



Intelligence Studies beyond Anglosphere: A South Asian Gaze

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Abstract

How has the study of intelligence evolved in the global North and why has it stagnated in the global South? This paper offers a South Asian perspective by employing a mixed method strategy. It argues that the academic and professional communities in the global North have contributed to the development of Intelligence Studies by teaching a wide variety of core and elective courses and publishing their research on historical and contemporary issues in relevant journals. While the South Asian academia has a rich tradition of IR and Security Studies programmes, a

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culture of secrecy has impeded Intelligence Studies in the region.

Intelligence Studies has become a sub-field of International Relations (IR) in the Anglosphere.¹ But beyond the English-speaking countries of the global North, it is yet to be taught as a core or elective course let alone as a self-sustaining graduate, undergraduate, or certificate programme at many universities of the global South.² This paper analyses the uneven growth of Intelligence Studies within the IR and Security Studies programmes. It has three sections. The first examines the contributions of academic and practitioners to creating an epistemic community for studying the role of secret services in foreign and security policy. The second reviews the trends in Intelligence Studies research to understand the historical and contemporary issues that have drawn the attention of scholars belonging to this new field of inquiry. Third, it examines how the South Asian academic institutions, including the University of Dhaka (DU), have developed a rich tradition of teaching and research programs in IR and its sub-field Security Studies; yet the growth of Intelligence Studies has stagnated in the region. Some plausible hypotheses are discussed to explain the stagnation of South Asian Intelligence Studies.

Two questions come to the fore: How has the study of intelligence evolved in the global North, and why has it stagnated in the global South? These questions are pertinent for a number of reasons. First, although IR is a century-old (1919-2019) discipline, intelligence has long considered to be a 'missing link' in the study of IR. It was not until the 1970s that academics have shown some interests in studying the the role of intelligence in war and peace. The evolutionary pathway of intelligence studies would thus shed light on the broadening and deepening the field of IR. Second, as the DU now celebrates its birth centenary (1921-2021) and Bangladesh observes the golden jubilee as an independent state (1971-2021), this paper would provide us with an opportunity to ponder the extent to

which the DU's IR Department (DUIR), whose birth in 1947 preceded the journey of independent Bangladesh, has caught up with the global and regional trends in the study of security and intelligence issues.

This paper employs a mixed method strategy to address the research questions. After reviewing secondary data from existing literature on the 'academization' of Intelligence Studies, it conducts a quantitative content analysis of the journal of *Intelligence and National Security* to do a mapping of research in the field. It then conducts a qualitative document analysis on the syllabi and course outlines of IR and Security Studies programmes of selected universities of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan. A total of 15 key informant interviews were conducted from March 2020 to November 2021 with academics and practitioners from Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan to substantiate the research findings.

Intelligence Studies in Anglosphere

The Evolutionary Pathway

Sherman Kent's *Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy* was a path-breaking work in the field of Intelligence Studies.³ Writing in the aftermath of World War II, Kent highlighted the role of intelligence in foreign and security policy. A former Yale University history professor, who became a veteran intelligence analyst at the Office of National Estimate of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Kent founded *Studies in Intelligence* in 1955 as a journal for intelligence practitioners. In the opening issue of the journal, Kent emphasised the need for creating a literature to create an "institutional memory" for the intelligence community and to develop intelligence as an academic discipline.⁴

Despite Kent's efforts and the facts that secret services grew in size during the Cold War era, intelligence remained a 'missing dimension' and an 'under-theorized' phenomenon in IR for quite some time.⁵ But the scenario started to change after a series of 'scandals' and security debacles have brought

intelligence at the forefront of public policy in North America and Western Europe.⁶ The 1970s was an interesting timeline for intelligence to come under greater public scrutiny, especially in the United States, where the CIA's covert actions in foreign countries and the FBI's extensive domestic surveillance initiatives led to the formation of the 'Church Committee', officially known as the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities.⁷ On other side of the Atlantic, the British academia had found an interest in the role of secret intelligence during World War II. Such interests were sparked by the release of two notable works: J.C. Masterman's *The Double-Cross System in the War of 1939 to 1945*⁸ and F. W. Winterbotham's *The Ultra Secret*⁹.

While the congressional scrutiny in the United States and the historical anthologies in the United Kingdom laid the ground works for building an intellectual foundation of Intelligence Studies, an epistemological break occurred in the 1980s with parallel developments in professional and research institutions and the publication of scholarly journals. In 1985, the Canadian Association for the Study of Intelligence and the Intelligence Studies Section of the International Studies Association in the United States began their journey.¹⁰ During the same year, the *Intelligence and National Security (INS)* and the *Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* appeared for the first time.¹¹ These two new journals joined Kent's legacy, *Studies in Intelligence*, to produce theoretically grounded and empirically rich analyses of intelligence communities and cultures. The opening issue of *INS* made a bold statement, which is worth noting here:

Intelligence and National Security starts from two premises: first, that its subject matter is a proper field for scholarly research: second, that any analysis of modern foreign or security policy which leaves intelligence out of account is certainly incomplete and possibly distorted.¹²

Such developments have continued to spread over the past two decades, and the next stops were continental Europe and Australia. In 2001, the *Journal of Intelligence History* came out as a flagship publication of the German International Intelligence History Association.¹³ In 2005, the Spanish academia introduced teaching and research in intelligence affairs.¹⁴ Next year, Sciences Po (Paris School of International Affairs) opened a graduate-level seminar on intelligence and counterterrorism, which has evolved into an area of concentration in intelligence affairs.¹⁵ Across the ocean in Australia, in 2006, the Macquarie University's Department of Security Studies and Criminology kicked off the *Journal of Policing, Intelligence, and Counterterrorism*.¹⁶ In 2009, the *European Journal of Intelligence Studies* came out a joint initiative of Belgian and Dutch editors.¹⁷

The biggest 'boost up' for Intelligence Studies has come up in the backdrop of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and concerns over the politicisation of intelligence ahead of the 2003 Iraq War. Two distinct research agenda came in the ensuing years: the first on intelligence reform, and second on intelligence oversight. The American and the British academic and policy communities contributed much to this post-9/11 boost up. In the United States alone, the 9/11 Commission proposed a series of major reforms including the appointment of a director of national intelligence and the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS).¹⁸ Such bureaucratic reforms would be complemented by an emphasis on reforming the analytical culture in the American intelligence community. Following the 2005 London bombings, the British policymakers started a similar conversation about reforming the analytical culture and intelligence coordination for enhancing national security.¹⁹

Despite such apparent similarity in the trans-Atlantic developments in Intelligence Studies, a sharp difference has emerged in the approaches to Intelligence Studies. As Michael Goodman notes:

In the United States—which has a longer history than the United Kingdom for the teaching and study of intelligence—the subject has largely been located within political science departments ... [By contrast] In the United Kingdom the subject has a far more historical grounding, with emphasis on empirical case studies.²⁰

Government funding has added a new dimension to the scholarly endeavours of secret services studies. The governments of United States, United Kingdom, Canada and Australia have been at the forefront of sponsoring the teaching and research of intelligence, conflict, and terrorism. The DHS initiative is particularly notable. Through its Science and Technology Division, the DHS has established academic centres of excellence for the study of intelligence, cyber security, and international terrorism.²¹ The Australian Government has allocated funding for both community initiatives for deradicalization and capacity building of foreign law enforcement agencies through partnership with academic institutions. The Macquarie University's CVE training for Bangladesh Police is a case in point. In 2017, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DEFAT Australia) awarded 3,25,000 USD to Macquarie University to “contribute to the effective governance of the Bangladeshi police force through enhancing their institutional ability to proactively engage in countering violent extremism (CVE) and counter terrorism (CT) policy development and operations.”²² In Canada government funding for science, innovation and technology has a wide range of priority areas including artificial intelligence for healthcare.²³

The Inter-disciplinary Approach

Universities in the western academia have designed a wide variety of inter-disciplinary programmes in Intelligence Studies taught at undergraduate and graduate levels. A review of five graduate programmes reveals considerable diversity in the host department, degree title, and course structure. The case studies include intelligence courses and programmes offered by the

King's College London, University of Macquarie, University of Glasgow, University of Pittsburgh, and Carleton University.

The IR and Security Studies departments are the home to most of the Intelligence Studies programmes in the global North. For instance, at King's College London, the MA in Intelligence and International Security programme is offered through the Department of War Studies under the School of Security Studies.²⁴ At Macquarie University, the Master of Intelligence Studies programme is a newly designed area of specialisation for students in the Department of Security Studies and Criminology.²⁵ At the University of Glasgow, the Department of Politics and International Relations under the School of Social Sciences and Politics partners with a consortium of European universities to manage the International Master of Security, Intelligence and Strategic Studies (IMSIS) programme.²⁶ In North America, the Public and International Affairs schools are the traditional home of the Intelligence Studies programs. For instance, the master's in Security and Intelligence Studies programme is highly sought after in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh.²⁷ Across the northern border in Canada, the Norman Patterson School of international Affairs at Carleton University offers an MA in Intelligence and International Affairs.²⁸

The programme structures at these universities show four distinct components comprising core, thematic, methodological, and area studies courses. The core courses cover the history of intelligence, structure of the intelligence community, intelligence analysis techniques, and intelligence theories and practice. Students are exposed to the origin of intelligence agencies in a national context, intelligence agencies and their coordination system, and the analytical culture in the intelligence communities.

The thematic courses reflect two distinct streams: security and strategy; and terrorism and counterterrorism. Within the first stream, the course contents focus on classical and contemporary military strategic thoughts. Students acquire in-

depth knowledge of the national and international security environment, geopolitics, the traditional and emerging security risks, and the national security decision-making process. Others areas of security and strategy focus on non-traditional security threats arising from climate change, and resource-based conflicts. The traditional IR courses including diplomacy and foreign policy, arms control and disarmament, and strategic theories and practice are also covered within this stream.

CVE and CT have emerged as a dominant feature in the second stream of thematic courses. Here the universities offer a range of courses to study the causes of contemporary violent extremism, and the extent to which it is driven by religious militancy or right wing chauvinism. Given the fact that terrorist groups, individuals, and networks make extensive use of the cyber tools and technologies, cyber crime and computer crimes are increasingly emerging on the course offerings. In the United States terrorism studies courses have considerably paid attention to the capacity of the DHS and the law enforcement community to coordinate their intelligence efforts. Elsewhere, intelligence-led policing has become a buzzword for academics and practitioners

At King's College London, the Department of War Studies offers a 1-year full time MA in Intelligence and International Security programme with a core course 'Intelligence in Peace and War' and more than half a dozen elective courses including Diplomacy & Foreign Policy, Technology Security and Global Politics, National Security Studies, Cyber Security, Armchair Intelligence: Open Sources and Online Investigation, Homegrown Radicalization, Political Violence, Counterterrorism and Human Rights, and Understanding Political Islam.²⁹ The King's College clearly locates its intelligence courses within a broader disciplinary boundary of IR and Security Studies. The same applies to the rest of the schools and their intelligence programmes.

Third, most of the methodological courses in the domain of intelligence studies blend a variety of social science research

techniques with artificial intelligence, open source intelligence collection, and ethnographic research techniques. The purpose is not only to expose students to the knowledge of surveillance techniques and criminological research methods but also to quantitative and qualitative research and social network analysis.

Fourth and finally, the area studies courses reflect the priority assigned by a university to a regional concentration. Here the universities tap the resources of inter-departmental faculty strength and joint appointments to fill the voids in their own teaching and research staff. Inter-disciplinary research centres add values to such area studies by allowing students to pursue independent and guided research on their preferred country and region. The themes covered in the area studies courses reflect a distinct security concern. For instance, the Latin American courses have a heavy concentration on drugs trafficking, whereas the European, Middle Eastern, and Asia-focused courses are tilted towards transnational organised crime and terrorism, and the courses on African Affairs dealing mostly on civil wars, ethnic conflicts, and violent extremism.

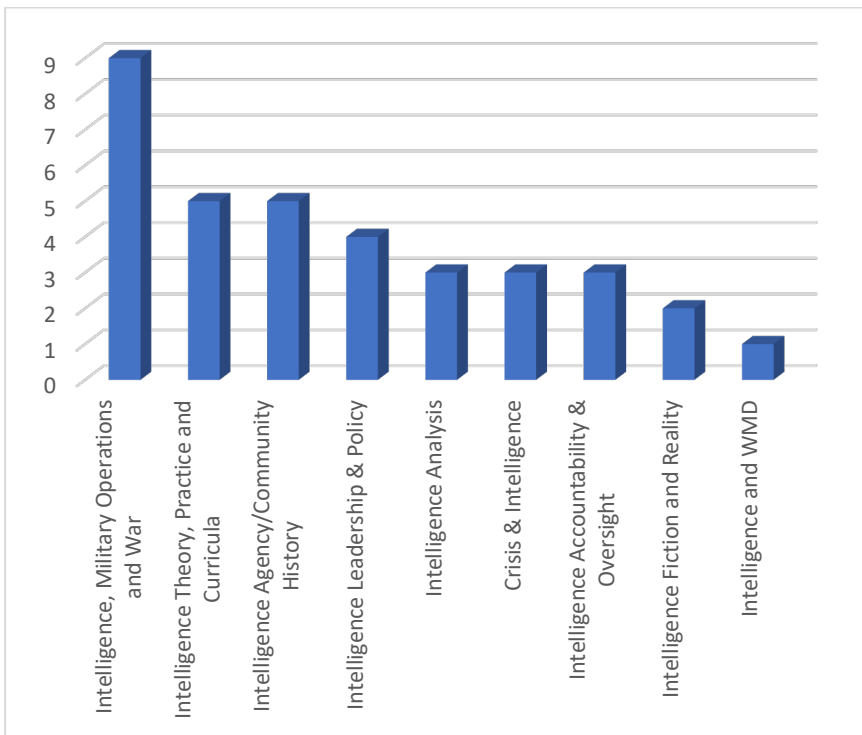
Trends in Intelligence Studies Research

Longstanding Issues

A two-track content analysis of the *INS* journal was conducted to explore the longstanding and contemporary research trends in Intelligence Studies. The first track involved an examination of 35 special issues published between 1987 and 2021 (Figure 1). A total of nine thematic areas of research was identified in the *INS* special issues. Findings reveal that the linkage among intelligence, operations, and war has been the most prominent and longstanding research agenda followed by intelligence theories and practice. The history of Anglo-American intelligence community, intelligence leadership and policy interface, and intelligence analysis are the next three research agenda as measured by the journal's publication record. The remaining four areas of scholarly works have concentrated on crisis-time intelligence, oversight issues, spy fiction, and the

role of intelligence in combating the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Figure 1: Intelligence and National Security, Special Issue Themes, 1987-2021



INS articles have a strong historical concentration reflecting a rich variety of archival research. It is hardly surprising that intelligence scholars have paid a great deal of attention to the changing nature of conflicts from the First World War to the Global War on Terrorism to study intelligence inputs to the use of force. Military intelligence, counterterrorism, propaganda, deception, and special operations have been some of the more

specific issues that have features in the *INS* articles on intelligence and war.

The editorial policy of *INS* clearly reflects a commitment to the development of the field of Intelligence Studies. This is precisely why in the past two decades at least five special issues of the journal have extensively covered research works on intelligence theory and practice. Among these five special issues, one titled ‘The Teaching of Intelligence,’ sheds light on various intelligence studies programmes and pedagogical designs in the Western academia. The rest of the four issues show a pledge to promote theoretical pluralism. While the realist-liberal dichotomy has long defined the discipline of IR, recent developments in the field has concerned an interest in cultural and critical perspectives. This has clear implications for intelligence scholarship as evident in the fact that the *INS* has published two special issues—one on strategic culture in 2011³⁰ and the other on critical theory in 2021.³¹

The third major special issue theme focuses on the history of western intelligence communities (ICs). Three of the five special issues on IC history focus on the British intelligence agencies, and the rest on North Americana and European ICs. These historical pieces demonstrate how Britain and her European imperial contestants invested in a network of spies and signals intelligence to retain their influence around the world. One special issue covers the fifty-year journey of CIA, the most powerful intelligence agency in the world. But the journal does not provide a place to glorify a specific agency. Issues related to CIA’s covert actions, politicisation, failure to predict the 1979 Iranian revolution, and oversight issues were critically assessed in the special issue.

Strategic decision-makers control the direction and tasking of intelligence agencies. Their access to high quality intelligence can avert a disaster. On the contrary, lack of advanced warning can cause a surprise. Against this backdrop, the fourth major theme in the special issues cover leadership and policy issues shedding light on the wartime use of intelligence by military

commanders, the problems of politicisation, and receptivity of intelligence. The functions of the Soviet KGB and western counterintelligence activities have also featured highly. The fifth theme, intelligence analysis, has featured in three special issues of *INS*. One of them revisits the 2007 Iran National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) and the others on the methodology of intelligence analysis. The authors place an emphasis on the assessment of multiple competing hypotheses and methodological rigor as a recipe for improved analytical judgment.

The rest of the four special issue themes of *INS* focus on crisis, accountability, fiction, and WMD. Three distinct episodes propel the scholarly writings on crisis. Corona pandemic is the most recent one. The other two include the evolving complexities of counterterrorism cooperation and the Cuban Missile Crisis. The articles on 'Health Security Intelligence' validate the post-Cold War concern over human security, which has offered an alternative to the traditional state-centric national security paradigm. Drawing on historical lessons, the articles on pandemics call for disease surveillance mechanisms to deal with present and future pandemics. Other issues on crisis feature articles on the crisis of global security cooperation against terrorism, and the dilemma surrounding harsh interrogation methods used against the prisoners of GWOT. The third and undoubtedly the most widely discussed case has been the Cuban missile crisis. Although it seems to be outdated, recent Russian disclosures have sparked a renewed interest in understanding the role of various actors during the missile crisis.

Accountability and oversight issues focus on striking the balance between security and civil liberties, and injecting democratic values within the intelligence agencies. The articles on fiction emphasise juxtaposing reality with spy stories both in electronic and print media. Finally, nuclear non-proliferation has remained a distinctive Anglo-American international security agenda. In 2014, the *INS* published a special issue on this theme covering a wide range of articles featuring the

challenges of inspection, monitoring, and verification of a state's nuclear program. The authors are candid in their assessment that the dual-use nature of the nuclear technology and the denial and deception of countries pursuing a clandestine nuclear weapons programme make it difficult for the intelligence community to aggressively pursue non-proliferation intelligence.³²

Contemporary Issues

In the second track, a content analysis was conducted on 287 articles published in the five most recent years of *INS* journal. The purpose was to produce a nuanced assessment of the field's contemporary research tradition. The article contents showcase seven distinct thematic areas illustrating the depth and breadth of research. First, a total of 72 articles on intelligence collection, analysis, failure, and oversight account for 25% of all the articles published in the past five years. Taking a largely public administration disciplinary approach, these articles look at the core functions of the intelligence agencies in collecting, processing, analysing, and disseminating secret information. The problems of poor analytical judgment, inter-agency coordination gap, and highly politicised role often plague the performance of the secret services causing intelligence failures. Taking a problem-solving research approach, Intelligence Studies scholars have thus prioritised these core issues in their *INS* articles to be better able to inform the practitioners.

Next, with 53 (18%) articles, Intelligence Studies as a field of inquiry, and its related theories and practice of intelligence cooperation are ranked the second dominant research agenda. As Thomas Kuhn has noted in his seminal work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, knowledge does not progress in a linear fashion. Rather, a community of scholars builds a paradigm, which, after a crisis, paves way to a new paradigm. The search for a paradigmatic status for Intelligence Studies is vibrant in the recent years of *INS* articles. Of the 53 articles, 36 focus on the state of Intelligence Studies field and the rest on the murky

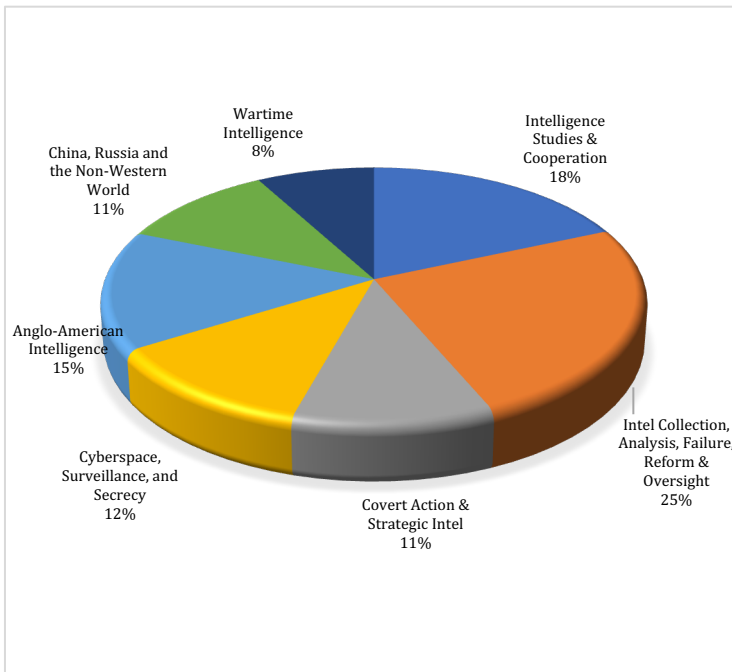
world of intelligence partnership. A close look at those 36 articles reveals two sub-themes—theory and teaching—both were discussed in the context of the *INS* special issues. While the realist, liberal, constructivist and critical theories reflect the inter-paradigmatic debates in the field, security and intelligence scholars have also explored the role of academia in promoting the field. But the academics are well aware of the fine lines between training and education, and the risks of building bridges with the intelligence practitioners. The design of an intelligence course, the reference materials, and the nature of the programme—whether a short duration certificate course, a generalist degree program, or a specialist degree program would best fit the career path of a student—are thoroughly covered.

Thirdly, research on intelligence communities and cultures in the United States and the United Kingdom has produced 43 (15%) articles making it the third major scholarly area of interest in the most recent years. Here the scholars have not only covered the perennial issues of cryptography, deception, and leakage to media but also paid attention to most recent issues of fake news, diversity in recruitment practices, and Russian interference in U.S. election. Aside from the Anglo-American special relationship, three other allies of the ‘Five Eyes’ countries—Australia, Canada and New Zealand—have also featured in the Intelligence Studies research but they are mostly enveloped under the broader themes of cooperation, reform, and oversight.

In the fourth place, the phenomenal growth of the digital media has resulted into a new branch of intelligence knowledge pertaining to cyber security, big data, artificial intelligence and social media intelligence. Collectively, a total of 34 (12%) cyber security articles have featured in the *INS* in the recent five years. There are two facets to this subset of research agenda. One aspect of the cyber security research looks at the potentials of exploiting the information and communication technology for the collection of open source intelligence. The other looks at the

vulnerability of the cyber space and calls for avoiding a Cyber Pearl Harbour.

Figure 2: Intelligence and National Security Articles, 2017-2021



The three other research agenda include covert action and strategic intelligence (11%), intelligence beyond Anglosphere countries (11%), and wartime intelligence (8%). Although covert actions in foreign territories create the moral dilemma of interfering in the internal affairs of other states, there is ample evidence of the United States and the United Kingdom tasking their secret services to use clandestine operations as an instrument of foreign policy and national security strategy. The nature of such operations, their ethical dilemma, and efforts to

establish a legislative control over secret services have not only been widely covered in modern text books but also featured regularly in peer-reviewed journals including the *INS*.

Zakia Shiraz and Richard Aldrich have long argued that research on intelligence beyond Anglosphere is very limited.³³ The *INS* track record validates such claim. Other than Russia, Israel, and China there are few countries and their intelligence services covered in the Intelligence Studies literature. Among the South Asian countries, India and Pakistan have got some attention both in research and review articles. The history of Pakistan's erstwhile Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and India's Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) are the two South Asian external intelligence agencies having some attention from *INS* authors. Africa, Eastern Europe, and the Caribbean also get little attention. As Shiraz and Aldrich have noted a combination of authoritarian regimes and the over-classification of information has impeded the growth of Intelligence Studies beyond Anglosphere. Finally, much of the wartime intelligence research has focused on the two great wars and the Cold War. Historians have taken a lead in analysing the American, British, and German war efforts, code-breaking, and military intelligence in the European and Pacific theatres.

One must ponder why the linkage between intelligence and war has topped the research agenda in more than two decades (1987-2021) of *INS* special issues but lagged behind other research agenda covered in the journal's five most recent years (2017-2021). There are two possible answers. First, this may simply reflect the changing editorial policy of the journal, which initially focused on intelligence inputs to war, and now on organisational attributes of spy agencies and disciplinary growth of intelligence education. Secondly, this may also mirror a conscious effort of scholars from various disciplines to respond to the post-9/11 demand for giving Intelligence Studies a strong epistemological foundation. Hence, the debates surrounding intelligence analysis, hidden partnership, failure and reform are now interrogated from an inter-disciplinary perspective drawing insights from History, Anthropology,

Political Science, Public Administration, Psychology and International Relations (Table 1).

Table 1: Inter-Disciplinary Boundaries of Intelligence Studies

Disciplinary Boundary	Intelligence Subject-matter
History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evolution of spy agencies • Wartime role: WWII, Cold War, GWOT
Anthropology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analytical culture • Intelligence practices
Political Science	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accountability and oversight • Executive vs legislative control
Public Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intelligence process • Bureaucratic competition • Coordination challenge
Psychology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cognitive bias in intelligence analysis
International Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intelligence as National Power • Collective Security through Intel Cooperation • Role of Ideas and Norms in Intel Cooperation • Intelligence reform priorities

Intelligence Studies in South Asia

Intelligence Courses

When we look at South Asia, the institutions of higher education have a rich tradition of IR and Security Studies but lack any dedicated certificate or degree programs in Intelligence Studies. Yet, a recent development concerns the inclusion of intelligence courses as an elective or compulsory course in the undergraduate and graduate degree programs. The curricula at Bangladeshi universities offering IR programs provide a useful

starting point for exploring the state of secret service studies in South Asian academia. Currently six public universities in Bangladesh have IR departments and one private university has a Global Studies and Governance department with a strong concentration of IR courses. A content analysis of the course structure at these seven universities reveals that they have long offered a number of courses including security studies, strategic studies, geopolitics, peace and conflict, and foreign policy analysis. Like their western peers, a new trend in the IR curricula concerns the inclusion of courses on intelligence and terrorism issues.

Among the IR programs at seven Bangladeshi universities, only four offer courses in intelligence, albeit with significant variations in the course contents. Among the four IR Departments, the DUIR offers a Master's level elective course titled 'Intelligence and Security.' At three other universities—Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Science and Technology University (BSMRSTU), Bangladesh University of Professionals (BUP), and Independent University Bangladesh (IUB)—intelligence courses are offered at the undergraduate level.

The course contents in these four Bangladeshi universities vary substantially. The graduate-level course at DUIR begins with a brief description of the theories, methods, and approaches to the study of intelligence.³⁴ It then focuses on the intelligence cycle and the evolution of modern intelligence. The course then turns to case studies of intelligence communities in global North and global South. Students are then exposed to the issues of contemporary security challenges such as transnational crime, terrorism, cybersecurity, WMD proliferation and UN peacekeeping. Drawing on the official inquiry reports and scholarly analyses, students are then encouraged to review the classic and contemporary case studies in intelligence failure, intelligence reform, and democratic control. The course concludes with a discussion of the future of Intelligence Studies.

The courses at BSMRSTU and BUP are divided into two broader sections: the first covers the theories and practice of

international security and the second covers the basics of intelligence.³⁵ The purpose is to ensure that students first acquire a general overview of the international security system, and learn about the field of Security Studies, its evolution, and the traditional security issues of arms control and disarmament, war, nuclear deterrence, alliance and coalition politics, terrorism and insurgency. In the post-Cold War context, issues of human security, energy security, refugees and migration also feature the first section. In the next section, students are oriented to intelligence concepts and processes, wartime intelligence, deception, surprise, and intelligence cooperation.

IUB's undergraduate course titled 'Surveillance, Intelligence and National Security' takes a different route. Taught at the Global Studies and Governance Department, the course begins with a discussion of how traditional adversaries use their external intelligence agencies as an instrument of national security.³⁶ The activities of the CIA, KGB, and MI6 are extensively discussed to assess the replicability of such adversarial intelligence models in the context of developing countries. The course then turns to discussions of the role of intelligence in the domains of military security, economic espionage, and internet hacking. Students are then encouraged to look at various models of democratic control of security and intelligence services.

Intelligence is also taught as a topic embedded in other core IR courses. For instances, the Security Studies course refers to intelligence reform as part of a broader discourse of security sector reform. The strategic studies and geopolitics syllabi focus on classical strategic thoughts and their relevance to war and peace. In studying classical strategic thoughts, students are exposed to Sun Tzu's ideas on the importance of intelligence for statemen, and Clausewitz's ideas about avoiding deception in the battlefield.³⁷ Others look at the role of intelligence in counterterrorism, foreign policy, and peacekeeping.

While the intelligence courses at Bangladeshi IR schools focus on strategic intelligence that pertains to the use of secret

information for foreign and security policy, the Criminology and Police Sciences programs have a different area of interest. One such course offered by the Police Staff College under the National University of Bangladesh is a case in point. The course titled 'Intelligence and Crime Control' is required for the Master of Advanced Criminology and Police Management programme, which is attended not only by civilian police and military officers but also students with a professional interest in the field of security management.³⁸ The course contents include the intelligence process and analytic techniques, surveillance and counter-surveillance techniques, intelligence collection, and criminal information analysis. The syllabus also briefly covers national security perception, intelligence planning and reform issues.

Across the border in India, the leading schools of IR have long focused on the study of traditional security issues, and there are valid reasons for that. India's wars with China and Pakistan, the Kashmir conflict, and insurgency in the North-eastern states have long shaped its IR curricula at the country's premier institutions including the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) and the South Asian University (SAU). While area studies, geopolitics, nuclear deterrence, and feminist discourses have also featured highly in the Indian IR academia, Intelligence Studies remains a subject only to be left to government officials. This is possibly one reason why a google search with the phrase 'Intelligence Studies courses in India' only shows a few diploma programmes offered by the Pune University's Military Intelligence Training School and Depot. The list of diploma programmes at Pune include, amongst others, 'Security and Intelligence Tradecraft', 'Combat Intelligence Analysis and Management,' and Intelligence Tradecraft and Practice.'³⁹ But these courses are only available for Indian military, paramilitary, and intelligence services and officials from friendly countries.⁴⁰ The Rashtriya Raksha University, widely known to be a national security and police university in India, also has a professional development program on 'Border Management and Intelligence' mostly targeted to border

security personnel. In 2018, the JNU opened the Special Centre for National Security Studies that currently offers a Ph.D. in national security studies. The programme features a mix of courses including research methodology, domestic security, external security, emerging technologies, non-traditional security, borders, and strategic thoughts.⁴¹ While strategic intelligence and surveillance are conspicuously missing in the programme description, artificial intelligence is listed as one of the Centre's priority areas of teaching and research.

In Pakistan, the Karachi University (KU) and the Quaid-I-Azam University (QAU) have the oldest IR programs offering a blend of courses in foreign policy, security studies, and international political economy. But the QAU's School of IR is perhaps the only one to offer an undergraduate elective course titled 'Role of Intelligence Agencies in International Politics.'⁴² In addition, a number of courses on terrorism and counterterrorism, cyber crime and warfare, and arms control deal with intelligence contents, albeit very briefly.⁴³ Among the newly established private universities, the Minhaj University (MU) in Lahore has a School of Peace and Counter Terrorism Studies that offers a range of graduate courses featuring forensic science, counterterrorism law, theories of war and peace, and role of military and law enforcement in counterterrorism. In a nutshell, among the Pakistani universities, the KU and QAU IR programs offer a range of core courses in foreign and security policy and the MU has a few courses in policing and counterterrorism. Although these IR and affiliated courses are not packaged as Intelligence Studies programs, they certainly mirror the elective courses offered in the Intelligence Studies programs of the King's College, Macquarie University, and other schools in the global North as discussed before in this article.

Research Trends

While the Intelligence Studies courses are slowly appearing in the leading schools of IR in the South Asian academia, university-based research centres and regional think tanks are also catching up with the trend. Over the past three years, the

Centre for Genocide Studies (CGS) at the University of Dhaka has partnered with Bangladesh Police and its Counter Terrorism and Transnational Crime Unit to produce evidence-based research on the changing dynamics of terrorism and intelligence-led policing. CGS has also won a multi-year UNDP funding to study the evolving complexities of conflict and violence in the country.⁴⁴

Across the border, the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) in India has long been a leading think tank on security issues. In 2012 the IDSA published a report on the challenges of intelligence reform in India.⁴⁵ Another Indian think tank, the Vivekananda International Foundation (VIF) has published a number of policy-oriented analysis highlighting the role of intelligence in internal security, and an assessment of India's perennial security threats coming from hostile state and non-state actors.⁴⁶ VIF's founding director Ajit Doval, who is now serving as the National Security Adviser of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, is a former chief of Intelligence Bureau, India's leading domestic intelligence organisation. At VIF, Doval developed the intelligence research stream with an aim to contribute to policy debates.

Pakistan also has a number of leading think tanks with a strong research agenda in security and intelligence matters. The Islamabad Policy Research Institute and the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Training are two private sector think tanks publishing a wide variety of research reports on national security, intelligence and defence matters.⁴⁷ The coordination of national security issues, counterterrorism strategy, and the conflicts in Afghanistan and Kashmir are top on the research agenda in Pakistani think tanks.

Government-funded think tanks in South Asia have taken up a very conservative stance on conducting research on intelligence issues. According to a senior member of the IDSA Task Force on Intelligence Reform Study, their study report was blocked by the incumbent government for quite some time before it was cleared for publication as a report. This conservative stance of

the public sector think tanks is not unique in India. In fact, the IDSA's peers— Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies and Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad— have never conducted any studies on intelligence, nor have they ever published any research materials on the subject matter. Such a conservative stance reflects a larger political and strategic culture in South Asia that privileges secrecy over openness.

Retired intelligence professionals including former spy chiefs can fill the voids created by think tanks. In the global North, former spymasters have written memoirs providing a rich source of data for academic research. Indian intelligence officials have written a few memoirs, and contribute occasionally to the editorial opinion pieces in print and electronic media. The works of B. Raman, Maloy Krishna Dhar, and V.K. Singh are worth noting here.⁴⁸ Each has written memoirs and critical analyses highlighting the challenges of and the need for revamping India's intelligence community. In contrast, their Bangladeshi and Pakistani peers have never ventured into similar academic exercise. According to a Pakistani scholar and QAU IR faculty member, "intelligence is still considered to be a very sensitive issue for both serving and retired officials, and nobody wants to antagonise the government by writing on intelligence matters."⁴⁹ In his view academics must write dispassionately and critically, which may make the government uncomfortable. As liberal democracy is yet to take a shape in the country, the retired military generals and Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) Directorate chiefs have always shied away from writing on the murky world of intelligence. Another Pakistani scholar referred to the fate of Asad Durrani, former ISI chief, who was barred from leaving the country after co-authoring *The Spy Chronicle: RAW, ISI and the Illusion of Peace* with former RAW chief A.S. Dulat.⁵⁰ Durrani also became target of an investigation for allegedly violating "the military's code of conduct by writing the book."⁵¹

Finally, the global North has shown that commissioned research and the publication of official inquiry reports can provide a good

basis for intelligence research. But the South Asian states have yet to develop a culture of commissioning official research on intelligence history and making inquiry reports publicly available. This is precisely why we have never come across any official history of the ISI and RAW let alone their Bangladeshi counterparts—be it the Directorate General of Forces Intelligence or the National Security Intelligence. Incumbent regimes in the region have also been reluctant to publish the full or partial findings of the official investigations into intelligence failure. A comparative assessment of the intelligence failure prior to the 2008 Mumbai attacks (India), the 2009 BDR Mutiny (Bangladesh), and the 2011 Bin Laden Killing (Pakistan) revealed South Asian states' sensitivity toward intelligence matters.⁵²

Political Culture and the Stagnation of South Asian Intelligence Studies

When a retired chief of a secret service in Bangladesh was asked whether he would ever write a memoir or book on intelligence, he also referred to Durrani's experience. He added that "the right time has yet to come to write on intelligence issues in Bangladesh."⁵³ In his view, the prevailing political culture in the country simply does not support it. The retired intelligence official in Bangladesh echoes Shiraz and Aldrich who also identified authoritarian regimes in the global South to be a major impediment to intelligence research.⁵⁴ Writing in the Israeli, German, and Nigerian contexts, academic scholars have also advanced the theory of political culture to highlight the barrier to intelligence education.⁵⁵

While political cultures and political regimes offer a useful starting point for understanding the larger domestic context in which intelligence agencies operate, they certainly cannot explain why intelligence is taught at some universities and not in others in the global South. I present four plausible hypotheses to explain why Intelligence Studies remains an under-developed field of academic inquiry in South Asia.

First, the stagnation of South Asian Intelligence Studies may simply reflect a lack of demand for such courses. Unlike the Anglosphere countries where Intelligence is a legitimate field of study, growing academic interest in intelligence matters have not only been driven by the disclosure of unclassified or declassified state archive but also by a desire to produce a pool of professional experts who can find a career path at an intelligence agency. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the expansion of the surveillance-security state has widened this career opportunity and hence a growing demand for cutting-edge intelligence courses, including those sponsored by the national government such as the DHS centres of excellence. While the South Asian countries are also following the surveillance-security state model, their intelligence agency recruitment and training remain a highly state-controlled phenomenon lacking any institutional collaboration with academic community.

Second, lack of a declassification policy has certainly impeded the growth of Intelligence Studies. As stated before national governments in the region have preferred secrecy over transparency. This is partly the result of the 1923 *Official Secrets Act*, a legacy of the British colonial regime. The legislation of Right to Information Act in several parts of the South Asian region created some hope about increasing openness among official practices, but such hopes were dashed when security and intelligence agencies have been exempted from the purview of these laws. The lack of unclassified and declassified reports has denied academics and investigative journalists an opportunity to contribute to the intelligence literature, who have often relied on leaked documents to assess the state of intelligence culture in the region.⁵⁶

A third problem relates to the supply side, which is related to the aforementioned issues of lack of demand and absence of a declassification policy. The teaching and research of intelligence issues will require a group of trained scholars and practitioners. While a new generation of security and intelligence studies scholars are currently serving in the South Asian academia, the

faculty hiring process in the region does not allow for the recruitment of serving or retired intelligence and practitioners. This is sharply different from the Anglosphere where serving intelligence officials, as scholars-in-residence often teach intelligence courses. The gap between academia and policymaking can also be bridged if academics are invited by the intelligence community to serve as intelligence historians and thus build up the intelligence archives. While this has been a common practice in the global North to hire historians and social scientists to develop intelligence archive and theory, South Asia has a long way to walk in that direction.

Fourth and finally, funding also matters. The scant amount of research funding available in the South Asian academia pales in comparison with the universities and research centres in Western Europe and North America, which enjoy a wealth of state funding, private philanthropic support, and research grants. On top of that, the amount of research funding available for various disciplines in social sciences and IR in Africa, Asia and Latin America have a high priority in governance and development issues, and less on security and intelligence matters. It is only recently that terrorism, insurgency, and low-intensity conflicts have drawn some attention as priority areas of research in South Asia. Yet, any dedicated and funded research project on intelligence matters remains a distant reality in the South Asian region.

The net effect of the above factors is clear. Social science scholars in South Asia, with an expertise in international affairs and security policy have remained reluctant to venturing into the field of Intelligence Studies. Students are also deprived of an opportunity to get grounding in matters related to the history and functions of intelligence services and the way modern democracies establish control over spy agencies.

Conclusions: Towards an Agenda for Intelligence Research

The current stagnation of South Asian Intelligence Studies is unlikely to remain forever. The U.S.-led global war on terrorism has brought the region at the forefront of international politics.

With the departure of the U.S. and coalition forces from Afghanistan and the Taliban take-over of the country, South Asian security has drawn considerable attention from security and intelligence practitioners.⁵⁷ The Indo-Pakistan rivalry and the ethno-nationalist insurgency in the region are also likely to shape the regional security environment.⁵⁸ These perennial issues have coupled with the role of extra-regional players in the Indian Ocean Region to complicate the geopolitical tensions between the China and the United States. China's Belt and Road Initiative and the U.S.-led Quad comprising India, Japan, and Australia have already begun to show the emergence of a new game of balancing and counter-balancing.⁵⁹

For the Bangladeshi strategic decision-makers, the golden jubilee of the country coincides with its graduation from low-income to middle-income status.⁶⁰ Hence economic intelligence will also be on high demand to meet the country's economic and sustainable development priorities. But terrorism and refugee influx may disrupt the development potentials of the country as exemplified by the 2016 Holey Artisan terrorist attack and the 2017 Rohingya refugee influx.⁶¹ For Bangladesh and her South Asian neighbours, the evolving complexity of security threats—traditional and non-traditional—have called for investment in high quality strategic intelligence and early warning. And, the reality is that only a handful of intelligence training facilities reserved for the civilian law enforcement, secret service, and military professionals are unlikely to meet the demand.

In conclusion, the emerging geopolitical realities will drive the growth of South Asian Intelligence Studies. As discussed before, the evolutionary pathway of intelligence education in Anglosphere has involved parallel developments in scholarly analysis, official inquiries, legislative control, and publication of academic journals. The research tradition in this nascent field has also shown considerable diversity with a blend of historical and contemporary issues. Whether South Asian intelligence education will emulate the Anglosphere tradition remains unclear. Meanwhile, one may notice a convergence of academic and practitioners' interest in dispassionate analysis of

longstanding and current security threats. On one spectrum of the convergence, the handful of intelligence studies courses offered in DUIR and other institutions of higher learning are leading the way by designing their own curricula. On the other hand, the resourceful DU alumni body well placed in various security and intelligence services has come forward to bridge the gap with the security studies scholars. The resultant synergy, as evident in the domains of counterterrorism, peacekeeping, and conflict analysis will spur an academic interest in South Asian Intelligence Studies.

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Appendix I: List of Special Issues of *Intelligence and National Security Journal*

Year	Volume	Issue	Title
2021	36	4	Critical Intelligence Studies
2021	36	2	Anatomy of a Controversy: The 2007 Iran Nuclear NIE Revisited
2020	35	4	Health Security Intelligence
2019	34	3	Bringing in the Public, Intelligence on the Frontier between State and Civil Society
2018	33	4	Developing Intelligence Theory
2017	32	7	The Teaching of Intelligence
2017	32	5	Understanding and Improving Intelligence Analysis by Learning from Other Disciplines
2017	32	3	Military Intelligence during The First World War
2016	31	6	Defence Intelligence in the United Kingdom
2015	30	2	A Decade of EU Counter-Terrorism and Intelligence: A Critical Assessment
2014	29	4	Democratisation of Intelligence
2014	29	3	Intelligence and Nuclear Proliferation
2013	28	3	A Century of Intelligence (1909-2009): International Perspectives
2013	28	1	Revisiting Intelligence and Policy: Problems with Politicization and Receptivity
2012	27	5	A Decade of Intelligence Beyond 9/11: Security, Diplomacy and Human Rights
2012	27	1	100 Years of British Intelligence
2011	26	6	Intelligence in the Cold War: What Difference Did it Make?

2011	26	4	Intelligence and Strategic Culture: Essays on American and British Praxis since the Second World War
2009	24	1	Change, Crisis and Transformation: Challenges for Western Intelligence in the Twenty-first Century
2008	23	1	Spying in Film and Fiction
2007	22	5	Intelligence and the Art of Command, 1799-1945
2005	20	1	Special Operations Executive - New Approaches and Perspectives
2000	15	2	American-British-Canadian Intelligence Relations 1939-2000
1999	14	4	The Clandestine Cold War in Asia, 1945-65: Western Intelligence, Propaganda and Special Operations
1999	14	1	Allied and Axis Signals in World War II
1998	13	3	Intelligence and the Cuban Missile Crisis
1998	13	1	Knowing Your Friends Intelligence Inside Alliances and Coalitions from 1914 to the Cold War
1997	12	1	External Vigilance? 50 Years of the CIA
1995	10	4	Intelligence Analysis and Assessment
1993	8	3	Espionage: Past, Present, Future?
1992	7	1	More 'Instructions from the Centre': Top Secret Files on KGB Operations, 1975-1985
1990	5	4	Spy Fiction, Spy Films and Real Intelligence
1990	5	2	Intelligence and Military Operations
1988	3	3	Leaders and Intelligence
1987	2	3	Strategic and Operational Deception in the Second World War