Another Note of Dissent

by Com. Kiran and Badal

(Prachand and Babu Ram are violating the decisions of the central committee and the standing committee one after another, and the senior Comrades of the revolutionary camp also are writing 'Note of Dissent' repeatedly. Recently, Comrade Mohan Baidhya and Comrade Badal have registered a 'Note of Dissent' at the Party's incoming CC meeting, which is going to be held on November 3. Its Nepalese version has already published in various print medias. Here are 8 pts along with the issue of '4pt deal 'with 'Madhesi Morcha' and Prachanda's mysterious meeting with Indian intelligence high rank authorities. —*The Next Front*)

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Respected Chairman,

Central Committee, Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) tabled

Re: Protest against the policies and decisions and some other issues

Dear comrade.

Some senior comrades in the leadership rank of our Unified Communist party of Nepal (Maoist) have been seriously violating the political line, policies and decisions adopted by the central committee and the standing committee of the party. Similarly, serious attention has also not been given to several other important issues. In this connection, we have our serious objection and dissent on the following issues.

1. On four-point deal with Madhesi Front:

Some of the provisions and issues of the four-point deal mysteriously concluded by Chairman Prachanda and vice-chairman com Baburam with the United Democratic Madhesi Front at mid-night on August 28, 2011 without informing the majority members of the negotiating team are against the policies and decisions of the party.

a. In the opening paragraph of the accord, it has been stated that 'the constitution of the democratic republic of Nepal' should be written from the Constituent Assembly. In the third point of the same deal, terminologies like 'Democratic Republic' have been mentioned. This is clearly against the policy and political line of the party. Our party has adopted the tactical line of 'People's Federal Republic' and has decided to make the

constitution accordingly. But this provision of the deal has directly and openly violated the party's line and decision.

- **b.** In the second point of the deal, which is related to the implementation of the remaining tasks of the peace process, it is stated that 'no person shall be deprived of the ownership of legally attained property. Although this sentence seems to be ambiguous, this provision, in the present context of peace process, has referred to the land seized during the conflict. This has paved the way for acting in the interest of the landlords and against the interest of the poor and landless farmers, tillers and tenants. This provision is against the fundamental principles and spirit of revolutionary land reforms.
- c. The second sub-point of the fourth main point has incorporated the issue of inclusion of Madhesi communities in the Nepal Army. In this point, it has been agreed to make necessary amendment in the party's proposal concerning the integration of Maoist army into a particular unit and also reduce the number of PLA members to be integrated from eight thousands to seven thousands on the one hand while it has been accepted to create a separate unit in the Nepal Army to ensure inclusion of the people from Madhesi communities in the army. We strongly support the creation of separate unit in the Nepal Army to accommodate and ensure inclusion of the oppressed communities including the Madhesis. But, this provision has, on the one hand, undermined the principle of armed and collective integration of the People's Liberation Army, it has also negated the inclusion of oppressed community and denied the right of proportionate representation of the Madhesi community in the army, on the other.
- **d.** The fifth sub-point of the fourth main point has mentioned the need for according high priority to improve relationship with two neighbouring countries. But it has not raised the issue concerning the abrogation of unequal treaties concluded with India including the 1950 treaty and the necessity of concluding new treaties on the basis of mutual equality. It is clear that the relationship with India marked by several unequal treaties and relationship with China characterized by treaties concluded on mutual equality can by no means be taken on equal footing. This situation is nothing other than pushing Nepal further onto the path of national capitulation.
- **e.** The last sentence of the above mentioned points and sub-points states "taking into account the bilateral relationship and interest with friendly countries, issues proposed to be agreed upon would be resolved'. Issues proposed for agreement are basically related with India but not with other countries. These issues basically include the question that may encroach upon Nepal's national sovereignty like deploying air marshals in the airport, extradition treaty, deployment of Indian security force in Koshi Barrage and other places and bringing over hydro-project areas including Upper Karnali areas under India's control.

On such vital issues, this deal has attempted to sacrifice interest of the Nepali people and national independence by the use of ambiguous and abstract language.

2. On issues concerning keys of containers:

The act of handing over the key of containers to the Army Integration Special Committee against the decision of the party on September 1, 2011 was erroneous. On the issue of handing over the keys of containers, there has not been any kind of decision in any committee of the party. On August 24, 2011, Chairman Comrade Prachanda had presented a proposal concerning the "handing over the keys of weapon containers in the cantonments to the Army Integration Special Committee" in the meeting of the office bearers of the central office. The meeting objected to this and some other issues and demanded a meeting of the standing committee to take an appropriate decision on these issues. In this connection, PLA commander and politburo member comrade Pasang, on the eve of the standing committee meeting, had also registered a written proposal demanding that the keys of the weapon containers should not be handed over. In this situation, extensive deliberation was held on the proposal presented by the chairman and it was adopted with some necessary amendments. In the amended report, it has been stated to "hand over combatants, weapons and containers to Special Committee in a concrete manner soon after the formation of the Maoist-led government. But the issue of handing over the key has not been mentioned in it. Against this background, two issues need to be given special attention. Firstly, it does not mean that the keys should be handed over exactly on September 1, 2011 soon after the formation of the Maoist-led government. Secondly, it has stated to hand over combatants and containers along with weapons. The issue to hand over the keys of containers can by no means be raised without formulation of national security policy and finalizing the modality and criteria for armed and collective integration. Handing over the keys without settling other above mentioned issues would mean disarmament of the People's Liberation Army. This is against the declared policy of the party.

3. On the instruction to local administration for handing over the land and property: In the point 1.3 of relief programme of the Prime Minister's office and Council of Ministers unveiled on September 9, 2011, it has been stated that instruction would be issued to the local administration to ensure immediate handover of the public and private buildings/houses and land captured during the armed conflict to the concerned side. This instruction/ decision, as a matter of fact, has become a menace to the poor and landless farmers and tillers and real relief to the landlords. It should be remembered that the official decision of our party has been that such land and property can be returned only after alternative arrangements are made for poor and landless farmers and tillers. The decision to return the land by applying administrative force should, therefore, be immediately

scrapped.

4. On unilateral regrouping:

Recently, Chairman Comrade Prachanda, on various occasions, has expressed his views in public on unilateral regrouping of the combatants of the People's Liberation Army, who are living in cantonments. The party has not made any decision on this issue. Without determining on issues like national security policy, modality and criteria and without advancing the constitution making process in favour of the people, it would be a grave mistake to go for regrouping.

5. On Constitution:

A new constitution must be written from the Constituent Assembly. There can be no divided opinion on this. The party's position is that a people's federal republican constitution with anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism essence should be made that can guarantee progressive restructuring of the state and would also guarantee the interests and rights of the people belonging to oppressed class, ethnic communities, sex and regions and also the rights of peasants and working class. But the way Chairman Comrade Prachanda has been personally active to have the decision on constitution made through the task force or sub-committee under the Constituent Assembly is totally wrong. This has to be corrected.

6. On Minister Sarat Singh Bhandari's treacherous statement:

Even when Defence Minister Saratsingh Bhandari openly made his treacherous expression and threatened to split 22 districts on August 26, 2011, no serious attention was paid to it and no initiative was taken to sack him from the cabinet. It is a serious matter not to pay attention towards the sensitive issue of national independence and territorial integrity. An immediate decision must be taken on this issue and defence minister should be removed from the cabinet.

7. On rights of workers:

Recently the government has taken decision restricting the workers to stage a strike for four years. This is open and blatant violation of the workers. This decision should be immediately rectified.

8. On mysterious meeting:

Over the last few days, the way party Chairman, who is also former prime minister of the country, has been meeting with officials and staffs of Indian intelligence agency in Malaysia and Silguri (India) without maintaining decorum of his position and status is politically, legally and morally wrong. He has made these meetings further mysterious by not informing the party and the people about the contents of the discussion in these meetings. We, therefore, demand that the real information of the meeting should be made to the party and the people and that such mysterious meetings should be totally stopped in future.

Finally, what we want to state here is that the above mentioned issues are of serious nature form political standpoint. It is necessary to discuss these issues in the central committee in a serious manner and arrive at a certain conclusion. We, therefore, strongly demand that all activities and procedures relating to army integration and constitution writing that are against party policy and decisions be postponed until the meeting of the central committee.

It is more than clear that our party has time and again taken the decision of agreeing for army integration in a dignified manner based on the SSR (security sector reforms) model but not on the basis of DDR (disarm, dissolve and re-integrate) model. Similarly, our party has decided that people's federal republican constitution with the essence of antiimperialism and anti-feudalism should made but not the democratic republican constitution. It is not hidden from anybody that our party has decided to oppose imperialism in general and domestic comprador political force and expansionism in particular and also to stand firmly in favour of country's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence. In addition to this, our party has described the peace process or the army integration and constitution writing as inter-related issues and has decided that both of these tasks should be accomplished simultaneously in a package but not separately. The party has never taken any decision that constitution would be written only after accomplishing the tasks of peace process or army integration. But this situation has raised a serious question whether attempts are being made to degenerate the party into parliamentarism and national capitulation by diverting attention from these fundamental issues. In order not to allow this situation to arise, we make special appeal to you to hold extensive and serious discussion and deliberation in the central committee meeting on the issues concerning the violation of decisions of the central committee and the standing committee and also to rectify them and advance the party towards correct and revolutionary direction by transforming and unifying the party.

October 2, 2011

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Vice-Chairman UCPN (Maoist)

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