

Preface to Spanish edition of *Psychoanalysis and Revolution*

A manifesto is always an urgent call to action, an invocation to unravel a situation that history has covered over with different ideological strategies. Ian Parker and David Pavón-Cuéllar have responded to that call to listen to what must be heard again. They listen and separate, in this case separate psychoanalysis from the different ideological distortions that have beset it. They speak of the different forms of recuperation of psychoanalysis and critical psychology that neoliberal capitalism has managed to accomplish. The academies, state institutions and the professions have succeeded so far in separating psychoanalysis from those historical traces of where a historical alliance with Marxism was once bravely put into play.

In order to undertake the challenge that this manifesto implies, Parker and Pavón-Cuéllar had also, before this, elaborated a meticulous and rigorous archival work and conceptual genesis in their co-edited text in Spanish that was titled *Psicoanálisis: Psicología Crítica para Movimientos de Liberación*, a volume that we may characterize as an incomparable find. In it, Russian, European and Latin American authors are collected together in their original texts and then reviewed in a pertinent way. The presence of Latin Americans, always absent from the circulation regime of this type of text, gives that great handbook its definitive stamp of justice, with access in the same text to Adorno and Mariátegui, Marcuse and Bleger, Reich and Massotta. In this way, in the meticulous and patient work of that collective volume, the conditions of the untimely and provocative nature of this manifesto that we now present were prepared.

One of the biggest problems related to the liberation movements in contemporary capitalism is the complex relationship between the singular transformation of our speaking, sexed and mortal existence and social revolution. Although one does not go without the other, the problem that Pavón-Cuéllar and Parker address is to elucidate what the appropriate materialist dialectic is to meet this challenge. These two terms – transformation of the subject and social revolution – unlike what certain forms of Freudo-Marxism seemed to believe, are not terms that can simply be added together and integrated into a totality that synthesizes them. Neither can what happens in the singular subject be detached from the overdeterminations configured in the current stage of capitalism, nor does any collective project assure us against the always possible return of the self-same figures of oppression, assure us of its emancipatory and anti-bureaucratic permanence.

It will always be necessary to examine those subjective tendencies in which the subject unconsciously falls under the effects of racist or heteropatriarchal colonization, that is, remains under the effects of the very thing against which they believe they are rebelling. Freeing oneself from oppression with Marxist praxis implies, in the manifesto that we present here, liberating oneself from the narcissistic certainties that inhabit us in order to reinvent oneself as a different kind of subject while struggles against capitalism unfold. How can psychoanalysis separate itself from the neoliberal evolution that has erased its subversive cutting edges so that it can be redeemed as an ally of a revolutionary critical psychology? This is the task that Parker and Pavón-Cuéllar invite us to participate in here.

However, these simple statements carry different problematic and difficult questions: What exactly is it that is present to us as ideological inertia in those who are wanting to participate in a transforming process and who find themselves anchored in a certain kind of impotence, or, in other words, what is it that prevents the subject from assuming liberation as their own cause, where does it come from? Do these obstacles come from what is produced by the power devices of capital, or, is the unconscious a structure that is not exhausted in its socio-historical determinations and has its own specificity? Can the unconscious in its symbolic fabric, in its irreducible combination of signifiers and in its drive activity, introduce its own problems to the liberation movements? What are the elements of the unconscious that are easily appropriated for the capitalist discourse? And, in turn, does work in an analysis allow us to recognize or not what is inappropriate and is subtracted in its material work and its effects from the logic of the market?

The assumption of these questions lead Parker and Pavón-Cuéllar to work with the famous four Lacanian concepts: the unconscious, repetition, drive and transference (elaborated by Lacan in his Seminar XI) and to intervene in their manifesto, to bring to these concepts a revolutionary dialectic. This dialectic leads these concepts to a place differentiated from the traditional Lacanian presentation. The cutting edge, which is indeed shared with Lacanian logic, is the radical difference between the I as the place of narcissistic identities and of individualistic alienation, and the subject as that off-centre place. This subject is a figure that emerges as a conflictive fracture, constituted in an always paradoxical way, never finding itself completely in possession of itself.

These material conditions of the subject are those that allow it to be pulled away from adaptive strategies of psychologisation and from the Rortyan relativism promoted by liberal pragmatism where the subject remains in the indefinite closure of a redescription of himself. The dilemma of revolutionary critical psychology is permanently crossed by the key question concerning the possibilities of the subject to assume their condition as revolutionary. The conflicts and contradictions of the subject constitute the opportunity for it to appear as revolutionary. Parker and Pavón Cuéllar do not hesitate to state that, if psychoanalysis can be a fundamental ally of liberation, also, in a Wittgensteinian gesture, it must be the kind of ladder that we must kick away at the end of the process. The subject stripped of its unconscious conflicts opens us up to revolutionary praxis.

Paraphrasing Freud, we could hear the following transformed sentence in Parker and Pavón-Cuéllar 'Where the suffering of the unconscious and its living corporality was, the subject in a new place of social relations must appear in the Revolution'. In this way, the manifesto, which we present here, reissues a communist manifesto, a new communist manifesto in and for psychoanalysis.

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