

EMERGENCE OF PARTY POLITICS IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH: A STUDY

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ABSTRACT: Party politics refers to the political actions and behaviours of the party workers and functionaries for the welfare of particular political party. It is not based on self interest and selfish motive of any party worker. Arunachal Pradesh (erstwhile NEFA) has been remained out of party politics for long period. It was only in early 1970s, a section of INC was founded in the state. As of now, there are numbers of political party including regional political party like people's party of Arunachal (PPA) and Arunachal Congress (AC) and national political party like Indian National congress (INC) and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) functioning in the state. The formation of these parties in the state has their own different history. Thus, the paper aims to study the emergence of these political parties in the state as well as to understand the nature of party politics in Arunachal Pradesh.

KEYWORDS:- party politics, Arunachal Pradesh, political party, INC, BJP.

I. INTRODUCTION

Political history of the world is the history of various political entities created by human race throughout their existence. Since from ancient time, the political entities of human have changed and expanded from basic system of self-governance and monarchy to the complex democratic and totalitarian system that exist today.

Party politics refer to political actions and behaviours motivated by what is best or right for the political party rather than for the people. In other words, party politics is the political acts and principles directed towards the interests of one political party or its members without reference to the common good. Party politics are the cornerstone of democracy. They lie at the hearts of the democratic process and the expression of the popular will. In a multi-party democracy like India, political parties have differing agendas. Democratic representative government cannot work without political parties. Political parties formulate, consolidate and express the public opinion. They play an important role by linking the government and the common people. Each political party's actions in policy-making and governance are dictated by their unique ideology. However, the stated aim of all parties is to maximize the welfare of the nation and its people. Parties have different approaches to governance in achieving this aim. Based on the activities, objectives and the interests the political parties can be categorised into national and regional Political Parties. "Political parties and the Party system in India have been greatly influenced by cultural diversity, social, ethnic, caste, community and religious pluralism, traditions of the nationalist movement, contrasting style of party leadership, and clashing with the ideological perspectives"ⁱ.

The origin of political parties can be traced as far as the era of Athenian democracy, where the people with similar interest united into groups, but the first Political parties in the modern sense can be traced in the age of the first wave of democracy in the United States and the famous three parties of French revolution i.e. the montagnavus, royalist, and Girondists. They developed from sorts of exclusive clubs to mass factions (one of the first such being the jacobites). The main goal of the political parties is to wield power in the state, and because of that they turned from ideologically pure groups into opportunistic 'catch – all' parties.

Party politics in India developed originally in the context of the struggle for the freedom. The history of emergence of political party in India can be traced back to the foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885 at Bombay (now Mumbai) which subsequently evolves as an organisational base for Indians national movements against British imperialism. The centre of political activities during the freedom movement of India was Indian National Congress. In course of time, INC attracted cross section of Indian Community and became a mass organisation and a platform to share and discussed the socio-political issue of Indians. Since early 20th century, numbers of national and regional political parties emerged in India such as communist party of India (CPI) in 1925, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 1980, All India Trinamool Congress (AITC) in 1998, Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) in 1999 etc. The rise of large numbers of Political parties including national and Regional political Party in the contemporary India makes the Indian democracy more strong.

II. EMERGENCE OF PARTY POLITICS IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

The history of party politics in Arunachal Pradesh has been remained in isolation for long years. The national political parties didn't reach the state till the late sixties. The socio political function of the state was govern by its own distinct traditional village council known as different names by different tribes such as Kebang among Adis, Tra-Tungdas among Singphos, Khapua, khapong, Khapa among Tangsas, Wangso-Wangsa among Wanchos, Ngothun among Nocetes, Mockchup among Khamptis, Buliyang among Apatanis, Jung among Sherdukpens, Mangjombana among Monpas, Raiz among Akas, etcⁱⁱ. The functioning and legitimisation of modern representatives' democratic process in the state were expressed with the introduction of Panchayati Raj Institutions in 1969 on accordance with Daying Ering committee of 1964 and establishment of legislative Assembly on 15th August, 1975. However, the candidates for Panchayati Raj and legislative assembly were just nominated. Though the Arunachal Pradesh Panchayati Raj Act 1969 introduced some democratic elements, the people of the state for the first time exercise their

franchise rights in the first parliamentary elections to lok sabha held on March 1977 for two representatives by electing Bakin Pertin from Arunachal East and R.K. Khirmey, a nominated candidate from Arunachal West.

The emergence of party politics in Arunachal Pradesh has theoretically started with the foundation of unit of Indian national congress (INC) in 1972. And the first general election for Arunachal Pradesh in 1977 introduced the party politics in the Union Territory. INC was the only political party in the state which put up the candidate for both the parliamentary seats in the 1977 general election. In the Arunachal West constituency, the INC candidate R.K. Khirme was the lone candidate filling up nomination and hence he got elected unopposed. But in Arunachal East constituency, independent candidate Bakin Pertin won the election by defeat INC candidate Nyodak Yongam. The Assembly election to the Union Territory (Arunachal Pradesh) was held in February 1978 for the 30 member seats and 3 other seats had to be nominated. Now there are two major national political parties and one regional political party functioning in the state. These are INC, BJP and People's Party of Arunachal (PPA) respectively.

Emergence of Indian National Congress (INC) in state

It was in the year 1967, the General Secretary of All India Congress committee (AICC), Kamraj Nagar, during his visit to Pasighat, the district headquarters of undivided Siang District, talked about the necessity of the formation of a unit of Indian National Congress (INC) in Arunachal Pradesh. However, the party formation could not initiate immediately because NEFA Sangham, the then leading organisation opposed the idea of formation of the party. P.K. Thungon reported that idea of party formation was discussed at the meeting of Meghalaya Pradesh Congress Committee (MPCC) held at MPCC office in 1971 in which P.K Thungon. As a result, a unit of Indian national congress (INC) made its first entry in the state on October 1972. The foundation of INC in the state deserved to be regarded as the birth of a party politics in Arunachal Pradesh. The party during its initial periods has operated through Meghalaya Pradesh Congress Committee, Shillong. It was in 1974 with the shifting of State Capital from Shillong to Itanagar, the Party had established its Office in Arunachal Pradesh with C.K. Gohain Namchoom as Party President. P.K. Thungon and Wangpha Lowang were appointed as Vice President and treasurer respectively. In the elections of 1977, INC was the only political party which put up candidates for both the Parliamentary Constituency i.e. (1) Arunachal West and (2) Arunachal East.

Emergence of People's Party of Arunachal (PPA)

Arunachal Pradesh being new born state in Party Politics has no trace of Regional Political Parties till the period of 1977. But it does not mean that there were no regional feelings before that.

Bakin Pertin, in his election manifesto of first parliamentary election, 1977 has promised to form a regional political party if he won the election. Therefore, in order to fulfil his election pledge, Bakin Pertin immediately after his election convened an all Leaders Conference at Pasighat, in April 1977 with an idea of forming a Regional political party to be called People Party of Arunachal (PPA) with Mithun as a party symbol. The conference was attended by the leaders from all over Arunachal Pradesh including Tomo Riba, the then Minister of Agriculture in the Thungon Ministryⁱⁱⁱ. As a result, PPA was formed and the party constitution was adopted on 10th April 1977. Bakin Pertin was unanimously elected as the Party President and Wanglat Lowangcha as its Secretary. Tomo Riba resigned from Thungon Ministry and joined PPA become vice-President of the Party. The party was granted registration in August, 1977 and was subsequently recognised by the election Commission of India after the state's first general election to the Legislative Assembly in 1978. With this, Bakin Pertin sowed the seeds of regional Political Party in the state. The ideological bases of the PPA assumed a national character with a Regional base. It stood for egalitarian society reflecting the vision of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. It stood by its faith in democracy, secularism, socialism and national integrity^{iv}.

Reasons for emergence of PPA

There are divergent views regarding the reasons for formation of People Party of Arunachal Pradesh as follows:

Bakin Pertin, the founder of party was particularly impressed by the personality of Laldenga, the founder of Mizo National Front (MNF). Therefore, he wanted to form a Regional Party in Arunachal Pradesh in the line of MNF so that the party shall not dance to the tune of high command in Delhi.

Bakin Pertin, when he was denied Congress ticket in the first General election, 1977 felt some kind of injustice done to him which gave rise to a favourable situation for formation of an idea of regional political party in the State^v. Therefore, Bakin Pertin while his election campaigning as an Independent candidate convened a meeting with JNC student and promised them to form a regional political party if he wins the election. Therefore, Bakin Pertin, immediately after his election, formed the first regional political party i.e. PPA on April 1977 to fulfil his election manifesto.

It is said that late Bakin Pertin and K.A.A. Raja, the then Lt. Governor of the state of Arunachal Pradesh has personal dislikeness to each other. As a result, Bakin Pertin could not manage to secure Congress ticket for its first General Election of 1977 as Raja was not in his favour. Raja probably didn't favour Bakin Pertin because of his religious inclination. On the other hand Pertin being a Christian by faith may have doubt that Raja was determined to turn Arunachal Pradesh into Hindu land because during his tenure many temples came up and indigenous Arunachalee were instigated to burn down churches^{vi}.

Objectives and Ideology of PPA

According to its constitution, the party was formed as an alternative to the national political Parties and frees its people from the bondage of High commandism. It is believes that PPA was formed to bring back the 'political barometer' back inside the state so that the people of the Arunachal Pradesh may nor controlled and dance with the tune of central government. It felt that the problems facing the people of state can only be solved by enabling the functioning of regional political institution which fulfils people's aspirations and needs. The party considered the interest of people of Arunachal Pradesh as supreme and it promised to uphold wishes of the people to preserve the distinctive inherent culture of the state, to safeguard the individual freedom, spirit of democracy and rule of law. The Article II of the constitution of PPA listed the following aims and objectives of the Party:-

- a) The party will endeavour to prepare a ground for peaceful co-existence of the tribes, caste and creed of Arunachal Pradesh with the fraternal understanding.
- b) The party aims at safeguarding the individual freedom, spirit of democracy and rule of law.
- c) The party will uphold firmly the wishes of the people to preserve the distinctive inherent culture of its varied tribes of the state.
- d) The interest of the people of Arunachal Pradesh shall be main guiding principle with all overriding priority and precedence over those of parity.
- e) The party will work for speedy economic development with special emphasis on Education, Rural development and agro-industrialisation.
- f) The party will uphold the Gandhian Principles.
- g) The party will endeavour to bring the people of Arunachal Pradesh to the main stream of national life^{vii}.

The party's faith in democracy, secularism, socialism and national integrity is reflected in the 1984 Election manifesto of the party. It opposed any kind of suppression, exploitation of man by man and wanted to remove inequality in our political, socio-cultural and economic life.

Emergence of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

After the formation of BJP at the Centre in April 1980, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the then National President of BJP has earned popularity all over country. Viewing the popularity of new party in the centre, Lijum Ronya the then PPA MLA being not happy with the party's leadership and its working style in the state wrote a letter to newly formed BJP at centre referring his willingness to join BJP. After that he got reply from centre who told him to meet Banshilal Sonee, the then North East border area in-charge who was camping at Guwahati and there he took membership of the party on 16th April 1981. Then the BJP organisation in the State started w.e.f 20th August 1981 with the approval of Sonee^{viii}. However, the formal foundation of BJP in Arunachal Pradesh is traced back to the Month of April 1982 with the appointment of both Lijum Ronya and M.R. Dodum as joint-convenor of the BJP unit in the state by vide appointment order dated April 28th 1982. Subsequently the National Council meeting of BJP were held in Surat (Gujarat) on 4-6th June 1982 which was attended by Ronya and Dodum as the representatives of Arunachal Pradesh. Afterwards a series of meetings has been done in regards the foundation of BJP in the State. One of the important meetings was held when Banshilal Sonee, the then North East border Area in charge or observer of BJP called an informal meeting held at Prof. Banshidar Dutta's house, North Lakhimpur (Assam) on 22nd October 1982, to talk about the initiation of Party North East India including Arunachal Pradesh. In the meeting, the establishment of unit of BJP in Arunachal Pradesh and financial related to initiated the party in the state has also discussed.

It was during 1981, after viewing the popularity of Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Nongmei Namati, the first speaker of provincial legislative Assembly invited Shri Dodum to Deomali to discuss some issue with him. He approached Dodum to join BJP under the leadership of Vajpayee. Finally both of them took flight for Delhi to meet Vajpayee and it took them 19 days to meet Vajpayee. During those 19 days they met many prominent leader of BJP including L.K. Advani and it is through Vajpayee they got to know Shri Banshilal Sonee, the then North East Border Areas in-charge of BJP who was campaigning at Guwahati (Assam). By next day, they took a flight back to Guwahati to meet Sonee. There they met him. Afterwards he started campaigning in the State as he convinced many political personnel including Shri Techhi Toka from Naharlagun, Neelam Taram from Ziro to attend Lakhimpur meeting held on 1982. But later on he resigned from the Party when his estimated financial budget for organising the meeting was not approved by Sonee. He stated that "we are not industrialist, we can't afford the expenditure of the party meeting by own pocket"^{ix}.

Techhi Toka, former PPA leader of the state, told the researcher that "they came to know that people of Arunachal Pradesh were not like or support regional political party i.e. PPA in the state any more. At the same time, popularity of Vajpayee and his party i.e. BJP at the Centre made him convinced by M.R. Dodum to join the party. So, with an aim to root out the Congress from the State, they started working for expanding the party in the state. However, when he got to know that the first elected MLA of the party Lijum Ronya defected to Congress government, he quit the Party and returns to his parental party PPA"^x.

On 12th August 1983, a state level BJP organising meeting was held at Naharlagun, Model Village at Techhi Toka's residence which was presided over by Shri Lijum Ronya. As a result of the meeting, a unit of BJP in the state has found with the appointment of state level BJP unit committee members under the leadership of Lijum Ronya and Techhi Toka as state BJP president and General Secretary respectively. The formal recognition of the committee was made on 5th October 1983. So, the Party under this committee made its first entry in the electoral Politics of the state in the 3rd General Election for the UT Legislative Assembly held on 24th December 1984 in which the party placed six candidates out of this Lijum Ronya, founding members of BJP got elected.

Emergence of Arunachal Congress (AC)

The wave of regionalism that has arisen in Arunachal Pradesh in the late seventies and early eighties died down within a short period of ten years. The PPA, first regional Political party of the state which formed in 1977, was got assimilated with Janata Dal on December 1989. The second wave of Regionalism has started once again in Arunachal Pradesh with the foundation of Arunachal Congress (AC) in 1996 by Gegong Apang.

Arunachal Congress was born as a regional political party in the backdrop of Anti-refugee struggle of indigenous people of the state. AC was the direct outcome of the historic Peoples Referendum Rally held on 20th September 1995 at Rajiv Gandhi Stadium, Naharlagun. The then representatives of the people in the state assembly, the member of both the houses of parliament, Secretaries, president of all the political parties, and student organisation signed five point resolution on behalf of the people of Arunachal Pradesh on the mentioned Rally, in which they vowed to resign from their respective parties and form a Regional Party if the Central Government fail to deport the refugee from the land of Arunachal Pradesh within the stipulated time^{xi}. However, when the objectives of Referendum Rally were not achieved, Arunachal Congress was formed on September 20, 1996 with the

aim to deport the refugee from Arunachal Pradesh. The Party symbol of Arunachal congress (AC) was 'two daos intersecting' which is the symbol of bravery, courage to fight or to struggle.

Nevertheless, AC has enlarged its scopes, aims, objectives and activities to protect the larger regional interests of the state. The vision and ideology of AC has developed out of needs and requirements of the people of the state with the change of time.

Self-confident and self-reliant and assertiveness to achieved its own agenda are the basic philosophy of the Arunachal Congress. Historically Arunachal Pradesh was independent and the people have been self-esteemed and proud of their rich cultural heritage and moral values. Egalitarian and social justice has been dear to the Arunachalee. Thus the party advocates for three Fs i.e. freedom from fear, freedom from wants and freedom from interference^{xii}.

Reasons behind the formation of AC

Regarding the reasons for the formation of AC, Apang while interacting to the researcher said that he had to form such party to protect the interest of the people of Arunachal Pradesh since the central leadership of the party at that time are were supporting the people of the state on the chakmas and Hajongs issue in the state^{xiii}. However, there are various different theories floating regarding the formation of AC in the state. These are:

It is reported that, Gegong Apang's decision to float a regional party by breaking Congress I was because of his long standing quarrel with Omem Moyong Deori, the then Congress working committee member and P.K. Thungon. Apang fights with the Congress high command with the backing of two independent candidates' shri Tomo Riba and Wancha Rajkumar in the 1996 Lok Sabha election which defeated the official Congress I candidates P.K. Thungon and Laeta Umbrey. Subsequently in Rajya Sabha election Omen Moyong Deori was voted out even after the written directives to the Gegong Apang led State government by All India Congress Committee (AICC) to ensure victory of the party candidates Omem Moyong Deori.

Apang left the Party due to his differences with the then Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao. Apang wanted Talar Doye to be the president of Arunachal Pradesh Congress Committee (APCC). However, Rao inspite of Apang's request, appointed Tadak Dulom as the President of APCC. Resulted, on 20th September 1996 Apang with his council of ministers submitted their resignation to the then Governor, Mata Prasad at Raj Bhawan. And immediately after their resignation, he form AC with Talar Doye as president.

It is learnt that Apang had the feeling of egoistic, dictatorship kind of mentality in the politics of Arunachal Pradesh at that time. He drop four Congress Ministers without the approval of congress high Command, he appoint Nabam Rebia inspite of clear written directives from AICC to ensure victory of Omem Moyong Deori for the Rajya Sabha member^{xiv}.

Objectives and ideology of AC

The basic ideology of Arunachal Pradesh emerged from three Fs i.e. Freedom from fear, Freedom from wants, and Freedom from interference. The party believes that the people of Arunachal shall live fearlessly with self-sufficient economy and non-interference from outsider. Following are the main objective and ideology issued by Arunachal Congress on its 11th foundation Day Celebration at Pasighat on 20th September 2006:-

To fulfil the unsolved regional problem and emerging diverse regional interest of the state. The interest of Arunachal Pradesh as a region and the interest of the India as a nation are sometimes clash and interrogated. For instance the settlement of refugees and granting them political rights in Arunachal Pradesh is the interest of the India while people of Arunachal strongly against it.

To provides assertiveness, self-confident, self-esteemed, self-reliance and self-identity to the people of the state. Mongoloid appearance of the people of North East especially Arunachal Pradesh is greeted with "Daju, Kancha and chini" in mainland India. This biasness in perception and complexity in the behaviour of so called civilised and mainstream people undermined the self-confident, self-esteemed of the people from Arunachal Pradesh.

Arunachal Congress stands for more autonomy in formulating plan, vision and implementing those plan and vision without much interference from the Central Government. People of Arunachal Pradesh have been suffering from long history of denial and deprivation from the national Political Party and the Central Government. Sometimes, the policies and programme adopted by central government problematic for the heterogeneous tribal state like Arunachal Pradesh. Such lacunae can be filled if the people of the state are allowed more autonomy in formulating plan for its development. Arunachal Congress strives to be the political party to herald that vision so that it may reshaped the state as per sweet ability and acceptability for the sustainably development of the state.

To deport the chakmas and Hajongs Refugees from the state was the core issue behind the formation of the party. When centre government fails to fulfil the demand of people of the state to deport the chakmas and Hajongs refugees from state, state political representatives defected from their respective seats to form AC^{xv}.

III. NATURE OF PARTY POLITICS IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH

The rise of state politics in the contemporary India invites the student of Political science to give close look or study the nature of Party politics of the particular State. The nature of the Party Politics in India varies from State to State without many differences. The nature of Party politics of Arunachal Pradesh can be summarised as follows:

The regional political party is usually found unsuccessful every time in every election in the State. The wave of regionalism that was witnessed in the late seventies and early eighties has died down within a short period of 10 years when PPA merged with Janata Dal in 1989. The second wave of regionalism started with the formation of Arunachal congress in 1996 by Gegong Apang but again it got assimilated with INC in 2009. The glory of regional political party that has presence in the mind of people during PPA periods is no more in present generation. Many people believe that reason for unsuccessful of regional political parties in the state is lack of own resources. Arunachal Pradesh has no sufficient resources to stand independently for its cause that is why leader of the state usually prepares national political party to get fund from centre. Kamen Ringu, the Chairman of PPA says in an

interview with researcher that “we cannot compete the mighty National political parties since they are funded by rich Marwaries and Money materials is the number one enemy for Regional Political Party”.

It is observed that there has never been a competitive party politics in Arunachal Pradesh. It was the Indian National Congress which has been governing the State since its Union Territory Phase. INC has been ruling the state even after the presence of few regional and some National Political Parties in the state except in 1977 by Janata Party, 1978 by PPA, 1996 by AC and 2004 by BJP when Apang with his all MLAs joined the Party. Therefore Arunachal Pradesh is termed as a “Congress State” politically. Hence, Nani Bath says “the theory of one party dominance is best fitted for the Politics of Arunachal Pradesh”.

The politics of Arunachal Pradesh can be termed as “Ruling Phobia”. No ruling government at the centre was voted out of power nor was any ruling Party Candidate defeated in Lok Sabha election except in 1977 and 1996 when Apang with his all MLA submitted their resignation to form regional political party called Arunachal Congress (AC). It is because of the ruling phobia nature, the elected leaders of the state usually shifted from one party to another in order to make its own place in the ruling government. It may be because of lack of own resources in the state, our state government totally depended on the centre for fund.

Voters of the State are ideologically not committed to any political party. They have little concern about the programmes and policies of that party. In fact they simply cast their votes in consideration of clan and kinship issue especially in MLA seats. On the other hand voters at the parliamentary election does not seem to vote on the line of clan and kin but they (voters) tends to support those parliamentary candidates whom their MLA is likely to support. The party leaders or political actors also have nothing to do with party ideology. A leader joins a party not because of their likeness to the party ideology but to get opportunity to contest election under that party. Most of them are very opportunist. Almost every candidate seeks party tickets of ruling party, if they do not get it they contest from opposition ticket if not from Independents but as soon as they are elected as a member of legislatures Assembly (MLA), they shifted to the ruling party.

Defection is the term used for opportunistic transfer of loyalties from one political party to another. Defection in the State is very common phenomenon. The first defection politics in the state has started before the first Assembly election of the state in 1978 just immediate after when Janata party Government came at centre, the state unit of congress leader join Janata Party and fought election as Janata Party candidates. So, according to the researcher the legislators in the state get defected to the ruling government in the state in order to seek opportunities and personal profits under the ruling government. There would be very rare to find a political actor who has no history of defection in the state.

The qualities and capabilities of the candidates do not work here during the election. How much capable the candidates may be, it is the kinship and clan and money factor which influence the result of the election. Voters of the state prefer to vote on the kinship line.

Materials base politics is common nature of party politics in almost every state of India in general and Arunachal Pradesh in particular. It is observed that the voters of the state are usually buy by offering huge amount of money, job offer, vehicles, house building materials, etc. during election time. Therefore, it is believes that the candidates who are richest among others usually gets elected in the election. Apart from that muscle politics are also working here. For instance in 2011, we witnessed the political turmoil by using muscle power for the chair of Chief Minister in Arunachal Pradesh by Nabam Tuki and Jarbom Gamlin group which cause the destruction of public as well as private property and took away the life of few.

There is no strong opposition Party in the state. No doubt, there are numbers of national political parties and few regional party including INC, BJP, NCP, TMC, PPA, etc. exist in the state but no party has strong hold in the Party politics of Arunachal Pradesh except INC. In fact no party could make itself a strong enough to stand against the mighty congress in the state.

IV. CONCLUSION

Thus, it is known that Arunachal Pradesh has experience party politics lately. People of the state does not go for regional political party because the state has lacks in own resources to serve the people. It depends on centre government for the welfare activities of the state. Thus, the people choose national political party ruling at the centre in every election except in 1977 and 1996. It is observed that the term party politics does not work in Arunachal Pradesh because most of the party functionaries shift their loyalty when their self interest are overlook for the benefits of the party. Some politicians even admit that in Arunachal Pradesh, everybody is doing individual politics not party politics. Material politics play important role in the politics of Arunachal Pradesh. It is witnessed that most of the voters in the state votes to those candidates who offer them more money. Thus, the candidate who has more money is believed to be winning the election.

ⁱSatri Veera Kesalu,(2013), Genesis and Evaluation Political Parties in India, International Research Journal of Social Sciences, Vol 2(2), pp. 56-62.

ⁱⁱ Sanjay Dubey(2005), Dynamics of Tribal local Polity and Panchayati Raj in Arunachal Pradesh, Premiere Publishing House, New Delhi,p.2.5.

ⁱⁱⁱ B. Satapathy, (1990), Dynamics of Political Processes, Omsons Publications, New Delhi, p.46.

^{iv} B. Satapathy, (1990), *ibid*, p.47.

^v Nani Bath, project reports on Regional Political Parties in Arunachal Pradesh: A study of their emergence, ideology and role in State Politics, p. 27

^{vi} Nani Bath, *ibid*, p.28-30.

- vii Constitution of PPA.
- viii Interview with Lijum Ronya on 10th April 2018.
- ix Interview with M.R. Dodum on 9th November 2015.
- x Interview with Techhi Toka on 21st December 2015.
- xi Vision and ideology of Arunachal Congress, issued on the 11th foundation day celebration, 2006, pasighat, p.1.
- xii Ibid.
- xiii Interview with Gegong Apang on 4th march 2019.
- xiv Nani Bath opcit.
- xv Constitution of Arunachal congress.

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