THE SECRETS OF A LOYALIST SOUL

Psychoanalysis and Homosexuality in Wartime China

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In the autumn of 1937, two men crossed paths in the neuropsychiatric ward of Peking Union Medical College (PUMC).[1] One of them, Li, was a young college student, twenty-two years old and married. He came from a lower middle-class family and a region occupied by the Japanese. In Beijing, where he had been living and attending school for the previous six years, Li had had sexual relations with both men and women.[2] A patriot once imprisoned and tortured by the Japanese, Li surprisingly began to learn Japanese, made Japanese friends, and even decided to work for the puppet regime in the former Chinese capital. The other, Bingham Dai 戴秉衡 (1899–1996), received his PhD in sociology at the University of Chicago and was a professor of medical psychology. Before assuming his post at PUMC, Dai had learned about the culture-and-personality school at Yale University, undergone analysis with the neo-Freudianist Harry Stack Sullivan (1892–1949) in New York, and become the first Chinese to practice psychoanalysis in northern China in the 1930s (Blowers 2004; Wang 2006; Rose 2009; Huang 2020). Dai saw Li for seventy-one sessions over the course of ten months. Their treatment aimed to uncover Li's unconscious thoughts and relieve his obsessive-compulsive neurosis.

Li's chief complaint concerned his compulsive thinking of a hairy paw of some animal—later revealed to be a black bear, a symbol of Japanese imperialism that he had learned in childhood—and his constant fear of a male figure, both approaching him from behind. These thoughts were preceded by a gradual increase of irritability, feverishness, palpitation of the heart, shortness of breath, and flushing of the face, especially acute when coming into contact with the Japanese. The symptoms had worsened exponentially since the onset of the formal Japanese invasion of China in 1937. The fear of the hairy paw and the imagi-

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nary man—which caused him to look back anxiously and uncontrollably—dated from the time when the Japanese occupied Beijing that summer. Later in therapy, Li revealed a secondary set of symptoms that involved obsessively looking at and touching objects four times, especially holes, dark spots, and empty spaces such as inside a drawer or underneath a bed. Dai considered the two sets of symptoms interrelated and concluded that his analysis of Li ultimately provided a fresh perspective on the psychology of Quislingism, that is, the question of why an individual would willingly cooperate with the enemy in the context of war. It made sense, Dai reasoned, for Li's neurosis to deteriorate as the Japanese approached his place of residence.

Although Li's case may seem to center on the theme of divided loyalty, or so Dai claimed, it was in fact saturated with queer overtones. For instance, Dai (1944: 331) noted that as a child, "Li has been greatly interested in a sexual manner not only in his mother but in his father." In one of the interviews, Li related his desire to relocate to Free China in the south to his dream of being arrested by a Japanese who "moved a hairy piece of metal in and out of his anus" (332). In another session, Li recalled dreaming about a Japanese teacher searching his room and, on the following day, "a strong man getting on top of him under a bed" (333). On a third night, before falling asleep "he found himself compulsively thinking of having sexual relations with the Japanese teacher" (333). And then in several incidences of what psychotherapists would identify as the phenomenon of transference, Li expressed thoughts of having passive homosexual relations with the analyst, that is, Dai himself. In a highly eroticized dream, Dai asked Li to take off his clothes in the hospital and reactivated one of Li's childhood fantasies in which he was sexually penetrated by a dog (336). Again, it is remarkable that Dai's takeaway from all of this—somewhere between the clinic, the military, and the school—was not the problem of sexual perversion, but Li's collaboration with the Japanese.

The fact that Dai did not isolate Li's homosexuality as the overarching analytical issue suggests that for Dai, more was at stake than the patient's psychosexual conflicts. As we will see, this bears wider implications about Dai's approach to psychoanalysis and the ways in which psychodynamic techniques were implemented at PUMC, at the time the most prestigious teaching hospital in China funded by the Rockefeller Foundation (fig. 1) (Bullock 1980). In a country where Sigmund Freud's ideas had been widely discussed, translated, and troped in fiction, Dai's analytical orientation can be summarized in four words: Freud was not enough (Zhang 1992; Larson 2009). Although the dominant psychoanalytic literature on homosexuality is replete with the tension between pathologization and normalization, the Dai-Li episode casts an alternative light on the interrelation

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Figure 1. Medical staff of the neuropsychiatric unit at the Peking Union Medical College (1936). Bingham Dai is the fourth from the right in the second row, next to Richard R. Lyman, who directed the unit and recruited Dai both to PUMC in the 1930s and Duke University School of Medicine in the 1940s. Bingham Dai Papers, Photo Album, 1934–1946, PUMC staff, Box 41, RB 8007. Courtesy of Special Collections, Appalachian State University.

between psychoanalysis and the sexual drive (Lewes 1988). Unfolding in a non-Western clinical setting, Dai's treatment of Li shows how psychoanalysis can operate as a powerful tool to denaturalize the concept of homosexuality itself. With the principal aim of helping the patient reach a balanced state of social functioning, Dai's analysis parses homoerotic tendencies less in terms of sexual instinct per se than as a symptom of personality conflicts and cultural (mal)adjustments. Dai's countertransference in the clinic further raises questions about his own biographical and subjective attachment, as well as about the instability of sexual meaning in the therapeutic encounter. For his method to work, Dai needed—and indeed developed—a new style of scientific reasoning rooted in a transcultural frame.

Departing from Freud

Dai's departure from Freud rests on an interpretive emphasis of the human as a social being rather than a purely biological one. Freud's libido theory construed

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the sexual drive as the most organic origin of motivation and behavior; therefore, Freudians sought to unlock the hidden processes of psychic dynamics *inside* the individual. In contrast, Dai's analytical orientation resembled the interpersonal approach of his mentor, Sullivan, which attempted to contextualize a patient's interest within a social relational network. How the patient interacted—or wanted to interact—*with others* mattered. As Stephen Mitchell and Margaret Black (2016: 63) put it, "whereas the Freudian analyst is looking for repressed wishes and fantasies, Sullivan is looking for unattended interactions."

Quislingism, the focus of Dai's study, presents a clear example of this difference. In the classic Freudian impression, the term came from Ernest Jones and was associated with the Nazis. In "The Psychology of Quislingism," Jones (1941) interpreted the patients' reaction to Hitlerism as an identification with the formidable father figure. They registered the demands of the Nazis as "the Father's demanding back the penis of which he had been robbed" (5). The familiar Oedipus complex, or early sexual rivalry between father and son, became the explanation for a later life situation. On first consideration, this reading may seem equally suitable for the Li case. As Dai noted, many episodes in Li's life might substantiate the presence of an Oedipus complex. Not only did Li repeatedly claim incestuous desires toward his mother, but he also sought to resolve his fear of and hatred for his father through castration desires and homosexual relations. "In his associations," Dai (1944: 335) noted, "[Li] said that when he had sexual thoughts about his mother he often wished to castrate himself." However, in the same paragraph, Dai distanced himself from Freud by insisting that sexual motivation served a larger purpose: "The patient considered a homosexual attack upon himself not only as a form of love relationship but as a means of punishment as well" (335). In other words, the analyst was moving away from the argument that earlier Oedipus conflicts simply remained dormant until being reactivated by later thoughts, such as the unconscious identification of the enemy with the father.

Instead of viewing the patient as a biological being, Dai preferred a more "social personality" approach. "Instinctual conflicts are not to be ignored," Dai qualified, "but are to be understood in the context of interpersonal relations" (337). In practice, this meant identifying the patient's primary self as formed in his primary group environment, typically the natal family, versus the other conceptions of a self that matured later in life (Dai 1931, 1939, 1952). In Li's case, Dai examined his primary personality formation through his family background and upbringing, followed by juxtaposing this self-concept with the way Li adjusted to the social conditions of Japanese occupation. The magnitude of his neurosis varied "according to the extent to which a person's basic and generally unconscious conceptions

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of himself or roles precipitated by his primary group experiences during his formative years come into conflict with his more recent and more rational conceptions of himself acquired in the course of later social contacts" (Dai 1944: 337–38). Li's mental duress in the present became a problem of interpersonal relations, and his conflicts with the Japanese were no more symbolic than the actual conflicts with his own father. In this way, Dai displaced the conflict between the id and superego in Freudian psychoanalysis in favor of the dissidence between two or more self-images, seizing this dissidence to conceptualize the basis of personality organization and development.

In order to explore the interactional dynamics between distinct self-images and reach back to Li's early childhood experience, Dai developed a transcultural style of reasoning. This epistemic style debunks the assumption that Western biomedical categories are universally applicable, treats thinking across geographical and disciplinary borders as the basis of evidence, generates new categories and parameters of scientific inquiry, and repositions its practitioners from the margin to the center of scholarly discourses (Chiang 2021). Chinese cultural factors anchored Dai's deciphering of the Li case. For instance, the preference for a male child in Chinese families offered an important clue to Li's primary self-formation. As the only son, Li was constantly spoiled by his parents and relatives. His father would not allow his mother to punish him until he was five years old, and his grandparents would go behind his parents' backs to give him whatever he wanted. Thus, Dai (1944: 331) considered it understandable that "such a child might develop a greed for love and affection." Another important element of the Chinese family structure was the norm, especially in northern China, for the entire family to sleep together on one big bed, or *kang*. In Dai's view, this meant "one might anticipate an early development of this child's erotic interest in his parents" (331). Moreover, the Confucian emphasis on filial piety disparaged the acting out of aggressive impulses, especially toward elders. This of course did not mean that the child held no grudges toward authority figures, but the child would need to find other ways to cope with his hostile impulses. In Li's case, Dai reported that "the patient had developed the habit of slapping himself whenever severely scolded by his mother, and later showed the same reaction pattern even in his relation with girl friends" (331).

Adjusting the Primal Scene

By integrating Chinese cultural mores into dream analysis, Dai (329) unraveled an original scene in which trauma was produced and with which psychoanalysis began:

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> When Li was about six he was one day quarreling with a boy in the neighborhood; and as he was going to hit the playmate with an ax, his father suddenly kicked him from behind and gave him a very severe shock. Since then, he said, he had frequent nightmares up to the age of 16, during which he would yell out and said that his father had been killed. These nightmares were also accompanied by what he described as slight feverishness, shortness of breath, palpitation of heart and profuse sweating.

This episode epitomized the roots of Li's fear and fantasy, both manifested in the form of something, or someone, approaching him from behind. In fact, Chinese cultural norms are important because they offer a context for acknowledging the severity of Li's aggressive impulses. In Chinese culture, explained Dai (331), "hostile acts, as a rule, are totally banned, no matter whether the child himself is in the right or the wrong." Li's intention to hurt a playmate with an ax was considered so severe and intolerable that his father, who would ordinarily keep his wife from physically punishing Li, decided to do so himself. This childhood trauma came to serve as the baseline against which Li's later desires and behaviors were calibrated in therapy.

For ten months, Dai decoded the underlying meaning of Li's dreams by returning to this primal scene more than once.[3] For example, when Li told Dai that he dreamt of being caught by a Japanese man who inserted a hairy piece of metal into his anus, Dai claimed that this dream "dramatized his secretly preferred but strongly repressed way of coming to terms with the enemy, submitting to a homosexual attack by the Japanese, a pattern of adjustment naturally unacceptable to a college student conscious only of love for his country and hatred of the enemy" (332). The Japanese became in the 1930s what Li's father meant to him at six: an enemy, loathed and dreaded, attacking him from behind. Dai *superimposed* homosexual fantasy *and* the feelings of fear/hatred toward the enemy onto one another, and in so doing, he rendered the forming of same-sex relations as a displaced effort on the part of the patient to adjust to the conditions of Japanese occupation.

As an adult, Li had numerous dreams filled with homoerotic content. He recalled being sexually obsessed with his Japanese teacher, "vaguely and reluctantly thought of having passive sex relations with [a lizard, which] made him think of the bear and of Mussolini," and wanted to engage in sexual relations with his father (333). "On the basis of such materials," Dai (333) deduced, "one can no longer doubt that the patient was attempting unconsciously to establish a passive emotional relationship with the enemy, expressed in homosexual terms, and that the pattern was set in his formative period in the course of his relationship with

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his father." Unlike the classical dream analysis exemplified by Freud's (1918) Wolf Man, these later dreams are less exemplary of an original childhood trauma enigmatic to the patient; rather, they are a tool that enabled the analyst to bridge the interpersonal conflicts from the past with the present. The impulses and wishes of the past (the emphasis of classical Freudianism) became only a partial segment of larger interpersonal configurations. In Dai's view, Li's homosexuality was less a cause than a symptom of a more underlying psychic structure: forming allegiance based on the feeling of repulsion toward the enemy. The cultural pillar of this psychic structure can be located in the evolving contours of Sino-Japanese relations.

The Cultural Interpretation of Dreams

Dai (1941, 1957) espoused the significance of cultural sensitivity in order to achieve a complete picture of the patient's problem and the ideal solution to it. For Dai to pursue his interest in Chinese culture and personality, knowledge of the Chinese language was necessary and decisive. In fact, as Dai would later concede, the case that instigated his interest in dream analysis was that of an illiterate seventeen-year-old Chinese girl. She visited PUMC to complain about her irrational fear of being sexually attacked by a dog. On the surface, her problem appeared sexual in origin, and orthodox Freudians might trace her fantasy back to an early disturbance in psychosexual development. But Dai patiently inquired about the girl's dream, which took the form of a beggar picking up a lump of coal from the street. The girl said the beggar made her think of "the old man in the moon" (*yuelao*), which is a Chinese god responsible for matchmaking. In Beijing, the word for "coal" is pronounced *mei*, which could mean either the fuel for cooking or matchmaking (though the Chinese characters for these two words are different, their pronunciation is identical). This convinced Dai that what the girl unconsciously desired was to get married. Dai (1979: 33) later recalled that "this uneducated patient's dream with its poetic representation of her inner knowledge of her own problem made a very deep impression on me." Though this teenage girl's story cemented Dai's commitment to dream analysis, his approach to dreams differed from Freud's interpretive mode, especially with respect to the ample leverage for self-knowledge and explanation that Dai granted his patients.

Resting on this legacy, Chinese linguistic competence played a determinant role in Dai's analysis of Li, especially the connection between his compulsive obsessive behavior and his interpersonal relations with women. Dai traced Li's obsession with touching objects four times, which began at the age of eighteen, to the Chinese word for "four," *si*. This word made Li think of the familiar phrase

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"peace and quiet in all four seasons" (*siji ping'an*) and death, because in Li's dialect, the Chinese word for death, *si*, was pronounced practically the same as the word for four (Dai 1944: 329–30). In one of his interviews, Li "associated this compulsive behavior with his interest in mother's genitalia" and "his early erotic interest in . . . other female relatives of the family" (329). The foremost test for Li's love/hate relationship with his parents—both his father and his mother—came with a marriage they arranged for him at the age of fifteen, with a girl to whom he felt no connection (330). After he left his wife behind in his hometown and arrived in Beijing by himself the following year, he began to sleep with both older and younger women, some of whom he impregnated. Thus, Li's relationship with women was at once intense and fleeting, always resulting in a certain sense of guilt. Treating women as mother substitutes, Li often demanded sexual intercourse with girlfriends (though not his left-behind wife) after hostile encounters with the Japanese. Li would show obedience to the Japanese during those uncomfortable confrontations but would subsequently have sex with his female partners (but again, not with his wife) "like a hungry child being fed" (334). In the final analysis, Dai concluded that "women . . . could serve only as buffers or scapegoats in the patient's encounter with a threatening situation; they could neither take the place of a direct settlement with the enemy nor provide a satisfactory resolution of the hostile impulses continually aroused by his presence and their accompanying fear of punishment" (334–35). In the language of relational psychoanalysis, female partners became intermediary "objects" that Li used to cope with his psychic distress.

The primal scene continued to serve as a touchpoint for later connections. Li's recourse to passive homosexual relations, as evident in his numerous dream episodes, became the hallmark of his social adjustment in time of war. In Dai's analytical framework, although homosexual and heterosexual impulses are both important, what mattered most was the patient's actualization of a self that allowed him to be consistent with his personality as a whole (Dai 1981). The principal aim of their sessions was not to treat Li's homosexuality, or bisexuality as the case may be, but to bring into Li's consciousness his hidden psychological mechanisms for dealing with the Japanese. In Beijing, Li sought protection by the Japanese, under which he could secretly carry out anti-Japanese activities. Dai (1944: 333) observed that "as such desires became more and more conscious thoughts, his symptoms subsided, until by the thirty-third interview, he said that 95 per cent of his symptoms had disappeared."

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Homo Transference

When historians explore the relationship between psychoanalysis and homosexuality, they typically interpret this dialectical relation in a singular frame, with the former serving as the subject and the latter the object of historical action. In other words, critics have preoccupied themselves with how analysts viewed homosexuality in the past and how those theoretical perspectives changed over time (Lewes 1988; Terry 1999). Yet no less profound is the question of *how psychoanalysis and psychoanalysts can be queered* through their clinical engagement with homosexuality (Fuss 1995; Herzog 2020). As historian John Forrester (2017: 65) has shown, the psychoanalytic case presents a puzzling zone of contact—between the analyst and the analysand, on the one hand, and the author and the reader, on the other: "It is the privileged means for attempting to convey the unique psychoanalytic experience of *both* patient and analyst."

As a science and a form of art, like most branches of medicine, psychoanalysis cuts both ways by objectifying and subjectifying itself. Yet the key to psychoanalytic writing takes the form of a betrayal. Such textualization betrays its function to uncover the hidden, concealed truth at the very moment when it is subjected to the same laws and processes of the psychoanalytic scenario itself. To quote Forrester's (66) eloquent formulation, the pertinent questions about the epistemic stakes of the psychoanalytic project are: "Should [the psychoanalyst] fight the good fight for objectivity, thus depriving psychoanalysis of its own logic, pretending that it is something other than it is? Or should she brave the sceptic and undress—as far as she dare—in public, because any other way would be to pretend that she is not naked underneath the respectable clothes of professional everyday life and would deny that nakedness is the point of wearing clothes in the first place?"

This predicament recognizes the psychoanalytic encounter as a highly charged, intensely emotional, and deeply personal event. This is indicative in the Dai-Li dynamic because, as his terminal but foremost psychoanalytic evidence, Dai presented and scrutinized the patient's transference of attachment, fantasies, and desire onto the analyst in detail. Dai (1944: 335) defined transference as a phenomenon in which "the patient as a rule tends to act toward the analyst much in the same way as he does toward other people significant in his current life situation, and especially as he did toward those who made up his early social environment." In their initial meetings, Li would bow twice when entering and leaving Dai's office and would rush to light Dai's cigarette. Yet these overcourteous gestures were simply a defense mechanism for how Li felt deep down inside. Over time, Li apologized for the possibility of coming off as being impolite to the analyst

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and even explicitly noted the resemblance between listening to Dai and the feeling of being scolded by his own father. This identification of Dai with Li's father carried over into Li's dreams. In his dreams, Li not only desired a passive homosexual relation with Dai (and a dog, from his childhood fantasy) but also lived in the hospital with a version of the analyst who was "taller and larger than in reality and that his hands were as strong and as rough as those of his father" (336).

Upon reflecting on these dreams, Li maintained an ambivalent attitude toward Dai, both respectful and hostile (at one point, Li wished to behead Dai). The homosexual dreams, then, became his passive-aggressive solution to the contemporary discomfort, in line with his "retreating without a fight" approach when dealing with elders as a child and the Japanese as an adult. In conclusion, Dai (336) remarked that "through an intensive study of this situation, the patient came to see that his attitude toward the analyst was in many ways similar to his attitude toward the Japanese and that both contained components that really did not belong to the present situation: they came from the attitudes that he had acquired during his formative years in the course of his relationship with his parents, especially his father." Dai's utilization of transference was intended to synchronize the various versions of the self that Li had developed over the course of his life and to highlight and smooth the fissures between them. Through such an endeavor, Li could gain a better sense of his personality organization and, by extension, adjust it to strive for better social functioning in the present.

(De)Coding Countertransference

But is that all that this psychoanalytic case is about? What can be said about Dai's own attachment—to psychoanalysis, of course, but also issues of sexuality (homosexuality/heterosexuality) and nationalism (patriotism/Quislingism)? The history of how Dai came to be acquainted with psychoanalysis offers an indispensable hint of Dai's own countertransference in the Li case. Although primarily trained in the Chicago school of sociology, Dai attended a life-changing seminar at Yale in 1932. The seminar was titled "The Impact of Culture on Personality," convened by anthropologist Edward Sapir (1884–1939), and brought together thirteen students of different disciplines and cultural backgrounds to explore the intersection between psychiatry and social science (Dai 1932). At the Yale seminar, Dai was impressed by the neo-Freudian approach of one of the seminar speakers, Harry Stack Sullivan, whose emphasis on interpersonal relations resonated with Dai's interest in Confucian social norms and familial dynamics (Dai 1982–1983: 13).

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Awed by this epistemological resonance, Dai decided to undergo analysis with Sullivan, his first psychoanalytic mentor, in New York.

Though all of this predated Dai's meeting with Li by five years, at the time of the Yale seminar, China's northeastern frontier, most notably Manchuria, was already becoming a puppet state of Japan. Japan's imperial ambitions had intensified, rather than diminished, after the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). In a later interview conducted with his student, Dai revealed his own feelings toward the Japanese in the 1930s: "Do you know what the Japanese thought? They invade China in order to superior their relation to China. That came out of inferiority feelings, because they learn everything from China. They have a deep inferiority feeling on the part of Japanese whenever they meet Chinese. There is a great urge to prove they are equal if not superior to the Chinese. Very much like Germans" (Atkins 1986: 17). This attitude toward the Japanese served as the backdrop for Dai's experience at Yale:

> I had a funny experience with a fellow member of this Yale seminar. . . . There were thirteen young specialists from different cultures assembled to study the impact of culture upon personality. . . . One of them is Japanese. He tried to be very cultural and polite, but boy, was he hostile. Not hostile in a real way but just in a peculiar manner. One time we were discussing Confucius. He said, Confucius was not Chinese. Because they also adore Confucius. . . . They don't think of Confucius as Chinese. Chinese are inferior to them. . . . This is a Ph.D., in sociology. At that time the Japanese were entering Manchuria. . . . So he had to defend them. Even though he knows better. When you are under the influence of patriotism, nationalism, you're blind. You don't think well. He had to defend the military adventure, and yet he didn't know how to defend. And yet we had to live together and meet together in the seminar and discuss big problems together. A fun age. (18)

By the time Dai and Li connected in 1937, the threat of Japanese military aggression had become a reality in Beijing. Therefore, it is not going too far to conclude that Dai's training in and practice of psychoanalysis had been intertwined with his attitude toward Japan from the start. Was the real object of Dai's psychoanalytic investment Li's Quislingism, or his own patriotism? To the extent that countertransference has been recognized as a risk implicated in all analytical situations, what stakes does the task of treating a homosexual analysand hold for the presumably heterosexual analyst?

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One can argue that instead of a novel style of science rooted in transcultural reasoning, what Dai's work advanced was a kind of self-Orientalization. Sapir selected him for the Yale seminar to represent Chinese culture, so Dai's Western peers *already* perceived him in Orientalist terms (Atkins n.d.: 4). It is possible to situate within this genealogy Dai's synthesis of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism with psychotherapy (especially after his relocation to North Carolina in the 1940s). At the same time, one must not overlook the profound challenges with which Dai's positionality—as an émigré scientist, a cultural broker, and a racialized figure in a profession largely dominated by white practitioners—was infused. On the one hand, he sought to convince Chinese experts and nonexperts alike of the value of psychoanalysis. On the other, he tried to persuade Western interlocutors to listen carefully to and understand Chinese humanistic philosophy. Dai's positionality was in fact *doubly* marginalized. So, to interpret the invocation of something like Confucianism as a symbol of Orientalism is plausible, but it is equally difficult to discern where the genuineness of that interest begins or ends. I suggest treating these as two opposite ends of a historical spectrum, on which Dai's subjectivity glided according to context and contingency.

The fact that Dai published his report of Li in an Anglophone journal, *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Processes*, raises the question of intent. More specifically, did he intentionally fashion an Orientalist brand of psychodynamic science so that Li's case could be instrumentalized to market himself in the biomedical community? An affirmative response to this question lies within the stretch of imagination. Yet when Dai's career is taken into consideration from a comprehensive viewpoint, one notices that this was neither the first nor the last time he published his findings in a Western journal. In fact, this publication fits a larger pattern in which Dai consistently communicated his findings to a global readership. By acknowledging that the 1944 text denotes a web of relations in which Dai and Li, Chinese and Western intellectual traditions, and the dynamics of transference and countertransference were immersed and circulated, it is possible to bring into focus the *technical* details of his transcultural science. This would take Dai's contributions on their own terms without always having to be routed through purely Western frames of cultural reference. This also repositions Dai from the margin to the core of a scholarly discourse emerging at a time when the face of psychoanalysis was changing rapidly.

With respect to homosexuality, the psychoanalytic case examined in this essay is best situated at the crossroads of various historiographical threads. On the one hand, it follows the tendency for psychoanalysis since Freud to distance itself from the field of sexology (Sulloway 1979; Sutton 2019). In so doing, counterintui-

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tively, psychoanalysis consolidated the very concept of homosexuality, defined it in terms of object choice (rather than aim or degeneration), and crystallized it from the earlier notion of sexual inversion, a pivotal concept in fin-de-siècle sexology (Makari 2008: 110–18). Dai never identified himself as a sexologist but spoke of homosexuality as if it was already a widely accepted concept in China (Chiang 2018: 125–77). On the other hand, the Li case follows the motivation among psychoanalysts to define their discipline as an independent field of study. In this line of pursuit, they actually denaturalized the very concept of homosexuality by arguing that sexual desires always come with a deeper set of psychic meanings and serve a larger purpose (Davidson 1987). Li's homosexual tendencies were important to Dai to the extent that they helped illuminate the analytical material about self-actualization and personality organization.

By the same token, the Dai-Li encounter captures the way politics both inhibits the development of psychoanalysis in certain parts of the world and determines its growth in other regions (Damousi and Plotkin 2012; ffytche and Pick 2016; Herzog 2017). In the 1930s, authoritarian Germany and Russia followed the former vector of psychoanalytic development, and Britain and the United States the latter. What about China? What about other non-Western societies? Dai's psychoanalytic career is only beginning to point us to some possible ways of answering these questions.

I have been arguing that the conclusion to Li's therapy does not rest solely on the transference of his desires, but also upon the countertransference of Dai's attachment. After all, Dai, the straight and cosmopolitan analyst, left China in 1939 and became a faculty member of Duke University School of Medicine in 1943; Li, the queer and passive-aggressive analysand, stayed behind in Beijing and collaborated with the Japanese just as the Asia–Pacific War entered its most virulent phase. If the true focus of their sessions, as Dai claimed, had been Quislingism and not sexual perversion, whose therapeutic interest does such a disavowal serve?

Notes

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1. For a history of the neuropsychiatric ward at PUMC, see Shapiro 1995; Shapiro 2014a; Shapiro 2014b; and Baum 2018. The psychoanalytic case examined in this article comes from Dai 1944.
2. Although I adopt the word Beijing in this essay, the city, to be historically accurate, had been renamed Beiping because Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government relocated its capital from Nanjing to Chongqing in 1937. The renaming of Beijing to Beiping made it unambiguous to the world that the city was not China's capital during the Nationalist era. To make it easier to comprehend for readers not familiar with Chinese history, however, I have retained the anachronistic usage of Beijing in this article.
3. Analysts like Freud and Melanie Klein use the concept of the *primal scene* to refer specifically to the child's witness of, or projection of fantasies about, parental sexual relations. Here I am borrowing the term loosely and adapting it to refer to the primary scene I discuss in this section.

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