

Rumsfeld's
Rules

**DONALD
RUMSFELD**

APPENDIX A: RUMSFELD'S TIMELINE

1932	Born, Chicago, Illinois
1946–50	New Trier High School
1950–54	Princeton University (B.A.)
1954	Married Marion Joyce Pierson
1954–57	United States Navy service as a naval aviator, a flight instructor, and an instructor of flight instructors
1957–75	U.S. Naval Reserve
1957–59	Administrative Assistant for Congressman David Dennison (R-OH)
1959	Staff Assistant to Congressman Robert Griffith (R-MI)
1960–61	Broker, A. G. Becker & Co. investment bank, Chicago
1962–69	Elected to U.S. House of Representatives from Illinois's 13th Congressional District; reelected 1964, 1966, 1968

Appendix A: Rumsfeld's Timeline

- 1969–70 Director, Office of Economic Opportunity, Assistant to President Nixon, Member of the President's Cabinet
- 1971–72 Director, Economic Stabilization Program, Counselor to the President, member of the President's Cabinet
- 1973–74 U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Brussels, Belgium
- 1974–75 White House Chief of Staff under President Gerald R. Ford
- 1975–77 Thirteenth U.S. Secretary of Defense; awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom
- 1977–85 CEO, President, G. D. Searle & Co.
- 1982–83 Special Presidential Envoy for The Law of the Sea Treaty under President Ronald Reagan
- 1983 Special Presidential Envoy to the Middle East under President Ronald Reagan
- 1988–2001 Board member, Chairman, Gilead Sciences, Inc.
- 1990–93 CEO, Chairman, General Instrument Corporation
- 1998 Chairman, U.S. Ballistic Missile Threat Commission
- 2000 Chairman, U.S. Commission to Assess National Security Space Management and Organization
- 2001–2006 Twenty-First U.S. Secretary of Defense
- 2007– Chairman, Rumsfeld Foundation
- 2011 Author, *New York Times* bestselling memoir *Known and Unknown*

APPENDIX B: RUMSFELD'S RULES (UNABRIDGED)

ON BUSINESS AND MANAGEMENT

What you measure improves.

That which you require be reported on regularly will improve, but only if you are selective. How you fashion the reporting system announces your priorities and will set the institution's priorities.

If you can't measure it, you can't manage it. (Peter Drucker)

A's hire A's. B's hire C's.

Don't avoid sharp edges. Occasionally they are necessary to leadership.

If you are not being criticized, you may not be doing much.

Dogs don't bark at parked cars. (Wyoming saying as quoted by Lynne Cheney)

The road you don't travel is always smoother. (Representative Duncan Hunter Sr., R-CA)

Know your customers!

Appendix B: Rumsfeld's Rules (Unabridged)

Develop a few key themes and stick to them. It works. Repetition is necessary. “Quality.” “Customers.” “Innovation.” “Service.” “Safety.” You pick them!

Test ideas in the marketplace. You learn from hearing a range of perspectives.

Beware when an idea is promoted as “bold, innovative, and new.” There are some ideas that are “bold, innovative, and new” but are also foolish.

Trust your instincts. Success depends, at least in part, on the ability to “carry it off.”

When starting at the bottom, be willing to learn from those at the top.

If you are lost—“climb, conserve, and confess.” (U.S. Navy SNJ Flight Manual)

Beware of the argument that “this is a period for investment; earning improvements will come in the out years.” The tension between the short term and long term can be constructive, but there will be no long term without a short term.

Too often managers recommend plans that look like a hockey stick. The numbers go down the first year or two and then go dramatically up in later years. If you accept “hockey stick” plans, you will find they may be proposed year after year after year.

The worst mistake is to have the best ladder and the wrong wall.

If you don't know where you're going any road will get you there. (Paraphrase of Lewis Carroll)

You will launch many projects but have the time to finish very few. So think, plan, develop, launch, and tap good people to be

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responsible. Give them authority and hold them accountable. Trying to do too much yourself creates a bottleneck.

There is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success, than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things. (Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*)

Plan backward as well as forward. Set objectives and trace back to see how to achieve them. You may find that no path can get you there.

Don't "overcontrol" like a novice pilot. Stay loose enough from the flow that you can observe and calibrate.

What we anticipate seldom occurs; what we least expected generally happens. (Benjamin Disraeli)

If you don't want to believe it, there is no body of evidence that cannot be ignored.

Big (and bad) things can start from small beginnings.

It is not the strongest of the species that survives, nor the most intelligent, but the one most responsive to change. (Paraphrase of Charles Darwin)

If you don't like change, you are going to like irrelevance even less. (General Eric Shinseki)

Where there is no continuity there can be no accountability.

Nothing will ever be attempted if all possible objections must be first overcome. (Dr. Samuel Johnson)

Nothing is more obstinate than a fashionable consensus. (Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher)

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Lawyers are like beavers. They get in the middle of the stream and dam it up.

Have a deputy and develop a successor.

Never hire anyone you can't fire.

Leave all options on the table. Taking options off the table demystifies the situation for the competition.

Never assume the other guy will never do something you would never do.

It is possible to proceed perfectly logically from an inaccurate premise to an inaccurate and unfortunate conclusion.

When you initiate new activities, find things currently being done that can be discontinued—reports, activities, etc. It works, but you must encourage, persuade, or force institutions to do it.

Keep in mind the “tooth to tail ratio.” The tail's only role is to support the teeth.

Nothing ages so quickly as yesterday's vision of the future. (Richard Corliss)

Don't automatically fill vacant jobs. Leave some positions unfilled for six months to see if they are needed.

There are a great many people who have the ability to review something and to make it better, but there are precious few able to identify what is missing.

Reduce layers of management. They put distance between the top of an organization and the customers.

Sometimes it's necessary to kill a chicken to frighten the monkeys. (Chinese proverb)

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I am unable to distinguish between the unfortunate and the incompetent, and I can't afford either. (General Curtis LeMay)

Luck is what happens when preparation meets opportunity. (Seneca)

The first consideration for a meeting is whether to call one at all.

The last consideration for a meeting is "What have we missed?"

Don't allow people to be cut out of a meeting or an opportunity to communicate because their views may differ.

When negotiating, never feel that you are the one who must fill every silence.

In unanimity there may well be either cowardice or uncritical thinking. (Marion J. Levy Jr.)

If you can find something everyone agrees on, it's wrong. (Representative Mo Udall, D-AZ)

You can't reason a man out of something he did not reason himself into.

Nothing betrays imbecility so much as insensitivity to it. (Thomas Jefferson)

Trial and error are the essence of discovery. Your organization should be hospitable to both.

Top-down clarity and common understanding create trust, confidence, and unity.

Don't wait for feedback from superiors, colleagues, or employees. Ask them if there are things that you are not doing that you ought to be and also things that you are doing that you ought not to be.

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If a problem has no solution, it may not be a problem, but a fact, not to be solved, but to be coped with over time. (Shimon Peres)

If a problem cannot be solved, enlarge it. (Dwight D. Eisenhower)

With most problems, one learns 80 percent of what can be known relatively rapidly, but the remaining 20 percent can take forever.

Most people spend their time on the “urgent” rather than on the “important.” (Robert M. Hutchins, former president, University of Chicago)

If you expect people to be in on the landing, include them for the takeoff.

Encourage others to give their views, even if it may ruffle some feathers.

New ideas often receive a negative reaction at the outset, regardless of their value

Avoid making a poor decision simply because the best option is presented by someone who may rub you the wrong way.

If a plan cannot be explained clearly enough to be well understood, it probably hasn't been well enough thought through.

This strategy represents our policy for all time. Until it's changed. (Marlin Fitzwater)

If you don't know what your top three priorities are, you don't have priorities.

The inherent vice of capitalism is the unequal sharing of blessings; the inherent virtue of socialism is the equal sharing of miseries. (Winston Churchill)

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Underlying most arguments against the free market is a lack of belief in freedom itself. (Dr. Milton Friedman)

People don't spend money earned by others with the same care that they spend their own.

It's well worth understanding the Rule of 72 and the power of time and money.

Find ways to decentralize and reduce staff, without cutting into the thin layer required for you to manage.

Prune—prune businesses, products, activities, and people. Do it annually.

People think focus means saying yes to the thing you've got to focus on. But that's not what it means at all. It means saying no to the hundred other good ideas that there are. (Steve Jobs)

If you want traction, you must first have friction. (Admiral Jim Ellis)

People do better in staff jobs if they have had operational experience, and vice versa. It helps to look at things from the perspective of others.

Don't let the complexity of a large company mask the need for better performance. Bureaucracy can become a conspiracy to bring down the big. You may need to be large to compete on the world stage, but don't allow size to mask poor performance.

The way to do well is to do well.

Résumés should not require a decoder ring.

Mistakes in hiring are the employer's error, not the employee's.

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Operations drive out planning.

Perhaps the most powerful antidote to unfettered selfishness is property rights. (Dr. James Q. Wilson)

When one starts building a temple unto oneself, it's the beginning of the end.

To see which direction things are moving in, apply the "gate test."

An excellent organization chart with poor leadership won't work; an imperfect organization chart with good leadership will.

ON SERVING IN GOVERNMENT

Public servants are there to serve the American people and our nation. Serve them well!

The federal government generally should be the last resort, not the first. Determine if a proposed program can be better handled privately, by a voluntary organization, or by local or state government.

Treat every federal dollar as if it was hard-earned; it was—by a taxpayer.

It is difficult to spend "federal [that is, taxpayer] dollars" in a way that achieves the intended result.

Congress, the press, and the federal bureaucracy too often focus on how much money is expended, rather than on whether or not that money actually achieves the intended result.

Public money drives out private money. (Representative Tom Curtis, R-MO)

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Strive to make solutions as self-executing as possible. As the degree of discretion increases, so too do delay, expense, and the size of the bureaucracy.

Presidential leadership needn't always cost money. Look for low- and no-cost options. They can be surprisingly effective.

Stubborn opposition to proposals often has no basis other than the complaining question, "Why wasn't I consulted?" (Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-NY)

If in doubt, don't. If still in doubt, do what's right.

When you're up to your ears in alligators, try to remember that the reason you're there is to drain the swamp.

If you do something, somebody's not going to like it.

People are policy! Without the best people in place, the best ideas don't matter. (Dr. Ed Feulner)

Every government looking at the actions of another government and trying to explain them always exaggerates rationality and conspiracy, and underestimates incompetence and fortuity. (U.S. Circuit Court Judge Laurence Silberman's Law of Diplomacy)

You begin when you're least capable and most popular, and you end when you're least popular and most capable. (Former Prime Minister Tony Blair)

People will always forgive you for being wrong. But they won't forgive you for being right. (Robert Bartley, editor, *Wall Street Journal*)

In tough jobs, the days are long and the years are short. (Former Secretary of State George Shultz)

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The United States is a rich country. Not rich enough to do everything, but rich enough to do everything important. (Dr. Herb Stein)

When running a U.S. federal government agency, the two key rules are: overinform and never surprise. (John Robson)

The statesman's duty is to bridge the gap between his nation's experience and his vision. If he gets too far ahead of his people he will lose his mandate; if he confines himself to the conventional he will lose control over events. (Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*)

The two most important rules in Washington, D.C., are: Rule One: "The cover-up is worse than the event." Rule Two: "No one ever remembers the first rule."

Government does two things well—nothing and overreact.

Bureaucracy is nature's way of bringing down old empires (and organizations) so new ideas can replace them.

The trouble with socialism is that you eventually run out of other people's money. (Former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher)

You never want a serious crisis go to waste. (Rahm Emanuel)

In Washington, D.C., the size of a farewell party may be directly proportional to an honoree's new position and his or her prospective ability to dispense largess. (Devon G. Cross)

If you want to have a friend in Washington, D.C., buy a dog (President Harry S. Truman). The Rumsfeld corollary is: Get a small dog, because it may turn on you.

Of course, with hindsight, everything is perfect. It's the only exact science known to man. (John Reid, former Secretary of State for Defense, United Kingdom)

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If government can't do government, what makes anyone think government can do business? (Ace Greenberg)

Washington, D.C., is sixty square miles surrounded by reality.

ON POLITICS AND CONGRESS

Politics is human beings; it is addition, not subtraction.

The three rules of politics: if you run, you may lose; if you tie, you do not win; and, most importantly, you can't win unless you are on the ballot.

In politics, every day is filled with numerous opportunities for serious error. Enjoy it.

The winner is not always the swiftest, surest, or smartest. It's the one willing to get up at 5 a.m. and go to the plant gate to meet the people.

Disagreement is not disloyalty. (Curtis E. Sahakian)

When someone says, "I don't know much about politics," zip up your pockets.

The oil can is mightier than the sword. (Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen, R-IL)

In politics, you must march toward the sound of gunfire.

Remember where you came from.

The difference between the executive branch and the legislative branch is that the executive branch has the data and Congress traffics in it. (Doug Necessary)

Members of the U.S. Congress are not there by accident. Each managed to get there for a reason. Learn what it was and you will know

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something useful about them, about our country, and about the American people.

Hold still, little fishy, I's just goin' to gut you. (Congressman Howard Smith, D-VA, describing a "perfecting amendment")

ON THE PRESS

Trust leaves on horseback but returns on foot.

Avoid both infatuation with or resentment of the press. They have their job to do and you have yours. (Joyce Rumsfeld)

You never get in trouble for what you don't say. (Dick Cheney's favorite rule, attributed to Sam Rayburn)

Don't do or say things you would not want to see on the evening news.

Arguments of convenience can lack integrity and often come back to trip you up.

People respond in direct proportion to the extent you reach out to them. (Vice President Nelson Rockefeller)

There is often a great deal more certainty in the public debate than information and data are available to support.

As for what is not true, you will always find abundance in the newspapers. (Thomas Jefferson)

It would be a strategic error to assume that everyone in the press is seeking the truth. (General Pete Schoomaker)

Let your words be as few as will express the sense you wish to convey and above all let what you say be true. (Stonewall Jackson)

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A lie travels halfway around the world before the truth gets its shoes on. (Mark Twain)

The least understood risk for a politician is overexposure.

Sunshine is a weather report—a flood is news. (Attributed to Reuven Frank, NBC News)

May the words I utter today be tender and sweet, for tomorrow I may have to eat them. (Representative Morris “Mo” Udall, D-AZ)

There are really only three responses to questions from the press: “I know and will tell you”; “I know and I can’t tell you”; and “I don’t know.” (Dan Rather)

Don’t accept an inaccurate premise in a question. Rephrase it if necessary.

You’re either a target or a source. (Columnist Robert Novak)

Not all negative press is unearned. If you’re getting it, see if there’s a reason.

Nothing proves more persuasive than a clearly stated fact.

With the press there is no “off the record.”

Those who know, don’t talk. Those who talk, don’t know. (Lao Tzu)

You can wreck any story if you check the facts. (An anonymous Chicago reporter)

Great events and personalities are all made small when passed through the medium of this small mind. (Winston Churchill)

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SERVING IN THE WHITE HOUSE

Don't accept the post unless you have an understanding that you are free to tell the President what you think "with the bark off."

Visit with your predecessors from previous administrations. They know the ropes and can help you see around some of the blind corners. Try to make original mistakes, rather than needlessly repeating theirs.

Don't speak ill of your predecessors or successors. You didn't walk in their shoes.

Your performance will depend on the people you work with. Select the best, train them, and support them. When mistakes happen, and they will, give better guidance. If errors persist, help them move on. The country cannot afford amateur hour in the White House.

A president needs multiple sources of information. Avoid excessively restricting the flow of people or ideas to the President. If you overcontrol, it will be your "regulator" that controls, not his. Only by opening the spigot fairly wide, risking that some of his time may be wasted, can you let his "regulator" control.

In the execution of presidential decisions work to be true to his views in both fact and tone.

Know that the White House staff and others in the administration will be likely to assume that your manner, tone, and tempo reflect the President's.

Learn to say "I don't know." If used when appropriate, it will be often.

Bad news does not get better with time. If you foul up, tell the President and correct it fast. Delay only compounds the problem.

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Don't automatically obey the President's requests if you disagree or suspect he hasn't considered important aspects of the issue. Go back and tell him.

Walk around. If you are invisible, the mystique of the office may perpetuate inaccurate impressions about you. After all, you may not be as bad as some are saying.

Leadership is by consent, not command. To lead, a president must persuade.

Be precise. A lack of precision can be dangerous when the margin of error is small.

Preserve the President's options. He will need them.

It is easier to get into something than to get out of it.

Amid all the clutter and despite the static, set your goals, put your head down, do the best job possible, and let the flak pass as you work toward them.

Never say "the White House wants." Buildings can't want.

You will have plenty to do without trying to manage the First Family. They are likely to do fine without your help.

Make important decisions about the President's personal security yourself. He can overrule you, but don't make him the one who has to counsel caution.

Don't blame the boss. He has enough problems.

Being Vice President is difficult. Don't make it tougher.

You and the White House staff must be—and be seen to be—above suspicion. Set the right example.

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The role of White House Chief of Staff is that of a "javelin catcher."
(Jack Watson, Chief of Staff to President Jimmy Carter)

Don't begin to think you're the President. You're not.

Strive to preserve and enhance the integrity of the presidency and pledge to leave it stronger than when you came.

See that the President, the Cabinet, and the staff are informed. If they are cut out of the information flow, their decisions may be poor or not confidently or persuasively implemented.

If in doubt, move decisions up to the President.

When you raise issues with the President, try to come away with both that specific decision and a precedent.

When the President is faced with a decision, be sure he has the recommendations of all the appropriate people.

If a matter is not a decision for the President, or you, delegate it.

Give your staff guidance against which to test their decisions. Otherwise their actions may be random.

One price of proximity to the president is the duty to bring bad news. You fail him and yourself if you are unwilling to do so.

Of special value to his leadership are the President's words and time. They should be expended with the utmost care.

Move decisions out to the Cabinet and agencies. Strengthen them by moving responsibility, authority, and accountability in their direction.

If you are working from your inbox, you are working on other people's priorities.

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Think of dealing with Congress as a “revolving door.” You will need to go back to today’s opponents for their help tomorrow. The President will need a member’s support on some issue, at some time, regardless of their philosophy, party, or positions on other issues.

Work continuously to trim the White House staff from your first day to your last. All the pressures are to the contrary—particularly during election season.

People around the President often have sizable egos before entering government, many with good reason. Their White House positions will do little to moderate their self-images.

“Responsibilities abandoned today will return as more acute crises tomorrow.” (Gerald R. Ford)

Enjoy your time in public service. It is likely to be the most interesting and certainly the most challenging experience of your life.

Don’t think of yourself as indispensable or infallible.

Remember you are not all that important. Your responsibilities are.

“The cemeteries of the world are full of indispensable men.” (Charles de Gaulle)

Be able to resign. It will improve your value to the President and do wonders for your performance.

Don’t be consumed by the job.

When asked for your views, by the press or others, remember that what they really want to know are the President’s views.

Most of the fifty or so invitations you receive each week come from people who are inviting the President’s Chief of Staff—not you.

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If you doubt that, ask your predecessor how many invitations he received after he left.

Know that the amount of criticism you receive may correlate closely to the amount of publicity you get.

Don't panic. Things may be going better than they seem from the inside.

Keep your sense of humor. "The higher a monkey climbs, the more you see of his behind." (General Joe Stilwell)

FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

The legislative branch is in Article I of the Constitution; the executive branch is Article II. That is not an accident.

Speed kills. It creates opportunities, denies the enemy options, and can hasten his collapse.

Nothing is static. For every offense there is a defense. For every defense there is an offense.

The President of the United States is the commander in chief. Both military and civilian leaders need to understand civilian control, and be respectful of it.

Weakness is provocative. Time and again it has invited adventures that strength might well have deterred.

Si vis pacem, para bellum. (If you wish for peace, prepare for war.) (Latin proverb)

To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace. (George Washington)

You go to war with the army you have—not the army you might wish to have.

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It is not that one general is better than another, but that one general is better than two. (David Lloyd George)

The mission must determine the coalition. The coalition ought not determine the mission.

War is a series of catastrophes that results in a victory. (Georges Benjamin Clemenceau, seventy-second Prime Minister of France)

Thinking about conflict today, it is more like a rheostat, not a light switch—on for war—off for peace. Many of our rules and policies are not aligned with this. (General Pete Schoomaker)

The Secretary of Defense is not a super-general or admiral. His task is to exercise leadership and civilian control over the department on behalf of the commander in chief and the country.

How does the military successfully recruit, organize, train, and equip tens of thousands of men and women year after year? The answer: chief petty officers and master sergeants.

When reducing staff at the Pentagon, don't cut into the very thin layer that is required for civilian control.

No matter how a war starts it ends in mud. It has to be slugged out. There are no trick solutions or cheap shortcuts. (General Joe Stilwell)

Manage the interaction between the Pentagon and the White House. Unless you establish a relatively narrow channel for the flow of information and "tasking" back and forth, the relationship can become chaotic.

If you are going to sin, sin against God, not the bureaucracy. God will forgive you but the bureaucracy won't. (Admiral Hyman Rickover)

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I could as easily bail out the Potomac River with a teaspoon as attend to all the details of the army. (Abraham Lincoln)

Normal management techniques do not always work in the Department of Defense. When pushing responsibility downward, be sure not to contribute to centrifugal forces that tend to pull the services apart. What cohesion exists in DoD has been painfully achieved over decades; don't do anything to weaken it.

Establish good relations between the Departments of Defense and State, the National Security Council, CIA, and the Office of Management and Budget. You'll need them.

Avoid public spats. When a department argues with other government agencies in the press, it reduces the President's options.

Develop a good working relationship with the chairman and members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the combatant commanders. They are almost always outstanding public servants. In time of crisis, those relationships will be vital.

The task is to create trust and confidence, unity of effort at the top, to enable and empower the combatant commanders.

If you get the objectives right, a lieutenant can write the strategy. (General George C. Marshall)

The unforgivable sin of a commander is to form a picture—to assume that an enemy will act in a certain way in a given situation—when in fact his response may be altogether different. (Napoleon Bonaparte)

Plans are worthless, but planning is everything. (General Dwight D. Eisenhower)

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No plan survives first contact with the enemy. (Helmuth von Moltke the Elder)

No matter how enmeshed a commander becomes in the elaboration of his own thoughts, it is sometimes necessary to take the enemy into account. (Winston Churchill)

What design would I be forming if I were the enemy? (Frederick the Great)

When working with senior enlisted personnel or a senior officer, know that they have achieved their position by demonstrating world-class capabilities to the benefit of our country. While you may be working with them in an area outside their expertise, value them for what they can and do contribute.

He who defends everywhere, defends nowhere. (Sun Tzu)

In the long run it is inevitable that the party which stays on the defensive will lose. (Frederick the Great)

When asked, "Who do you consider to be the greatest generals?" Napoleon responded, "The victors."

In war, one tank too many is a great deal better than one tank too few.

There is a difference between force and power. You generally need force in situations where you haven't marshaled sufficient power to shape events. (Admiral Arleigh Burke)

We need to win the savage war of peace. (Rudyard Kipling)

Belief in the inevitability of conflict can become one of its main causes. (Thucydides)

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I don't mind generals planning for the last war, so long as they are all on the other side. (Rear Admiral Arthur Cebrowski)

The only thing harder than getting the . . . military to adopt a new technology is getting them to give up an old one. (Former NASA Director Dr. William Graham)

Never give an order outside of the chain of command and never expect to learn anything up the chain of command. (Admiral Hyman Rickover)

Try to select Chiefs of Staff of the military services who have previously served as a commander or deputy commander of a combatant command. Joint experience balances lingering service-centricity.

It's a whole lot like listening to a cow pee on a flat rock. It just doesn't matter. (General T. Michael "Buzz" Moseley, commenting on the numerous retired military officers and pundits who criticized the Iraq war plan "they had never seen")

There is only one thing worse than fighting with allies, and that is fighting without them. (Winston S. Churchill)

If Americans had listened to some European leaders during the past fifty years, we would still be in the Soviet Union. (Vaira Vike-Freiberga, former President of Latvia)

We [IRA terrorists] only have to be lucky once; you will have to be lucky always. (Note to Margaret Thatcher from the Irish Republican Army)

The challenge in an insurgency is that the insurgents don't have to win, they just have to not lose. (General George Casey)

In an era when weapons are increasingly lethal, if the enemy has already attacked, the defender may have started too late.

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There lies at the heart of deterrence . . . an inescapable paradox: the more seriously the possessor is believed capable in extremis of using the armory, the less likely it is that others will cause or allow circumstances to arise challenging its use. The converse is also true. (Sir Michael Quinlan)

It is exceedingly difficult for any military organization to innovate radically—except in wartime when it is absolutely necessary. (Former CIA Director R. James Woolsey)

In war—unity. You can deal with the past later. It never runs away. It is the future we must affect. (President Shimon Peres, on his support for the Prime Minister of Israel)

This war isn't like the last war, and it isn't like the next war. This war is like this war. (Admiral Vernon Clark, Chief of Naval Operations)

With too much authority to the warfighter, it is like a peewee soccer game—everybody chases the ball, it doesn't advance the ball, and it leaves the rest of the field open for unpleasant surprises. (General Larry Welch)

Too often military (and civilian) officials are not in their assignments long enough to discover the mistakes they've made and learn from having to clean them up.

You get what you inspect, not what you expect.

The Pentagon is like a log floating down a river with 25,000 ants on it, each one thinking it is steering. (Dr. Harry Rowan)

Transformation begins with thinking. (Admiral Vernon Clark)

In war the weaker side can often adapt faster than the stronger side. Size and strength can be cumbersome and lead to compla-

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gency, while vulnerability leads to fear, and fear is a powerful motivator.

For almost twenty years we had all of the time and almost none of the money; today we have all of the money and no time. (General George C. Marshall during World War II)

Running the U.S. Navy is like punching a pillow all day. You end up exhausted and the pillow hasn't changed a bit. (Franklin D. Roosevelt)

Running the Department of Defense is like wrestling with a seven-million-pound sponge. (Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard)

When your enemy is making mistakes, don't stop him in the middle. (Napoleon Bonaparte)

Europe is always right, but always late—Stalin, Hitler, Saddam, and Iran. (Shimon Peres)

Everyone told Lincoln not to engage in a civil war. If he had agreed, there would be no United States of America. (Shimon Peres)

Lawfare has become another dimension of warfare. (John Yoo)

At the top there are no easy choices. All are between evils, the consequences of which are hard to judge. (Secretary of State Dean Acheson)

Every war is going to astonish you in the way it has occurred and in the way it is carried out. (Dwight D. Eisenhower)

The inevitable never happens. It is the unexpected always. (John Maynard Keynes)

Freedom is the sure possession of those alone who have the courage to defend it. (Pericles)

Appendix B: Rumsfeld's Rules (Unabridged)

Generals never lose a war in their own memoirs.

The strength of terrorists today is the weakness of the international community. (Shimon Peres)

No people in history have ever survived who thought they could protect their freedom by making themselves inoffensive to their enemies. (Dean Acheson)

It is axiomatic that the probability of leaks escalates exponentially each time a classified document is exposed to another person. (Former CIA Director Richard Helms)

Dictators ride to and fro upon tigers which they dare not dismount. And the tigers are getting hungry. (Winston Churchill, *While England Slept*)

The best service a retired general can perform is to turn in his tongue along with his suit and to mothball his opinions. (General Omar Bradley)

An appeal to force cannot, by its nature, be a partial one. (General Dwight D. Eisenhower)

Precision weapons require precision intelligence. (Admiral Dave Jeremiah)

The more we do something, the better we get at it. But the more we do something and the better we get at it, the less likely it will need to be done . . . because the enemy has a brain.

Space is more than just another higher hill. (General Ed Eberhart)

In revolutions, the characteristics are: there are winners; there are losers; and there is pain.

We never go final; we just run out of time to make more changes. (Doug Necessary)

Appendix B: Rumsfeld's Rules (Unabridged)

The perfect battle is the one that does not have to be fought. (Sun Tzu)

ON INTELLIGENCE

There are known knowns: the things you know you know. There are known unknowns: the things you know you don't know. But there are also unknown unknowns: the things you don't know you don't know.

When you know a thing, to hold that you know it, and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it; this is knowledge. (Confucius)

Many intelligence reports in war are contradictory; even more are false, and most are uncertain. (Carl von Clausewitz)

Tell them what you know. Tell them what you don't know. And, only then, tell them what you think. And, be sure you distinguish among them. (Colin Powell)

Know what you do not know. Those who think that they know, but are mistaken, and act upon their mistakes, are the most dangerous people to have in charge. (Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher)

The only thing that should be surprising is that we continue to be surprised.

The absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence; nor is it evidence of presence.

Some of it (what you can see), plus the rest of it (what you can't see), equals all of it. (Baldy's Law)

First reports are often wrong.

Appendix B: Rumsfeld's Rules (Unabridged)

No one ever sees successful camouflage.

Warning time not used is wasted time. It's like runway behind a pilot. (General Lee Butler)

The wind through the tower presages the coming of the storm. (Chinese proverb)

Hire paranoids. Even though they have a high false alarm rate, they discover all plots. (Dr. Herman Kahn)

It is easier to convince someone they're right, than to convince them they're wrong.

A sample of one from a homogenous population is sufficient. (Dr. Herman Kahn)

Oh, really. What do you suppose was his motive? (Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna, on learning the Russian ambassador had died)

The intelligence community is a collection of feudal baronies. (Admiral David Jeremiah)

In this post-cold war world, intelligence is not just bean counting—we need to know cultures and intentions. (General Chuck Horner)

If it were a fact, it wouldn't be intelligence. (Former CIA Director General Michael Hayden)

ON LIFE (AND OTHER THINGS)

You can't pray a lie. (Mark Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*)

It takes everyone to make a happy day. (Marcy Rumsfeld, age seven)

Appendix B: Rumsfeld's Rules (Unabridged)

It is quite true what philosophy says: that life must be understood backwards. But that makes one forget the other saying: that it must be lived—forwards. (Søren Kierkegaard)

Certainty without power can be interesting, even amusing. Certainty with power can be dangerous.

It is not because they are difficult that we do not dare things; rather they are difficult because we do not dare them. (Seneca)

The most important things in life you cannot see—civility, justice, courage, peace.

The Lord doesn't require us to succeed. He just expects us to try. (Mother Teresa)

He who cannot change the very fabric of his thought will never be able to change reality. (Anwar Sadat)

Persuasion is a two-edged sword—reason and emotion, plunge it deep. (Dr. Lew Sarett)

Patriotism is not short, frenzied outbursts of emotion, but the tranquil and steady dedication of a lifetime. (Governor Adlai Stevenson)

Your best question is often why.

Don't be afraid to see what you see. (President Ronald Reagan)

Proper preparation prevents poor performance.

The art of listening is indispensable for the right use of the mind. It is also the most gracious, the most open, and the most generous of human habits. (Attributed to Dr. R. Barr, St. John's College)

In writing if it takes over thirty minutes to write the first two paragraphs select another subject. (Raymond Aron)

Appendix B: Rumsfeld's Rules (Unabridged)

Learn from those who have been there.

You can't recover the fumble unless you're on the field. Get out there. (Tim Russert Sr.)

Discipline yourself and others won't need to. (John Wooden)

Whatever you are, be a good one. (Abraham Lincoln, county champion wrestler)

Once you've wrestled, everything else in life is easy. (Dan Gable)

If doesn't go easy, force it. (My dad's assessment of my basic operating principle at age ten)

Put yourself in the other person's shoes.

In sports as in life, keep something in the tank.

You always have two choices: your commitment versus your fear. (Sammy Davis Jr.)

When married, always have six months of your current salary in the bank. With that you will have the ability to leave any job at any time and never feel pressure to do something you do not think is appropriate. (Joyce Rumsfeld's father, Red Pierson)

One of the benefits of pessimism is that you are probably right more often than you are wrong, and when you are wrong, you are pleased. (George Will)

What one needs in life are the pessimism of intelligence and the optimism of will. (Belgian Ambassador to NATO André de Staercke)

When you're in a bind, create a diversion. (Alf Landon)

In life, as in gymnastics, never let go of one ring until you have a good grip on the next one.

Appendix B: Rumsfeld's Rules (Unabridged)

You never know which twist is the one that will open the jar—just stay with it. (Tim Russert Sr.)

The world is run by those who show up.

You can learn something from everyone—from a five-year-old to a head of state. Listening is important. (Dr. Robert Goldwin)

What's the difference between a good naval officer and a great one? Answer: about six seconds. (Admiral Arleigh Burke)

First law of holes: If you get in one, stop digging. (Denis Healey)

Talent hits a target no one else can hit. Genius hits a target no one else can see. (Arthur Schopenhauer)

The reason I don't worry about society is nineteen people knocked down two buildings and killed thousands. Hundreds of people ran into those buildings to save them. I'll take those odds every [expletive deleted] day. (Jon Stewart)

The potential of anything is the most important thing about everything. (Hernando de Soto)

If you wish to study painting, do it in the winter, when the trees are bare and you can see the structure. (Chinese saying, per Shimon Peres)

Behold the turtle. He makes progress only when he sticks his neck out. (James B. Conant)

When drinking the water, don't forget those who dug the well. (Chinese proverb)

The harder I work, the luckier I am. (Stephen Leacock)

Read no history: nothing but biography, for that is life without theory. (Benjamin Disraeli)

Appendix B: Rumsfeld's Rules (Unabridged)

History will be kind to me, because I will write it. (Sir Winston Churchill)

But I am me. (Nick Rumsfeld, age nine, on receiving advice from his parents)

You learn in life that there are few plateaus; you are going either up or down.

If you're coasting, you're going downhill. (L. W. Pierson)

Explanations exist; they have existed for all time; there is always a well-known solution to every human problem—neat, plausible, and wrong. (H. L. Mencken)

Simply because a problem is shown to exist it doesn't necessarily follow that there is a solution.

The only stupidities that are not easily solved are those created by very intelligent men. (Ambassador François de Rose)

If you think you have things under control, you're not going fast enough. (Mario Andretti, racecar driver)

Clearly, a civilization that feels guilty for everything it is and does will lack the energy and conviction to defend itself. (Jean-François Revel)

To be absolutely certain about something, one must know everything or nothing about it. (Olin Miller)

The better part of one's life consists of his friendships. (Abraham Lincoln)

You get to do what you want to do only when you no longer want to do it.

When you're skiing, if you're not falling you're not trying.

Appendix B: Rumsfeld's Rules (Unabridged)

The test of a first-rate intelligence is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in the mind at the same time, and still retain the ability to function. (F. Scott Fitzgerald)

Men count up the faults of those who keep them waiting. (French proverb)

It is seldom that liberty of any kind is lost all at once. (David Hume)

History marches to the drum of a clear idea. (W. H. Auden)

I have benefited enormously from criticism, and at no point have I suffered a perceptible lack thereof. (Winston Churchill)

I do not at all resent criticism, even when, for the sake of emphasis, it for a time parts company with reality. (Winston Churchill, House of Commons, January 22, 1941)

Demographics is destiny. (Auguste Comte)

Civilizations die from suicide, not murder. (Arnold Toynbee)

When Dr. Johnson defined patriotism as the last refuge of a scoundrel, he was unconscious of the then undeveloped capabilities of the word *reform*. (Senator Roscoe Conkling)

America is not what is wrong with the world.

I have so often in my life been mistaken that I no longer blush for it. (Napoleon Bonaparte)

You pay the same price for doing something halfway as for doing it completely, so you might as well do it completely. (President Nixon to Henry Kissinger)

What should they know of England who only England know? (Rudyard Kipling)

It is difficulties that show what men are. (Epictetus)

Appendix B: Rumsfeld's Rules (Unabridged)

You never really lose until you quit trying. (Mike Ditka)

Following the path of truth is sometimes difficult, but never impossible. (Pope John Paul II)

What you see is what you get. What you don't see gets you.

We cannot ensure success, but we can deserve it. (George Washington)

Victory is never final. Defeat is never fatal. It is courage that counts. (Sir Winston Churchill)

All generalizations are false—including this one.

If you develop rules, never have more than ten.