  
Representative Boulter says that Carlucci plans to seek a presidential directive ordering the NSC to study how the U.S. could become less dependent on imported oil. *(Wall Street Journal, 03/05/1987)*

Reagan publicly accepts responsibility for Iran-contra affair on the 4th but admits no criminal wrong-doing. “What should happen when you make a mistake is this: You take your knocks, you learn your lessons, and then you move on.” *(Ronald Reagan, *An American Life*, 540)*

Carlucci proposes a National Security Decision Directive to implement a Tower Commission recommendation to strengthen the role of the National Security Advisor and NSC staff in the interagency process. The proposal is signed by Reagan in June as NSDD 276. *(Shultz, *Turmoil and Triumph*, 903)*

The U.S. announces it would begin reflagging Kuwaiti tankers in the Persian Gulf under the U.S. flag on the 23rd. *(Fighting for Peace, 399)*

**May**  
Iran-contra hearings begin on the 5th.

After the U.S. receives reports that China has sold at least 20 Silkworm missiles to Iran, the Reagan Administration reportedly debates behind closed doors the question of preemptive strikes. China goes on to deny the charges that it has sold Silkworm missiles to Iran but Carlucci later rejects those denials. *(Washington Post, 06/07/1987)*

Carlucci says in a CNN interview that Iran “should know we will respond, that our ships are prepared to defend themselves” militarily if Iran strikes U.S.-protected ships in the Persian Gulf. *(Wall Street Journal, 06/08/1987)*

U.S. warship *Stark* hit by Iraqi missile in Persian Gulf on the 17th.
June  Carlucci sends Shultz a memo on the 25th asking him to take “personal charge” of the U.S.’s effort at the UN Security Council to stop the Iran-Iraq War. (*Turmoil and Triumph*, 930)

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee passes two resolutions on the 30th urging Reagan to delay reflagging in the Gulf for twelve months and threatening to invoke the War Powers Act to stop the escorting operation. (*Turmoil and Triumph*, 930)

July  The UN Security Council unanimously adopts Resolution 598 on the 20th calling for a withdrawal of all forces to internationally recognized borders and for a total cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq War.

The first Kuwaiti tankers are reflagged under the U.S. flag. (*Wall Street Journal*, 07/21/1987) Representative Les Aspin leaks information on the U.S.-led convoy to the press following a briefing with Carlucci, Crowe, and Weinberger. Ten days later, the lead ship in the first convoy strikes a recently-deployed Iranian mine. (* Fighting for Peace*, 410)

White House aides led by Carlucci reportedly draw near an agreement with congressional leaders on procedures to provide Congress with prompt notification of covert operations. (*Wall Street Journal*, 07/24/1987)

August  Carlucci travels to Europe to gain allies’ support for the Administration’s Persian Gulf policy. Shultz is reportedly disturbed by the high-profile mission assigned to the National Security Advisor. (*New York Times Biographical Service*, 11/06/1987)

Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador reach a peace plan agreement in Guatemala. The U.S. remains cautious, as Carlucci reportedly stresses that the pledge to continue internal efforts towards democracy is the key element of the plan. (*Wall Street Journal*, 08/17/1987)

Coup fails in Philippines on 28th.

September  U.S. helicopters fire on Iranian ships laying mines in Persian Gulf on 21st.

Carlucci participates in arms talks with Soviets in Washington. U.S. and Soviets announce on third day that they have reached “agreement in principle to conclude a treaty” eliminating all INF missiles and would hold a Washington summit in the fall. Shevardnadze also privately informs U.S. officials that Soviet forces would be withdrawn from Afghanistan. (*Turmoil and Triumph*, 987; Oberdorfer, *From the Cold War to a New Era*, 245)

October  Carlucci participates in negotiations with Congress in October and November to
sketch possible areas of compromise in arms control as well as defense budget.


Tanker carrying U.S. flag is hit by Iranian missiles in Persian Gulf on the 16th. Reagan reportedly accepts Carlucci’s recommendation on the 17th that the U.S. retaliate by striking two off-shore oil platforms rather than taking the stronger measures advocated by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Shultz. (New York Times, 11/7/1987)

The Reagan Administration announces that it has decided against plans to increase China’s access to hi-tech U.S. products after China refuses to stop selling weapons to Iran. (Wall Street Journal, 10/22/1987)

Stock market crashes on 19th as Dow Jones falls 508 points.

Shultz and Carlucci travel to Moscow on 21st to obtain a firm agreement on INF and set a date for the Washington summit.

November

Weinberger resigns on 5th. Reagan nominates Carlucci to succeed Weinberger at Defense and appoints Powell to replace Carlucci as National Security Advisor.

Testifying before Congress, Carlucci says he would consider shrinking U.S. military forces and scrapping some weapons systems because of budget cuts. “I would rather have a smaller force that’s effective, with the right equipment and training, than a larger force that’s not.” (Wall Street Journal, 11/13/1987)

Congress completes work on compromise defense bill on the 19th, which Reagan signs into law on December 4th.

Carlucci takes office as Secretary of Defense on the 23rd as he is confirmed by the Senate 99-1. Senator Helms casts the lone opposing vote. Carlucci, Shultz and Powell reportedly form strong relationship as they begin to meet daily each morning. At Defense, Carlucci launches initiatives on management, the budget, procurement, and the down-sizing of the military, as well as seeking to improve DoD’s relationship with Congress. Carlucci retains Taft as Deputy Secretary. Carlucci goes on to order his service chiefs to make their budgets for FY 1989 realistic and in-line with the November budget summit agreement. (Washington Post, 12/10/1987; www.defenselink.mil)

December

Reagan and Gorbachev sign the INF treaty on the 8th at the Washington summit meeting, which bans nuclear delivery systems with a range between three-hundred and three-thousand kilometers. The treaty includes an unprecedented
system for independent verification by both countries. Carlucci gives testimony in strong support of INF.

1988

January

Carlucci begins tour of the Persian Gulf region. Carlucci announces in Kuwait that the U.S. does not intend to serve as policeman of the high seas for international shipping and will attempt to keep its mission limited in scope. (*Washington Post*, 01/06/1988)

Carlucci creates the On-Site Inspection Agency to implement the verification process under the INF treaty on the 15th.

February

U.S. grand jury indicts Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega on drug charges on 4th.

Carlucci and Senators Byrd and Nunn call on NATO allies to fulfill its five-year-old commitment to modernize short-range nuclear weapons. (*New York Times*, 02/08/1988)

DoD presents a scaled-back $299.5 billion budget proposal to Congress for FY 1989 which would cut defense spending by $33 billion from the previous year’s projections for FY 1989. The cuts include a reduction of 36,000 personnel, as well as cuts to various weapons systems and programs, such as SDI. Carlucci’s goal is reportedly to hold growth in the defense budget to two percent annually after inflation. Carlucci’s budget is received by many on the Hill as reasonable and credible. (*Wall Street Journal*, 02/19/1988; *U.S. News & World Report*, 03/07/1988)

Navy Secretary James Webb resigns to protest cuts in the Navy budget and the Reagan Administration’s decision to defer its goal of building a 600-ship navy. (*Wall Street Journal*, 02/23/1988)

March

Carlucci travels to Berne, Switzerland, to meet with his Soviet counterpart, Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov, to discuss changes in Soviet military doctrine.

Nicaraguan Sandinistas and Contras sign cease-fire on the 23rd.

April

Carlucci ends two days of talks with Indian officials to announce a decision to supply high-assistance technology to the Indian air force on the 7th. Carlucci also confirms that the Reagan Administration intends to provide $1.4 billion in military assistance to Pakistan, noting Pakistan’s sensitive position *vis-a-vis* Soviet troops in Afghanistan. (*Washington Post*, 04/07/1988)

Agreement for Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan is signed on 14th.
U.S. naval ships destroy two Iranian off-shore oil platforms in retaliation for damage done the week before by an Iranian mine to a U.S. frigate in the Gulf. The reprisal sets off a string of Iranian attacks and U.S. counter-strikes in which Iran suffers heavy losses to its navy. The fighting ends a six-month lull in direct U.S.-Iranian confrontations. Reagan orders the U.S. Navy to expand its duties in the Gulf to include the protection of neutral merchant ships that request help when attacked. (Fighting for Peace, 424-425; Wall Street Journal, 04/19/1988; New York Times, 04/23/1988)

May

Carlucci lifts 1980 ban on women performing embassy security duty. (U.S. News and World Report, 05/09/1988)

Carlucci creates the bipartisan Commission on Base Realignment and Closure with congressional support to recommend a list of military bases for closure. The commission is created in effort to remove political obstacles to base closings by forcing the Administration and Congress to accept or reject the list in its entirety. The commission would submit its list to the Pentagon by January 6. (Wall Street Journal, 07/13/1988)

Carlucci and other senior U.S. officials refuse to rule out the use of military force as an option to remove Noriega from power following the collapse of diplomatic efforts to encourage Noriega to step down voluntarily. (Washington Post, 05/30/1988)

U.S. Senate ratifies INF treaty on the 27th.

Carlucci travels to Soviet Union to attend Reagan-Gorbachev summit from the 9th to June 1st, becoming the first active U.S. Secretary of Defense to travel to the Soviet Union.

June

Carlucci approves a controversial U.S.-Japanese agreement for General Dynamics to jointly produce the FSX fighter plane with Japanese firms. (Wall Street Journal, 06/06/1988)

A procurement scandal involving billions of dollars in defense contracts is disclosed as an on-going Justice Department investigation gains nationwide attention. The fraud reportedly includes payment of bribes for inside information on competitive bids, the use of contract specifications to favor one contract over others, and collusive bidding by contractors. Carlucci says he believes that the source of the problems lies with corrupt individuals and not the procurement process itself but has agreed to create a special task force to monitor the investigation and determine whether further reforms are needed. According to one General Accounting Office report, the Pentagon has not had anyone in charge of implementing the Carlucci initiatives for procurement reform over the past five years. (Wall Street Journal, 06/17/1988; Wall Street Journal, 06/29/1988)
**July**

The *USS Vincennes* mistakenly shoots down a civilian Iranian airliner over Gulf waters on the 3rd. Carlucci creates a commission to investigate the matter.


The Pentagon imposes a payments freeze on defense contracts implicated in the procurement scandal. Carlucci lifts the ban ten-days later following reported confusion concerning which contractors would be subject to the freeze. (*Wall Street Journal*, 07/12/1988)

Carlucci testifies before the Senate Armed Services Committee that “there are defects” in the military procurement process that still need fixing. “The overall process has too many decision points... Each decision point is a point of venal vulnerability.” (*Wall Street Journal*, 07/13/1988)

Carlucci halts the practice of submitting multiple "best and final offers" and announces that high-level approval will be required before defense contractor can submit revised final bids. (*Wall Street Journal*, 07/26/1988; *New York Times*, 07/27/1988)

**August**

Reagan vetoes the defense authorization bill on the 3rd, which includes major cuts to the SDI program. Carlucci reportedly argued against the veto on political grounds because he was uncertain the Administration could obtain a less objectionable bill. (*U.S. News and World Report*, 09/12/1988)

Carlucci travels to the Soviet Union to meet with Soviet Defense Minister Yazov. Speaking to roughly 200 senior Soviet military officers at the Bordashelov Military Academy, Carlucci argues that Soviet military doctrine continues to emphasize offensive military strategies and weapons despite claims that it is shifting to a defensive doctrine. (*Washington Post*, 08/02/1988)

Iran and Iraq agree to an armistice ending their eight-year conflict.

**September**

Carlucci proposes a five-point program for DoD procurement reform in a speech urging Congress to: “1) combine the authorization and appropriations processes; 2) reduce the number of committees and subcommittees having overlapping oversight of DoD budgeting; 3) revise procedures to make it impossible for individual members to introduce amendments to the budget bill forcing the president to buy items not in his budget request; 4) shift to a biennial Defense budget; and 5) adopt reforms to further stabilize the procurement process, including funding more programs on a multi-year basis.” ([www.defenselink.mil](http://www.defenselink.mil); see enclosed, “Address of Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci,” 09/01/1988)

The House and Senate pass legislation authorizing $299.5 billion for defense
spending after Carlucci and congressional leaders forge a series of compromises stripping restrictive provisions involving SDI and nuclear weapons tests that the Administration had opposed. *(Wall Street Journal, 09/29/1988)*

**October**

Following the completion of a six-month SDI review, the Pentagon reportedly announces it will halve its number of space-based weapons and greatly increase its number of ground-based weapons to reduce its level of SDI spending. *(New York Times, 10/07/1988)*

Congress approves final legislation on the 13th setting procedures for the Commission on Base Realignment and Closure to produce its recommendations. The commission would have until December 31st to submit its recommendations. Carlucci would then have until January 16th to accept or reject the entire recommendation. If accepted, Congress would have a late April deadline to pass a resolution rejecting the list, which the president could veto. Otherwise all bases on the list would be closed in 1990.

**December**

Gorbachev gives important speech at the United Nations announcing the Soviet’s unilateral intent to withdraw 500,000 troops and 10,000 tanks from Eastern Europe, in addition to a fourteen percent reduction in military spending.

The General Services Administration’s board of contract appeals rules on the 8th that the Navy’s specifications for a $150 million computer contract favored IBM and ordered the Navy to rewrite and reissue the contract solicitation. *(Washington Post, 12/09/1988)*

The Commission on Base Realignment and Closure releases its report on the 29th listing 86 military bases for closure, five for partial closure, and 54 for restructuring. If accepted, the closings would save over $700 million a year. *(The Economist, 01/07/1989; Wall Street Journal, 12/30/1988)*

**1989**

**January**

U.S. and Libyan fighter jets clash over Mediterranean on the 4th. Carlucci strongly defends two American fighter crews that shot down Libyan jets, suggesting they may have even waited too long before launching missiles. *(New York Times, 01/11/1989)*

DoD submits a $305.6 billion defense budget proposal for FY 1990 in which military spending would increase 2.1 percent after inflation. The budget proposal calls for increased spending for SDI. *(Wall Street Journal, 01/06/1989)*

Carlucci approves the December 29th recommendations of the Commission on Base Realignment and Closure.
Bush is inaugurated president on the 20\textsuperscript{th}. 
FRANK CARLUCCI SUGGESTED TOPICS
Prepared by Rob Martin
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Joining the Reagan Administration:
- Origin of relationship with Weinberger and Reagan.
- Leaving DoD to join Sears World Trade, Inc. Work of the Carlucci and Packard Commissions.

Work at NSC:
- Joining NSC in wake of Iran-contra scandal.
- Arrangements under which Carlucci agreed to serve as National Security Advisor. Role and responsibilities.
- With whom did Carlucci work most closely? Relationship with State, DoD, and Congress. Regan’s departure and arrival of Baker.

Work at DoD:
- How did Carlucci come to serve as Secretary of Defense? Challenges faced upon taking office.
- DoD organization and management under Carlucci. Relationship with Shultz and Powell. Relationship with OMB and James Miller. Relationship with Congress.

Foreign Policy Issues in Reagan Administration:
- Reagan’s role in policy making.
- Which foreign policy issues occupied most of Carlucci’s time at NSC and DoD?
- U.S. Soviet policy: working to ease U.S.-Soviet security relations; arms control; Carlucci’s role in INF negotiations; implementing INF agreement; Washington and Moscow summits; SDI and strategic arms control; NATO and arms control; opening dialogue with Soviet military; August 1988 mission to Moscow; Afghanistan
- U.S. Persian Gulf policy: containing Iran; protecting shipping in the Gulf; August 1987 mission to Europe; efforts to end Iran-Iraq war; Lebanon; Libya; fighting terrorism
- U.S. Central America policy: Iran-contra and impact on U.S. policy; Central American peace plan; Panama and Noriega indictment

Reagan in Retrospect:
- What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Reagan Administration?
- What features of the presidency were missed or misunderstood by the press?
- How should the Reagan presidency be viewed in history?
TIMELINES

- Frank Carlucci Timeline, prepared by Rob Martin, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 08/13/2001.

SELECTED WRITINGS AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY FRANK CARLUCCI


• Executive Order 12526, establishing the “President’s Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management,” *A Quest for Excellence: Appendix; Final Report by the President’s Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management* (June 1986).


NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL


- George P. Shultz, Turmoil and Triumph: My Years as Secretary of State (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1993) pp. 990-1002.
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE


