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# OPEN LETTER TO A COWARD

WHO IS AT THE SAME TIME :

- - AN OFFENDER AGAINST THE
- - AN IMPUDENT LIER
- - A TRAITOR
- - AN IGNORANT PERSON
- - A FAILURE

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THAT IS TO SAY, OPEN LETTER  
TO  
MR. FELIPE  
GONZALEZ

Mr. FELIPE GONZALEZ MARQUEZ  
Ex-Prime Secretary of the  
Spanish Socialist Workers Party (P.S.O.E.)  
Palacio de las Cortes. MADRID.

Madrid, August 20th, 1979

Sir,

You'll well be able to understand that, although I am a socialist and you claim to be one yourself, your recurrent conduct prevents me from giving you the socialist title of "comrad

YOU ARE A COWARD. And were it only for this reason, your substitution as Prime Secretary or a General Secretary of the P.S.O.E. not only is not unthinkable, but it is a necessity. Because a man or a woman who holds that office may be blamed for anything, but never for being a coward. Out of reliable sources I could find out that it is true that the day of the official closing of the XXVIII Congress of the PSOE, the Joint Chiefs of Staff (with the exception, it seems, of Lt. General Gabeiras) issued a warning -- which arrived at the seat of the Congress through the Presidency of the Government -- in the sense that it would not be tolerated if the XXVIII Congress elected a General Secretary who were more of a marxist, more of a revolutionary (in short: more of a socialist) than you are. So you were not lying when, through your

followers, you transmitted and spread this menace through the Congress. You were simply and sadly being a coward. What a pity, Mr. Gonzalez, that you didn't remember and imitate the probity and gallantry of LARGO CABALLERO when he threw out of his office the ambassador of a foreign power who intended to exert coercion upon him! What a pity that you didn't remember the words of our great poet MIGUEL HERNANDEZ who knew "that never did oxen thrive on the moors of Spain"! What a pity that you were not manly and courageous enough to remind those military that, 43 years ago, when Madrid had a population of less than 1 million, it was able to resist for three years some other military who, perjured and seditious, did break their oath of loyalty to the Republic and the Constitution, revolted against the lawfully constituted Government and turned against the people the arms they had given for the defense of their country! What a pity that you were not able to warn them that to-day there are 5 million people in Madrid or Barcelona, just to mention two agglomerations of workers who not only would resist them five times three years, but who would reveal the character of paper tigers of any such military should they once again dare to attack the working class! Were you in fear of your life in case you did bravely respond to that intolerable menace? Do you want to live forever, Mr. Gonzalez? Didn't you learn anything from that old lady who sits with you in the same Parliament and who, with the courage of the women of the working class, knew how to make clear that "it's better to die on your feet than to go on living on your knees"? Didn't you learn from that other combatant for the cause of the people that "the agony of oxen has a small face, that of the male animal the whole creation magnifies"? On the posters, no doubt a wonder of advertising technics, you looked like a man. 'Tis Pity You're a Coward!

YOU ARE AN OFFENDER AGAINST THE LAW. You are guilty of a serious offence of misappropriation and are an accomplice to a crime of embezzlement. You have interrupted the clean tradition of proverbial uprightness, lasting 100 years, in which, as has been said, a socialist leader could put his foot into it but never lay his hands wrongfully on anything. And that tradition you have broken by profiting wrongfully of a part of the membership fees, of that money which our pensioners and unemployed must take from their scanty income to pay their fees to the Party. There is evidence, Mr. González. Evidence which you have got published yourself, out of your exceeding arrogance or your contempt for the law and the rules, and this evidence appears in public documents, "public" in the strict and legal sense of the word.

So it is with the document of the XXVIII CONGRESS OF THE PARTY entitled "COMPLEMENT TO THE MANAGEMENT OF THE FEDERAL SECRETARY OF ADMINISTRATION", in which an annual report of the financial management of income and expenses of the Party for the year 1978 is given, including under the heading "Prime Secretary's Office" (pag. 9 of the document), among other entries, 2.329.496 pts. as "Personnel" expenses and 283.304 pts. as "Allowances and Incidental Expenses". It is final that nowhere is to be seen a notice which should say: "These expenses and allowances do not include any expenses originated by the former Prime Secretary as from the 8th of December 1978, on which his mandate finished". That notice wasn't there because, as it is well and publicly known, you have continued to act in all respects as a Prime Secretary from the 8th of December to the opening of the XXVIII CONGRESS in May 1979.

But your conduct implies an unstatutory, illegitimate and illegal prolongation of your mandate. Your mandate as a Prime Secretary ended two years after your election, on the 8th of December 1978. And it could only be prolonged or renewed by a FEDERAL CONGRESS OF THE P.S.O.E. (ordinary or extraordinary) which should have taken place before the 8th of December 1978. This was not the case. The legal regulations which make unquestionably unlawful the prolongation of your mandate are: 1) articles 26 and 34 of the FEDERAL REGULATIONS of the P.S.O.E. registered the 17th of February 1977 by the Register of Political Associations, on Book I, folio 57; 2) the Law 21/1976 of 14th June on the Right of Political Association; 3) the Royal Decree 2281, 1976 of 16th September, regulating the Register of Political Associations; 4) the Royal Law-Decree 12/1977 of 8th February on the Right of Political Association. After the date of the 8th of December 1978, when you began your unlawful usurpation of the Office of the Prime Secretary, some other statutory laws have been promulgated (among them the Constitution) affecting the issue, all of them to reinforce the obligation of respecting the Regulations of the Parties and the resolutions of their chief organs (in the case of the PSOE, its Federal Congress).

As from the 8th of December you were no more legally entitled to appropriate one cent of the fees of the militants or any other income of the Party, either as remuneration or as incidental expenses or allowances. But, as it is well and publicly known that you have done this it is publicly and well known that you have committed a wrongful misappropriation aggravated by a breach of trust. And you have likewise become an accomplice to the embezzlement carried on by Mrs. CARMEN GARCIA BLOISE (Federal Secretary of Management of the Executive Committee elected at the XXVII CONGRESS and at present a member of the Managing Committee) who has unduly taken of the Party's funds in order to pay you. The evidence is in my possession (the above mentioned document of the 28th Congress) that such misappropriations and embezzlements have taken

ken place between the 8th and the 31st. of December 1978. It will be no difficulty for the judicial authority to find evidence that they have gone on taking place between the 1st. of January and the opening of the 28th CONGRESS.

You are thus an offender against the law. I am eager to see what the Attorney General , Juan Manuel FANJUL SEDENO, so prone to prosecute Basque patriots on the base of simple presumption from hearing, is going to do in front of this public and by no means anonymous accusation. But who knows, perhaps the services you rendered and are rendering to the Monarchie and the Monarch will provide you with the title of Count of González , with some new manner of jus primae noctis which permits you to act unpunished against the laws.

YOU ARE AN IMPUDENT LIER. Against the socialist exigence of diaphaneity in conduct, you make use systematically of falsehood and obscurity as political weapons. On June 14th 1979 EL PAIS gives you four pages for a "de luxe" interview. There, on page 18 , 3rd. column, you have the cynical impudence of saying: "To say that I am an opportunist who has changed his opinions since 1974 seems ridiculous to me: I have not changed basically and there are my statements, speeches and writings". Well, here is just one piece of evidence to demonstrate it: During the XXVII CONGRESS OF THE PSOE a book was diffused with the title "SOCIALISM IS FREEDOM. SUMMER SCHOOL OF THE PSOE 1976" ,published by Editorial Cuadernos para el Dialogo , S.A. Madrid 1976. On page 27 of that book , within the transcription of FELIPE GONZALEZ' conference on "THE POLITICAL LINE OF THE PSOE", it can be read under the headline "2. A MARXIST PARTY" , what follows: " But, besides that, to assume history is for us a question of profound Marxist conviction. Marxist in the most earnest sense of the expression. When we say that our Party is a Marxist Party we have serious reasons to say so".

YOU ARE A TRAITOR. You have betrayed systematically almost everything and everybody .You did betray the PLATAJUNTA. You betrayed the U.G.T.. You betrayed the P.S.O.E. ,your Party comrades, its Regulations, its program, its history and principles. You have done treason to the Spanish workers, selling unworthily and ignominiously their sweat and effort in the Pacts of the Moncloa. You have been treacherous to the Republic. You were treacherous to the nationalities and regions of the Spanish State as you violated the resolutions of the XXVII CONGRESS OF THE PSOE which you promised to fulfil and which required that you should defend the right of self-determination. You have been treacherous to the socialist revolution and to the class struggle. You are a specialist of treachery.

YOU ARE AN IGNORANT. To all your "qualities" you add the incredible audacity of impudently showing off your encyclopedic ignorance. It is astonishing to see you, listen to you, read you whenever you, with the gravity of a solemn ass, will thread falseness and stupidity about perfectly well known and established facts which you will distort, misrepresent, turn into caricature. Your pseudosociological analysis of Spanish social structure would provide you with an absolute failing mark if you were to write them down on a high school examination paper. And yet you are trying to base on them a policy for your country. It is dreadful that such individuals as yourself or Alfonso Guerra, who are in utmost ignorance of the historical and present reality of Euzkadi, Galicia, Catalonia, the Valencian Country, etc, might play a key role in the autonomic process.

YOU ARE A FAILURE. To say it with the clear and rotund sound of the Catalan language ,you are cromat, frustrat i fracassat (you are burnt up, you are frustrated, you are a failure) . In the argot of those Yankee-Germans whose seppoy you are, you are a loser , an "underdog" . For three times you have conducted your Party to defeat. You've reached the dubious merit of being the Spaniard who collected the strongest failure for the socialist Party . In less than two years you reached a loss of over one million and four hundred thousand votes. On the 15th of June 1977 six millions of socialist votes were counted (6.039.840) under the banners of the P.S.O.E. and P.S.P. On the 3rd. of April 1979 both organizations took part in the election united under your leadership , Mr. Gonzalez, a leadership which was already illegal but which you exerted de facto, and they got only FOUR MILLION AND SIX THOUSAND VOTES(4.598.023) That is to say that in less than two years you have lost more than one million and four hundred thousand socialist votes (exactly 1.441.817). And there is no point to try to conceal this failure with the alibi of the growth of abstencionism. Because in the same period the communists wonn over half a million votes. You had to disguise your defeat by accepting the necessary unity of the left, which you always rejected, in order to have socialist Mayors thanks to the communist votes. You are a failure. In so far as socialism is concerned.

For you are not a failure in serving the interests of the Yankees, the Germans, the Monarchie, the Capital. So you have become the "socialist" most admired, most cheered, and protected by the King, the Army, the Church, the Banks, such right-wing papers as ABC or YA, the State TV and all the other right-wing forces.

Finally: It is possible that the tricks and cheating of your followers (eliminating your opponents through the inquisitorial ways of those corrupted Commissions of Conflicts which violate the rights of the militants, taking fool advantage of the second and third de-

gree election method you are introducing, making systematically use of falshood in order to confound and confuse, profiting from the masive support of the reactionary mass-media, and so on) will make you again Secretary General of the PSOE. Do not rejoice too much if this comes true. May be in any of those trips you are doing at the expense of the membership feeds and the political survalue you ~~are~~ are expropriating your militants , you have listened to a mexican revolutionary song which says: "Muleteer we are; we are on the way, and there we'll meet". Think of that.

Yours despising,

*Justo de la Cueva*

Justo de la Cueva Alonso

Sociologist. Jurist. Identity Card num. 192.209 ,issued in Madrid the 8th of July 1978.  
 Residence: Madrid, Plaza del Conde del Valle de Suchil ,20.  
 Militant of the PSOE with card num. 28/79G/516 , voluntarily resigned membership on August 1978 , simultaneously with the public denouncement of the illegality of Gonzalez conduct.  
 Former Secretary General of the AGRUPACION SOCIALISTA MADRILEÑA DEL PSOE (historic section).  
 Former member of the REUNIFICATION COMMITTEE OF THE PSOE OF MADRID.  
 Delegate from Madrid at the XXVII FEDERAL CONGRESS of the PSOE.  
 Member of the Joint Management of PROMARX (PROMOCIONES MARXISTAS S.A.)



Nació en Madrid prov. \_\_\_\_\_  
 el 27 de Nov. de 1937 Hijo de Justo  
 y de Carmen E. civil C Prof. sociologo  
 domic. en Madrid prov. \_\_\_\_\_  
 calle Conde del Valle de Suchil n.º 20  
 Expedido en Madrid prov. \_\_\_\_\_  
 el día 8 de julio 19 78 -Caduca a los 5 años

Grupo sanguíneo: \_\_\_\_\_ Firma del titular,  
*Justo de la Cueva*

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