The Academic-Practitioner Relationship in France: From Strangers to Partners

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This chapter provides an overview of the evolving relationship between academics and intelligence practitioners in France from the establishment of the 'French school' of intelligence studies in the 1990s to today. The first section develops a theoretical framework that presents the relationship between academics and intelligence practitioners according to two variables: the extent to which academic and practitioners' interests overlap and the structuration of their relationship. These two variables generate four stereotypical relationships – strangers, acquaintances, collaborators, and partners – that are used throughout the chapter to characterise the academic-practitioner 'divide' in France. The second section examines the emergence of intelligence studies in France in the 1990s and emphasises the key role played by the former Director General for Exterior Security Admiral Lacoste in establishing an initial platform to explore shared interests and structure the relationship between scholars and practitioners. This initial effort helped two communities that were largely strangers to collaborate and become more acquainted. The third section presents the multiplication of government outreach programmes in the mid-2000s. The establishment of intelligence as a public policy has been accompanied by a structuration of the exchanges between academics and practitioners. Three government initiatives that have sought to bridge the gap between academics and intelligence practitioners stand out: the intelligence academy, the intelligence campus, and Interaxions. Together these projects have expanded the basis of collaboration between the two communities. The fourth section focuses on the role practitioners have played in intelligence education in France. The recent establishment of a series of intelligence studies diplomas that seek to bridge the academic-practitioner divide in

higher education suggests that the relationship is now moving closer to a partnership. The article concludes that practitioners have played a key role in establishing and structuring their relationship with the academic community. Their prominent role raises unanswered questions about the sources of legitimate expertise in the development of intelligence studies.

Framing the Academic-Practitioner Relationship

The theoretical framework driving the analysis developed in this chapter hypothesises that two key factors shape the academic-practitioner relationship: the extent to which respective interests overlap and the structuration of this relationship. For the two communities to cross the 'divide' that separates them, they first need to identify an interest in bridging the gap. For scholars, this might include better access to sources and practices that will inform their research, and different forms of rewards (self-reward, esteem, and career progression) associated with exchanging knowledge with government officials. From the perspective of practitioners, academics can provide access to specialised knowledge relevant to the missions and activities of their service. They also provide a separate channel to communicate about their role publicly. While both sides might have an interest in liaising with each other, they do not necessarily do so for the same reasons, and the extent to which their interests overlap varies.

When they share an interest in bridging the gap, academics and practitioners can liaise in an ad hoc manner or in more institutionalised ways. The different means available to cross this divide can be represented as a spectrum ranging from low to high institutionalisation or structure. For example, ad hoc engagement could include an intelligence service inviting a scholar to deliver a talk to its staff on a topic of interest. More structured forms of partnership involve contracts granting specific rights and duties to academics who might, exceptionally, be allowed to access intelligence agencies' records and settings. Similarly, practitioners might

be invited to deliver a talk or teach a course at an academic institution. Beside these individual forms of cooperation, intelligence agencies in a number of countries have set up dedicated training and outreach units that tap into academic expertise to support their needs.

Figure 1, below, presents academic-practitioner relationships along two axes showing variations in interest and structure, from low to high. The resulting quadrants represent four stereotypical relationships. This theoretical framework simplifies reality to build and later test expectations of what different academic-practitioners relationships look like. In any given context, the four stereotypes are not mutually exclusive. Some academics and practitioners are likely to remain perfect strangers, while others might collaborate and develop a more formal partnership. While a majority of intelligence scholars seem to have an interest in engaging with practitioners, not all scholars welcome such a partnership. Some might prefer a clear divide and very little to no engagement with practitioners. From this detached perspective, there is no ideal relationship, just multiple possibilities.

At the bottom left of the quadrant, academics and practitioners have little to no overlapping interests, and their relationship is not structured. They are *strangers* separated by a clear divide. Here, academics do not really engage with practitioners or, when they do so, it is to publicly condemn intelligence practices. Practitioners deem academia irrelevant.

In the bottom right quadrant, academics' and practitioners' interests overlap significantly, but their relationships remain unstructured; they are *collaborators* that long for more engagement. Here, academics develop intelligence-relevant research and actively seek to reach out to practitioners in the hope of triggering their interest and being invited to present their research at guest talks. Practitioners systematically survey academic research, and some of them attend academic events. They occasionally invite researchers to present their research, and they give talks at academic institutions. Mutual interests establish a collaboration, but this

relationship lacks an institutional structure that would stabilise the relationship and make it more permanent.

The upper quadrants present more highly structured relationships. At the top left, academics and practitioners are *acquaintances*. Here, structures require them to engage with each other, but their relationship is limited because their respective interests do not overlap significantly. Academics develop seminar series and conferences on topics linked to intelligence and security practices such as 'mass surveillance' but do not invite or include practitioners. Occasionally, structures might require some interaction, for example, when University management arranges for a senior intelligence official to speak on campus. Similarly, practitioners engage in outreach because their institution mandates it, mostly for public relations and communications reasons. They have an interest in using academia to frame the public debate on intelligence and show that their service is 'transparent,' but they do not care much about academic research and teaching.

The top right quadrant presents a situation in which both communities have a strong interest in each other's work and where the relationship is highly structured. Here, academics and intelligence practitioners are *partners*. Academics systematically invite and engage with practitioners during seminars and conferences and include them in the leadership of their organisations. Universities invite and hire serving and retired practitioners to teach and speak to students regularly. Practitioners systematically tap into academic expertise through outreach programs that organise joint events and sometimes contract out specific tasks to academics, such as the writing of an internal or official history or the drafting of external audit reports. The two communities are significantly intertwined.

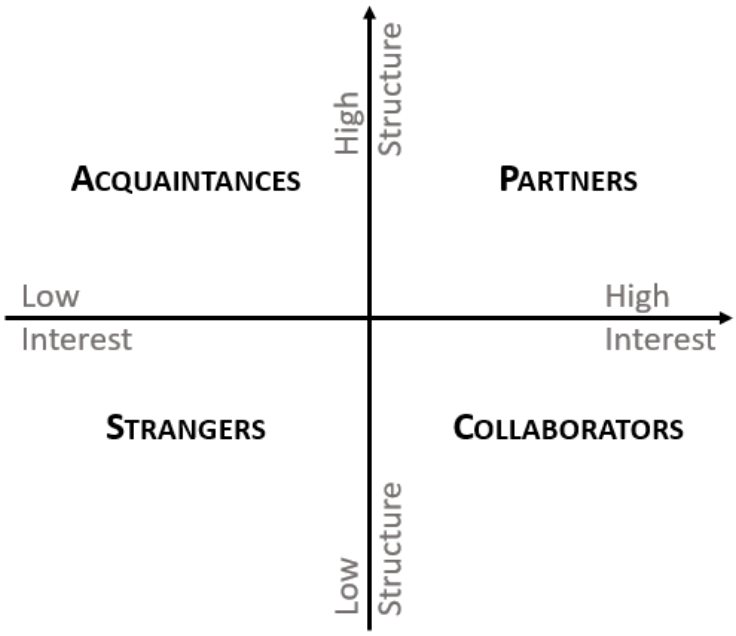

Figure 1. Interest and structure in the academic-practitioner relationship

The Emergence of Intelligence Studies in France

The French conception of the role of the state and its intelligence services has had a significant effect on the study of intelligence in France. Due to its strong position as secret-keeper, regulator, and subject of study, the state and its bureaucracy has logically been the most central factor influencing the nature of the relationship between academics and practitioners. France has traditionally conceived of intelligence as an attribute 'at the disposal of the political power without any form of oversight,'[1] and the attitude of French politicians toward intelligence has long oscillated between disregard and mistrust.[2] This experience contrasts with more liberal models where governments have sought to strike a balance between secrecy and openness. Public access to information on intelligence, and by extension the place of intelligence in academic and public debates, has historically been more limited in France than in the United Kingdom and the United States.[3]

The genealogy of intelligence studies in France can be traced back to an initiative to bridge the academic-practitioner divide. In 1995, Admiral Pierre Lacoste, who served as

Director of the French foreign intelligence agency (*Direction Générale de la Sécurité Extérieure* or DGSE) from 1982 to 1985, launched a research seminar on 'The French culture of intelligence' at the University of Marne-la-Vallée. Though intelligence research had been published before, Lacoste's seminar was the first attempt to establish a structure to foster a dialogue between practitioners and intelligence researchers.[4] The establishment of this seminar can be linked to Lacoste's career as a defence and intelligence leader, but also to a broader development in the history of French intelligence, such as the creation of the Directorate of Military Intelligence (*Direction du Renseignement Militaire*, DRM) in 1992 and the emphasis the 1994 Defence White Paper placed on intelligence in a post-Cold War context marked by uncertainty.[5]

Comparing France to the Anglophone world, Lacoste lamented the fact that intelligence remained 'a taboo' in French academia and public debate. He thought secrecy had become a pretext to 'oppose a fundamental reflection on the role and place of intelligence in modern society.'[6] The paucity of academic research on intelligence meant that, more often than not, journalists and former officers filled key information gaps.[7] But interviews and memoirs provide, at best, personal representations of historical facts and, as historian Jeffreys-Jones notes, former practitioners 'can be expected to put the best possible spin' on their period in office.[8] To fill this gap in public understanding and knowledge about intelligence, Lacoste proposed adopting a multidisciplinary approach drawing on history, political science, economics, law, sociology, and information sciences.[9] Conscious of some of the difficulties confronting intelligence scholarship, he pointed out that researchers would need to get 'greater access to sources of information that have too long remained inaccessible.'[10] The seminar he coordinated thus provided the first platform bringing together a variety of scholars and practitioners to engage in dialogue and reflect on how socio-cultural norms and political institutions affected decision-makers' use of intelligence. This initiative

was successful in inspiring a generation of intelligence researchers and fostering the emergence of foundational texts.[11]

The seminar series at Marne-La-Vallée took place at a time when French historians were conducting pioneering research that helped to establish the field of intelligence studies in academia. Alain Dewerpe's historical anthropology of state secrecy remains, to this day, a pioneering work on intelligence as a profession, a set of practices and organizations that reflect broader societal trends.[12] Historians like Sébastien Laurent were able to corroborate multiple sources of information to produce rigorous research on French intelligence.[13] Historical research and archival releases progressively facilitated access to information, establishing a basis for further research, for example, through the conduct of oral history interviews made available at government archives.[14]

By the mid-2000s, the editor of *Intelligence and National Security* could point to the emergence of a 'French school' of intelligence studies.[15] In March 2008, several years after the end of Lacoste's initial seminar series, two historians (Sébastien Laurent and Olivier Forcade) and a civil servant (Philippe Hayez) established a new seminar series entitled 'Metis: intelligence in liberal democracies,'[16] hosted by the Centre for History at Sciences Po Paris. Following the British model, 'Metis' used the Chatham House rule to facilitate engagement between the two communities and bridge the gap.[17] In 2018, the seminar celebrated its tenth anniversary by organising the first public event bringing together the National Coordinator for Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism (CNRLT) and the directors of the six leading intelligence agencies (the so-called 'first circle' of the French intelligence community): the DGSE, the *Direction du Renseignement et de la Sécurité de Défense* (DRSD), the DRM, the *Direction Générale de la Sécurité Intérieure* (DGSI), the *Direction nationale du renseignement et des enquêtes douanières* (DNRED), and Tracfin (a financial intelligence unit). The panellists agreed on the need to strengthen their relations with higher

education institutions.[18] This event signalled practitioners' willingness to liaise with academics and identify ways to structure their relationship.

The structuration of intelligence studies in France has benefited from government research funding. From 2015-2019, the National Research Agency funded a social science project on the use of communications intelligence technologies.[19] Funding from the Ministry of Armed Forces and its *Direction générale des relations internationales et de la stratégie* further contributed, together with private support, to the establishment of an Association for War and Strategic Studies in 2015, that includes a 'working group on intelligence.' This working group, led by University researchers, organises research seminars and public events on intelligence.[20] Other scholarly associations, such as the French association for security and defense law (AFDSD) have organised events to support the academic debate on intelligence from a legal perspective.[21] A recent study on the state of intelligence research in France finds that historical work continues to dominate the field, but a number of Ph.D. research projects focusing on public law and intelligence, as well as information and communication sciences, literary studies, and linguistics suggest the field is diversifying.[22] In sum, the seminar organised by Admiral Lactose can be considered as a turning point, when academics and practitioners moved from being 'strangers' to becoming 'acquaintances'. More than a decade later, the establishment of Metis and other scholarly seminars, as well as government funding, have helped to structure this relationship closer to the ideal-type of collaboration.

Intelligence Outreach

In the last decade, a series of events have contributed to bringing intelligence to the fore of the public debate. Political scientists Jean-Vincent Holeindre and Benjamin Oudet correlate the legitimation of intelligence to three key developments: the contemporary threat environment, changes in public perception following terror attacks, and the development of a new public policy on intelligence.[23] The 2008 White Paper on Defense and National Security

formally introduced the notion of a French intelligence community, presenting the services of the 'first circle' as a pillar of French foreign, military, and security policies, and introduced 'knowledge and anticipation' as a strategic function of the French defence and national security apparatus.[24] According to Chopin, government White Papers and the subsequent 2015 law on intelligence have helped to 'normalise' intelligence as a public policy.[25] In turn, the normalization of intelligence has legitimized intelligence as a research subject.

Public institutions have played an important role in this legitimization effort and have actively sought to build bridges with academia. Three initiatives stand out in this context: the intelligence academy, the intelligence campus, and Interaxions. Together these projects show the active role that the government and some intelligence agencies have played in developing more robust collaborations between academics and practitioners. For the more critical observers, however, these efforts raise questions about the appropriate distance between the study and practice of intelligence, between 'the scientific purpose of explanation and understanding' and 'policy-oriented research supporting the actions of intelligence services.'[26]

Intelligence Academy

The French Intelligence Academy (*Académie du Renseignement*) was established in 2010. Its creation was recommended by the 2008 White Paper on Defense and National Security and enacted by decree of the Prime Minister two years later as part of a broader wave of intelligence reform.[27] Directly attached to the Prime Minister (the head of government but not the head of state in the French political system), one of the main roles of the Academy is to provide training and courses for practitioners belonging to the 'first circle' of the intelligence community. These training courses seek to foster a greater mutual understanding of each service's role and organisation, build interpersonal relationships to develop stronger cooperation, and foster a common intelligence culture. The Academy also seeks to develop a public 'culture' of intelligence in the sense of greater public understanding. Its efforts in this

domain include actions that seek to bridge the gap between academics and practitioners of intelligence. These activities have intensified since 2015 and include two main types of initiative: institutional initiatives that directly stem from the Academy's organization and mandate within the French intelligence community, and outreach initiatives that specifically target intelligence researchers and related productions.

The Academy's institutional initiatives include training and courses that are only accessible to intelligence practitioners and that engage with a broad array of issues that include and go beyond the study of intelligence. The Academy provides the practice-oriented initial training designed to present the specificities of the 'first circle' services to new senior intelligence officials. It is also responsible for developing and managing an academic program that reflects the variety of topical issues and world areas covered by these six services.[28] As a part of these activities, academics, and experts working in a wide range of disciplines are frequently invited to give conferences and contribute to roundtables tailored for an audience of practitioners. These initiatives, often structured around one or a few experts or academics, provide fresh insights into international issues and the latest academic debates to practitioners. By engaging outside specialists in the education and initial formation of intelligence officers, these events contribute to the development of a public culture of intelligence.

The Academy's Outreach initiatives focus more specifically on intelligence studies and related outputs. First, the Academy established two public prizes in 2018. The first prize rewards a French Ph.D. thesis (the project needs to be written in French and the degree awarded at a French university) that provides a significant contribution to the development of intelligence studies. The second rewards a fictional creation that raises awareness about the nature of intelligence work and activities. Both prizes come with a 4000€ reward, and the selection committee includes the national intelligence coordinator as well as the heads of the six services of the 'first circle.' Since 2020, the Academy has added a third award for an

"essay", defined as a creative work inspired from reality. This category includes academic research monographs and textbooks but also memoirs, biographies and documentary movies.[29] This initiative demonstrates a willingness at the highest level of the French intelligence community to engage with academic research and fictional work on intelligence. Second, the Academy organizes an annual colloquium that brings together scholars and practitioners to discuss intelligence issues. In 2016, this event focused on 'Intelligence in the early Cold War.' The 2019 colloquium focused on legal issues in intelligence and provided important contributions to the public debate at a time when the 2015 law that established a firm legal grounding for the French intelligence community was due to be revised. These colloquia proceedings have been published and edited by leading scholars (who also contributed to the seminar organized by Admiral Lacoste two decades earlier).[30] Third, the Academy established a historical committee in 2019 to facilitate dialogue between historians and the French Intelligence Services.[31]

Intelligence campus

The *Direction du Renseignement Militaire* is the only French intelligence service dedicated to military and defense intelligence. It is a key component of the French intelligence community and an active member of the 'first circle.' Like many other defense intelligence agencies around the world, the DRM has been concerned with the development of new security and military technologies. The changing character of war and the fast pace of technological progress in the digital era require significant efforts to understand, anticipate and adapt to the latest trends. To meet these challenges, then-Defense Minister Jean-Yves Le Drian created the Intelligence Campus in 2015. This initiative seeks to foster academic outreach and crosscutting exchanges between the Ministry and outside expertise in technological matters such as artificial and signals intelligence, automatic image recognition, and data analysis. The Director of the DRM explains that 'putting personnel and

competencies in direct relation will enable us to improve the acquisition cycle of these tools, which tend to evolve really quickly in the civilian world. We need to adapt permanently. This initiative will be based on the following triptych: academic world, research, and acquisition.'[32]

The second type of action undertaken by the DRM seeks to leverage academic expertise in the social sciences and related disciplines. As a military intelligence service, the DRM is interested in all the regions and areas where French troops deploy. Since intelligence analysts often face time and production constraints, reaching out to academic institutions and universities can provide important insights that contribute to the analytical process. In 2018, the DRM and the National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) – the biggest French public research institution – signed an agreement that institutionalized their cooperation and sought to facilitate exchanges between practitioners and academics in three different ways.[33] First, this agreement establishes a platform to organize workshops and seminars that bring together analysts and CNRS researchers working on issues or regions of common interest. These events provide a safe space for fruitful exchanges between academics and practitioners. Second, this agreement provides select researchers with access to sensitive DRM data and creates a legal framework for their exploitation in research projects. Third, select CNRS researchers are now invited to take the training offered to junior DRM analysts. This agreement represents an important step in bridging the academic-practitioner divide in France and brought about fierce debates in the academic community between those in favor of a closer relationship between the intelligence community and the academic world and those who think the two communities should remain clearly separated. Critics argue that close relationships between academics and practitioners threaten the independence of academic research, put researchers at risk when conducting field research in some countries, and may prevent them from getting access to research fields.[34] More recently, the DRM has launched

new initiatives and organized a series of conferences and symposia on issues of interest such as 'hybrid warfare.'[35] Although these initiatives do not necessarily focus on intelligence scholars, they seek to bridge the divide between intelligence practitioners and academics working in a variety of cognate fields in the social sciences and beyond.

Interaxions

Interaxions, sometimes considered as the think tank of the DGSE, was established in 2017 by then Director General Bernard Bajolet as a part of a broader effort to foster foresight and anticipation in the French defense ministry.[36] Interaxions leverages academic outreach to contribute to strategic analysis. This platform, inspired from the academic outreach program of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), is the only structure of its kind in the French intelligence community and contributes to bridging the academic-practitioner divide in many different ways. Directly attached to the Directorate for Strategy of the DGSE, Interaxions seeks to understand current and emerging security trends to contribute to the anticipation efforts of the Ministry of the Armed Forces.[37] The unit seeks to develop long-term views, horizon scanning, and foresight assessment of the changing international landscape. It develops strategic intelligence and analysis while also acting as a red cell in charge of challenging commonly held views, cultural biases, and assumptions. Although most of its publications are classified, select public communications indicate an interest in topics ranging from 'Islam after Daech,'[38] to the rise of radical Islam in West Africa, and the future security role of the western Balkans.[39]

To make its analyses and assessments possible, Interaxions – as its very name suggests – heavily relies on the exchange of views and perspectives with other organizations, experts, and academics. In this regard, its methods can be compared to those of the US National Intelligence Council.[40] Interaxions taps into networks of experts in various disciplines and sectors, including government, think tanks, research institutes, and universities, in France and

abroad. Exchanges take multiple forms ranging from conferences to seminars, to presentations and roundtable discussions. The unit also organizes annual symposia dedicated to emerging issues and trends, which provide another opportunity to facilitate exchanges between academics and practitioners. These events are open to other members of the French intelligence community, institutional partners, and a broader ecosystem of strategic thinkers in France. The organization of symposia with foreign intelligence services also contributes to the international cooperation policies of the DGSE. For instance, its first event was jointly organized with the academic outreach program of CSIS.[41]

Through its outreach function, Interaxions has sought to stimulate the academic study of intelligence and security issues in France. In November 2018, its annual symposium, organized with the French Institute for Strategic Research (IRSEM, a public institution often presented as the think tank of the French Ministry of the Armed Forces) and inaugurated by the Director General of the DGSE, Bernard Emié, focused on the development of intelligence studies in France.[42] This event gathered over a hundred professionals and academics, and provided an opportunity for them to think about possible improvements on both sides of the divide. The proceedings of this symposium will appear in a new handbook to be published at a leading academic press in France and edited by researchers working at the French Institute for Strategic Research.[43] This publication follows the establishment of a new unit focused on 'Intelligence, anticipation and hybrid threats' at the Institute, which seeks to bring together researchers and practitioners in an effort to develop policy-relevant research on intelligence and security.[44]

The National Intelligence Coordinator has also supported and emphasised the importance of academic outreach. The first (publicly available) national intelligence strategy recognizes the importance of 'communication and openness' to explain 'the challenges and risks confronting French society and foster the emergence of an intelligence culture.' This

strategy emphasizes that academic research, universities, and think tanks constitute an essential resource to understand crises and key issues confronting the services.[45] Yet, an overview of the latest initiatives shows that efforts to bridge the gap are unequal across the French intelligence community. The Ministry of Armed Forces, which hosts the DGSE and the DRM, the CNRLT, and the intelligence Academy, which represent the entire community, have played more active and visible roles. While other services such as the DGSI reach out to research institutions to warn them about threats to intellectual property, their academic outreach efforts are more limited and much less visible.[46]

Intelligence education

Capitalizing on growing public interest in intelligence and a demand from the CNRLT to become more involved in intelligence education to foster a French 'culture' of intelligence, a handful of French higher education institutions have recently developed intelligence curricula.[47] These courses have provided another opportunity to bridge the gap and develop partnerships between universities and practitioners. Science Po Paris (the leading public affairs school in France) has long offered courses on intelligence taught by former practitioners. For example, figures such as Mark Lowenthal (a former senior CIA analyst), Sir David Omand (former director of GCHQ), French civil servants including a former director of the French Intelligence Academy, and senior military officers taught several courses on intelligence in 2019-2020.[48] The same year, Sciences Po Saint-Germain-en-Laye, launched a postgraduate diploma in 'Intelligence and global threats' in partnership with the French intelligence academy. This diploma targets both traditional students and professionals seeking to develop and expand their skillset. The curriculum offers a mix of academic-oriented courses such as 'History and sociology of intelligence' and more applied modules such as 'Practices of operational intelligence,' which includes contributions from senior practitioners.[49]

In 2020, Science Po Aix, another public affairs school, established an 'academic chair' dedicated to the study of intelligence. This chair will be held by General Cholley (Ret.), who served as deputy director for operations at the DRM and Defence adviser to the Prime Minister. The initiative will benefit from the support of the intelligence academy. The teaching team – which at the moment is largely composed of professionals – will initially offer a certificate before moving on to a Master's degree in 2021 – offered in partnership with the *Ecole de l'Air* (French Air Force School). The involvement of a Professor (Walter Bruyères-Ostells) as a scientific director suggests that an effort will be made to strike a balance between professional and academic perspectives.[50] Another recent initiative brings together Sorbonne University and the DRM to offer a specialization on Geopolitics and Geospatial intelligence (GEOINT) to its Master's students starting in 2020. The specialization, available as a Master 2, aims to form GEOINT analysts to work in government or the private sector.[51] The new degree will benefit from the support of the DRM, whose Director officially launched the program in September 2020. Some of the courses will reportedly be taught in the headquarters of the DRM.[52]

The proliferation of professionalizing courses, diplomas, and degrees taught in partnership with former and serving practitioners raises a series of questions that have not been clearly addressed in the French public debate. Public affairs schools are now well aware of the opportunities that intelligence education can bring them, not least in terms of recruitment and publicity. Sciences Po Paris and its school of public and international affairs has long adopted a teaching strategy that puts an emphasis on senior practitioners, including senior civil servants and policymakers, in addition to more traditional academic courses. New programmes at Sciences Po Saint-German-en-Laye and Sciences Po Aix-en-Provence emphasize the experience and publicity that comes with hiring senior practitioners. The extent to which these programs manage to maintain a balance between intelligence training and

academic education remains to be seen. The involvement of practitioners in academic education begs the question of who should teach intelligence in higher education settings and how should they do so? While this debate is well-established in the United States,[53] it has barely started in France and deserves further attention.

Who teaches, and by extension, is recognized as an expert on intelligence inevitably affects the state of intelligence studies. One of the defining features of higher education is that teaching is inherently linked to research findings.[54] The risk when practitioners dominate intelligence education is that teaching will be based on individual career experiences, not on research findings in the field of intelligence studies and other academic fields relevant to intelligence and security. While intelligence education should not overlook the views and experiences of professionals, it should engage students in the broader pursuit of scientific knowledge on intelligence and security and strike a balance between the leading role of academics in education and the essential role practitioners' expertise plays in professionalizing Master's programs. The responsibility for striking this balance firmly lies on the academic side of the divide. Higher education institutions should not only launch new degrees but also foster and eventually hire a generation of researchers who can teach and develop scientific knowledge on intelligence and security affairs. To this day, only a handful of tenured University lecturers and professors in France research and teach on intelligence. This suggests that, despite the establishment of new programs, French academia remains somewhat reticent to the notion that intelligence is a legitimate field of academic enquiry.

Conclusion

The relationship between academics and practitioners has evolved significantly since the establishment of Intelligence Studies in France in the mid-1990s. Practitioners and government institutions have played a central role in supporting the emergence of intelligence studies and the broader development of a public debate on – or as French commentators often

say, a culture of – intelligence. Academics have established a number of associations running research seminars on intelligence, and a handful of higher education institutions have recently launched diplomas in intelligence studies. While some academics would prefer the two communities to remain strangers, collaborations and partnerships have emerged in the last two decades. This rapprochement raises important questions that remain largely unanswered about who has a legitimate voice to produce public knowledge on intelligence.

Notes

1. Olivier Chopin, "Intelligence Reform and the Transformation of the State: The End of a French Exception," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 40, no. 4 (2017): 537.
2. Jean Guisnel, Roger Faligot, and Rémi Kauffer, *Histoire politique des services secrets français: de la Seconde Guerre mondiale à nos jours* (Paris: La Découverte, 2013).
3. Jean-Vincent Holeindre and Benjamin Oudet, "Intelligence Studies in France: History, Structure and Proposals," *IRSEM research note 67*, 27 November 2018, 4-5.
4. See for example: Jean-Pierre Alem, *L'Espionnage et le Contre-Espionnage* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980); Alain Dewerpe, *Espion: Une anthropologie historique du secret d'Etat contemporain* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994).
5. Ministère de la Défense, *Livre Blanc sur la Défense* (Paris: 1994), 52, 78-80.
6. Chopin, "Intelligence Reform and the Transformation of the State," 2.
7. See Roget Faligot and Pascal Krop, *La Piscine* (Paris: Seuil, 1985); Jean Guisnel and Bernard Violet, *Services secrets: Les services de renseignement sous François Mitterrand* (Paris: La Découverte, 1988); For some memoirs see Colonel Passy, *Souvenirs I. 2e Bureau Londres* (Monte-Carlo: Raoul Solar, 1947); Pau Paiolle, *Services spéciaux (1935-1945)* (Paris: Robert Laffont 1975); Jean Deuve, *La Guerre secrète au Laos contre les communistes* (Paris: L'Harmattan,1995); Constantin Melnik*, 1000 Jours* à *Matignon* (Paris: Grasset, 1988); Pierre Marion, *La mission impossible A la tête des services secrets* (Paris: Calman-Lévy, 1991); Jacques Foccart, *Journal de l'Elysée. Tome 1. Tous les soirs avec de Gaulle (1965-1967)*(Paris: Fayard, 1995); Claude Silberzahn with Jean Guisnel, *Au cœur du secret: 1500 jours aux commandes de la* DGSE (Paris: Fayard, 1995); Constantin Melnik, *La mort était leur mission: Le service Action pendant la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Plon, 1996). Examples of interviews include, Alexandre de Marenches and Christine Ockrent, *Dans le secret des princes* (Paris: Stock, 1986); Philippe Gaillard, *Foccart Parle* (Paris: Fayard, 1995).
8. Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, "Commentary: Loch Johnson's Oral History Interview with William Colby, and Johnson's Introduction to that Interview," In *Exploring Intelligence Archives: Enquiries into the Secret State*, edited by R. Gerald Hughes, Peter Jackson, and Len Scott (London: Routledge, 2008), 271.
9. Pierre Lacoste, "Trois ans de séminaire sur la culture française du renseignement," in Pierre Lacoste (ed.) *Le Renseignement à la française* (Paris: Economica 1998), 1.
10. Lacoste, "Trois ans de séminaire sur la culture française," 3.

11. Some of the scholars who contributed to this seminar became leading intelligence scholars in France. See for example: Olivier Forcade, *La République Secrète: Histoire des Services Spéciaux français de 1918 à 1939* (Paris: Nouveau Monde 2008); Sébastien Laurent, *Politiques de l'Ombre* (Paris: Fayard 2009); Bertrand Warusfel, *Le renseignement français contemporain: Aspects politiques et juridiques* (Paris: L'Harmattan 2003).
12. Dewerpe, *Espion*, *passim.* For a recent review see: Pascal Engel, "Alain Dewerpe et l'histoire dormante du secret," *L'Atelier du Centre de recherches historiques*, 17 (2017), https://doi.org/10.4000/acrh.7996.
13. See for example: Sébastien Laurent, "Renseignement militaire et action politique, le BCRA et les services sopéciaux de l'armée d'armistice," in Pierre Lacoste (ed.) *Le Renseignement à la française* (Paris: Economica 1998), 79-100.
14. See for example service Historique de la Défense (SHD), Vincennes: 3K66, "Témoignage oral de Raymond Muelle," February 8, 2000; 3K71 "Témoignage oral de Robert Maloubier," October 19, 2000; 3K 60, "Témoignage oral du général Paul Aussaresses," July 24, 2000.
15. Peter Jackson, "Intelligence and the State: An Emerging 'French School' of Intelligence Studies," *Intelligence and National Security* 21, no. 6 (2006): 1061–65. See also David Kahn, "Intelligence Studies on the Continent," *Intelligence and National Security* 23, no. 2 (2008): 249–62.
16. Metis is an ancient Greek word for craft or wisdom.
17. Science Po Centre d'Histoire, "Le renseignement: Planification, stratégie et prospective – Séminaire METIS – Programme saison 17 – séance 5," 2015, http://www.sciencespo.fr/newsletter/archive-e52eb0eeb8b076757c624e6c40edf033.html
18. Holeindre and Oudet, "Intelligence Studies in France," 13.
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