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INTELLIGENCE STUDIES IN FRANCE

History, Structure and Proposals

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ABSTRACT

Since the September 11 attacks, there has been a threefold legitimization of the intelligence field in France: due to the international context, through contemporary security challenges such as terrorism, organized crime, information manipulation; and the subsequent shift in public policies (leading in particular to the Intelligence Act of July 24th, 2015); and by the changing perception of a public affected by the terrorist threat. This context can encourage the development of intelligence studies, which has so far struggled to establish itself in France. The subject is indeed being considered in an increasing number of works in the humanities and social sciences, especially in history, law and political science. This paper reviews intelligence studies in France, without claiming to establish an exhaustive map of the field. It is organized into three sections: first, a brief history of intelligence studies through the comparison of the Anglo-American world and France. Data on the structure of the field (publications, theses, research networks, internationalization) will then be presented. Finally, ten proposals are made for the development of intelligence studies, particularly in terms of teaching, clearances granted to researchers, and the creation of a specialized journal. We also advocate a rapprochement between academics and professionals, carried out with strict respect for the independence of the spheres and with concern for mutual understanding. In this regard, the role of the State and public authorities is fundamental in overseeing and giving momentum to this rapprochement.

CONTENT

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INTRODUCTION[1]

The political and social role of intelligence in France has been strengthened over the past decade. This is due to several factors: first, the evolution of the strategic context since the September 11 attacks (even more so since the terror attacks on French soil in 2015 and 2016), as intelligence has played a major role in conflicts where France is involved, in particular in the fight against terrorism; secondly, the consideration of these security challenges in strategic doctrines, particularly reflected in the White Paper on defense and national security of 2008, which recognizes the centrality of "knowledge and anticipation,"[2] and the 2017 strategic review; finally, the shift in public opinion with regard to intelligence careers, which can be demonstrated through the success of the series *Le Bureau des légendes*, broadcast on Canal+.

There is thus a **threefold legitimization of the intelligence field in France**: 1) as a result of the international context, through contemporary security challenges such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation, organized crime, manipulation of information; 2) through the reorientation of public policy (leading in particular to the Intelligence Act of July 24th, 2015 and the creation of positions within the various services); 3) by the evolution of public perception, due to the direct effects of terrorism.

These changes have led to a reconsideration of the place of intelligence as a subject of research in the French academic landscape. This paper would like to contribute to a collective reflection on the subject. One question will serve as a "common thread": how should dialogue between academics and intelligence professionals be organized? Should intelligence studies be considered as policy-oriented research supporting the action of intelligence services or must they first respond to the scientific purpose of explanation and understanding, beyond any further requirements?[3] This question was at the heart of the development of intelligence studies in the Anglo-American world, and it is also the subject of debate in France, as evidenced by recent controversies over the agreement between the CNRS and the Directorate of Military Intelligence.[4]

The point we are making is as follows: the two worlds cannot ignore each other and merge at the same time. They cannot ignore each other as on the one hand, intelligence researchers cannot investigate without a nurtured contact with the field, so an exchange with professionals in the sector is essential. On the other hand, intelligence professionals have everything to gain from a reflective and academic shift in their field. Nevertheless, academics and professionals cannot be confused, because they have two different vocations. The rapprochement between academics and practitioners must therefore be carried out

1. The authors would like to thank Paul Charon, Olivier Chopin and Jean-Baptiste Jeangène Vilmer for their comments on previous drafts of this paper. Of course, the final draft is the sole responsibility of the authors. They write in their own name and their words do not represent those of the institutions to which they are affiliated.

2. See the White Papers of 2008, 2013, as well as the *Strategic Review* of 2017. See also Philippe Boone, "Connaissance et anticipation," *Revue Défense Nationale*, No. 707, April 2008.

3. Stephen Marrin, "Improving Intelligence Studies as an Academic Discipline," *Intelligence and National Security*, 31:2, 23 February 2016.

4. Thibaud Boncourt, Raphaëlle Branche, Christel Coton, Marielle Debos, Mathias Delori, Sylvain Laurens, Chowra Makaremi, Christophe Wasinski, "Pour des études sur la guerre indépendantes," *Zilsel*, 23 June 2018, https://zilsel.hypotheses.org/3052.

with strict respect for their independence, scope and prerogatives. In France, it could only be done under the right conditions if supervised by the State, considering that in French history, the republican State plays a leading role in the construction of politics.

The paper is organized along three axes: first, a brief **history** of the field, in line with the studies carried out by the CF2R (2009) and IRSEM (2011);[5] then information on the **structuring** of intelligence studies, in particular with regard to theses; finally, ten **proposals** for a better recognition of these studies will be formulated to stimulate discussion.

HISTORY. ELEMENTS OF TRANSATLANTIC COMPARISON

The Anglo-American period: Intelligence Studies as a professional and political necessity

In the western world, Intelligence Studies were initially based on an effort of self-reflection on the part of American agencies in the 1950s. The first journal on the subject, *Studies in Intelligence*, was created within the CIA in 1955 by Sherman Kent, a former OSS member during the Second World War. Author of the classic, *Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy* (1949), and member of the Board of National Intelligence Estimate of the CIA until 1967, Kent is now considered the "father of intelligence analysis"[6] – the CIA's research and training center has borne his name since 2001. In his most famous work, he refers to intelligence as "the knowledge which our highly placed civilians and military men must have to safeguard the national welfare."[7] This definition which emphasizes the political and military dimension, envisages intelligence as a set of knowledge, organizations and practices. This triple definition portrays intelligence as a fragment of the State and public policy; from this perspective, intelligence studies is an interdisciplinary subject at the crossroads of sociology of the State and international relations, combining law, political science, history and sociology.

In the 1970s, discussion was structured around the framework of intelligence practices, against a backdrop of political and military scandals (Pentagon Papers, Watergate). In 1975, "the year of intelligence," the congressional committees for inquiry (Church, Rockefeller, Pike) were a highlight, followed by the adoption of the *Foreign Information Surveillance Act* in 1978. In Great Britain, the field was also developing. In 1986, the first two scientific journals dedicated to intelligence were launched: *Intelligence and National Security* and the *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*.

5. Éric Dénécé and Gérald Arboit, *Les Études sur le renseignement en France*, Research paper No. 8, Centre français de recherche sur le renseignement (CF2R), 2009; Olivier Chopin, Bastien Irondelle, Amélie Malissard, *Étudier le renseignement en France, État de l'art et perspective de recherche*, IRSEM Study, No. 9, 2011.

6. "A Look Back... Sherman Kent: The Father of Intelligence," *News and Information*, Central Intelligence Agency, 8 May 2010, https://www.cia.gov/news-information/featured-story-archive/2010-featured-story-archive/sherman-kent-the-father-of-intelligence.html.

7. "Intelligence, as I am writing of it, is the knowledge which our highly placed civilians and military men must have to safeguard the national welfare" (Sherman Kent, cited by Michael Warner, "Wanted: A Definition of 'Intelligence'," *Studies in Intelligence*, Central Intelligence Agency, 14 April 2007, p. 2).

In the Anglo-American world (the United States, Great Britain and Canada), the development of intelligence studies is based on two main factors. On the one hand, it is a response to **professional necessity**, for intelligence actors to reflect on their practices and framework; on the other hand, it represents a **political necessity** of democracy to consider the place of intelligence in public policy and to develop a genuine institutional architecture in the field.[8]

However, though the study of intelligence does not come from a scientific background, it is immediately confronted with difficult questions of method and positioning. How should one conduct intelligence studies? With what sources? According to what deontology? For what purposes? What is the contribution of intelligence studies to the analysis of the State, conflicts and international relations?

The field of intelligence studies thus occupies a paradoxical position. It both responds to professional and political imperatives and addresses an ambitious academic agenda at the crossroads of the sociology of the State and public policy.[9] It is also at the crossroads of two contradictory demands: on the one hand, the confidentiality and compartmentalization inherent to intelligence activities and, on the other hand, the characteristic attitude of openness and public dissemination of academic research.

We see this, for example, in the area of education, where two positions exist in the United States. Those who consider that intelligence studies constitute an "auxiliary" discipline to the action of the services, adjust to their needs and strive to train future analysts in an operational manner. From this, stems a sociology of teachers, former practitioners or practitioners, sharing part of their know-how and experience. Alternatively, those who believe that intelligence studies are part of an academic approach do not consider that teaching is aimed at acquiring a practical skill. For the advocates of this position, the learning of intelligence professions must be done internally and provided within the service or agency, while the university brings another, more scientific perspective. These two positions are reflected in the distinction between education and training: to universities – academic education (Education), to agencies – the learning of intelligence professions (Training).[10] There is therefore a tension in the United States over the definition of studies on intelligence, but this is also a driving force of this field of study.

The "Lacoste moment": towards a French intelligence culture

In France, the dialogue between the academic and professional world has been even more difficult than in the United States, Great Britain or Canada. There are several reasons for this. First of all, intelligence, as an area of State action, has often been perceived negatively, as is "*le fait du prince*". It is therefore rather incompatible with the principle of

8. Sébastien-Yves Laurent, *Pour une politique publique de renseignement*, Institut Montaigne, July 2014. See also the regular reports of the parliamentary intelligence committee, http://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/15/les-delegations-comite-et-office-parlementaire/delegation-parlementaire-au-renseignement.

9. Jacques de Maillard and Daniel Kübler, *Analyser les politiques publiques*, Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 2015 (2nd ed.).

10. William C. Spracher, "Teaching Intelligence in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, 1 March 2010.

openness that guides democratic debates. As Hélène L'Heuillet points out, "intelligence is either considered a legitimate aid to political decision-making or a grey area on the borderline of legality."[11] It rarely appears as a cultural element in society, nor as a scientific question. Similarly, the controversies surrounding espionage cases have led to numerous journalistic investigations that have not promoted the academic legitimacy of the field. In the long history of the French Republic, "dealings" fuel negative perceptions of intelligence. Lastly, due to a limited access to very contemporary sources, the subject has not generated many studies beyond history, meaning that the critical mass of social sciences' researchers have not been reached.

This weakness of the French intelligence culture is largely due to the historical role played by the state, particularly in its Napoleonic form – through its centralized nature, the state can be considered a gigantic centralized intelligence service whose vocation is to provide information. Thus, France did not have to forge a culture of intelligence since this function was already at the heart of the state.[12] A paradoxical status was reserved for intelligence in France: Inherent to the state, but external to political culture.[13]

In 1993, Admiral Pierre Lacoste, former General Director of External Security between 1982 and 1985 (Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure, DGSE), pointed out the "deficit of intelligence culture" in France, which he described as being "little known and above all misunderstood, because unlike other nations, such as the British or Chinese, our elites have not been educated or trained to treat intelligence as an essential strategic factor, on par with military or diplomatic know-how."[14] According to Admiral Lacoste, the myths and fantasies about intelligence tend to take precedence, in France, over a serene, distant and reflective approach to the subject. This explains the weakness of academic studies, which have not been encouraged by the public authorities. Regarding the different aspects of intelligence studies, only history has been studied in depth in France. Admiral Lacoste explains that less work is available on the "role of intelligence in foreign policy," the "functioning of services," the "various processes of collection, processing, exploitation" or the "sociological study of failures, decision-making processes," "the impact on civil liberties, the influence of popular culture"[15]…

Eager to bring about change, Admiral Lacoste created an intelligence research seminar in 1995 at the University of Marne-la-Vallée. In the collective work produced from the seminar, he identifies eleven areas of interest for intelligence research: documentation, conditions for development and decision-making, the methodological approach to intelligence, the study of the functioning of the secret services, intelligence, economics, information,

11. Hélène L'Heuillet, "Le renseignement ou l'impossible maîtrise de la politique," in *Le Renseignement, Les Cahiers de la sécurité intérieure*, Institut des hautes études de la sécurité intérieure (IHESI), 1997, p. 103-118; see also Norberto Bobbio, "La démocratie et le pouvoir occulte" in *Le Futur de la démocratie*, Éd. du Seuil, 2007, p. 185-209.

12. See Brigitte Henri, *Histoire secrète des RG*, Flammarion, 2017 and Olivier Chopin, "A network of peers? Lessons from the official establishment of a French Intelligence Community and resistance to change in the context of the 2015 terrorist attacks," presentation at the annual International Studies Association (ISA) conference, Baltimore, February 2017.

13. Olivier Chopin and Bastien Irondelle, "Comparaison franco-britannique de la recherche sur les services de renseignement," *Criminologie*, 46:2, 2013, p. 15-42.

14. Pierre Lacoste, Preface in Pierre Pascallon (dir.), *Défense et Renseignement*, L'Harmattan, 1995, p. 11.

15. *Ibid.*

crime and public order, ethics and deontology, civil liberties, investigative journalism, and culture.[16] Without being a simple replication, these axes overlap with the eight approaches identified by Canadian researcher Wesley Wark in 1991: the research project, the historical project, the theoretical approach, the methodological approach, the project on memories, civil liberties, investigative journalism,[17] and the approach through culture and fiction.[18] In the same vein, British researchers proposed structuring the field into four research areas: history; theory and methodology; organization and functioning; governance and connection to politics.[19]

Though French-language works on intelligence have existed for a long time, such as that of Alain Dewerpe and Jean-Pierre Alem,[20] Pierre Lacoste's seminar represents the first attempt to make known, within an academia, an already rich Anglo-American literature. He also expressed the objective of integrating a true French intelligence culture to the defense culture.[21] As a career military man, Admiral Lacoste strongly defends the link between defense and intelligence, considering that the latter is at the heart of the national strategic posture. Moreover, this position reflects three important events that place intelligence at the heart of defense issues in the post-Cold War context: the creation of the Directorate of Military Intelligence in 1992 (Direction du renseignement militaire, DRM) with the aim of guaranteeing the strategic and decision-making autonomy of French forces following the Gulf War; the change of status and recognition of intelligence in the 1994 Defense White Paper, which considers it a tool for anticipating international crises in a new strategic context marked by "uncertainty;" the publication of the Martre report on economic intelligence, which places "intelligence" at the heart of economic competition and new convergences between the public and private sectors.[22] In this same spirit of legitimization of intelligence at the institutional level, a Defense and Intelligence colloquium was held at the Senate, organized by Pierre Pascallon and chaired by Admiral Lacoste, with the participation of François Léotard, then Minister of Defense.[23]

This institutional, cultural and intellectual legitimization of intelligence is in line with the desire, already observed in the United States, to see intelligence as an element of the political decision-making process. Intelligence also appears, at state level, as a dimension of the bureaucratic apparatus and, within international relations, as a dimension of external action.

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16. Admiral Pierre Lacoste, *Le Renseignement à la française*, Economica, 1998.

17. Frédéric Charpier, *La CIA en France. 60 ans d'ingérence dans les affaires françaises*, Éd. du Seuil, 2008; Bruno Fuligni, *Dans les archives inédites des services secrets. Un siècle d'espionnage français*, Gallimard, Folio, 2014; Éric Pelletier and Christophe Dubois, *Où sont passés nos espions ? Petits et grands secrets du renseignement français*, Albin Michel, 2017; Antoine Glaser and Thomas Hofnung, *Nos chers espions en Afrique*, Fayard, 2018.

18. Cited in Loch K. Johnson, *Handbook of Intelligence Studies*, 1st ed., Routledge, 2007.

19. Peter Gill and Mark Phythian, "What Is Intelligence Studies?," *The International Journal of Intelligence, Security, and Public Affairs*, 18:1, 2 January 2016, p. 5-19.

20. Gérard Cohen-Jonathan and Robert Kovar, "L'espionnage en temps de paix," *Annuaire français de droit international*, 6:1, 1960; Jean-Pierre Alem, *L'Espionnage à travers les âges*, Stock, 1977; Jean-Pierre Alem, *L'Espionnage et le Contre-Espionnage*, Presses universitaires de France, 1980; Roger Faligot and Pascal Krop, *La Piscine : les services secrets français*, Éd. du Seuil, 1985; Alain Dewerpe, *Espion : une anthropologie historique du secret d'État contemporain*, Gallimard, 1994.

21. See François Léotard's general introduction in Pierre Pascallon (dir.), *Défense et Renseignement*, p. 19-32.

22. https://portail-ie.fr/resource/textes-de-reference/659/rapport-martre-intelligence-economique-et-strategie-des-entreprises.

23. Pierre Pascallon, *Defense et Renseignement*; see also Claude Silberzahn and Jean Guisnel, *Au cœur du secret : 1 500 jours aux commandes de la DGSE*, Fayard, 1995.

While it was previously considered as part of the *raison d'état*,[24] since the 1990s it has developed into a genuine public policy in response to political, doctrinal and legislative developments, as evidenced by the strengthening of inter-ministerial cooperation. In essence, in the post-Cold War context, there no longer exists any security issues for which intelligence cannot contribute to its strategic analysis. This means that from a scientific point of view, intelligence cannot be studied in isolation from forms of public (but also private)[25] action. As noted by former member of American intelligence, Mark M. Lowenthal, "the future of intelligence will not be determined by what happens in intelligence but what happens in international politics."[26] From this perspective, the variables relevant to the study of intelligence are changes in technologies, political regimes and in the international system. These developments are in line with intelligence studies that combine historical, political and legal approaches, and contribute to the reflection on state action in the field of security and defense.[27]

STRUCTURING OF THE FIELD: PUBLICATIONS, PhDs, RESEARCH NETWORKS AND INTERNATIONALIZATION

More than twenty years after Admiral Lacoste's seminar, how can the structuring of academic research on intelligence be described? How can the evolution of scientific production regarding publications and defended theses be characterized? How are research networks organized? How does French research position itself on an international scale?

Publications: The imprint of history

Among the eleven areas of study identified by Admiral Lacoste, not all received the same attention.

The portrayal of intelligence in culture and fiction, which had given rise to numerous works in the 1980s,[28] is the subject of growing interest after a period out of the spotlight. A PhD dissertation is currently being funded by the Ministry of the Armed Forces[29] and

24. Olivier Chopin, *La Raison d'État et la démocratie. Concepts et pratiques*, political science thesis under the direction of Philippe Raynaud, EHESS, 2005.

25. James R. Clapper, "As Prepared Remarks of DNI James Clapper Before the Professional Services Council Conference," Office of the Director of National Intelligence, 9 October 2015.

26. Mark M. Lowenthal, *The Future of Intelligence*, Cambridge, UK/Malden, MA, Polity Press, 2017, p. 128. Over a career spanning more than thirty years at the heart of American intelligence, notably in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research in the State Department, Mark M. Lowenthal was Assistant Director of the CIA for Analysis and Production between 2002 and 2005 as well as Vice Chairman of the National Intelligence Council.

27. Sébastien Laurent and Bertrand Warusfel (dir.), *Transformation de la sécurité et du renseignement en Europe*, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 2016.

28. Gabriel Veraldi, *Le Roman d'espionnage*, Presses universitaires de France, 1983; Norbert Spehner, "Écrits de l'ombre, Études & essais sur le roman et le film d'espionnage," *Belphégor : Littérature populaire et culture*, 10:1, 2011; Erik Neveu, "Trente ans de littérature d'espionnage en France (1950-1980)," *Vingtième Siècle, revue d'histoire*, 10:1, 1986, p. 51-66; Jean-Michel Valentin, *Hollywood, le Pentagone et Washington*, Autrement, 2003; Benjamin Oudet, "Le roman d'espionnage. Quand la fiction du secret vient au secours de la science politique," Diploweb, October 2017

29. Pauline Blistène, "Le pouvoir épistémique de la fiction populaire dans l'Amérique post-11 Septembre : une approche ontologique," doctoral thesis in philosophy in progress since 24 November 2014, under the direction of Sandra Laugier, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne.

two PhDs were defended in anglophone studies.[30] Echoing Anglo-American research in Cultural Studies,[31] French research is now driven by the success of the series *Le Bureau des légendes* and the *Mission cinéma* launched by the Ministry of the Armed Forces.[32] Indecently, a book on the series was published in 2018: *Politique du secret. Regards sur le Bureau des légendes*, by Yves Trotignon, a former DGSE analyst. Colloquiums are organized (*Terrorism and TV series in a democracy*) and the recent *Dictionnaire du renseignement* includes a section on fiction, demonstrating an interest in fictional representations of secrecy and clandestine action.[33] Fiction is thus an illustration and explanation of the logic behind intelligence action, at the crossroads between reality and imagination.

However, modern and contemporary history of intelligence remain the most developed in social sciences.[34] History can be considered as the leading discipline of intelligence studies in France.[35] Peter Jackson refers to the emergence of a "French school" of intelligence studies in his 2006 review Sébastien-Yves Laurent and Olivier Forcade's book, *Secrets d'État. Pouvoirs et renseignement dans le monde contemporain*.[36] Two years later, in 2008, American historian David Kahn notes the "renaissance of French intelligence literature" in his review of European publications.[37] The book by Sébastien-Yves Laurent and Olivier Forcade, both "manifesto" and manual, played a considerable role in inscribing the history of intelligence in the study of politics in France.

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30. Pierre Godet, *L'Arrière-Plan thématique et mythique du roman d'espionnage anglais pendant la guerre froide*, thesis in anglophone studies, Bordeaux 3, defended in 1999, under the direction of Marie-Paule Vigne; Dorothée Huchet, *La Fiction de John Le Carré à l'ère du soupçon : du roman policier au roman d'espionnage*, thesis in anglophone studies, Rennes 2, defended in 2012 under the direction of Sophie Marret.

31. Nigel West, "Fiction, Faction and Intelligence," *Intelligence and National Security*, 19:2, 1 June 2004, p. 275-89; Charles McCarry, "Intelligence in Fiction," *Intelligence and National Security*, 23:1, 1 February 2008, p. 42-54; Adam D.M. Svendsen, "Painting Rather than Photography: Exploring Spy Fiction as a Legitimate Source Concerning UK-US Intelligence Co-Operation," *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 7:1, 1 March 2009, p. 1-22; Wesley K. Wark, *Spy Fiction, Spy Films and Real Intelligence*, Reissue, London-New York, Routledge, 2015.

32. See the film *Volontaire* by Hélène Fillières, 2018.

33. Hugues Moutouh and Jérôme Poirot (dir.), *Dictionnaire du renseignement*, Perrin, 2018; Agnès Michaux and Anton Lenoir, *Le Bureau des légendes – Dictionnaire de l'espionnage*, TOE-The Oligarchs Editions, 2017; Bruno Fuligni, *Le Bureau des légendes décrypté*, L'Iconoclaste, 2018.

34. Lucien Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs : au temps de Louis XIV*, Fayard, 1990; Sébastien-Yves Laurent, "Les services secrets gaullistes à l'épreuve de la politique (1940-1947)," *Politix*, 14:54, 2001, p. 139-53; Sébastien-Yves Laurent, *Politiques de l'ombre : État, renseignement et surveillance en France*, Fayard, 2009; Sébastien-Yves Laurent and Olivier Forcade, *Secrets d'État. Pouvoirs et renseignement dans le monde contemporain*, Armand Colin, 2005; Olivier Forcade, *La République secrète : histoire des services spéciaux français de 1918 à 1939*, n.d.; Olivier Forcade and Maurice Vaïsse et al., *Espionnage et renseignement dans la Première Guerre mondiale : Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Académie du renseignement le 26 novembre 2014*, La Documentation française, 2018; Constantin Pârvulesco, *Secret défense : histoire du renseignement militaire français*, Éditions Techniques pour l'Automobile et l'Industrie, 2007; Guillaume Bourgeois, *La Véritable Histoire de l'Orchestre rouge*, Nouveau Monde Éditions, 2015; Rémi Kauffer, *Les Maîtres de l'espionnage*, Perrin, 2017; Jean-Pierre Bat, *La Fabrique des "barbouzes" : histoire des réseaux Foccart en Afrique*, Nouveau Monde Éditions, 2017; Raphaël Ramos, *Une chimère américaine. Genèse de la communauté du renseignement des États-Unis, de la CIA à la NSA*, Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2018; Alexandre Rios-Bordes, *Les Savoirs de l'ombre : la surveillance militaire des populations aux États-Unis*, Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2018.

35. It remains a major theme throughout the collection « Le Grand Jeu » directed by Sébastien-Yves Laurent and Olivier Forcade at Nouveau Monde Éditions.

36. Peter Jackson, "Intelligence and the State: An Emerging 'French School' of Intelligence Studies," *Intelligence and National Security*, 21:6, 1 December 2006; Sébastien-Yves Laurent and Olivier Forcade, *Secrets d'État. Pouvoirs et renseignement dans le monde contemporain.*

37. David Kahn, "A Historical Theory of Intelligence," *Intelligence and National Security*, 16:3, 1 September 2001, p. 79-92.

At the same time, in political science, intelligence studies were developing in a context of a renewal of strategy and security studies, confronted with the transformation of conflict.[38] Next to these political science approaches, there are also other more "critical" approaches inspired by the works of Michel Foucault, which combine history, philosophy and sociology. The aim is to analyze information as "State knowledge" whose instruments are statistics and surveillance, using the historical method. In France, this type of approach is well represented by authors such as Didier Bigo, Philippe Bonditti and Laurent Bonelli, around the journal *Cultures et conflits* or *International Political Sociology*.[39]

It should also be noted that the growth of intelligence studies in France has been fostered by the development of courses, at universities or institutes of political studies, in private institutions or by the training activities carried out by the intelligence Academy created in 2010, currently led by François Chambon, and whose mission is to "promote cooperation between these services in the field of training" and "Promote intelligence culture." Likewise, "its institutional affiliation to the Prime Minister, in the form of a service of national authority, reflects the interdepartmental vocation of the intelligence Academy, for the benefit of six directorates and departments of different ministries."[40]

In terms of editorial initiatives related to educational experiences, we can point to several publications, such as the *Atlas du renseignement, Leçons sur le renseignement, Renseignement et Sécurité*.[41] Among the most important publications in recent years, bringing together practitioners and academics, the 2018 *Dictionnaire du renseignement* also paves the way for fruitful collaboration.[42] This collective work highlights the French specificity of a strong central State and its administrative power. It also describes the external action repertoire of States, linked to the long history of secrecy practices and deception tools in strategic thinking.[43]

PhD dissertations: the emergence of public law and political science

As far as the doctoral defended PhD, historical works dominate, but there is a rise in the amount of works in public law on national defense secrecy and espionage in international law. In political science, works have been conducted on counter-terrorism from the mid-1970s to the 1990s, on the democratic control of the intelligence services or in political

38. Jospeh Henrotin, "Les mutations du renseignement militaire : dissiper le brouillard," Focus stratégique, No. 71, Institut français de relations internationales (IFRI), January 2017; Mohamed Benhammou, *Les Services de renseignements : quelles transformations après le 11 septembre 2001 ?*, L'Harmattan, 2017.

39. Michel Foucault, *Sécurité, Territoire, Population, Cours au Collège de France, 1977-1978*, Éd. du Seuil, Hautes Études, 2004. From these works and those of Antony Giddens, among others, emerged another field of research, Surveillance Studies. For an overview of this field see, *Surveillance Studies: An Overview*, Polity Press, 2007; Ignacio Ramonet, Julian Assange and Noam Chomsky, *L'Empire de la surveillance*, Galilée, 2015; Marc Dugain and Christophe Labbé, *L'Homme nu*, Pocket, 2017.

40. http://www.academie-renseignement.gouv.fr/academie.html

41. Sébastien-Yves Laurent, *Atlas du renseignement : géopolitique du pouvoir*, Les Presses de Sciences Po, 2014; Jean-Claude Cousseran and Philippe Hayez, *Leçons sur le renseignement*, Odile Jacob, 2017; Olivier Chopin and Benjamin Oudet, *Renseignement et Sécurité*, Armand Colin, 2016.

42. Hugues Moutouh and Jérôme Poirot (dir.), *Dictionnaire du renseignement*.

43. Jean-Vincent Holeindre, *La Ruse et la Force*, Perrin, 2017; Jean-Baptiste Santamaria, *Le Secret du prince : gouverner par le secret. France-Bourgogne XIII^e-XV^e Siècle*, Champ Vallon, 2018.

intelligence theory through the idea of the *raison d'état*.[44] We should also mention work in information and communication sciences or in contemporary history on national and international cooperation in the fight against terrorism, integration of European intelligence or espionage practices in international organizations.[45]

Out of the thirty or so PhD dissertation produced since the mid-1970s, only ten have been published as books. Eleven theses are in progress in international law on espionage, cyber,[46] legal framework,[47] industrial and economic issues,[48] history[49] and in literary studies with William Shakespeare, Alexandre Dumas or John Le Carré.[50] Presently, most of the theses in progress under the term "espionage" listed on the *theses.fr* website fall under the law (public or private) category, as well as literary studies or linguistics. In addition, sixty theses currently in progress include "intelligence" as a keyword, the vast majority of which are in law, as well as in history and political science.[51] Thus, the following chart, covering the period from 2008-2018 on the basis of data from the *theses.fr* website, shows the relative fragmentation of work on intelligence.

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44. Bertrand Warusfel, *Le Secret de la défense nationale – protection des intérêts fondamentaux de la nation et libertés publiques dans une société d'information*, doctoral thesis in public law directed by Professor Bernard Chantebout, Paris V, 1994; B. Warusfel, *Contre-espionnage et protection du secret. Histoire, droit et organisation de la sécurité nationale en France*, Charles Lavauzelle, 2000; Fabien Lafouasse, *L'Espionnage dans le droit international*, Nouveau Monde Éditions, Le Grand Jeu, 2012; Floran Vadillo, *L'"Élysée" et l'exercice du pouvoir sous la Cinquième République. Le cas de la politique de lutte antiterroriste (1974-1997)*, doctoral thesis in political science directed by Professor Pierre Sadran, Sciences Po Bordeaux, 2012; Charlotte Lepri, *Le Contrôle parlementaire des services de renseignement en France et dans les démocraties occidentales (Royaume-Uni, Allemagne, États-Unis) : Raison d'État contre exigence démocratique*, doctoral thesis in political science directed by Pascal Boniface, Université Paris 8, 2014; Olivier Chopin, *La Raison d'État et la démocratie : concept et pratiques*, doctoral thesis in political science directed by Professor Philippe Raynaud, EHESS, 2005.

45. Coline Ferro, *L'Image des services de renseignement et de sécurité : France, Royaume-Uni, Allemagne, Belgique*, doctoral thesis in information sciences directed by Professor Jacques Barrat, Université Paris II, 2012; Julien Florent, *Renseignement et diplomatie de la SDN à l'ONU. Histoire des pratiques de l'espionnage dans les organisations internationales*, doctoral thesis in contemporary history directed by Professor Olivier Forcade, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2014; Thomas Bausardo, *Les Coopérations internationales de la France dans la lutte contre le terrorisme (fin XIX^e siècle-1989)*, doctoral thesis in contemporary history directed by Professor Oliver Forcade, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2015; Julie Prin-Lombardo, *L'Impossible Renseignement européen ? Évolution de la collaboration et de la coopération européennes en matière de renseignement*, thesis in contemporary history directed by Professor Sébastien-Yves Laurent, Université de Bordeaux, 2017.

46. Thibault Moulin, "Le cyber-espionnage en Droit international," thesis in progress since October 2014, directed by Théodore Christakis and Jean D'aspremont, at Grenoble Alpes and the University of Manchester.

47. Emmanuel Ben Soussan, "L'encadrement juridique des activités de renseignement. Étude comparée France, Royaume-Uni et États-Unis," thesis in progress since January 2016, directed by Emmanuel Ben Soussan, at Grenoble Alpes.

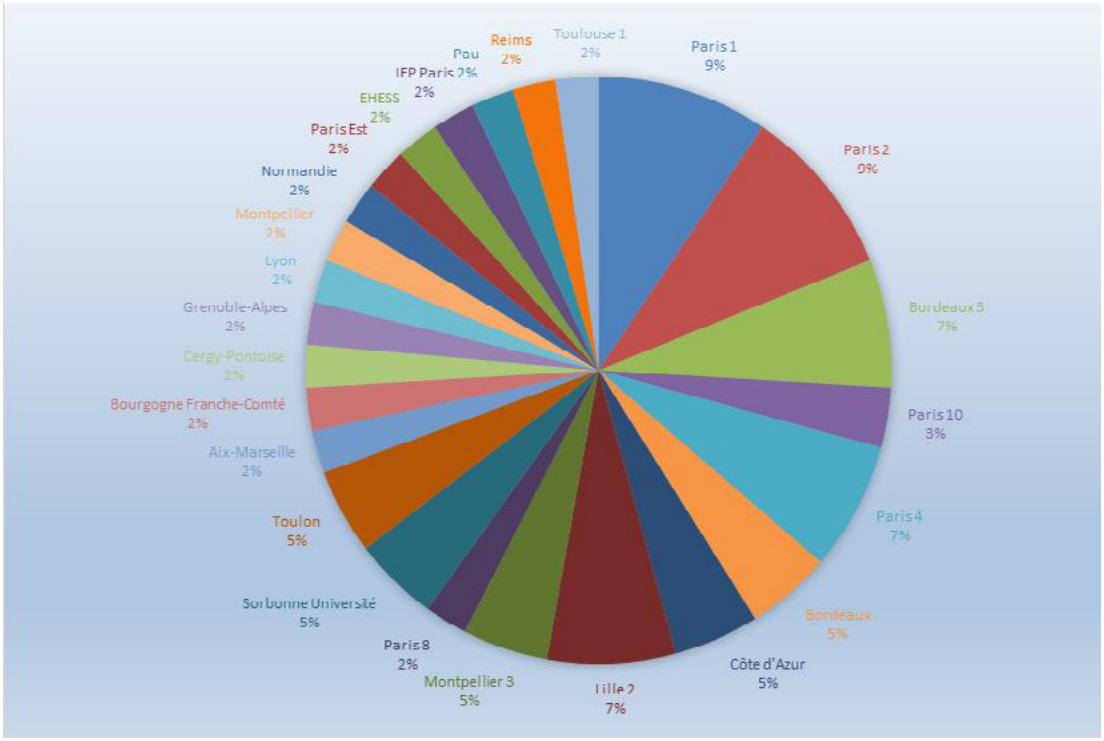
48. Roger Abi Saad, "La lutte contre l'espionnage économique," thesis in progress since March 2012, directed by Alain Guillotin in Toulon.

49. Émilie Berthillot, "Renseignement et contre-espionnage entre Dublin, Londres et Édimbourg de 1845 à 1945," doctoral thesis in progress since November 2009, directed by Jean Berton, in Lyon.

50. Stéphane Huet, "Espionnage et théâtralité chez Shakespeare et ses contemporains anglais," doctoral thesis in progress since January 2016, directed by Ladan Niayesh, at the Sorbonne Paris Cité; Nastaran Navaei, "La poétique du secret dans la Trilogie des Mousquetaires d'Alexandre Dumas," doctoral thesis in progress since October 2010, directed by Éléonore Roy-Reverzy and Bertrand Marquer, in Strasbourg; Isabelle Copy-Matignon, "La figure de l'espion dans l'œuvre de John Le Carré," thesis in psychology in progress since 2009, directed by Patricia Attigui, Paris X.

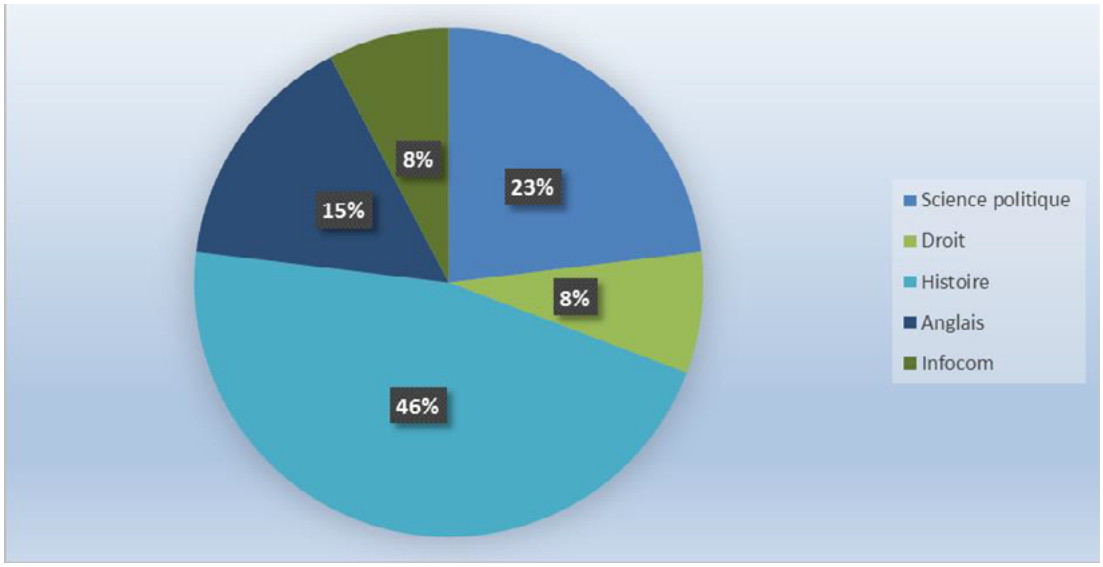
51. http://www.theses.fr, consulted on 15 October 2018.

Fragmentation of sites of production

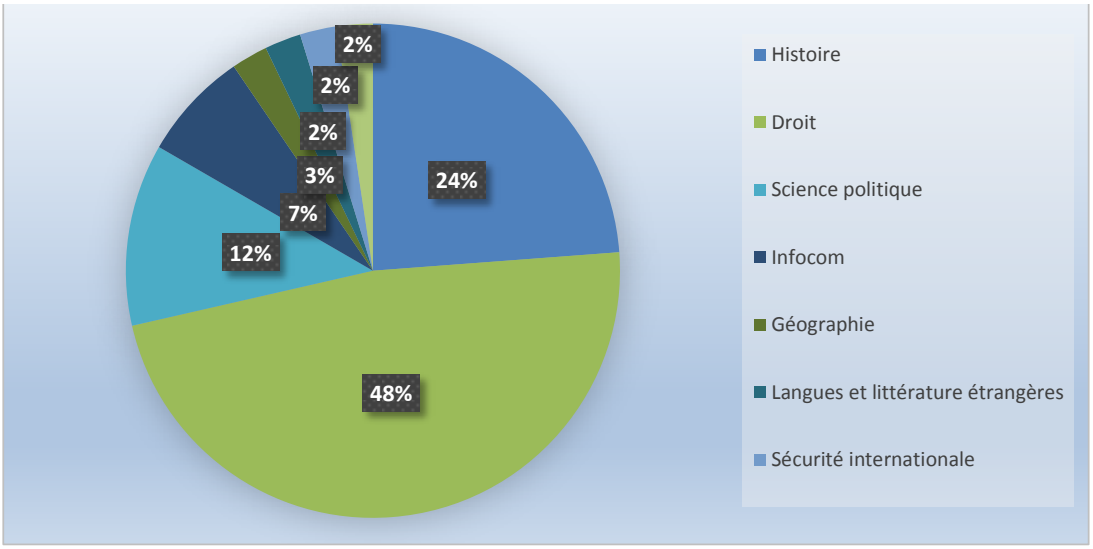


The two following charts, also based on data collected on the *theses.fr* website, indicate the predominance of historical studies and the development of law and political science since 2008, without the research effort appearing to be truly structured. The rise of law in intelligence studies has yet to be analyzed in detail, but it can be hypothesized that this work has been facilitated by the emergence of the concept of "national security" and the evolution of the legal intelligence regime in the 2000s.

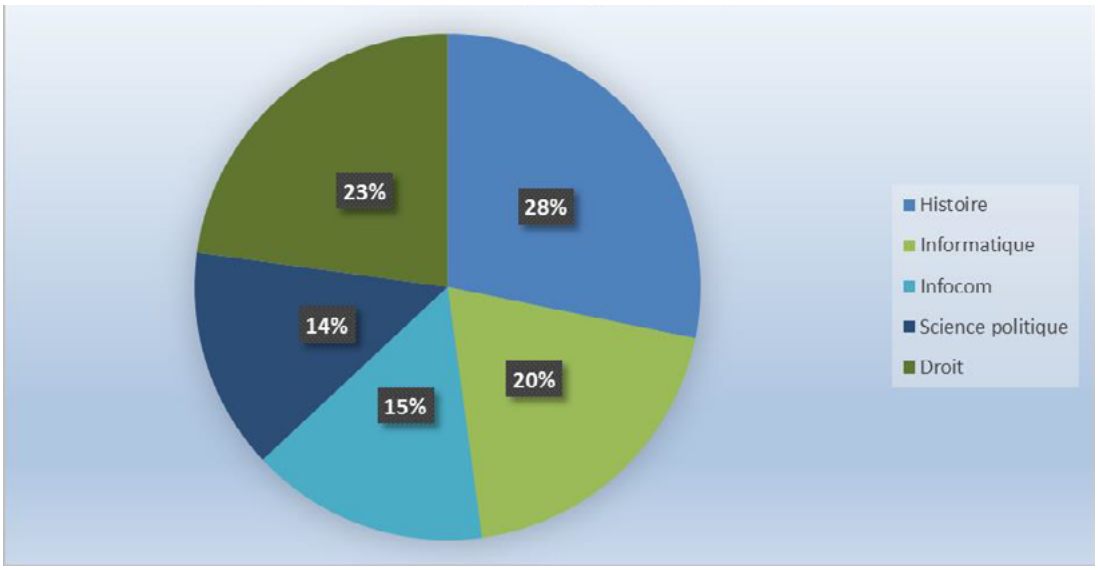
Disciplines of defended theses on the subject of Intelligence since 2008



Theses in progress on the subject of Intelligence



Theses defended on the subject of Espionage since 2008



Academic networks: seminars, prizes, research groups, etc.

In addition to publications and theses, the field of intelligence studies has expanded through research networks which are both meeting places and sites where work and ideas develop.

The METIS seminar, organized at Sciences Po as part of its History center, is a good illustration of this trend. The current leaders are Philippe Hayez, Sébastien Laurent, Jean-Pierre Bat, François David and Floran Vadillo. Over the past ten years, nearly one hundred sessions have been organized. The seminar has established itself as a key meeting point for "communities," seniors, academics, young researchers and professionals. It reached a high

point in June 2018 with the meeting, unprecedented for a public event, of the six services of the first circle of the French intelligence community as well as the National Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism Coordinator (CNRLT, DGSE, DGSI, Tracfin, DRSD, DRM, DNRED) to present their views on the creation, renewal and strengthening of links between the services and higher education. Three dimensions were highlighted: the nature of these links, training issues, and recruitment and human resources issues. Despite contrasting positions in the services as to the nature and intensity of their links with the academic world, a consensus emerged on the necessity to strengthen relations and the mutual benefits it would generate. Multiple scenarios have been introduced in each service to bring them closer to universities, institutes of political studies, as well as engineering and business schools. It was also pointed out that one of the major changes, already observed in the last few years, is the attractiveness of intelligence professions for young graduates.[52]

Beyond the human resources issue, these links are part of a context of competition between services as relations with the academic world and the development of internal training become a means to attract the best candidates. However, these competitive effects are now mitigated by the differing approaches services take regarding higher education. Indeed, each department has specific needs related to its core missions. For example, the needs of the DRM, in partnership with the Intelligence Campus, naturally differ from those of the DNRED, Tracfin or the DRSD.

As such, two concomitant logics are likely to be put in place: on the one hand, the creation of a forum for discussion, either within the Intelligence Academy or the CNRLT between all services and academics – this trend is reinforced by the creation in September 2018 of the Scientific Prize of the Intelligence Academy, which will be awarded for the first time in January 2019 –; on the other hand, the multiplication of "bilateral" links between each service and certain higher education institutions from which to find suitable candidates.

Other recent academic initiatives can also be evoked, such as the creation of an "intelligence" workgroup at the heart of the Association for War and Strategy Studies (AEGES), which for example, held a seminar on Sherman Kent, who is now considered as an author of reference and is mentioned, for example, in the introduction to the *Dictionnaire du renseignement*.[53] In addition, the workgroup organizes regular seminars around researchers or former professionals, invited to a discussion on publications or a contemporary intelligence issue such as the rating of intelligence, loyalty within the services, or the evolution of public policy on intelligence... It also offers book reviews made available on the association's website.[54]

52. https://www.defense.gouv.fr/dgse/tout-le-site/le-renseignement-un-debouche-enfin-prise-des-jeunes-diplomes-revue-defense-nationale-3-septembre.
53. http://www.aeges.fr/agenda/seminaire-sherman-kent-une-pensee-liberale-du-renseignement/.
54. https://aegeslectures.wordpress.com/category/renseignement/.

The international impact of French research?

Research on intelligence in France follows a specific path, but cannot develop independently from international research programs and publications. A twofold challenge is emerging. On the one hand, the consideration of research conducted throughout the world; on the other hand, international dissemination of work produced in France.

The participation of French researchers in international conventions, such as that of the International Studies Association (ISA), is a good indicator. Within the ISA, there has been an Intelligence Studies Section (ISS) since 1985, with approximately 380 members, including academics, professionals and specialized students, half of whom are anglophone. The ISS organized 30 panels at the San Francisco Convention in 2018, and a similar number in 2017. Compared to other sections of the ISA, whose sizes range from 3 (Global South Caucus) to 144 panels (International Security Studies), the ISS is similar in stature to Historical International Relations, the Diplomatic Studies section or the International Law section, which organized 23 panels in 2018.[55] There were five French participants within the ISS at the San Francisco conference in 2018 (four in 2017 in Baltimore). These figures have been consistent throughout the 2000s.

In discussions with foreign colleagues, it is often stated that there is a gap between the capabilities of French intelligence and the limited international influence of French studies on the subject.[56] But is this weak international integration of French research specific to intelligence? This is unclear, and more robust data would be necessary to conduct a comparative study. With reference to a soon to be published report on the internationalization of political science, carried out within the framework of the *Association française de science politique*, we see that the internationalization of research is a heteroclite phenomenon and difficult to measure.[57] A brief bibliographical search reveals that French researchers publish in "international" journals in English such as *Intelligence and National Security* (INS),[58] the *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*,[59] the recently created *Journal of Mediterranean and Balkan Intelligence*,[60] or the *Journal of Strategic Studies*.[61]

55. Interview with Damien Van Puyvelde, organiser and coordinator of the ISA's Intelligence Section, June 2018.

56. For example, with the exception of one panel with a French researcher, during the panels discussing counter-terrorism reforms in Europe, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Germany, Italy and Spain were all discussed, but not France.

57. Thibaut Boncourt, Virginie Dutoya, Jean-Vincent Holeindre, Jean Joana, *Rapport sur l'internationalisation de la science politique française*, AFSP, 2018, soon to be published.

58. Sébastien Laurent, "The free French secret services: Intelligence and the politics or republican legitimacy," *Intelligence and National Security*, 15:4, 2000; Éric Denécé and Gérald Arboit, "Intelligence Studies in France," *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, 23:4, 31 August 2010, p. 725-47; Philippe Hayez, "'Renseignement': The New French Intelligence Policy," *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, 23:3, 8 June 2010, p. 474; Sébastien Laurent, "Is There Something Wrong with Intelligence in France? The Birth of the Modern Secret State," *Intelligence and National Security*, 28:3, 2013; Emily Jane Haire, "A Debased Currency? Using Memoir Material in the Study of Anglo-French Intelligence Liaison," *Intelligence and National Security*, 29:5, 2014.

59. Philippe Hayez, "'Renseignement': The New French Intelligence Policy," p. 474-86.

60. Olivier Chopin and Benjamin Oudet, "French Intelligence Analysis," *Journal of Mediterranean and Balkan Intelligence*, 10:1, December 2017.

61. Olivier Chopin, "Intelligence Reform and the Transformation of the State: The End of a French Exception," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 40:4, 7 June 2017, p. 532-53.

It can also be observed that 1) the work on French intelligence is essentially based on a historical approach;[62] 2) that there are in fact relatively old works published by French authors on intelligence in the fight against terrorism in France;[63] 3) that American intelligence has been the subject of research by Francophone historians and politicians (Alexandre Rios-Bordes, Damien Van Puyvelde, Gildas Le Voguer, Raphaël Ramos in particular), probably because of the facilitated access to primary sources.[64]

In addition, intelligence studies in the "anglosphere" are largely compartmentalized and self-referential. However, the researchers who make up the ISS are in favor of a better integration of the field into international relations and security studies, for example through the publication of articles in prestigious political science and international relations journals.[65] This path has been taken by recent British research that makes strong connections between intelligence, government practices, foreign policy, and the history of international relations.[66] This reconfiguration constitutes in some ways a return to basics – the first works

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62. Douglas Porch, "French Intelligence Culture: A Historical and Political Perspective," *Intelligence and National Security*, 10:3, 1 July 1995; Isabelle Tombs, "Scrutinizing France: Collecting and Using Newspaper Intelligence during World War II," *Intelligence and National Security*, 17:2, 1 July 2002, p. 105-26; David De Young De La Marck, "De Gaulle, Colonel Passy and British Intelligence, 1940-42," *Intelligence and National Security*, 18:1, 1 January 2003, p. 21-40; Peter Jackson, "French Military Intelligence Responds to the German Remilitarisation of the Rhineland, 1936 – A Look at French Intelligence Machinery in 1936," *Intelligence and National Security*, 22:4, 1 August 2007, p. 546-62; Roger Owen, "British and French Intelligence in their Modern Middle Eastern Empires," *The European Legacy. Toward New Paradigms*, 14:4, 2009; Jérôme Aan de Wiel, "French Military Intelligence and Ireland, 1900–1923," *Intelligence and National Security*, 26:1, 1 February 2011, p. 46-71; Roger Owen, "British and French Military Intelligence in Syria and Palestine, 1914-1918: Myths and Reality," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 38:1, 2011; Hugues Canuel, "French aspirations and Anglo-Saxon suspicions: France, signals intelligence and the UK-USA agreement at the dawn of the Cold War," *Journal of Intelligence History*, 12:1, 2013; Michael Seibold, "Intelligence Requirements at the Crossroads: The 1948 French Plan de Renseignement, Intelligence Requirements and the Role of Intelligence History," *Intelligence and National Security*, 30:5, 3 September 2015, p. 723-44.

63. Gilbert Guillaume, "France and the Fight against Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 4:4, 1 December 1992, p. 131-35; Jean-Marc Pennetier, "The Springtime of French Intelligence," *Intelligence and National Security*, 11:4, 1 October 1996; Shaun Gregory, "France and the War on Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 15:1, 1 March 2003, p. 124-47; Frank Foley, "Reforming Counterterrorism: Institutions and Organizational Routines in Britain and France," *Security Studies*, 18:3, 18 September 2009, p. 435-78; Frank Foley, *Countering Terrorism in Britain and France: Institutions, Norms And The Shadow Of The Past*, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

64. Damien Van Puyvelde, "Le renseignement occidental entre partenariat transatlantique et européen," *Sécurité et stratégie*, 21:2, 2015, p. 75-77; Damien Van Puyvelde, "L'analyse du renseignement aux États-Unis : entre art et science," *Sécurité et stratégie*, 20:1, 5 March 2015, p. 25-31; Damien Van Puyvelde, "Le renseignement géospatial américain dans les frappes contre Daech : une arme à double tranchant," *Stratégique*, No. 116, 18 September 2017, p. 223-32; Gildas Le Voguer, *Le Renseignement américain : entre secret et transparence. 1947-2013*, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014; Raphaël Ramos, *De l'OSS à la CIA : la centralisation du renseignement américain au lendemain de la Seconde Guerre mondiale à travers l'expérience du Central Intelligence Group*, Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2006.

65. Michael Poznansky, "Stasis or Decay? Reconciling Covert War and the Democratic Peace," *International Studies Quarterly*, 59:4, 2015, p. 815-26, 2015; Austin Carson, "Facing Off and Saving Face: Covert Intervention and Escalation Management in the Korean War," *International Organization*, 70:1, 2016; Austin Carson and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "Covert Communication: The Intelligibility and Credibility of Signaling in Secret," *Security Studies*, 26:1, 2 January 2017.

66. The dynamism of the contemporary historical current of British research should be held as a point of reference for two main reasons. First, because it concentrates on reorienting intelligence activities to the heart of diplomatic history and security and defense policy. Consequently, the "external action" of the English State is not the meeting of antagonistic logics between intelligence, diplomacy and defense, as in the French case, but the result of a convergence of these three poles. This is particularly well illustrated in studies of the history of clandestine operations of political influence. Thus, British authors, who are overwhelmingly trained at Warwick University and King's College London, are committed to the discussion of research trends in security studies, defense, foreign policy analysis and international relations, which contributes very strongly to the normalization of the subject of "intelligence" in academic research. Secondly, one of the specificities of the British research field is the renewal of official histories of services such as MI5 by Christopher Andrew or GCHQ by Richard Aldrich. While these initiatives raise obvious methodological questions that the authors mention regarding access to primary sources, they are of major interest

on intelligence in the United States in the mid-1970s, like those of Robert Jervis and Richard Betts, had a wide resonance in political science and international relations.[67]

In France, intelligence studies also have an interest in promoting their links, in a cross-cutting manner, with established and recognized academic disciplines. It is probably appropriate that the studies on intelligence are more integrated within their respective disciplines, and participate fully in ongoing debates in history, political science or law, based on a specific empirical contribution. Hence some scientific journals recently hosted issues dedicated specifically to intelligence. *Criminologie*,[68] *Les Champs de Mars*,[69] and *Stratégique*[70] publish articles on intelligence, and *Questions internationales* and *Hermès* dedicated special issues in 2009 and 2016.[71]

Would it be pertinent to create a specialized journal in French, equivalent to *Intelligence and National Security*, *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence* or the recently created *Journal of European and American Intelligence Studies* (JEAIS)? If the idea seems attractive, the conditions for the production and durability of such a journal are evidently difficult. Such a project is still possible (see below), but the creation of a journal should not obscure the fact that the legitimacy of intelligence studies depends first and foremost on publications within established and respected journals. In France, these include the *Revue historique*, the *Revue française de science politique*, *Critique internationale* or the *Revue française de sociologie*, the *Revue française d'administration publique*.

As a final analysis, it is probably not desirable to produce "French-style" Intelligence Studies that would duplicate Anglo-American research programs. The development of work within recognized disciplines should be promoted, while avoiding excessive specialization of this field of research, as it would amplify its marginalization. The main danger facing intelligence studies in France lies in the creation of a self-referential field detached from other research in the humanities and social sciences. In this scenario, the field would be composed of experts situated in the "middle," neither researchers nor intelligence professionals: legitimate for neither one.

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for academic research. One method could be to involve a historian with access to archives. See Michael Herman, *Intelligence Power in Peace and War*, Cambridge University Press, 1996; David Omand, *Securing the State*, Reprint Oxford University Press, USA, 2014; Richard Aldrich, *GCHQ: The Uncensored Story of Britain's Most Secret Intelligence Agency*, London, HarperPress, 2011; Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5*, Penguin, 2012; Richard Aldrich and Rory Cormac, *The Black Door: Spies, Secret Intelligence and British Prime Ministers*, William Collins, 2017; Rory Cormac, *Disrupt and Deny: Spies, Special Forces, and the Secret Pursuit of British Foreign Policy*, Oxford, OUP, 2018.

67. Richard K. Betts, "Analysis, War, and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures Are Inevitable," *World Politics*, 31:1, October 1978, p. 61-89; Robert Jervis, "What's Wrong with the Intelligence Process?," *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, 1:1, 1 January 1986, p. 28-41.

68. Frédéric Lemieux, "De la police guidée par le renseignement à la complexité des appareils policiers : les limites de l'usage des renseignements dans la conduite des affaires policières," *Criminologie*, 38:2, 2005, p. 65-89.

69. Benjamin Oudet, "Les coopérations internationales françaises de renseignement face aux nouvelles menaces," *Les Champs de Mars*, No. 30, supplement, 25 May 2018, p. 27-35.

70. *Stratégique*, "*Stratégie et renseignement*," 2014/1, No. 105.

71. *Questions internationales*, "*Renseignement et services secrets*," No. 35, January-February 2009; *Hermès*, "*Le renseignement, un monde fermé dans une société ouverte*," No. 76, March 2016.

TEN PROPOSALS TO PROMOTE INTELLIGENCE STUDIES

This last section puts forward proposals that combine scientific considerations on the structuring of intelligence studies and more concrete suggestions to strengthen the field in France. These proposals have no other objective than to stimulate discussion and are made in a resolutely constructive and open spirit.

1. Make research on intelligence in the humanities and social sciences routine. As Floran Vadillo noted in one of his speeches, "Intelligence is a fascinating subject when it talks about something other than itself." In this regard, intelligence studies should not be considered a "separate" field of study, distinct from the humanities and social sciences. On the contrary, the legitimization of this field of research entails considering it as **a banal object of study**. Although intelligence has a specific nature and purpose, administrations, bureaucracies, services or agencies that practice intelligence are not distinct according to the methodologies used by social sciences, perhaps a result of the scarcity of its sources and the difficulty of conducting large-scale interview campaigns.[72]

2. Strengthen the place of intelligence studies within recognized academic disciplines. Intelligence studies should not become an autonomous discipline, but rather be established as the object of multidisciplinary research, such as in War Studies and Strategic Studies, which are now better recognized.[73] In this sense, intelligence studies in France should be careful to contribute to the major debates that drive the academic disciplines with which they are associated. Researchers must be fully enrolled in their discipline of affiliation and their "*section Conseil national des université*", (Academic National Council section) in order to appear grounded. In return, the different sections of the CNU or CNRS must recognize the legitimacy of these objects of study within each of the disciplines.

3. Ensure that the field holds the same deontological and scientific standards as other areas of research. Any scientific work or doctoral thesis, whatever it may be, must meet the same theoretical and empirical requirements; all research must be part of a system of hypotheses related to the epistemology and methodology of a scientific discipline. Any exchange or cooperation with intelligence services, in order to conduct interviews, must take place within the limits imposed by scientific research deontology and compliance with safety constraints. It is essential to remove the suspicions of the academic community with regard to intelligence studies, as researchers engaging in this subject are regularly considered as spies or intermediaries of intelligence services. It is equally essential to reassure intelligence professionals about the nature and objectives of scientific research, which is not intended to make the country more vulnerable in terms of security.

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72. See Jean-Pierre Bat's comments on "the historian's workshop" in his work on intelligence networks and French influence in Africa in the first decade of the Fifth Republic: Jean-Pierre Bat, *La Fabrique des "barbouzes": histoire des réseaux Foccart en Afrique*.

73. Peter Gill and Mark Phythian, "What Is Intelligence Studies?," *The International Journal of Intelligence, Security, and Public Affairs*, 18:1, 2 January 2016, p. 5-19; Julian Richards, "Intelligence Studies, Academia and Professionalization," *The International Journal of Intelligence, Security, and Public Affairs*, 18:1, 2 January 2016, p. 20-33; Jan Goldman, "The Ethics of Research in Intelligence Studies: Scholarship in an Emerging Discipline," *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, 31:2, 3 April 2018, p. 342-56.

4. Promote the participation of researchers and intelligence professionals in international conferences. The increased participation of university researchers but also practitioners from intelligence services is important for two reasons. On the one hand, the discussions that take place during the panels involving academics and practitioners deal with the most cutting-edge issues in research and knowledge transfer. In addition, these research groups constitute essential links for the orientation of research. In this respect, a scholarship system could be set up.

5. Create a biannual specialized journal in intelligence studies. A scientific journal is an essential legitimizing tool as well as a unique forum for dialogue between academics and practitioners. After having founded a scientific and creative prize, the Intelligence Academy appears to be a natural place to set up an editorial team and a mixed review committee (practitioners and academics). This would create a referential space for publication centered between the two communities, and in the line with the ambitions promoted by the Academy, namely the dissemination of an "intelligence culture." One of the major conditions for the success of a journal of this type is its academic legitimacy: it would therefore have to comply with university publication standards (double-blind peer review). It will also publish contributions from practitioners, but this should not be an element of institutional communication by intelligence services. The aim will be to find a balance between the publications of practitioners and those of academic researchers.

6. Promote the recruitment of PhD holders by intelligence services, as is the case in the Strategic Department (Direction de la Stratégie, DS) and the Intelligence Directorate (Direction du Renseignement, DR) of the DGSE. These doctors have similar career patterns to other less qualified agents, which raises the question of the taking into account of doctorates in career paths within the intelligence services and, by extension, within the public administration.[74] This type of recruitment must be part of a more general reflection on the status of PhD holders in the public administration and the recognition of their skills and background. Recent initiatives to create a fourth ENA (Ecole Nationale d'Administration) competition reserved for doctors seem to be a step in the right direction, but they need to be developed further.

7. Set up programs to bring intelligence services and academics closer together (academic outreach), modeled on the Canadian CSIS research liaison program. These programs organize workshops, for example mixing professionals, researchers and experts, generally leading to a publication available online. This involves promoting academic expertise on topics of direct relevance to the work of intelligence services (cyber, counterterrorism, counter-proliferation, Sahel, Near and Middle East, China, Balkans, migration, etc.). This is the case within the DGSE, through *Interaxions*. *Interaxions* is a platform at the root of three publications, on the post-ISIL period, African Islam in the face of the rise of radicalization, and the Western Balkans, between integration and fragility.[75] This type of initiative is also a powerful vehicle for international cooperation in intelligence analysis, as illustrated in the

74. One of the ways in which doctorates can be taken into account in administrative careers is by opening specific competitions.

75. For example, in September 2012, a meeting was held between experts from academia, think tanks, the private sector, and industry and intelligence services on the theme of biotechnology risk assessment: Kathleen M. Vogel

report *Understanding the Post-ISIL Period* jointly produced by *Interaxions* and the Canadian intelligence service CSIS. *Interaxions'* "open" publications are anonymized in accordance with the Chatham House policy, the only rule that can offer the possibility to build the trust necessary for cooperation between the two worlds. The originality, innovation and the value of this method must be stressed.

Nevertheless, each service has specific needs linked to the nature of its missions and activities. Since it was not intended to be exhaustive, this paper could not mention all the intricacies of cooperation of the DGSI, DNRED, DRM, Tracfin, DRSD with the academic world. They concern training or technical dimensions, as is the case with DRM. Beyond the review and categorization of academic work, the mapping of the links between each service and higher education could be undertaken.

8. Facilitate the integration of researchers into the intelligence services. It is useful to involve academics not only for their subject-specific expertise but also for their methodology. They can thus be called upon to study the functioning of organizations and intelligence practices, emulating what is already done in other countries. Researchers could be temporarily integrated into a service under controlled conditions. The researcher could analyze, from within, the way the services function and the services could benefit from the resulting productions. In the latter case, a service could be prompted to reflect on its own functioning (analysis, relations to politics, etc.) and to this end integrate researchers (doctoral students or doctors). The researcher could be cleared without having access to confidential data, in accordance with the practice of "need to know."[76]

A look at the British and American examples shows that the success of Intelligence Studies is due to their dual roots in the university and in the American or British state apparatus. The contribution is twofold: advance for scientific knowledge by introducing new "data" into the field of research; and promote the creation of a "common culture" within the services. As the British historian Christopher Andrew notes, the history of agencies and services is a powerful tool for learning: "No profession is more ignorant of its past than the intelligence profession."[77] Beyond the historical and academic effort of fragmented and provisional reconstitution, Andrew suggests that this type of initiative is a powerful instrument for creating institutional memory, and a culture and vector for the integration and training of new entrants in the services. British research has shown that neglecting the past is an explanatory factor in "intelligence failures."[78]

It must also be possible for researchers who request it to obtain a security clearance under certain conditions. Ideally, researchers wishing to engage in doctoral or post-doctoral research on matters not foreseen by the services or not requested by the intelligence

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and Christine Knight, "Analytic Outreach for Intelligence: Insights from a Workshop on Emerging Biotechnology Threats," *Intelligence and National Security*, 30:5, 3 September 2015, p. 686-703.

76. See the report of the General Secretariat for Defense and National Security, SGDSN, *Rapport sur le secret de la défense nationale en France*, January 2018, http://www.sgdsn.gouv.fr/uploads/2018/01/rapport-sgdsn-secret-defense-2018.pdf.

77. Christopher Andrew, *For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush*, New York, Harper Perennial, 1996; Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm, The authorized History of MI5*, Penguin, 2009, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2018/oct/08/westernspies-no-better-than-russians-say-espionage-experts-christopher-andrew-annie-machon, accessed 16 October 2018.

78. See Christopher Andrew's, *The Secret World: A History of Intelligence*, Allen Lane, 2018.

community should be eligible for temporary clearance. The establishment of graduate scholarships by the Ministry of the Armed Forces (DGA and DGRIS[79]) could facilitate the process, while respecting security constraints.

9. Undertake theses that could be classified. The choice of classification of certain theses on very specific or sensitive subjects could be encouraged insofar as it is a legal provision, and regular practice, particularly in the physical sciences (for example for theses on nuclear technologies). This option requires support from the intelligence services, but also from university authorities, so that the doctoral student is not penalized for the rest of his or her academic career. The doctoral student may thus request partial confidentiality from the jury (pertaining only to certain sensitive personal or economic data, for example) before the thesis defense, by means of a dedicated form. The total or partial confidentiality of the thesis may also be expressly requested by the jury during the defense. A confidential thesis can be reported on the usual catalogues and sites, but its full text remains inaccessible until the end of the confidentiality period.

10. Structure and diversify educational offerings. The distinction between education and training, meaning between theoretical and practical courses, must be maintained. Teaching must therefore articulate two aspects and maintain the dual requirement: on the one hand, it must be useful in relation to the expectations of the intelligence services; on the other hand, it must comply with the academic requirement, allowing for a critical perspective and reflexivity on the skills acquired. In short, it is necessary to promote the combination of education provided by professionals and academics.

Moreover, regarding recruitment, it seems important, as some intelligence professionals have pointed out, to guarantee a diversification of origins, paths and academic curricula. Recruitment within the services and the training offered must draw on the French academic fabric in order to avoid an excessive homogeneity of profiles.

(English translation by Trevor Steele and Faye Groleau)

79. DGA, Direction générale de l'Armement. DGRIS, Direction générale des relations internationales et de la stratégie.

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