

2024 Lok Sabha Elections - Communist Party of India (Marxist) Manifesto Analysis



Communist Party of India (Marxist) CPI(M)

Sr. No	Issue	Assessment	Sr. No	Issue	Assessment
1	Law and Justice		8	Women & Child Development	
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3	Youth Affairs and Sports		10	Environment, Forest and Climate Change	
4	Human Resource Development				
5	Agriculture and Farmers Welfare				
6	Labour and Employment				
7	Social Justice and Empowerment				

2. Detailed Analysis

1 Law and Justice



Detailed Proposals:

- A full-fledged review and revision of the three Criminal Codes to eliminate anti-democratic provisions and enhancement of police powers; protect right to dissent.
- Amend 'The CEC and Other ECs (Appointment, Conditions of Service and Term of Office) Act', 2023 to provide for members of the EC to be appointed by the President on the advice of a committee consisting of the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition and Chief Justice of Supreme Court.
- Amend the Constitution to make parliamentary approval mandatory for any international treaty.
- Bring the election expenditure of political parties under ceiling like that of candidates; ensure transparency and accountability of electoral expenditure.
- Constituting a National Judicial Commission as an independent Constitutional body comprising of representatives from judiciary, executive, legislature and Bar for appointments, transfers and to examine instances of commission/omission of judges and to ensure judicial accountability.
- Constitutional amendment to make the decisions of the Inter-State Council binding on the Union Government; National Development Council to be granted Constitutional status; restoring the Planning Commission, which is to act as an executive wing of the NDC.
- Devolving 50 per cent of the total pool of collection of Central taxes to the states; sharing of surcharges and cesses with the states.
- Election Commissioners must be legally debarred from enjoying any office after their retirement either under the Government or as a Governor or member of a legislature.
- Electoral Reforms
- Empowering regulators and investigating agencies to thoroughly probe corporate crimes.
- Enact legislation to ensure mandatory social auditing and accountability to evaluate the impact and performance of public programmes. This must cover all areas of governance and empower every citizen to hold government accountable to its mandate.
- Enlarge the resource base by taxing the rich, corporate profits and luxury goods.
- Ensure the decentralisation of powers to urban local bodies by strengthening the 74th Constitutional Amendment.
- Ensuring adequate representation and diversity in the judiciary at all levels.
- Ensuring affordable electricity at subsidized rates; repealing of the Electricity (Amendment) Bill 2022; halting prepaid smart metering in the TOTEX model by private corporations; rollback privatization of public electricity sector; reintegration of all unbundled power utilities; cancellation of existing private licenses in the power sector; eradication of the virtual private power market and dynamic pricing.
- Ensuring exemplary punishment for perpetrators of communal violence regardless of their public or official position.
- Halt any further dilution of government equity in public sector banks and strengthen the public sector in banking and insurance with strict adherence to priority sector lending norms.
- Immediate banning of all illegal private armies and vigilante groups like the various „senas“ that are attacking dalits and minorities in the name of cow protection and spreading communal hatred. Enactment of appropriate legal measures for reining in and taking action against organisations and institutions involved in spreading communal hate and attacking minorities; enact a law against lynching.

- Instituting effective mechanisms for providing protection to RTI users and anti- corruption crusaders and amending the Whistleblowers Protection Act to make it effective.
- Introduction of proportional representation with partial list system.
- Involve state governments in major economic decisions of national significance, restore decision making powers of states and allow greater fiscal flexibility for revenue raising by states.
- Making non-tax revenues of Central government a part of the divisible pool and introduction of a suitable Constitutional amendment.
- Measures to safeguard the independence/autonomy of institutions such as the higher judiciary, Election Commission of India and other Constitutional bodies.
- Private Financial sector institutions, banking and insurance sector in particular, and all public-private partnership projects be brought under the purview of Lokpal Act, Whistleblowers Protection Act and other related anti-corruption legislations.
- Protecting individual rights and freedoms and for the review and reform of all provisions that place unreasonable restrictions constraints on freedom of speech, expression and individual rights.
- Protecting the independence of Statutory, Constitutional and Regulatory Bodies by ensuring transparency in appointments to oversight, regulatory and adjudicatory bodies, like the CVC, CBI, ECI, National/State Human Rights Commissions, Lokpal, Lokayuktas, Womens" Commissions, SC/ST Commissions etc., and for adopting measures to prevent and control corruption of all kinds, especially in high places; effectively redressing grievances, protecting whistle blowers; making access to justice, speedy and affordable; and reforming the electoral system.
- Protecting the rights of minorities to lead a life of equality and dignity without any fear or discrimination.
- Public declaration of assets by Judges to be made mandatory.
- Ratify the UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.
- Reforming the judicial system to provide speedy relief at affordable cost to the common people; filling up vacancies in the judiciary.
- Removal of RSS personnel appointed in key positions.
- Remove death penalty from the statutes.
- Repeal the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), National Security Act (NSA) and the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA).
- Repealing anti-conversion laws in states that target minorities.
- Repealing the amendment in the MMDR Act framed to allow monopolized commercial mining of critical minerals like rare earth materials, lithium, etc., essential for future energy security; halting further incentivization, liberalization, and privatization of the mineral sector, including crude oil exploration.
- Repealing the Telecommunications Bill, 2023; reversing pro-private telecom policies to encourage telecom and internet penetration in rural and remote areas via public sector; strengthening public sector telecom companies BSNL and MTNL by guaranteeing a level playing field and rapid roll-out of 4G and 5G services. Ensuring the right to internet;
- Replace the PMLA with suitable law to prevent misuse. The ED must be divested of its law-enforcement powers.
- Replacing Article 356 with a suitable provision and amending Article 355 to prevent their misuse.
- Restore the Planning Commission.
- Reversing the disastrous policies aimed to dismantle and destroy all PSUs through different administrative orders and guidelines; doing away with all DIPAM- initiated PSU privatization efforts.
- Review the current role and position of Governors. Governors to be appointed by the President from a panel of three eminent persons suggested by the Chief Minister.
- Rolling back the dismantling of the Ordnance Factory Board (OFB) and strengthen indigenous defence manufacturing units; reversal of private entry into the defense production industry; halt FDI inflows.
- Scrapping of the mandatory use of Aadhaar and biometrics for all social welfare schemes.
- Scrapping the Citizenship Amendment Act.
- Scrapping the Fiscal Responsibility and Budget Management Act and setting a minimum floor for social sector spending as a binding constraint in fiscal exercise for both Centre and state governments.

- Setting a target for minimum level of Local Self-Government expenditure to GDP; funds devolved to the local bodies to be routed through the state governments.
- State funding in the form of material for recognized political parties; prohibition of corporate funding to political parties.
- Steps to strengthen the institution of Lok Pal and ensure its independence from the executive, based on the experience of the functioning of Lok Pal in the past four years.
- Stop the misuse of the Official Secrets Act (OSA) and reform it suitably.
- Strengthening the Right to Information Act and establishing institutionalised mechanisms for citizens to participate in all aspects of decision making in governance; implementing Section 4 of the RTI Act, for a transparent and participatory pre-legislative process soliciting citizen feedback before laws are passed.
- Suitably amending the definition of criminal contempt in order to prevent its misuse in suppressing dissent.
- The Representation of the People Act to be amended to specify the jurisdiction of election observers.
- To ensure faith is restored in democracy, by appropriately amending the rules regarding the use of Electronic Voting Machines (EVMs); re-sequencing of the electronic units in the polling booths – voting units, control units and VVPAT. At least 50 per cent of VVPAT must be tallied with that recorded in the control unit, before declaration of results.
- Transferring Centrally Sponsored Schemes under a State subject with funds to the states.
- Withdrawal of conditionalities imposed upon the states like the passage of FRBM Act; states to have a say in the composition and terms of reference of the Finance Commissions.

2 Health & Family Welfare



- **Adopt a people-centred, rational pharmaceutical policy with effective cost- based price controls, elimination of irrational and hazardous formulations, and a comprehensive generic medicines policy covering labeling, prescription and availability at all retail outlets; ensure availability of essential drugs free of cost at all public health care facilities.**
- **Effective, appropriate regulatory oversight of AYUSH system of medicine, while supporting evidence-based use of such systems.**
- **Effectively regulate the private health care sector, especially corporate hospitals which should be brought under the Clinical Establishment Act. Modify the National Clinical Establishment Act, 2010 ensuring implementation of the Patients' Rights Charter and standardization of reasonable rates and quality of various services.**
- **Enactment of a legislation for employment guarantee in all urban areas.**
- **Ensure right-based access to comprehensive treatment and care of persons with mental illness through integration of the revised District Mental Health Programme with the National Health Mission.**
- **Extend and reform the ESI scheme to effectively protect workers' health in both organized and unorganized sector, and also covering occupational health.**
- **Give priority to the setting up of new public colleges to train doctors and nurses, especially in under-served areas such as in the North East and in poorer states. Training institutes to be set up for health workers.**
- **Initiating programs to break monopolies of pharmaceutical multinational companies in critical areas.**
- **Make compulsory the Ethical Code on Marketing Practices of Medicines.**
- **Make right to free health care justiciable through enactment of appropriate legislations at both Central and state levels.**
- **Out-of-pocket expenditure on health to be brought to below 25 per cent of health spending; expand and strengthen the public healthcare system to ensure free availability of quality**

health care at all levels, including entire range of medicines, diagnostics and vaccines, and accountability to local communities.

- Public expenditure on health to be raised to 5 per cent of the GDP, with at least 2 per cent coming from the Centre.
- Resist dilution of India's Patent Laws and reject provisions in Free Trade Agreements that obstruct domestic production of low-cost generic drugs.
- Retain health services as a state subject with strong emphasis on federalism.
- Reverse the privatisation of health care services and outsourcing of services through PPPs.
- Revive public sector pharmaceutical units to harness them for production of essential drugs and vaccines, and reverse privatization trends; reinstate Open-Source Drug Discovery (OSDD) programmes and collaborative R&D for affordable medicines; remove GST for life-saving and crucial medicines.
- Scrap the government-funded PMJAY/Ayushman Bharat health insurance scheme and replace it with a Public-centred Universal Health Care system.
- Strictly control and regulate clinical trials and prohibit unethical clinical trials; develop a justiciable charter of rights for clinical trial participants.

3 Youth Affairs And Sports



- Drafting a new National Youth Policy to address the concerns of the youth.
- Firm action against the spread of drugs menace.
- Lifting the ban on recruitment in central government and state government services; filling up of all vacant posts in central and state governments within a time bound framework.
- Promoting the all round – physical, cultural and social – development of youth by opening up avenues in the fields of their choice.
- Provision of jobs or unemployment allowance.
- Setting up Sports Missions sponsored by both central and state governments to promote sports activities and training facilities for youth.
- The inclusion of the Right to Work as a constitutional right.

4 Human Resource Development



- Academic excellence and professional competence will be the sole criteria for all appointments to bodies like Universities, the Indian Council for Historical Research, Indian Council for Social Science Research, University Grants Commission, National Council for Educational Research and Training, etc. A review committee of experts will be set up to reverse the communalisation of syllabus.
- Enact Rohit Act to provide guidance and help to students from the dalit and adivasi communities; mental health camps and accessible helplines for students.
- Enacting legislation to regulate fees, admissions and curricula in private educational institutions.
- Enhance public funding for higher education.
- Ensuring democratic rights of students, teachers and non-teaching staff in all educational institutions; students' union elections to be made mandatory in all higher educational institutions.
- Establishing a Common School Education System; stop closure or merger of government schools; upgrade government schools on the Kerala model; bring down student ratio to 20:1

- Expanding secondary education to reduce dropouts and making it universal; improving quality of education and infrastructure in SSA schools, allowing flexibility of rules, timing and other aspects to ensure retention of girl students and pupils in backward areas and for otherwise marginalized groups.
- Formulating scientific, progressive and democratic curriculum and syllabi at all levels of education in a way that recognizes India's social and cultural diversity.
- Implementing the Right to Education Act to provide free and compulsory elementary education; amending the RTE to institutionalise the concept of neighborhood schooling, extending it beyond the elementary level and providing free education for all continuing students; ensuring every school is RTE compliant.
- No FDI in higher education.
- Public expenditure on education to be 6 per cent of GDP
- Purging all school textbooks and syllabus in higher education of content reflecting communal bias and prejudices.
- Regularise teachers currently employed as contract or para teachers.
- Reinstate overseas fellowship for students from the marginalized communities.
- Set-up Gender Sensitisation Committees Against Sexual Harassment in university and college campuses.
- Steps to remove communal content in education and text books. Ensure no Vice- Chancellors or key personnel in State funded institutions have anti-secular views.
- Stop attacks on the autonomy of higher education institutions.
- Stopping the implementation of the National Education Policy 2020; no to commercialization, communalization and centralization of education.

5 **Agriculture and Farmers Welfare**



- Banning foreign trawlers and destructive fishing practices by big trawlers; scrapping of deep sea fishing related policies that allow big corporate fishing in our territorial waters and EEZ, while restricting access to domestic small fishers.
- Design and implement a comprehensive livestock insurance scheme that covers all diseases as well as epidemics.
- Developing warehousing corporation infrastructure to facilitate procurement of crops other than grains and primary edibles like fruits and vegetables; stop renting out infrastructure of the warehousing corporation to private monopolies
- Double public investment in agriculture in three years, with special focus on irrigation, and rural market infrastructure; focus on Integrated Water Resource Management (IWRM) with respect to all water resources.
- Enacting comprehensive legislation for agricultural workers to ensure minimum wages, the right to bargain and measures of social security such as pensions, accident compensation etc., with central funding.
- Ensure adequate subsidies are extended to the production, supply, and retail sale of animal feed; protect livestock farmers from fluctuations in input prices.
- Ensure cheap, timely and adequate supply of institutional credit to agriculture; reform guidelines to ensure that institutional credit is not diverted to corporate interests in agriculture; introduce a new target to ensure that an overwhelming proportion of the direct credit to agriculture is provided to small and marginal farmers.
- Ensure comprehensive freedom from debt and loan waiver to all small, middle and distressed farmers and agricultural workers in rural India, covering both institutional and private debt owed to moneylenders.
- Ensure legal guarantee for an adequate monthly pension for small, marginal, and middle farmers and

agricultural workers.

- Ensure legal guarantee for the Minimum Support Price (MSP), which will be at least one and a half times the comprehensive cost of production (C2+50 per cent).
- Expand the coverage and implementation of the MSPs; increase the number of crops for which MSPs are announced; ensure effective procurement in all states; Increase the number of APMC mandis in India to 10,000 within three years.
- Extend labour subsidies to small and marginal farmers by bringing them under the cover of the MGNREGS.
- Implement a universal, comprehensive crop insurance scheme for all farmers allowing for state-specific flexibilities in design; ensure that insurance covers yield risks and price risks; establish weather monitoring stations in every village; expand the role of public insurance companies in crop insurance coverage; establish a price stabilization fund for protecting farmers from price risks.
- Increase public investments in agricultural production, research and irrigation.
- Increasing the minimum wage of all rural and agricultural workers to Rs 700 per day; ensuring equal wages for the same work to men and women agricultural workers; providing special allowances for pregnant agricultural workers. Revamping the entire mechanism for effective and strict enforcement of the Minimum Wages Act.
- Promote and strengthen cooperatives for agricultural production, credit supply, dairy farming, water use, input purchase, crop storage, processing, value addition and marketing; strictly ensure that the cooperative system outside the multi-state cooperatives function under the state governments.
- Promote the establishment of farmer producer companies as well as women's self-help groups, joint liability groups and other women's collectives in agricultural production; ensure that these collective associations are immune to private corporate appropriation.
- Providing all agricultural workers with minimum basic amenities, such as housing, sanitation facilities, drinking water, medical facilities, first-aid and transport in the event of injuries.
- Providing for decentralized tripartite boards, with single window system and pan-Indian eligibility, to protect migrant agricultural workers.
- Providing for separate legislations and courts for the protection of Dalit and Adivasi agricultural workers against all forms of caste, ethnic, religious and gender based oppression.
- Providing public supported childcare and crèche facilities in all agricultural workspaces.
- Public provisioning and subsidies for agricultural inputs such as seeds, fertilizers, electricity/diesel.
- Radically reduce the cost of agricultural inputs like seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, diesel, water and electricity by strictly regulating the corporate lobby and increasing government subsidies.
- Recognizing the rights of landless agricultural workers as persons affected and eligible to receive full compensation as well as resettlement and rehabilitation in all cases of land acquisition and displacement under the LARR Act, 2013.
- Removing the cap of 100 days of work in MGNREGS and raising it to 200 days of work; ensuring that wages paid under the MGNREGS are not lower than the minimum wage of Rs 700 per day in any state. Ensuring the timely payment of unemployment allowance when workers are not provided with work under the MGNREGS.
- Repeal unequal and exploitative multilateral and bilateral Free Trade Agreements like India-ASEAN FTA, India-EU FTA; ensure that all trade negotiations protect India's economic sovereignty and cooperative federalism.
- Reverse changes in the intellectual property regime that favour big businesses in agriculture; ensure the strict regulation of private agricultural research vis-à-vis seed prices, royalties, farmer's right to save seeds, and the protection of biodiversity.
- Revive the cooperative credit system in India; ensure that credit cooperatives are democratically run with regular elections held.
- Safeguarding the constitutional rights of Dalit and Adivasi agricultural workers and specifically ensuring the comprehensive development of Dalit and Adivasi habitations.
- Scrap the Nutrient Based Subsidy regime in fertilizers; increase subsidies to agriculture and reinstate fertilizer price control to ensure availability of quality agricultural inputs at affordable prices.
- Scrapping Blue-Economy Policy that allows private and foreign corporates to extract rich mineral resources from our ocean-bed.
- Setting up special welfare board for fish workers and providing them identity cards and social security schemes.

- Withdrawing the CRZ notification 2018 which deprives fishers of their right to the coasts.

6 Labour & Employment



- 200 days of work under MNREGA to be assured; the list of permissible works under the MNREGA to be expanded to include all activities that improve the quality of life in rural areas; withdrawal of the App based attendance system
- Adopting an effective scheme for workers' participation in management in both public and private sector; strengthening bipartism and tripartism; no decision to be taken on any issue related to labour without discussion with trade unions, ensure regular, meaningful social dialogue with workers representatives.
- All regulatory authorities of the financial sector should mandatorily be accountable to Parliament and legislative oversight.
- Check unemployment through policies encouraging labour intensive establishments; link financial assistance/incentives/concessions to employers with employment generation in the concerned establishments.
- Conducive strategy for increasing entrepreneurial activities through reinforcing communitarian institutions like SHGs, Cooperatives, etc; increasing subsidized loans to these units involved especially in home and traditional industries; supporting the development of cooperatives and consortiums.
- Discouraging contractualisation and casualisation of work; stringent implementation of The Contract Labour (Regulation And Abolition) Act, 1970; equal wages and benefits for contract workers as regular workers for doing similar job; stop outsourcing and contractorisation of jobs of permanent and perennial nature; revoking „Fixed Term Employment“; protecting the right of contract workers and workers in the unorganized sector to exercise their fundamental right to unionize and strike.
- Enacting legislation to concretely define the working conditions of Gig/Platform-based/App-driven workers and those „working from home“; Ensuring coverage of IT & ITES workers under all labour laws debarring any provision for exemption through appropriate enactment.
- Encouraging micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises in labour-intensive sectors with adequate incentives, infrastructure support, and sufficient credit from public sector banks; increasing financial allocation to Cluster Development Projects (CDPs); strict restrictions on entry of private microfinance into the MSME sector and waiving loans of distressed low-income groups.
- Ensuring equal remuneration for women workers in all areas of work including home-based work; social security for working women in the unorganized sector
- Ensuring recognition of trade unions through secret ballot and protection of trade union rights; making recognition of union mandatory by law in all establishments; ratification of ILO Convention No 87 and 98 (dealing with workers' rights in SEZ) and No 189 (on domestic workers); holding of Indian Labour Conference, annually without fail.
- Ensuring statutory minimum wage for workers which is not less than Rs 26000 per month; minimum wage to be linked to the Consumer Price Index; ensuring strict implementation of not more than eight-hour work a day. Legislative measures for ensuring provision of living wages as per article 43 of the Constitution.
- Fill up all vacant posts in government departments; lift the ban on recruitment and 3 per cent annual surrender of government posts; ensure the filling of all backlog posts.
- Improving the legislation on Unorganized Sector Workers and implementing the recommendations of the Standing Committee on Labour; special social security measures for migrant workers and plantation workers; constituting national fund for unorganised workers;

legislation for universal coverage of all unorganised workers with social security benefits including old age pension, health, maternity and child care benefits, accident and life insurance.

- including maternity benefits, pension and health insurance; implementing paid maternity leave of 26 weeks, maternity benefit and crèche facilities and elderly care for all women workers.
- Integrate growth with employment generation towards creating full employment and money in the hands of the people to boost demand.
- Periodic wage revision for all Central PSU workers without insisting on any affordability condition.
- Progressively amending the SEZ Act and Rules to eliminate tax advantages and limit indiscriminate land use; ensuring strict implementation of labour laws in all SEZs.
- Prohibiting foreign direct investment in retail trade; regulating e-commerce and local corporate retailers through a licencing policy; and creating the government's own e-commerce platform to promote small producers and manufacturers.
- Provide incentives for research and development and special initiatives to increase competitiveness of small and medium enterprises that provide much greater employment.
- Recognising all workers employed in different central and state government schemes (anganwadi workers, ASHA, MDM workers, etc.) as workers/employees and providing them with all attendant benefits including statutory minimum wages, social security benefits like pension, gratuity etc., and ensuring their trade union rights.
- Revival of labour-intensive traditional industries such as jute mills, plantations, textiles, leather, handicrafts, and coir, among others; formulation of stringent policies to protect domestic industries from international players; promotion and development of domestic and foreign markets for Indian products.
- Scrapping all anti-worker and pro-employer amendments to labour laws through Four Labour Codes.
- Scrapping of „New Pension Scheme“ and the PFRDA Act and putting in place a benefit-defined pension scheme with adequate funding by employers and government for all workers/employees ensuring at least a pension of 50 per cent of last drawn pay with indexation.
- Setting up the 8th Central Pay Commission for central government employees and payment of unpaid Dearness Allowance/Dearness Relief dues from January 2020 to June 2021.
- Special packages to support labour-intensive industries in creating jobs.
- Strengthening the implementation of all labour laws including the law on interstate migrant workers; payment of retrenchment/closure compensation to affected workers and implementation of ID Act provisions; strengthening labour departments and enforcement agencies; opening of Industrial Tribunals and Labour Courts in all districts and industrial centres.
- Strict implementation of the Prevention of Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace Act; ensuring safety measures for women working in night-shifts.
- Withdrawing the Motor Vehicle (Amendment) Act, 2019.
- Workers to have active and effective participation in all Welfare Boards constituted for their welfare.

7

Social Justice & Empowerment



- Civil union/same-sex-partnerships legislation/s on similar lines as Special Marriage Act, 1954 so that the partner can be listed as a dependent, for inheritance, alimony in case of divorce etc.

- A comprehensive anti-discriminatory bill covering LGBTQ+.
- A special drive with budgetary allocations to close the continuing gap between SC/STs and other communities in housing and civic facilities.
- Allocate adequate resources for public investment for providing physical and social infrastructure – electricity, public transport, ports, schools, colleges, and public hospitals.
- Along with foodgrains, the PDS will supply essential commodities such as pulses, edible oil, sugar, kerosene at controlled prices.
- Amend the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act 2013 to ensure its universal application on all laws requiring land acquisition; rigorous definition of public purpose, full and prior informed consent from all affected persons, binding social impact assessment and
- Amend the Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Act, 2019 to address concerns raised by the community.
- Amending Article 15 and 16 of the Constitution to include „disability“ as a ground on which discrimination is prohibited; harmonising all laws in consonance with the provisions of the United Nations Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities.
- Amendments to remove loopholes in the legislation for prevention of manual scavenging and a timebound rehabilitation scheme with adequate allocations.
- Automatic inclusion of adivasis in the declared domicile list of the state governments with their ST identity and rights irrespective of their migration from one state to another.
- based on sexual orientation and gender identity, ensuring accessible and safe bathrooms for trans, intersex and gender non-conforming students, staff and faculty.
- Building a network of old-age homes/day-care centres/palliative care centres with State support; more support for geriatric care
- compensation and R&R in such a manner as to ensure a far better quality of life and share in enhanced land value.
- Compensation for all victims of mob lynching.
- Comply with RPD Act mandated provisions on accessibility.
- Designing comprehensive package of schemes, on the lines of those drawn up for SCs and STs, for employment and poverty alleviation of OBCs from the economically weaker sections.
- Distribution of 5 acres (per each) of arable land for cultivation to all landless families from SC and ST communities.
- Earmarking 15 per cent of priority sector lending by banks for the Muslims; subsidised credit to be ensured for the self-employed Muslim youth.
- Enabling senior citizens to live with dignity by immediately establishing a publicly-funded, universal and non-contributory Old Age Pension System with a minimum amount of monthly pension not less than 50 per cent of minimum wage or Rs 6,000/- per month, whichever is higher, as an individual entitlement for all citizens of India except income tax payees or those receiving higher pension from any other source.
- Enacting the „Prevention of Atrocities Against Minorities Act“ in order to prevent the continuing attacks on minorities including Christians.
- Enactment of a central legislation for Special Component Plan for Scheduled Castes and for the Tribal Sub-Plan which will provide for Plan outlays at the Centre and the states equivalent to their respective populations.
- Enactment of a central legislation to provide reservations in the private sector.
- Enactment of a special Act for the prevention of caste, religious and gender based discrimination in educational institutions and work environments.
- Enforcement and implementation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989 and the POA Amendment Act 2015. Take steps to incorporate SC/ST (PoA) Act under Schedule IX of the Constitution.
- Enhancement of scholarship for tribal students and time bound audit of all tribal hostel and upgrading of facilities.
- Ensure registration of all tenancies; protect the rights of tenants in all states; ensure benefits to all tenants including subsidies, insurance, and income support by giving Licensed Cultivator Cards.
- Ensure speedy and comprehensive steps for implementing land reforms; incentivise state

governments to take possession of remaining ceiling surplus lands and immediately distribute all surplus land taken possession of; ensure priority to SCs and STs in land distribution; provide for joint pattas that safeguard the equal right of women to land ownership; provide enhanced funding for state governments to establish new land tribunals to ensure time-bound resolution of legal issues.

- Ensure the transfer of sufficient financial resources to urban local bodies from the government to meet the requirements of developing proper housing, water and sanitation facilities for all the residents.
- Ensuring compensation and rehabilitation to all those Muslims acquitted in cases of terror and also ensuring punishment of officials responsible for implicating them in false cases, subjecting them to torture etc. Setting up of fast track courts to try all such cases.
- Ensuring crimes against LGBTQ+ persons are treated on par with crimes against non-LGBTQ+ persons.
- Ensuring MSP for minor forest produce procured by adivasis and protecting the rights of the adivasi women.
- Ensuring proper implementation of 27 per cent OBC reservation in Central educational institutions; extending OBC reservation to all private educational institutions.
- Establishment of mandatory Special Courts as per Section 14 of the SC, ST (PoA) Act 1989 in each district.
- Expansion of public housing facilities, public transport and parks.
- Extending reservations in education and employment to the private sector; enforcing the mandate of inclusive education.
- Extending reservations to dalit Christian and Muslim communities.
- Filling all backlogs in reserved seats and posts and in promotions through a special timebound recruitment drive.
- Filling all vacancies for ST reserved posts in all government services within a legally mandated time framework.
- Formulating a sub-plan for the Muslim minorities on the lines of the tribal sub- plan in order to implement Sachar Committee recommendations; the Minority Area Development Programme introduced after the Sachar Committee to be augmented, and amended to ensure adequate resources and special initiatives in the sphere of employment, education and health to be undertaken targeting districts where the Muslim population is concentrated.
- Handing over of cultivable wasteland to landless and poor peasant households free of cost, with priority to SCs and STs; joint pattas to be distributed including equal right of women to the land.
- Immediate conduct of a Caste Census as part of general census.
- Implementation of Food Security Act allowance of Rs 6000 for pregnant women without conditionalities.
- Implementation of reservations in all hitherto excluded sectors.
- Implementing the recommendations of the Ranganath Mishra Commission report. As an immediate measure all OBC Muslims who form the vast majority of the
- Implementing the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2006, in full; amending the Act to include other traditional forest dwellers with 1980 as the cut-off year; no eviction of Adivasis from their habitat.
- Including all tribals in the Food Security Act entitled to free and subsidised foodgrains.
- Indexing the pension to consumer prices for automatic annual revision.
- Introduction of disability budgeting in line with gender budgeting; 5 per cent allocations across ministries be earmarked for the disabled; enhanced allocations to be made for fulfilling the various mandates of the RPD Act and also for implementation of the Mental Healthcare Act, 2017.
- Legal recognition and protection to same sex couples similar to marriage -
- Making the Minorities Commission a statutory body with enhanced powers and jurisdiction and enhancing the status of its chairperson and members.
- Measures to address bullying, violence and harassment of gender non- conforming and LGBTQ+ students, staff and teachers in educational spaces; enforcement of UGC anti-ragging policy amendment (2016) that addresses ragging

- Muslim community to be included in the OBC quota with specific State wise allocations.
- No cash transfers in lieu of foodgrains.
- Prevent the encroachment and takeover of common lands like pastures, community forests, scrublands, etc.
- Promoting the teaching of Urdu in schools; Publishing good quality textbooks in Urdu and filling vacancies of Urdu teaching posts.
- Protect all government and public sector land held in public trust from transfer by lease, sale, diversion or any other manner to the private sector.
- Protecting land rights of adivasis and restoring land illegally alienated from them. Withdrawal of amendments to various laws, which in the name of ease of doing business, removes the right of consent of Adivasi communities for land acquisition.
- Protection of rights under PESA and Fifth Schedule. Ensuring recognition, protection and development of tribal languages and scripts. Tribal languages such as Bhili, Gondi and Kok Borok to be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution; concerned state governments must recognize the language of adivasis as the state's official language.
- Provide house sites and homestead land to all sections of the rural and urban landless.
- Provision of 10 kgs of foodgrains per individual – 5kgs free of cost and 5kgs at subsidised rates.
- Recognition of the issues of persons with disabilities as cross-sectoral; redesigning various programmes and schemes with the objective of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016 (RPD Act).
- Record tenancy and protect the rights of tenants in all states where this has not been done.
- Regularisation of contract labour in safai services.
- Removal of all amendments to Forest Conservation and Environment related rules and government circulars which dilute the role of gram sabhas in decision making powers regarding areas in their jurisdiction.
- Removal of GST on aids and appliances.
- Reservation in education institutions; ensuring horizontal reservation in employment.
- Reverse the dilution of land-ceiling laws intended to favour corporates and large agri-businesses.
- Seek elimination of the present targeted system and establishment of a reformed and strengthened universal public distribution excluding income-tax payees. No linkage with Aadhaar.
- Setting up a single window system for Old Age Pensions.
- Sex change surgeries of LGBTQI should not be done without their informed consent.
- Simplification of the certification procedure, speedy certification and ensuring the universal validity of UDID cards.
- Simplifying procedures for issuing OBC certificate.
- Special emphasis to be laid on the education of Muslim girls; scholarships and hostel facilities should be substantially increased for Muslim girl students.
- Special measures for the protection of interests of the informal and unorganised workers in urban areas.
- Special measures like free kitchens for vulnerable sections of the population such as migrant workers, destitutes, widows, disabled persons.
- Steps to curb all kinds of pollution and environmental degradation.
- Stop eviction drives and demolition of slums. Ensure in situ development of basic facilities.
- Strengthen the rationing system in remote and hilly areas to ensure that adivasis and other vulnerable sections have easy access to food security.
- Strengthening the National Commission for Backward Classes.
- Support initiatives of state governments in this sphere.
- Supporting women with disabilities for livelihood and housing as well as for exercising sexual and reproductive rights.
- The food supplied through ICDS and Mid-Day Meal Schemes will get higher allocations to ensure hot cooked nutritious meals and be brought under the Food Security law as a legal right.
- Twelve LPG cylinders per year to be provided at subsidized rate with no Aadhaar linkage.

- Uniform disability pension of a minimum of Rs 6000/- linked with the minimum wages/cost of living in the state; an equivalent amount be given to caregivers by introducing a caregiver allowance; AAY cards be provided to all disabled; free and universal health coverage for all disabled.
- Universal access to hostels and scholarships for all SC and ST students.
- Withdrawal of National Forest Policy which advocates privatisation of forests and replacement with an appropriate policy protecting tribal rights.
- Work towards a New Urban Policy that prioritises common peoples' welfare over private real estate interests.



8 Women & Child Development

- A code of conduct for all elected representatives in different spheres to adhere to standards of decency in public comments and discourse about women and against sexist and misogynist language which demeans and insults women.
- Accepting the Verma Committee recommendations which have been left out of the present amended law; changes in educational curricula to include subjects related to gender equality; steps to make public spaces safer for women; ensuring safe access to all public places for women with disability; increasing punishment for caste based crimes against Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe women; penalties on any personnel including police personnel who sabotage or delay cases; setting up of fast track courts; make marital rape an offence; safeguard existing Section 498A of the Indian Penal Code; support victims of sexual violence and acid attacks through a fully funded rehabilitation scheme especially for children who are victims of sexual violence; adequate budgetary allocations for implementation of the laws against domestic violence and against sexual harassment. Strict implementation of the PCPNDT Act (against sex determination tests and female foeticide) and the activation of defunct monitoring committees.
- Amendments in the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation Act) to remove the distinction between hazardous and non-hazardous work in order to ban all forms of child labour and to ensure implementation of schemes with additional allocations for the rehabilitation of all working children.
- Complete coverage of basic services, such as supplementary nutrition, immunization, preschool non-formal education, regular health checkups and quick referral services.
- Enacting a law for equal rights in marital and inherited property for all women; strengthening laws relating to maintenance for women and children; ensuring protection and adequate maintenance and rehabilitation for all deserted women.
- Enacting the following new legislations: a stand-alone law against so-called honour crimes; a law against trafficking of women and children; strengthening the law for maintenance of women and children including a scheme such as the one initiated by the erstwhile Left front government in Tripura providing an allowance for deserted women; special schemes for single women including widows and female headed families; a law to ensure linkages between SHGs and banking institutions and guarantee of subsidised interest rates of not more than 4 per cent with special concessions for SHGs of SC/ST women; protective legislation for domestic workers and for homebased workers; special schemes for female headed families.
- ensure nutritious meals for children in anganwadis and in schools and provision of creche facilities in anganwadi centres.
- Ensuring a total re-haul and reform of the juvenile justice system and institutions to sensitize them towards helping them reintegrate into society as responsible citizens.
- Expansion of the Right to Education Act to include all children from the age of 3-18 years. Implement provisions contained in the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016 concerning inclusive education.

- Implementing 33 per cent reservation for women in Parliament and state assemblies immediately without linking it to census and delimitation.
- Increasing allocations for women in gender budgeting to at least forty per cent of allocations from the present claims of 30 per cent.
- Provision of adequate number of child friendly playgrounds in neighbourhoods.
- Provision of shelter and social services to street children; more effective steps to trace missing children.
- Putting in place a series of measures to prevent, curb and punish those responsible for the horrific increase in violence against women and children, which include:
- Special measures to close the continuing gap between children from adivasi, dalit and socially vulnerable groups and others through specific measures including additional allocations for setting up residential schools and hostels with modern facilities; stringent action against discrimination at any level.
- Strict implementation of the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act.
- Universalisation of the ICDS to cover all children from the age of 0-6 years. Reverse all measures towards privatisation of the ICDS; more allocations per child to

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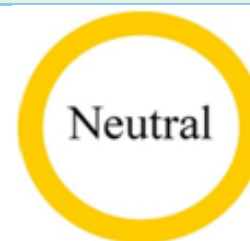
Personnel, Public
Grievances and Pensions



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10

Environment, Forests and Climate Change



- Make the system and processes of Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Environmental Clearances at state and central level effective, time-bound, transparent, accountable and free of conflict of interests; repeal EIA Notification 2020 and issue revised guidelines.
- Plan and initiate economy-wide measures to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, while providing for a just transition from fossil fuels; promotion of renewable energy such as solar and wind.
- Evolve a National Adaptation Plan (NAP) through a participatory process involving all stakeholders especially states to tackle climate impacts such as on agriculture, extreme rainfall and related landslides and urban flooding, heat waves and urban heat islands, coastal erosion and sea-level rise.
- Evolve sustainable and environment/climate-friendly development strategies for the fragile Himalayan region and eco-sensitive regions of Western Ghats and the North-East.
- Thoroughly revise National Clean Air Programme (NCAP) towards rapid and goal-oriented reduction of air pollution in urban areas.
- Urgently initiate measures to prevent degradation and destructive development of river beds and flood plains, including in urban areas.
- Repeal provisions of Biodiversity Amendment Act 2023 which permits transfer of knowledge regarding bio-diversity resources to corporates.
- Scrap the environmentally disastrous and pro-corporate Islands Development Plan for Andaman and Nicobar and Lakshadweep island chains; re-examine feasibility and location of proposed naval base in A&N
- Scrap environmentally dangerous National Oil Palm Mission with highly inflated claims of

yields and focusing on eco-sensitive North-East and Andaman Islands

- **Re-formulate National Water Policy treating water as a scarce public good; tackle the growing water crisis; enhance equitable water availability for optimized domestic use, irrigation and industry through effective protection of rivers, expansion of water bodies and increased groundwater recharge; appropriate legislation, effective regulation and demand management of water; water audits and measures to conserve, treat and recycle water especially in urban areas;**
- **Equitable provision of WHO-standard piped potable drinking water to all households**
- **Halt privatization of water resources and water distribution utilities in urban areas, and recognise the right to water as part of the right to life.**
- **Check pollution of rivers and other water bodies through effective legislation, regulation and enforcement of sewage and other waste-water treatment and recycling policies; withdraw provisions of Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Amendment, 2024 allowing Centre to override State Pollution Control Boards (SPCBs)**
- **Undertake comprehensive review of the programme for inter-linking of rivers.**
- **Implement measures to protect and improve catchment areas of major rivers especially in the Himalayan region; take all steps possible to check glacier melting.**

Analysis Methodology

This analysis represents an assessment of the party's manifesto based on the 6 following parameters and their relative weightage:

Evaluation Parameter	Percent Weightage
Diagnostic rigor	29%
Clear scope	19%
Clear timeline	10%
Clear budget	5%
Clear implementation plan	24%
Clear committment	14%

1. Each promise from Anonymized Manifestos (i.e. all content that provides indicators as to thar Party to which the Manifesto belongs to were masked by an independent panel of Analysts that were not involved in the Evaluation Process), was 'coded' using a rating scale of:
 1. Low
 2. Low-Medium
 3. Medium
 4. Medium-High
 5. High
 6. Not Applicable
2. The promises were graded using only the above parameters; not on whether the Evaluation Panel felt the solutions being proposed were meritorious and beneficial to society i.e. their own political perspectives on the subject were not a factor in evaluation.
3. Promises that we predicated by diagnostic rigor, defined a clear scope of beneficiaries or stakeholders, included a clear timeline, proposed budgetary expenditure to fulfill the promise, articulated a clear implementation plan and was framed using language demonstrating clear commitment and action (as opposed to merely being notional or conveying of intention) scored 'higher' than others
4. Promises where specific steps and solutions proposed related to areas of legislative responsibility defined under the Union & Concurrent List of the Constitution of India scored higher than others.
5. Issues for which specific steps and solutions have been proposed are highlighted as 'strengths' (THUMBUP SIGN) of the manifesto where as areas for which no specific solutions have been presented are considered as 'weakpoints' (THUMBSDOWN SIGN) of the manifesto.
6. Issues for which the plans proposed were neither specific nor generic are given a 'Neutral' assessment.
7. Solutions and plans proposed have been categorized according to Ministries related to the issue.

This process of Manifesto Analysis was conducted by employing traditionally established methods of Content Analysis by practitioners of Social Science Research. The coding system, coder training program, and inter-coder reliability error mitigation strategies have been devised and implemented by Alope Thakore (Ph. D. in Mass Communication, University of Wisconsin-Madison) – Trustee, Informed Voter Project.