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history	Professor	8/87-Present
	Associate Professor	8/82-8/87
	Assistant Professor	1/77-8/82
	Co-Director, Middle East Studies Center,	8/07-Present
	Chairperson	8/87-8/91

University of Virginia

	Visiting Appointment	8/79-8/80
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personal birth place: Ravenna, Ohio

data married: Martha Jane (Furgiuele), 22 Jan 72
son: Thomas Charles MacDonald

education Ph.D. in Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia, 1976
(Lychnos Society--Graduate Honor Society)
M.A. in Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia, 1971
B.A., magna cum laude, with Honors, in International Affairs,
Florida State University, 1969 (Phi Beta Kappa)

honors Woodrow Wilson National Fellow, 1969-70
and
awards National Defense Education Act (NDEA) Fellow
University of Virginia, 1969-71; 1973-74

Higher Education Act (HEA) Fellow
University of Virginia, 1974-75

National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) Fellow
Harvard University, Summer 1983

Current Strategy Fellow, Current Strategy Forum
Naval War College, June 1985

Membre d'Honneur, Institut Kurde de Bruxelles, 1995

Honorary Member of Alpha Phi Sigma, 2002
(National Criminal Justice Honor Society)

Florida International University, Faculty Award for Excellence
in Advising, September 2005.

honor Phi Beta Kappa
societies Phi Kappa Phi
Lychnos Society (Graduate Honor Society, UVA)

Omicron Delta Epsilon

Pi Sigma Alpha

Phi Eta Sigma

President, Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi, Chapter 206,
Florida International University, 1987-89

books Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the Law of the Sea: Political Interaction and Legal Development in the Persian Gulf (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1980).

Revolution in Iran: A Reappraisal, jointly edited with Enver M. Koury (Hyattsville, MD: Institute of Middle Eastern and North African Affairs, 1982).

Present Kurdish Political Situation and Kurdish Nationalism, Occasional Paper of the Badlisy Center for Kurdish Studies, (Tallahassee: Badlisy Center for Kurdish Studies, 1993).

*Kurdish Identity: Human Rights and Political Status, jointly edited with Carole A. O'Leary (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2007).

(*Book nominated by the University Press of Florida for the International Studies Association Best Book of the Year Award)

series Editor, Studies in International Relations, A Routledge Series, New York and London :

1. Chrystalla A. Ellina, Promoting Women=s Rights: The Politics of Gender in the European Union (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).

2. Yucel Bozdaglioglu, Turkish Foreign Policy and Turkish Identity: A Constructivist Approach (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).

3. Mayra Gomez, Human Rights in Cuba, El Salvador and Nicaragua: A Sociological Perspective on Human Rights Abuse (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).
4. Galia Press-Barnathan, Organizing the World: The United States and Regional Cooperation in Asia and Europe (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).
5. E. C. H. Keskitalo, Negotiating the Arctic: The Construction of an International Region (New York and London: Routledge, 2004).
6. Eugenia da Conceicao-Heldt, The Common Fisheries Policy in the European Union: A Study in Integrative and Distributive Bargaining (New York and London: Routledge 2004).
7. Vanessa C. M. Chio, Malaysia and the Development Process: Globalization, Knowledge Transfers and Postcolonial Dilemmas (New York and London: Routledge, 2005).
8. Denise K. DeGarmo, International Environmental Treaties and State Behavior: Factors Influencing Cooperation (New York and London: Routledge, 2004).
9. Michael W. Collier, Political Corruption in the Caribbean Basis: Constructing a Theory to Combat Corruption (New York and London: Routledge, 2005).
10. Arturo Santa-Cruz, International Election Monitoring, Sovereignty, and the Western Hemisphere Idea: The Emergence of an International Norm (New York and London: Routledge, 2005).
11. Mark Sachleben, Human Rights Treaties: Considering Patterns of Participation, 1948-2000 (New York and London: Routledge, 2005).
12. Nathan Lillie, A Global Union for Global Workers: Collective Bargaining and Regulatory Politics in Maritime Shipping (New York and London: Routledge, 2006).

13. Zoe Wilson, The United Nations and Democracy in Africa: Labyrinths of Legitimacy (New York and London: Routledge, 2006).

14. Kenneth R. Dombroski, Peacekeeping in the Middle East as an International Regime (New York and London: Routledge, 2007).

articles“The Roles of Iran and Saudi Arabia in the Development of the Law of the Sea,” Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, 1 (Spring 1978), 3-10.

“Iran’s Strategic Interests and the Law of the Sea,” Middle East Journal, 34 (Summer 1980), 302-322.

“Regionalism and the Law of the Sea: The Persian Gulf Perspective,” Naval War College Review, 31 (September-October 1980), 73-81.

“Iran as a Political Variable,” Levant (Hyderabad, Pakistan), No. 1 (Winter 1980), 45-62.

“The Shah and the Sea,” in “Comment and Correspondence,” Foreign Affairs, 59 (Spring 1981), 944.

“The Impact of the Gulf War on the Iraqi and Iranian Kurds,” Middle East Contemporary Survey (London), 7 (1982-83), 261-272.

“The United States and Gulf Conflict Scenarios,” Middle East Insight, 3 (May-July 1983), 23-27.

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“Emergent Iraq: New Realities and Old Goals,” Bulletin of the Jerusalem Institute for Western Defense, 2 (April 1989), 8-12.

“The Kurdish Challenge in Revolutionary Iran,” Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, 13 (Fall/Winter 1989), 52-68.

“The Kurds,” Journal of Political Science, 19 (1991) 121-139.

“International Conference on Northwest Kurdistan,” NAMAH, 2 (Summer 1994), 4-5.

“Northwest Kurdistan: European Initiatives,” in Proceedings of the 7th Annual Conference of the Kurdish National Congress of North America, July 29-30, 1994, Gaithersburg, MD, Kurdish National Congress, Vol. 7, No. 1 (December 1994), 19-21.

“Iran: Alternative Alliances,” Oxford Analytica, Daily Brief, May 22, 1995, 11-13.

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“Why Operation Desert Strike?” (Feature Article of “Viewpoint”)
The Miami Herald, September 8, 1996, 1L, 6L.

“Iraq: Internecine Kurds,” Oxford Analytica, Daily Brief,
September 13, 1996, 11-13.

“Foreign Cocaine Consumption: A Preliminary Study,”
Interagency Cocaine Movement Group Forum,
September 22, 1997, 1-13. (Online on ADNET).

“Kurdology Conference in Berlin: Between Imagination and
Denial: Constructing Kurdology,” Zagros, 2 (July 1998), 1-2, 8.

“Libya and the U.S.: A Changed Political Dynamic?” (with
Michael M. Gunter), Middle East Insight, 15 (May-June
2000), 15-19.

“America and Terrorism: Perspectives,” The Docket 2 (Fall 2001).
(National Criminal Justice Honor Society Newsletter).

“VOA News: Gadafi’s Image Changing,” Featured Interview by
Ed Warner, January 18, 2002. (On-line and broadcast).

“The Influence of Iraq’s Neighbors on Democratic Change,”
Proceedings of the International Conference on Promoting
Democratic Change in Iraq (sponsored by the Iraq Institute of
Democracy, Freedom House, and American University),
Washington, D.C., June 2002.

- policy paper "Winning the Peace: Managing a Successful Transition in Iraq" Atlantic Council, January 2003 (contributing participant in Atlantic Council's Iraq Working Group, Policy Paper, January 2003).
- chapters "Iran as a Political Variable: Patterns and Prospects" and "Reactions to Iran's Revolution: The Search for Security," in Revolution in Iran: A Reappraisal, ed. by Enver M. Koury and Charles G. MacDonald (Hyattsville, MD: Institute of Middle Eastern and North African Affairs, 1982), pp. 49-60, 98-109.
- "Iran: Political and Security Assessment," in Business and Middle East: Threats and Prospects, ed. by Robert A. Kilmarx and Yonah Alexander (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982), pp. 117-133.
- "U.S. Policy and Gulf Security," in Gulf Security into the 1980s: Perceptual and Strategic Dimensions, ed. by Robert G. Darius, John W. Amos, II, and Ralph H. Magnus (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1984), pp. 93-115.
- "World War II," in Franklin D. Roosevelt, his Life and Times: An Encyclopedic View, ed. by Otis Graham, Jr. and Meghan Robinson Wander (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1985), pp. 464-467.
- "The Kurdish Question in the 1980s," in Ethnicity, Pluralism, and the State in the Middle East, ed. by Milton Esman and Itamar Rabinovich (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 233-252.

“Iran, Iraq, and the Cease-fire Negotiations: Contemporary Legal Issues,” in The Gulf War: Lessons for Strategy, Law, and Diplomacy, ed. by Christopher C. Joyner (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1990), pp. 209-223.

“The Kurds,” in The Ethnic Dimension in International Relations, ed. by Bernard Schechterman and Martin Slann (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1993), pp. 123-140.

“Kurdish Guerrillas and International Law: Policy Considerations,” in A Democratic Future for the Kurds of Turkey (London and Frankfurt: Kurdistan Human Rights Project and Medico International, 1995), 107-120 (English, French, Turkish, Kurdish).

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“Kurdish Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons in Iran,” in Kurdish Exodus: From Internal Displacement to Diaspora, edited by Mohammed M.A. Ahmed and Michael Gunter (Sharon, MA: Ahmed Foundation for Kurdish Studies, 2002), 63-69.

Turkish Translation of “The Kurdish Question,” in Ethnicity, Pluralism, and the State in the Middle East, edited by Milton Esman and Itamar Rabinovich (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), May 2004.

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book American Journal of International Law
reviews CIRA Newsletter, Center for Iranian Research and Analysis
Digest of Middle East Studies (DOMES)
Middle East Journal
Middle East Review
Middle East Studies Association Bulletin
Military Review
Naval War College Review

papers International Conferences:

“The Kurdish Question in the 1980s,” Conference on Ethnicity, Pluralism and Conflict in the Middle East, Dayan Center for

Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, Israel, May 1984.

“King Abd al-Aziz and the Law of the Sea: Foundation for Cooperation and Mutual Respect,” International Conference on the History of King Abd al-Aziz, Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud Islamic University, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, November 1985.

“Iran, Iraq, and the Gulf War: Contemporary Legal Issues,” Joint Convention of the British International Studies Association and the International Studies Association, London, April 1989.

“U.S. Policy and Gulf Security in the 1990s: Aspirations and Reality,” International Conference on Social and Economic Development in Pre- and Post-Revolutionary Iran, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, April 1991.

“Present Kurdish Political Situation and Kurdish Nationalism,” International Conference on ^AThe Kurds: Political Status and Human Rights,” Washington, D. C. (sponsored by the Badlişy Center for Kurdish Studies), March 1993.

“Self-Determination and Ethnic Minority Rights--Conflicting Norms?: The Kurdish Case,” The 34th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Acapulco, Mexico, April 1993.

“Kurdish Fighters and International Law: Policy Considerations,” International Conference on Northwest Kurdistan (Southeast Turkey), Brussels, Belgium (sponsored by the Kurdish Human

Rights Project (London) and Medico International (Frankfurt),
March 1994.

“Problems and Politics of Linkage between Kurdish Political
Organizations,” International Conference on the History of
Kurdistan, University of Lausanne (sponsored by the Kurdish
Science and Research Institute, Berlin, Germany), Lausanne,
Switzerland, July 1995.

“Iran, Iraq, and the Continuing Cease-Fire Negotiations,”
International Conference on Iran and the Emerging World
Order: Fourteenth Annual Conference of the Centre for Iranian
Research and Analysis (CIRA), Coventry University, Coventry,
England, March 1996.

“Aspects of Improving Non-Political Relations between Libya
and the United States,” Round Table Conference “On the Way
to Better Non-Political Relations with Libya,” Maastricht School
of Management, Maastricht, The Netherlands, April 1999.

“Opening Statement of American Delegation,” US-Libya
Dialogue Conference, Sleima, Malta, August 1999.

“Kurdish Nationalism in Iran,” ^AThe Kurds: Search for Identity-
-An International Conference,[@] Center for Global Peace and
Mustafa Barzani Scholar of Global Kurdish Studies, American
University, Washington, DC, April 2000.

“Kurdish Refugees and Internally Displaced Kurds in Iran,”
International Conference on the Predicament of Kurdish

Refugees and Internally Displaced Kurds, Fair Oaks, VA,
September 2001.

“Regional Dynamics and Global Dimensions: Turkey, Iran, and
the Arab Countries,” International Conference on Promoting
Democratic Change in Iraq (sponsored by Iraq Institute for
Democracy, Freedom House, and American University),
Washington, D.C., June 2002.

“United States and Iran: Sanctions,” 22nd Annual Meeting,
Center for Iranian Research and Analysis (CIRA), International
Conference: [The Making of a New Middle East](#),[©] University of
Central Florida, April 2004.

“Iraq and Iran: Kurdish Issues,” a 22nd Annual Meeting, Center
for Iranian Research and Analysis (CIRA), International
Conference: [The Making of a New Middle East](#), University of
Central Florida, April 2004.

“Iran and the Kurdish Question,” International Conference: “The
Foreign Policy of Iran since the Revolution,” University of
Durham, United Kingdom, March 2005.

“Sovereignty, Security, and Ethnic Boundaries in Iraq,”
International Conference on Geographic Information
Technologies and the New Middle East Security, Florida
International University, University Park, Miami, FL March
2006.

National Conferences:

“The Impact of Iran's Strategic Interests on Legal Development in the Persian Gulf,” 2nd Annual Third World Conference, Omaha, November 1978.

“Mediterranean Microstates: Malta and the Balance of Power,” 3rd Annual Third World Conference, Omaha, October 1979.

“Iran as a Political Variable,” 4th Annual Third World Conference,
Omaha, October 1980.

“American Policy and Gulf Security,” 15th Annual Meeting of the Middle Eastern Studies Association, Seattle, November 1981.

“Recognition of Non-State Entities,” 76th Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law, Washington, D. C., April 1982.

“Kurdish Question and Islamic Iran,” 17th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Chicago, November 1983.

“Kurdish Transborder Relations and Regional Stability,” 25th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, March 1984.

“Kurdish National Liberation Movements,” 81st Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, New Orleans, August 1985.

“U.S. Policy in Gulf Crises,” 27th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Anaheim, CA, March 1986.

“U.S. Policy and Terrorism in the Middle East,” 58th Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, November 1986.

“Arab Anxieties in the Gulf: Threats and Prospects,” Conference on Soviet-American Rivalry in Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf, Institute for Soviet and East European Studies and the Middle East Studies Institute, University of Miami, October 1987.

“Instability in the Persian Gulf: Consequences for Israel,” 56th General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations, Miami Beach, November 1988.

“International Dimensions of the Kurdish Issue,” 6th Annual Meeting of the American Council for the Study of Islamic Societies, Villanova University, May 1989.

“Fundamentalism as a Political Force in the Gulf: Implications of Developments in Post-War Iran,” 85th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Atlanta, August 1989.

“Greater Kurdistan--The Kurdistan of Five Parts: Problems of Separate National Development,” 24th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, San Antonio, November 1990.

“Saudi Arabia after the Gulf War,” 33rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, April 1992.

“The Search for Kurdish Autonomy,” 26th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Portland, OR, October 1992.

“The Future of Kurdish Studies,” 27th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Research Triangle, NC, November 1993.

“The Role of the United Nations in Kurdistan--Iraq,” 35th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Washington, D.C., March 1994.

“Kurdish Nationalism and the National Minorities Question,” 28th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Phoenix, AZ, November 1994.

“Kurdistan Parliament-in-Exile,” 13th Annual Meeting of the Association of Third World Studies, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL, October 1995.

Discussant, Panel on A Self-Government in Iraqi Kurdistan: Domestic and Foreign Implications, 29th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D. C., December 1995.

Roundtable Participant, “Turkey: Promise and Peril,” at Kurdish Conflict Resolution Forum, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, sponsored by Washington Kurdish Institute, Washington, D.C., July 1998.

“The Creation of the Kurdish Studies Association,” 1st Annual Meeting of the Kurdish Studies Association, Lake Buena Vista, FL, November 2000.

“Iran, the United Arab Emirates, and Abu Musa,” 34th Middle East Studies Association, Lake Buena Vista, FL, November 2000.

“Treaties and the Protection of Human Rights: The European Court of Human Rights, the OSCE, and the Kurds” International Studies Association, 2001 Annual Meeting, Chicago, IL, February 2001.

“The International Legal Framework for Combatting Terrorism,” USSOUTHCOM Legal Symposium 2002, Miami, FL June 2002.

“Kurds, Immigration and Naturalization Issues, and Human Rights,” presented at the Kurdish Studies Association in Association with the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C., November 2002.

“A Kurdish State: The International Legal Considerations,” Middle East Studies Association, Anchorage, Alaska, November 2003.

“Iraq: What Next,” Symposium of the Joint Military Science Military Science Leadership Center, the University of South Florida, Tampa, FL, March 2005.

media Voice of America, Kurdish Service, Interviewed in March, May, June, and July 1994; December 1995.

Local Media: Interviewed on radio and television on Middle Eastern developments, 1977-present.

Consultant on the Gulf War, CBS Affiliate, Miami, FL, 1991. (appeared more than 30 times on Miami television stations during the Gulf War, prior to being called onto active duty at

Pentagon, to do intelligence briefings on Gulf for Air Force Chief of Operations).

“VOA News: Gadafi’s Image Changing,” Featured Interview by Ed Warner, January 18, 2002, including on-line transcript and broadcast.

Interviewed by Wall Street Journal, Newsweek (Poland), and National Public Television on Libya in 2002.

Interviewed by HOT 102 Radio, Kingston, Jamaica (on Iraq), April 2003.

Interviewed by Voice of America, Mandarin Service (on Iraq), April 2003.

other American Professors for Peace in the Middle East Study Mission to Israel and Jordan: “Middle East Interpretations of the Peace Agreement,” June 1979.

speaker “Persian Gulf Region,” USAF Special Operations School, Middle East Technical Assistance Field Team (ME/TAFT) Orientation Course, Hurlburt Field, FL, April 1983.

“Minorities in the Middle East,” 1984-85 Lecture Series, University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL, 1984.

“The U.S. and the Gulf War,” University of South Florida’s Foreign Forum, Tampa, FL, March 1985.

“The Gulf War: Kurdish Dimension,” Defense Intelligence
Defense Intelligence College/USCENTCOM Conference on
“Iran and Iraq: The War and Beyond,” MacDill Air Force Base,
FL, April 1985.

“Minorities and Gulf Stability: Some Considerations,”
USCENTAF Southwest Asia Symposium, Shaw Air Force Base,
February 1988.

“Instability in the Persian Gulf: Consequences for Israel,” 56th
General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations, Miami
Beach, FL, November 1988.

“Theaters of Conflict”: “The Persian Gulf” and “Kurdistan”,
University of Miami GSIS Seminar for Second U.S.
Army/Military Intelligence Command, Miami, February 1989.

‘Iran-Iraq Post War Relations,” Second Annual USCENTAF
Symposium on Southwest Asia: “Southwest Asia in the 1990s,”
Shaw Air Force Base, SC, March 1989.

“The Middle East: Iran's Role,” presented at the Third Annual
USCENTAF Symposium on Southwest Asia, Shaw Air Force
Base, SC, March 1990.

“Kurds and Iraq,” Policy Workshop on Iraq, National Defense
University, May 2, 1991.

“Ethnic Conflict in Iraq and Iran: The Kurds,” presented at the
9th Annual Conference of the Defense Intelligence College,
“Ethnic Conflict: Challenges to U.S. Security,” June 1992.

“The Peace Process in Perspective,” presented at the 3rd Forum on Peace in the Middle East: How It Will Work, B'nai Torah Congregation, Boca Raton, March 3, 1996.

“Islamic Fundamentalism and Terrorism: Perceptions,” Greater Miami Jewish Federation, Community Relations Board, Miami, FL, April 18, 1996.

“The Israeli Elections and New Security Concerns,” American Jewish Congress, North Dade Chapter, April 24, 1996.

“Ethnicity in the Middle East,” John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School, Ft. Bragg, NC, November 1998.

“The Roots of Terrorism: An Academic Perspective,” U. S. Department of State's 3rd Southeast Regional Overseas Security Advisory Council Conference, Atlanta, GA, December 1998.

“Political Islam,” USAF Special Operations School, Middle East Orientation Course (MEOC), Hurlburt Field, FL, April 1999.

“The International Legal Framework for Combating Terrorism,” USSOUTHCOM Legal Symposium 2002, Miami, FL, June 2002.

“Terrorism Today in Perspective,” (Three-Hour Training Package), U.S. Customs, Miami, FL March 2003.

“Iraq and the Kurds,” Department of Government and International Studies, University of South Florida, February 2004.

“Iran’s Nuclear Ambitions: Challenges and Implications for the World,” Florida International University, February 2008 (Chaired Panel and Spoke on Iran)

“International Law and Drug Trafficking,” Stanford University Law School, Palo Alto, CA, October 2008

affiliations Kurdish Studies Association (Past President)
US-Libya Dialogue Group (Past US Chairperson)
Badlisy Center for Kurdish Studies (Advisory Committee)
Center for Iranian Research and Analysis (CIRA)
Institute Kurde de Bruxelles (Council of Administration,
1994-95)
Jerusalem Institute for Western Defense (Advisory Board)
Middle East Institute
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Washington Kurdish Institute (Advisory Board)

reviewer Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 1999
Middle East Journal, 1981; 1984; 1996
Greenwood Press, 1986
International Journal of Middle East Studies, 1990-1994
Studies in Comparative International Development, 1991
National Endowment for the Humanities, 1993
St. Martin's Press, 1993
Taylor and Francis Group, 2001
Palgrave, 2002
Routledge, 2007

Validation Team, USAF Special Operations School,
Middle East Orientation Course, August 23-29, 1998.

Wrote questions: GRE Political Science (International
Relations), for Educational Testing Service, Princeton, NJ,
1983; 1985.

teaching Development of International Relations Thought
 and International Law/International Organization
research International Law of the Sea
 areas International Relations/International Relations Theory
 International Relations of Drug Trafficking
 International Relations of the Middle East
 International Relations of the United States
 Kurdish Studies/Ethnic Studies/Human Rights

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 Affairs, University of Virginia
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 University of Miami
 Max Gross, Dean, Joint Military Intelligence College,
 Defense Intelligence Agency