

Individual Level Analysis in International Studies: The Casement and Wygal Diaries

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Abstract

This paper affirms the value of individual level analysis in International Studies and directs attention to two primary sources in the form of two personal diaries from the first quarter of the twentieth century. One diary, dating from 1903, belongs to the Anglo-Irish diplomat and progenitor of international human rights law, Roger Casement. The other diary, from the 1920's, belongs to Winnifred Wygal, an early protagonist within the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). Both express same-sex desire in their diaries and their contributions shed light on key issues of citizenship and sexuality. The work of Casement is also enlightening for scholars of Congolese history and of the early formulations of international human rights law as an instrument of anti-colonialism within global politics.

Keywords: Casement; Wygal; human rights; sexuality; international law; colonialism.

Introduction

One of the perennial questions within the discipline of IR is the value, or otherwise, of analysis on the individual level. Is a primary resource, such as a personal diary, a helpful source of study within International Studies, and does this apply for actors who are not actively engaged with global political issues? This present paper explores this question by examining the diary of a person with no active engagement in international politics, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) activist, Winnifred Wygal (1884-1972), and, in contrast, the diary of an Anglo-Irish diplomat, Roger Casement (1864-1916), who played a vital role in the regulation of colonial excesses in parts of Africa and of South America in the early

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twentieth-century. Another relevant question for consideration in this paper is an evaluation of the extent to which the international system has changed over time or remained essentially intact. A Marxist perspective asserts that the imperialist structure by which Western Europe and its offshoots exploited vast tracts of land and global populations has simply morphed into another guise, a world of globalization, the neo-Liberal economic grid which perpetuates power structures of inequality along North-South or Core-periphery axes. This global level of analysis contrasts with that of neo-Realism where states are considered as units in a system that functions according to the iron laws of power. The classical version of the theory further limits the possibility for meaningful change with the postulation of a human nature that seeks “power upon power”, to use a phrase made famous by Hobbes. Neo-Realist theory is uninterested in analysis below the global or inter-state level. It demands that the discipline confine itself to the sphere of inter-state relations, a world in which there is only one significant actor, “the state”, an object of study which yields to one level of analysis only, the globally systemic level.

The set of questions raised by contrasting Liberal and Realist theories have been answered in a wide variety of ways but for ease of analysis, it might be helpful to distinguish between “inclusive” and “exclusive” definitions. The latter perspective countenances only the most specialized focus on the international arena with states as the only valid object of study. All else is to be excluded as “something else”: sociology or policy science, economics or world history. In contrast, the “Inclusive” approach defines the discipline of International Relations in a way that incorporates a very wide range of research topics. It asserts the relevance of multi-layered and composite analyses of global, inter-state, domestic, and individual levels. The complexity of these analyses is compounded by the fact that events on any one level are changing conditions on all other levels and thus the entire composite remains in a state of flux. Jackson (2011) argues that the ontological and epistemological choices of an Inclusive approach can yield the deepest understanding of complex phenomena. He distinguishes between “Monist” research methodologies, which are founded on an ontology and epistemology of complexity, and “Dualist” research which builds on a well-established “Enlightenment” tradition in the physical sciences where the researcher is seen as the neutral observer viewing and measuring the world without being part of it or affecting it in any significant way. Jackson argues, and the author agrees, that these two contrasting approaches and research methodologies should be considered as a case of “Both ... And”, rather than “Either ... Or”. Different research questions call for different approaches and

methodologies. The field as a whole is enriched by the diversity of perspectives, as long as the essential identity of International Relations as a discipline is not diluted excessively, and this may become more problematic as the need to gain publications may push scholars toward perpetual novelty in the field of International Studies. To some extent, scholars live with this tension every time they grapple with a new theme which lies outside the direct purview of international relations but may well have eye-opening relevance.

This paper adopts a liberal feminist perspective of social theory that allows for examination of data on the individual level, and that values the case studies which give a voice to women, LGBT individuals, and other groups which have been marginalized from (male-dominated, heteronormative) power structures (cf. Cook, 1979). This very marginalization confers a higher level of credibility in the analysis of power and in the understanding of how power structures of inequality are experienced by all participants in social networks, not just from the viewpoint of the system's beneficiaries. My confidence in the value of an open-ended, inclusive approach was reinforced by participation in an International Studies seminar in Osaka University (2017).

Seminar Themes

Three papers were discussed: One concerned the “Opium Wars” between China and the United Kingdom during the mid-nineteenth-century. While the attribution of the latter as relevant to the field of International Relations would hardly constitute a source of contention, the same might not be so easily said for the paper on participatory cultures in dramaturgy with a particular focus on productions that achieve a crossover and fusion of energies from artists in different countries, specifically Japan and Australia. While Ivanova (2017) focuses on the artistic implications of valuing the audience member in the creation of dramatic art in a globalized context, other cultural products, such as the personal diary, can also be seen as a resource with which to reconstruct subjectivities that shaped intercultural communication, exchange, and transformation. There are many lenses with which an exploration can be made of historical, autobiographical data. In the case of Roger Casement, an Anglo-Irish career diplomat, and of Winnifred Wygal, a United States representative of the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), the obvious lens would be that of sexuality as both figures expressed same-sex desire in their diaries from the early twentieth-century. However, this paper will focus on that desire as contextualized within a global society framework of imperialism.

It will examine the ways in which two historical figures who were each in their own ways, the products of imperialist power structures, experienced various levels of self-transformation beyond their home borders. In both cases, the experience of travel and of interactions with other cultures seems to have promoted a sense of self-validation in their erotic desires while also calling into question their own imperialist ideological underpinnings in a radical way.

The Wygal Diary

The final paper of the Osaka University seminar by history professor Kathi Kern, explored the diary of Winnifred Wygal, who played a prominent role in the early history of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). Her diary from the 1920's (now open to scholarly research as part of the Schlesinger Library on the *History of Women in America Collection* of Radcliffe College) is notable for two features: in her travels to India, Hong Kong, and other parts of Asia, Wygal actively sought out the wisdom of local religions and saw this as a means of enriching her own Christian theology without undermining it in any way (this in itself was notable for her time and place). The second notable feature of the diary is that Wygal embraced her own same-sex desire and writes copious accounts of her intimate relationships with a number of female friends. Again, Wygal felt no sense of disjuncture between her own erotic desire and the biblical theology of the Presbyterian tradition to which she belonged. While these two features may be surprising, do they constitute sufficient significance for scholarly research? Does the Wygal diary merit inclusion as a legitimate object of study within the field of International Studies? Following sections provide the reasons for my affirmative response to these questions.

The diary is of interest in various fields:

The history of sexuality, and specifically the "literature of lesbianism" (cf. Castle, 2010);

The history of internationalized subjectivities and of individuals who led the way in transcending their own orientalism and helping others to do the same;

Finally, in the contemporary inter-disciplinary field of theology and sexuality studies which grapples with issues of same-sex desire in the light of faith. While many of us raise our hands in despair or exasperation, exclaiming that religion will always play a negative role as a bulwark of homophobia, others persist in their efforts to affirm that faith and same-sex desire could and should complement each other as expressions of a particular subjectivity. Lutheran and Episcopalian

churches in Scandinavia, Scotland, and parts of the U.S., for example, have affirmed same-sex love and this process of harmonization of faith and sexuality continues today. The excavation of historical texts which give a voice to individuals who sought to achieve such harmonization in their own lives can inspire people today who ask themselves “Can I be both Christian and Lesbian or Gay”? One can substitute any religion here for that question, but the question that Wygal grappled with is very contemporary as many individuals experience the same inner-tensions in their own lives today. Wygal merits particular interest for contemporary audiences, perhaps, because she was not prepared to identify her faith within rigid parameters of monogamy. Rather, erotic desire can orient itself towards a number of individuals who are loved and treasured, just as the shepherd attends to more than one sheep, and people become a way to experience the love of God. The modern, sexually categorized social subject was constituted by religious as well as secular discourses, something that can be evidenced in the Wygal Diary. It is true, also, that Foucault seems not to entertain the possibility that faith contexts are relevant to the history of sexuality. The arguments of LGBT scholars such as Boswell (1980) and Castle (2010) demand a more nuanced understanding of Foucault’s assertion that the classification of homosexuals as a distinct group with an essential identity is an invention of late nineteenth-century legal-medical discourse.

However, the basic point – that the classification of “homosexual” as a species in the late 1800’s - still retains explanatory power. In the pre-Industrial Revolution era, when European social subjects engaged in same-sex affairs, by and large they saw this as problematic insofar as it was sinful. Subjects of same-sex desire did not conceive of their own desire as constitutive of self- “Born this Way” to quote the lyrics of Lady Gaga - in the way that modern lesbian and gay subjects do. Until the nineteenth-century, the dominant worldview remained theological to a large degree. The world was made up of one species only, “sinners” all of whom shared a duty of chastity. This view had been undermined previously, to some extent, by the effects of Calvinist discourse from the sixteenth century on. It was possible within this Presbyterian tradition, to posit two species on the level of cosmic selves: the saved and the damned. This binary logic would later be mapped onto a sex/gender order of heterosexual and homosexual. How did this discursive mapping come about? The religious worldview of the past was eclipsed for many during the post-Industrial Revolution period which saw the emergence of various forms of philosophical materialism and social Darwinism. The discourse of the “homosexual as a species” was constructed for and fit into a worldview of secularism and atheism, where heteronormativity required a rationale for homophobia that was not

based on religious discourse alone. This secular rationale for the imposition of guilt on the homosexual subject allowed discourses of homophobia to impose their baleful affects right up to and including our own time in the early twenty-first century. When secular discourses do not predominate, belief-system discourses are often on hand. Political leaders like Vladimir Putin and Robert Mugabe shore up their administrations through church approved cultures of homophobia which play a strategic role in distracting attention away from the shortcomings of their regimes. History shows us, then, that discourses of homophobia have acute survival capacity. They colonize elements from a wide range of texts both religious and secular, legal and medical, to construct the abject non-hetero subject. In the face of the longevity and power of these particular knowledge-power combinations, perhaps we should re-evaluate Foucault's assertion that every identity category (such as "lesbian or gay") is self-limiting and that there is no need for role-models. Discourses of homophobia will always survive, but will our queer young people? The rate of suicide and depression among young people who identify as lesbian or gay is horrendously high. If the availability of role models helps them to survive, then the value of role-model texts becomes apparent. From that perspective, we find another reason to assert that the Wygal diary forms a valuable text in Lesbian and Gay Studies.

A final assessment might place the Wygal Diary more fittingly within the ambit of Lesbian and Gay Studies than that of International Studies, but without negating its relevance for the latter. A secondary question might be to ask if it is possible to match the diary with the exposition of a seemingly unrelated topic like dramaturgy as was done as the June, 2017 seminar. While noting the unorthodox element of the theme choices, participants in the seminar concluded that "International Studies" is a "broad church" and that diversity should be welcomed in this case also. Connections can indeed be made because the concept of agency unites principal themes. The fusion type of drama that we explored is underpinned by a belief in the value of the individual subject not simply as a product of particular culture and set of discourses, but as an agentive being. Participatory modes of art assert that audiences are more than passive surfaces and that the heightened emotional intensity created in live performance is impossible without the active participation of audience members. Turning then to the Wygal diary, one notes that a Foucaultian approach would see the writer of a nineteenth-century diary of same-sex desire as a cipher of dominant medical, legal, and religious discourses. This is what Foucault does, in fact, in his account of the intersex individual Herculine Barbin. No comment is made on the content of the diary. The only relevant documents it seems, are the medical and legal documents which demanded

that her body would matter – to use Butler’s (1990) turn of phrase – as essentially male, and which contributed greatly to her unhappiness and final tragic suicide. This turn to agency as a means of uniting the disparate thematic threads of the seminar may be similar to the “Critical” turn to compassion. Pennycook (2001) argues that while the reach of “Critical Studies” may sometimes strain credulity as a discipline with a fixed field of study, there is a foundational commonality. All Critical work, in the ultimate analysis, is motivated by a dissatisfaction with a set of social and economic arrangements that condemns large masses of individuals to suffering while elite groups have the means to effect totalizing transformations if they accede to the call of egalitarianism. In the same way, International Studies may be united by a respect for the agency of the individual or the collective group made up of individuals. Their human agency alters the scope of inquiry, making the social sciences qualitatively different from the physical where cause and effect can be approximated with a certain degree of confidence. The social sciences, on the other hand, recognize the non-determinative, constructed nature of the social world they explore. From this perspective, only thick description of an event, context, or way-of-life, can do justice to the layers of agency, causality, meaning, complexity and interpretation which are implicated in all historical events. While the quantitative approach to international relations will likely remain dominant, it should never undervalue a qualitative, exploratory approach such as that adopted by scholars of the Wygal diary.

Roger Casement

While the Wygal diary has received only scant attention from historians and scholars of international studies, a very substantial amount of scholarly attention has been devoted to the diaries of Roger Casement, which were released by the Foreign Office in 1916 to discredit Casement personally and to tarnish the image of the advocates of the Easter 1916 uprising against British rule in Ireland. The diaries caused a sensation and came to be known as the “Black Diaries” due to (brief and highly coded) references to promiscuous sexual activity by Casement. Almost as soon as they had been released into the public domain, supporters of Casement and of the Rebel cause denounced the works as forgeries, the work of a malevolent Imperial administration determined to quench the power of the nationalist movement in Ireland and to wreak revenge on “one of their own” a knight of the realm no less, who had taken the side of the enemies of the United Kingdom during a time of war. To his Irish supporters, though, Casement was the opposite of a traitor and

a lecher but was, rather, a pure, virtuous victim of slandering, malevolent forces. In the words of his attending priest at Pentonville Prison where he was executed in August, 1916, Casement was a saint one to whom people should pray, so great was the degree of his virtue. Nevertheless, the balance of evidence comes down quite strongly on the side of “genuine” rather than “forgery” for the diaries. An exhaustive analysis of Casement’s handwriting was carried out by the Giles Laboratory in 2002, finding in favor of recognition of the diaries as genuine. Handwriting expert Audrey Giles (cited in Casement, 2004, p. 182)-whose work was funded by the national radio and television channels of the U.K. and Ireland, BBC and RTE respectively-expressed no ambiguity in her final report:

“I found no significant differences in these contentious entries when compared with the writings of Roger Casement, even though the entry may be restricted in quantity. On this basis, there is no evidence to support the proposition that entries have been added by someone else into genuine diaries and documents written by Roger Casement.” O’Siochain (Casement, 2004, p. 182) concurs that the diary “is fully Casement’s work” an opinion that is echoed by Dudgeon (2002) in his extensive exploration of the “Black Diaries.”

Casement: Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary

Irish historian and professor of modern history, O’Siochain (2008), writes of Casement as “Imperialist, Rebel, and Revolutionary.” This pithy saying encapsulates the astonishing transformations in the life of a mysterious and fascinating figure who left his mark on Irish history while also making a lasting contribution to international humanitarian law. His dual identity as both Irish and British may allow him to function as a symbol of unity between Ireland and the United Kingdom, unless the issue of his sexuality and the authenticity of the Black Diaries continues to act as an impediment to the greater acceptance of this divisive figure.

Casement’s life began in Dublin, Ireland (then part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland) in a truly Anglo-Irish family. His mother, a Roman Catholic, identified with the indigenous Irish, and she took advantage of an opportunity while on holiday in Wales, to have her son baptized into the Catholic faith at age three. Her husband, in contrast, strongly identified with the Protestant tradition and anti-Catholic culture of “Orangemen” in the northern part of the country, those who were particularly enthusiastic for the imperialist policies of the British administration during the nineteenth-century as they seemed to validate the

existence of the “Ascendancy” or British-identified members of Irish society who controlled most of the symbolic and material resources of the country. This tension between the “Green and Orange” between the republican tradition of the native Catholic communities and the British, Protestant communities took on a profoundly personal hue in Casement’s psyche as it expressed the relations he experienced in his homestead between his parents.

Casement’s role in the Imperialist Project

In his early years, Casement felt an affinity for the cultural mores of his father’s Antrim relatives, and he identified with their brand of politics in an age of colonial expansion. However, he felt certain that this colonialism was being carried out with the most noble of intentions and that it would yield lofty transformations of benighted native societies. Llosa (2010) refers to Casement’s “personal holy trinity of the three Cs: Christianity, civilization, and commerce.” The benefits of the true faith over mindless paganism, the enlightenment of dignified living over cannablistic, instinctual urges, and the blessings of European prosperity; were not these boons sufficient justification for European encroachment upon African territory? The young Casement was also enthralled by accounts of the adventures of the explorer Henry Morton Stanley, famed for his exploits in central Africa, not the least of which was his discovery of Dr. Livingstone. Between 1879 and 1881, he had constructed the caravan trail that opened up the interior of Africa to European and later global commerce. After five years of service as an assistant accountant with the Dempster Line in Liverpool, the twenty year-old Casement felt very lucky indeed to be chosen as a member of Stanley’s latest expedition, this time through largely uncharted territories along the Congo river. The expedition would clear the path for the International Congo Society and other European interests who sought lucrative contracts in the heart of Africa, whose rubber, ivory, tin, palm oil, gold and other resources could feed the hungry machinery of global scale industrialization in the late nineteenth-century. The year of the expedition, 1884, was followed one year later by an international conference in Berlin which carved up African territory along arbitrarily-drawn lines of convenience for the barons of war and of industry. The fourteen participating powers in the conference also gave the vast Congo region of twenty million inhabitants as a personal concession to Leopold II, King of the Belgians. A million square miles of territory, later designated the “Congo Free State,” was an immense responsibility for the Belgian monarch, but there was a consensus that the man had humanitarian interests at heart and that future generations of Congolese would express deep gratitude to those who had

freed them from the bonds of paganism and animal existence.

Casement's turn to Humanitarianism

However, it was not long before the young Casement began to feel qualms about the methods being employed by Stanley and his crew on behalf of the Belgian monarch. Too many elements in the exchanges with tribal leaders were plainly dishonest, he believed: interpreters who could not understand the local dialect, the language of French being used in contract documents for illiterate individuals who spoke no French but simply believed that these strange visitors were happy to hand over glittering beads and trinkets if they would just mark an "X" sign on a piece of paper. These leaders were completely unaware that this "X" was seen as legal authorization for the "Congo Free State" to reduce their status to that of slaves with little hope of relief from a life of excruciating labour and relentless human rights atrocities. When Casement raised his concerns with Stanley, the expedition leader could offer little justification other than to say that "Africa wasn't made for the weak." In his 1903 diary, Casement expresses regret that the first eight years of his time in Africa, a time he believed would promote philanthropic and progressive values for the benefit of the Congolese, would in fact lead to their virtual enslavement under the tutelage of a despotic European monarch. In 1900, Leopold II invited Casement, then the Foreign Office's Consul in Boma, to supper in a magnificent palace in Brussels, many worlds away from the conditions of his subjects in the Congo Free State. In spite of the king's assurances to the British diplomat that he was committed to ending all human rights abuses in the Congo, Casement found that no meaningful reforms had been instituted when he returned to the regal concession in 1903 (Hochschid, 1999). A debate in the House of Commons early in the year had highlighted MP's critiques of atrocities and of economic monopolization by the large rubber companies. Prime Minister Balfour approved further investigation, thus allowing a Foreign Office assignment that would bring Casement back to the Congo Free State. His report would lead to the establishment of the Congo Reform Association under the direction of Casement and Edmund Morel, future Westminster MP and director of the journal "Foreign Affairs;" in his diary entry of December tenth, Casement, having met Morel for the first time, refers to him as being "As honest as day" (Casement, 2004, p. 293), and the pair continued their conversations into the early hours of the morning, discussing the establishment of a new organization to work on behalf of all distressed people in the Congo, not just British subjects (Casement's original remit was to succor "distressed British subjects"). The Congo Reform Association can be seen as

the first prototype of an international non-governmental organization dedicated to the promotion of humanitarian values. The Congo Reform Association dissolved itself in 1912 as the Congo was no longer a possession of the Belgian monarch – though it remained a colony of Belgium – and the hoped-for reforms had been enacted.

The 1903 Diary

Having established the background of Casement's work in Africa in the early twentieth-century, this section assesses the significance of entries in Casement's diary of 1903 (February 14th to December 31st) as he travels through the Congo collecting data for his consular report. His style is telegraphic using the minimum of words and those often in abbreviated or encoded form. Everyday details of life constitute the bulk of the entries: health conditions of the diarist and of his dog, "John"; travel conditions on ships and trains on his journeys; financial conditions, with details regarding losses and gains through gambling; encounters with young men, often waiters, for anonymous sexual activity; comments on political events in Europe; news of friends and acquaintances in the Anglo-Irish and diplomatic circles in which he moved.

The diary was significant for international politics at the time for its detailed entries on evidence of human rights atrocities in the Congo Free State: "... saw Lejune at Abir. 16 men, women and children tied up – from a village Mboyo close to the town. Infamous! The men were put in the prison the children let go at my intervention. Infamous! Infamous shameful system" [Sunday 30 August]; Another incident from Casement's 1903 research in the Congo Free State is particularly enlightening for an understanding of the development of the modern-day discourse of International Humanitarian Law. Llosa (2010) recounts how in mid-1903, the state-sanctioned police authorities, the "Force Publique" entered the Congolese town of Bonginda and demanded that the village hand over the quota of rubber which had been assigned to them. Tribal chiefs explained that it was impossible for the villagers to produce that quantity of rubber as trees in the locality had been exhausted of all latex resources. Failure to provide the rubber to the Lulonga Company, the concessionary in the region, would lead to heavy retribution. Soon, the African guards of the "Force Publique" set to work scourging villagers with the "fimbo", a whip made from hippopotamus hide, and hacking off the hands and feet of terrified captives. However, a group of villagers rebelled and began to fight back, killing one of the guards in the process before the other guards fled for safety. They returned a few days later and soon began setting fire to huts so that many villagers

were burned to death while survivors were dragged off in chains to the nearest jail in the town of Coquilhatville. Seven men evaded capture, however, and these seven were given sanctuary by the Trappist monks of a nearby monastery. The monks asked Casement to allow the seven men to board the "Henry Reed" steamer which was leaving the next day. This caused an intense crisis of conscience for the Consul as he was clearly acting in violation of "the law of the land." If Belgian authorities were to learn that the British Consul in Boma had broken the law so as to assist seven rebellious natives, it would have caused an international incident at a time when the United Kingdom administration was eager to keep the Belgian kingdom within its "sphere of interest" and as far as possible from the influence of Germany. While the Trappist monks argued that a higher law allowed the action, Casement, no doubt, reasoned that a law of foundational human rights has universal jurisdiction and that legitimate authorities of one state can supersede local law in order to prevent the occurrence of war crimes or human rights atrocities. In short, Casement was enacting the "Responsibility to Protect" principle long before it had been validated by the work of NGO's like "Amnesty International" and before the affirmative actions of the United Nations and other prominent IGO's. Casement's 1904 report, which could only appeal to a sense of a higher law of some sort, was enormously influential. In the words of Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary from 1906 to 1914 (quoted in Hochschild, 1999 (p.2), "No external question for at least thirty years, has moved the country so strongly and so vehemently."

Casement's humanitarian work in South America was also singularly influential. At the end of 1910, while acting as the Foreign Office consul in Rio de Janeiro, Casement was appointed head of a commission to investigate if British subjects from Barbados were being mistreated on rubber manufacturing plantations in the Amazonian jungles of Putumayo in Peru, near the Colombian border. Instead of simply confining himself to the cases of the Barbadians, Casement amassed copious details that revealed widespread atrocities directed against the indigenous population. As in the Congo, workers who failed to meet extremely high quotas of latex, would face torture or even death. The board of directors of the main company involved were all high-ranking members of Edwardian London society who had added thousands of pounds to their fortunes through Peruvian rubber. The publication of Casement's "Blue Book" report from Putumayo showed that these men were complicit in a nefarious system of human rights abuses (an early case of recognizing "corporate responsibility") and all board members were forced to resign. The fact that Casement became "Sir Roger" the following year was testament to the high level of recognition that the Putumayo (and Congo) reports had been accorded at

the highest levels of governance in the United Kingdom. The reality of international human rights law is completely dependent, then, on the ways in which it is instantiated by individual actors, social subjects who must experience a moral dilemma as they confront the ethical challenges of each particular situation of one singular historical moment (Hinton, 2002). Once again, the value of the diary as a key component of primary research for scholars of International Studies becomes apparent.

Diary comparison

It is clear from even a cursory reading of the Casement and Wygal diaries that each figure has a distinct personality unlike that of the other. Both diarists express appreciation for the lives and cultures of people on the peripheries of early twentieth-century, imperial political systems, in Africa, India, China, and elsewhere. Wygal in India expresses deep admiration for the work of Rabindranath Tagore and of Mahatma Gandhi and a commitment to incorporating insights from Indian sages into her own Christian belief system. The two diarists, then, mark themselves off from their colonialist peers in terms of their degree of identification with the ethnic and religious groups which had been abjected and stigmatized within dominant imperialist discourses of the time. Similarities end, though, when one considers the account of erotic desire in both works. Wygal devotes copious, introspective accounts of her relationships with various women and she seeks validation of her desire in her interpretation of sacred texts. The tone of the accounts is sufficiently chaste that readers are unsure if Wygal is referring to physical or emotional intimacy or both. Her self-examinations of motive and guilt are meticulous and exhaustive. Nothing like this is found in Casement's diary, where introspection is rare – the nearest readers get to the author's inner life is his reference to a dream he had the night before which would be an excellent plot for a novel – and erotic desire is referred to in coded accounts of brief sexual encounters. Difference feminism would account for this contrast through a dual anthropology where biological females and males are essentially different with non-cultural traits that apply across time and space. Women do as women are; men do as men are. The explanatory power of this approach cannot be overlooked, although a postmodern perspective such as the "queer theory" of Warner (1993), Butler or Sedgwick would celebrate the rejection of the normal by these two diarists and lay no obligation at their door to act as role models or to assure us of the egalitarian nature of their erotically charged relationships. For queer theorists, there is no standard of normalcy that

social subjects need live up to. Sedgwick's (1990) "Axiom No. 1" affirms that *people are different*, and that we still lack the conceptual tools to deal with this simple reality, especially in the realm of erotic desire.

Concluding Remarks

It is no accident that Casement's key associate in the Congo Reform Association, Morel, was a prominent pacifist during World War I (spending six months in jail for his pacifist beliefs) and a vocal critic of the vengeful Versailles Treaty (Cline, 1980). The work of the Association can be seen as an ideological prototype not only for modern-day international humanitarianism but also for Liberal theory in International Relations as a discipline. The idealistic intent of the Association's efforts was to utilize internationally organized institutional activism to shame authorities into reform and so bring about a more peaceful global society that is characterized by the gradual elimination of social evils. IR Liberalism continues the Enlightenment project in the contemporary context, and theorists of IR Realism continue to posit a more pessimistic view of human nature and the possibilities of change. Readers can evaluate for themselves their level of satisfaction with this ideological divide within the IR discipline or whether they seek alternative theoretical frameworks in Constructivism, Feminism, Post-Colonialism, Green Theory or other social theories that can be applied within International Studies. Practitioners of all theoretical persuasions, however, may agree that the personal diaries of global citizens like Casement and Wygal are still worthy of attention, especially as they shed light on the nature of human sexuality and on the imperatives of ethically informed humanitarian action.

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