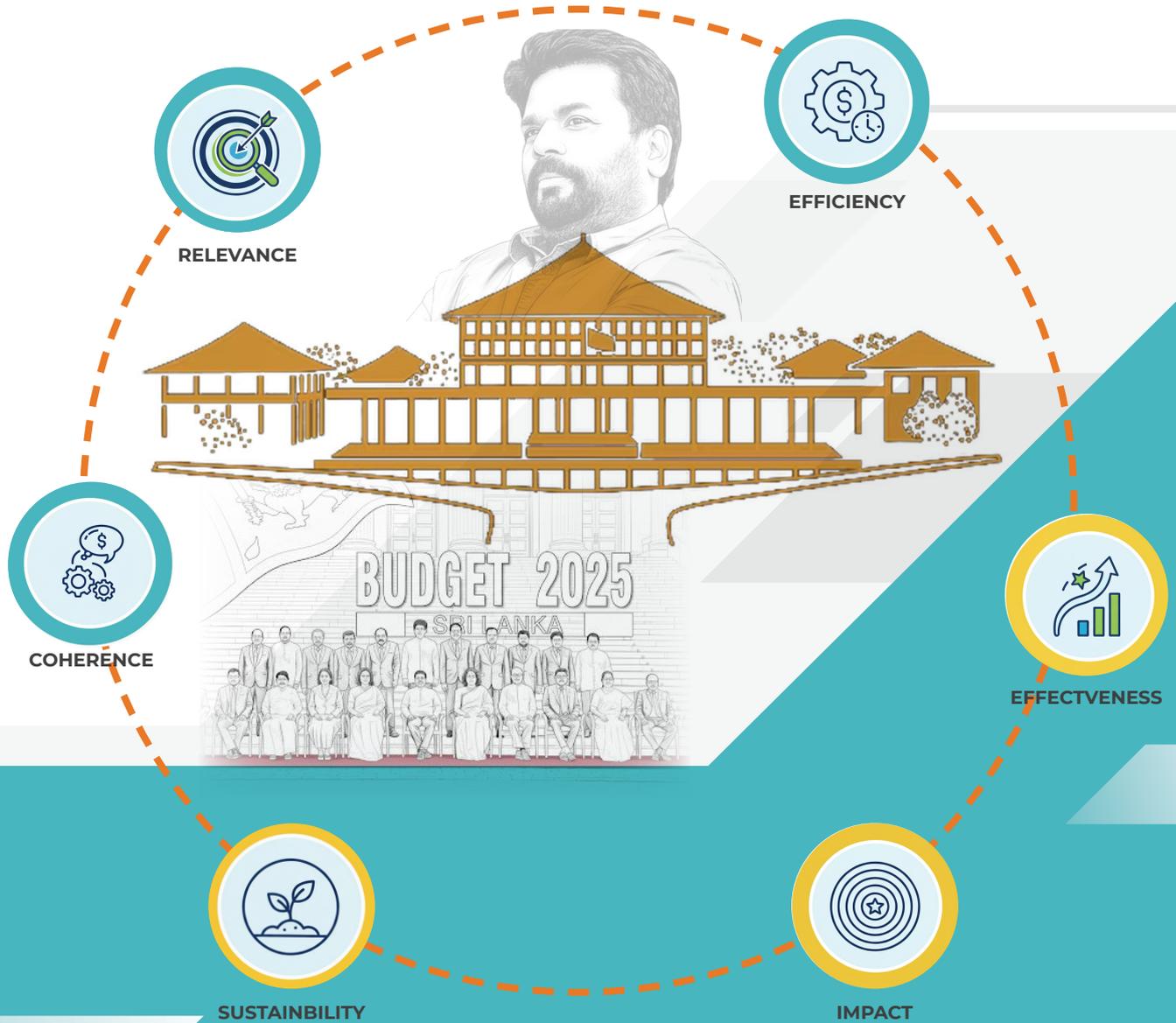


Second Biannual Report

(June-December 2025)

Monitoring the Implementation of the Government's Manifesto:
'A Thriving Nation-A Beautiful Life'



People's Action for Free and Fair Elections (PAFFREL)
March 12 Movement

Published in March 2026



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Disclaimer: This report is an independent monitoring initiative by PAFREL and the March 12 Movement; its findings are based on publicly available data and do not represent the official positions or political stances of individuals, organizations, or the movement.

Preface

This report presents the independent monitoring assessment of the implementation of the manifesto, *“A Thriving Nation, A Beautiful Life,”* of the Government of Sri Lanka. Following the cabinet approval, the manifesto has been formally recognized as the ‘National Policy Framework’ for the five-year governing period. Additionally, ministries and state institutions were instructed to prepare strategic and action plans aligned with ministerial goals, and the Cabinet also decided to adopt Results-Based Management (RBM) as a key performance tool to strengthen implementation and accountability.

This third party monitoring initiative is intended to provide a constructive, independent, and evidence-based assessment of the relevance, effectiveness, and emerging outcomes of the National People’s Power (NPP) Government’s manifesto implementation, as well as its alignment with broader national development objectives. Monitoring, in this context, serves not only as a mechanism for tracking progress but also as an opportunity to deepen understanding of how manifesto commitments translate into effective governance, sustainable development, and improved citizen well-being, which is in line with the long standing mandate of the March 12 Movement.

In line with this mandate, PAFFREL and the March 12 Movement now present this Second Biannual Report of Manifesto Monitoring, which is a continuation of the First Biannual assessment. This report places particular emphasis on analysing the implementation of the 2025 National Budget in relation to achieving the targets and commitments outlined in the manifesto.

The First Biannual report covered the period from November 2024 to May 2025 and focused on assessing relevance and initial effectiveness through a review of Cabinet decisions, parliamentary actions, executive decisions, and budget proposals, examined against manifesto commitments and citizen-focused best practices.

The second phase of monitoring, reflected in this report, covers the period from June to December 2025. It extends the analysis to include an assessment of ministerial performance based on the 2025 National Budget, while also examining the alignment of the 2026 National Budget with manifesto commitments, particularly in terms of resource allocation efficiency and development effectiveness.

Through this ongoing monitoring effort, PAFFREL and its partners reaffirm their commitment to fostering transparency, institutional learning, and a culture of accountability in public governance, ensuring that the aspirations embodied in the national development manifesto are translated into tangible and equitable benefits for the people of Sri Lanka.

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Abbreviations

CIABOC	Corruption Action Plan by the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption
DPMM	Department of Project Management and Monitoring
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
LGBTIQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, and Queer(or Questioning)
M12M	March 12 Movement
MPs	Members of Parliament
NKRAs	National Key Result Areas
NPP	National People's Power
PAFFREL	People's Action for Free and Fair Elections
QPR	Quarterly Progress Report
RTI	Right to Information
RTI	Right to Information
SLIDA	Sri Lanka Institute of Development Administration
SSU	Special Spending Unit
USD	United States Dollar

Executive Summary

People's Action for Free and Fair Elections (PAFFREL), in collaboration with the March 12 Movement (M12M), presents its Second Biannual Monitoring Report (2025), monitoring the progress of the Government in implementing its election manifesto commitments. Building upon the First Biannual assessment, this report expands the analytical depth by incorporating a comprehensive review of the 2025 National Budget, institutional implementation mechanisms, and sector-specific progress achieved during the report period.

The findings suggest that while a number of manifesto commitments have been formally initiated through Cabinet approvals and policy directives, the progression from stated policy intent to measurable and outcome-based results remains uneven. Improvements in budgetary alignment are observable in selected sectors; however, limitations in the availability of complete quarterly progress reports have constrained comprehensive outcome-level monitoring. In addition, institutional fragmentation and partial reporting at departmental or divisional levels have affected the overall scope and depth of assessment.

Notwithstanding these challenges, the Government's formal adoption of its election manifesto as a guiding National Policy Framework represents an important advancement toward results-oriented governance. The establishment of internal monitoring mechanisms further demonstrates a growing institutional recognition of accountability and performance tracking.

This Second Biannual Report reinforces the role of independent, third-party oversight in strengthening democratic governance in Sri Lanka. Despite data constraints, the monitoring process has upheld methodological rigor through systematic documentary review, analysis of Cabinet decisions, budget examination, institutional mapping, and the formal use of Right to Information (RTI) mechanisms to obtain official data.

PAFFREL and M12M reaffirm that this initiative is constructive in nature. Its purpose is not to attribute fault, but to contribute meaningfully to transparent, accountable, and performance-driven governance by supporting the effective translation of electoral commitments into tangible public outcomes.

The organizations remain committed to sustaining this independent monitoring process throughout the Government's term, with the objective of promoting democratic accountability, policy coherence, and evidence-based public administration.

Rohana Hettiarachchi

Executive Director

People's Action for Free and Fair Elections (PAFFREL)

1

Introduction

1.1. Context

The Second Biannual Report of Manifesto Report covers the period **June to December 2025**, a critical phase in the early implementation cycle of the Government's electoral mandate. During this period, the Government continued the process of translating manifesto commitments into formal policy directions, Cabinet decisions, and budgetary measures under the 2025 national budget framework.

The broader governance context was characterized by administrative transitions within ministries, delayed reporting cycles, and evolving institutional arrangements. Notably, the delayed presentation and approval of the 2025 national budget affected the availability of first-quarter progress documentation. At the time of analysis, only two of the four quarterly progress reports for 2025 were accessible. The First Quarter (Q1) report was unavailable due to budget-related delays, while the Fourth Quarter (Q4) report (October–December 2025) remained under preparation. In certain instances, reporting was limited to departmental or divisional levels rather than consolidated at the full ministry level, resulting in partial institutional coverage.

These contextual realities have influenced both the scope and depth of the assessment and are transparently acknowledged in this report.

1.2. Scope of the Report

The scope of this report focuses on assessing the alignment between manifesto commitments and actual government action during the reporting period. The analysis extends across multiple dimensions of governance and public administration to capture both policy intent and implementation progress.

Specifically, the report examines:

- The alignment between manifesto commitments and cabinet decisions issued between June and December 2025.
- The incorporation of manifesto commitments into the national policy framework and identification of deviations from original pledges.
- The government’s emerging strategic roadmap for implementing manifesto priorities over the 2025–2029 period.
- Ministry-level action plans prepared for 2025 to operationalize manifesto commitments.
- The 2025 national budget, including allocations, expenditure priorities, and implementation modalities linked to manifesto pledges.
- Institutional implementation pathways through the cabinet, parliament, line ministries, departments, and other relevant public bodies.
- The implementation status of individual commitments are classified as initiated, fully implemented, partially implemented, or pending.
- An overview of the 2026 national budget, including allocations, expenditure priorities, and implementation modalities linked to manifesto promises and comparison to the National Budget 2025
- Overall findings, systemic observations, and policy-level recommendations.

The scope, therefore, encompasses policy formulation, financial allocation, institutional coordination, and implementation performance.

1.3. Methodology

The Phase II of the manifesto monitoring process focuses on both quantitative and qualitative indicators. In this phase, PAFFREL examined the Input and Activity Indicators such as Executive Decisions, Parliamentary Actions, Cabinet Decisions, Budget Allocations, and Ministerial Performances. Particularly, this phase monitored the ministerial performances on projects (Initiated/In-Progress/Completed), service delivery improvements, and enacted legislation.

Phase I established a foundational assessment of how well the manifesto promises address the real needs and priorities of citizens and align with national development objectives based on the “Relevance” criteria. From the Phase II, it expanded the assessment to adopt the remaining OECD-DAC (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development-Development Assistance Committee) criteria, “Efficiency” and “Effectiveness” allowing for a comprehensive monitoring of both implementation and outcomes over time.

1.3.1. Relevance

The “relevance” examines the extent to which the development intervention meets the needs and priorities of target groups and is aligned to the national development plan of the country and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).¹ The rating methodology classified the relevance criterion into four categories: Highly Relevant, Relevant, Partially Relevant, and Irrelevant.

¹ Sivagnanasothy, V. (2020). Development Evaluation in Sri Lanka. USAID/SDGAP, P, 39.

1. Highly Relevant:

- The cabinet decision or budget allocation directly addresses a manifesto promise.
- The policy promise fully corresponds to the intended goal, standard, or requirement without any gaps.

2. Relevant

- The cabinet decision or budget allocation broadly supports the intent of a manifesto promise, though not fully aligned in detail.
- There is a general correspondence between the policy/action and the commitment, but some adaptation or partial coverage is evident.

3. Partially Relevant

- The cabinet decision or budget allocation has a limited connection to a manifesto promise.
- Only certain aspects of the promise are addressed, or the impact is indirect or insufficient.

4. Irrelevant

- The cabinet decision or budget allocation does not relate to the manifesto promise in any meaningful way.
- There is no alignment between the policy/action and the stated commitment.

1.3.2. Efficiency

Efficiency Assessment

Efficiency examines the extent to which the costs of development interventions are justified by their results, taking into account possible alternatives. In essence, it assesses whether an intervention has delivered, or is likely to deliver, its intended outcomes in a timely and cost-effective manner.

1.3.3. Effectiveness

Effectiveness Assessment

Effectiveness examines the extent to which an intervention has achieved, or is likely to achieve, its intended outcomes and impacts. It assesses the relationship between outputs and outcomes, focusing on whether planned activities and deliverables have translated into the expected results. In this context, effectiveness is evaluated by measuring the degree to which stated commitments have been implemented as intended and by identifying gaps between articulated goals and actual achievements.

1.3.4. Analytical Framework

This report systematically reviews the present government's progress against its election manifesto commitments, drawing on executive decisions by presidential secretariat, cabinet decisions by cabinet ministers, parliamentary actions, national budget allocations, ministerial performances and activities of relevant authorities, it measures what has been delivered, and what is in progress and identifies whether the Promise; **Implemented, Partially Implemented, Initiated, Yet to be Implemented**, and the **Gray Areas to be Verified** offering an evidence base for public debate and policy improvement.

Executive Decisions

The Executive President's decisions are crucial for turning manifesto promises into action, as they set the overall direction and priorities for government. By guiding the cabinet and ministries, the President ensures policies and resources are aligned with commitments. Strong leadership is expected to accelerate delivery and strengthen accountability. The executive decisions taken by the Executive President to implement the manifesto's promises are monitored in this process.

Cabinet Decisions

Cabinet decisions are central to implementing a Government's Manifesto, as they translate political commitments into formal policy actions. Through collective decision-making, the cabinet ensures that proposals are approved, resources are allocated, and legal or administrative frameworks are established. Effective cabinet decisions provide coherence across ministries, prevent overlaps, and create accountability, making them a critical link between manifesto promises and practical governance. This Second Biannual Report is based on cabinet decisions published as official press releases on the Office of the Cabinet of Ministers, Sri Lanka website (<https://www.cabinetoffice.gov.lk/>), and does not rely on actual cabinet memorandum or cabinet papers, which are not publicly available.

Parliamentary Actions

Parliamentary actions are vital in implementing a manifesto because Parliament approves laws, policies, and the national budget that give effect to government commitments. Through debates, oversight, and committee work, Parliament ensures accountability and transparency in implementation. By representing the people's voice, Parliament strengthens legitimacy and keeps the government aligned with its manifesto promises.

This monitoring process deals with parliamentary actions, specially budgetary announcements, legal announcements, committee processes, and policy decisions. During the first six months, the National Budget was enacted in the parliament in the month of April 2025 for implementation until December 2025.

National Budget Allocations

The national budget is the principal tool through which a government translates its political manifesto into actionable programs and services. Monitoring the budget is therefore essential to ensure that promised commitments are adequately funded and effectively implemented. It helps to verify whether resource allocations align with the manifesto priorities, detect gaps between policy intentions and actual expenditure, and hold institutions accountable for results. Continuous budget monitoring also strengthens transparency, improves public trust, and enables timely adjustments to address emerging challenges.

The Phase I of the manifesto monitoring process analysed the National Budget 2025 to assess the degree of alignment with manifesto proposals based on three criteria such as **Relevance** (budget allocations correspond to specific manifesto commitments), **Efficiency** (adequacy of financial resources allocated for full implementation, and **Effectiveness** (presence of clear timelines and measurable targets aligned with manifesto goals). In the context of the **2025 National Budget**, the initial three-month delay in budget submission can be considered a transitional constraint associated with the formation of a new government. Furthermore, the disruption caused by the fourth-quarter cyclone disaster significantly affected routine ministerial workflows and administrative processes. These factors raise concerns regarding time efficiency and institutional management capacity.

Additionally, the composition of expenditure where recurrent spending continues to outweigh capital investment and remains largely operational rather than development-oriented has implications for overall efficiency. A high recurrent expenditure ratio may constrain the government's ability to translate financial allocations into sustainable development outcomes, thereby affecting the efficiency of public resource utilization.

With regard to the 2025 National Budget, the effectiveness of project and programme implementation appears limited at this stage. Available data up to the third quarter of the year indicate that financial progress information

is accessible only for a limited number of ministries, while comprehensive physical progress data are not available across ministries. The absence of physical performance indicators constrains a meaningful assessment of whether financial expenditures have translated into tangible outputs and outcomes.

To strengthen effectiveness monitoring, it is essential that all ministries systematically publish both financial and physical progress data. This monitoring exercise intends to produce a consolidated annual assessment for 2025, incorporating data from all three quarters, once complete physical performance information becomes available.

Ministerial performances and activities of the relevant authorities

Ministries play a central role in monitoring the implementation of a government's manifesto because they are the primary agencies responsible for translating policy promises into action. Each ministry is directly accountable for sectoral commitments, ensuring that resources are allocated, activities are carried out, and progress is measured. Effective monitoring by ministries helps identify gaps, delays, and challenges in execution, while also ensuring coordination across government institutions. By providing timely reports and feedback, ministries contribute to transparency, accountability, and the overall credibility of the government's commitment to its manifesto.

In this analysis, the physical performances from the ministries are monitored in the PHASE-II. The resources, such as ministerial Strategic Plans (2025-2029), Action Plans for 2025 based on the Progress Monitoring Framework, and Quarterly Progress Reports, are examined to assess the ministerial performances. The Right to Information (RTI) applications were submitted for all 25 ministries requesting the said documents.

The monitoring of the 'Clean Sri Lanka' initiative and implementation of the Anti-Corruption Action Plan by the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption (CIABOC) continued in this phase. Additionally, the report reviews the implementation of the newly launched national operation, "*A Nation United: Eradicating the Menace of Narcotic Drugs*," alongside the government's response mission to Cyclonic Storm Ditwah, which affected the country in November 2025.

1.3.5. Limitations

- The Government has issued circulars instructing ministries to promptly implement manifesto commitments by integrating them into the national policy framework. However, the preparation of Strategic Plans and Annual Implementation Programmes (Action Plans) at the ministerial level has been delayed. At the time of reporting, only three (03) ministries had completed their Strategic Plans, according to information obtained through Right to Information (RTI) requests.
- The collection of ministerial performance data proved challenging. Of the 25 ministries, only 15 provided the minimum required information for this analysis. Data were requested under the Right to Information framework; however, responses varied significantly. While a limited amount of information was provided by some ministries, many replies were incomplete, unclear, or did not address the specific information requested. This situation is illustrated in a table in this report and has constrained the comprehensiveness and depth of the analysis.
- As in Phase I, this report relies exclusively on Cabinet Decisions published as official press releases in the public domain. It is understood that Cabinet Memoranda contain more detailed background information and substantive context on matters discussed by the Cabinet of Ministers. Making approved Cabinet decisions related to manifesto implementation publicly accessible in greater detail would enhance transparency and enable more in-depth analysis of government actions.
- At the time of preparation of this report, only third-quarter progress reports had been received, and even second- and third-quarter reports were not available for all ministries. Fourth-quarter performance data had not yet been received and will therefore be incorporated in the next report of this monitoring process.

2

Overview of the government's manifesto: 'A Thriving Nation-A Beautiful Life'

The National People's Power (NPP) Government has been formed with the vision of "A Thriving Nation – A Beautiful Life." The manifesto outlines the Government's stated policy priorities and intended reform agenda. At the core of this vision is the aspiration to ensure: a fulfilling life in a comfortable country, an honourable life in a safe country, a modern life in a wealthy nation, and a dignified life in a strong country.

These four core expectations serve as the mission framework for achieving the **National Key Result Areas (NKRAs)**. Within this framework, **39 Sub-National Key Result Areas** have been identified as specific targets for implementation. Among the NKRAs, the **Economy** records the highest number of planned activities (604), while the **Community (335)**, **Governance (213)**, and **Social (181)** NKRAs reflect comparatively lower activity volumes.

The government's manifesto comprises 437 development- oriented Promises, 455 policy-oriented promises, and 441 promises that address both development and policy-oriented promises

Accordingly, one-third of the total promises are policy oriented. It indicates that those promises could be initiated for the implementation without or less financial contributions. As the same, another one-third of the total promises are development-oriented, which needs financial investments and timeframes. The rest of the promises are concerned with both policies and development, which need intention and investment for implementation.

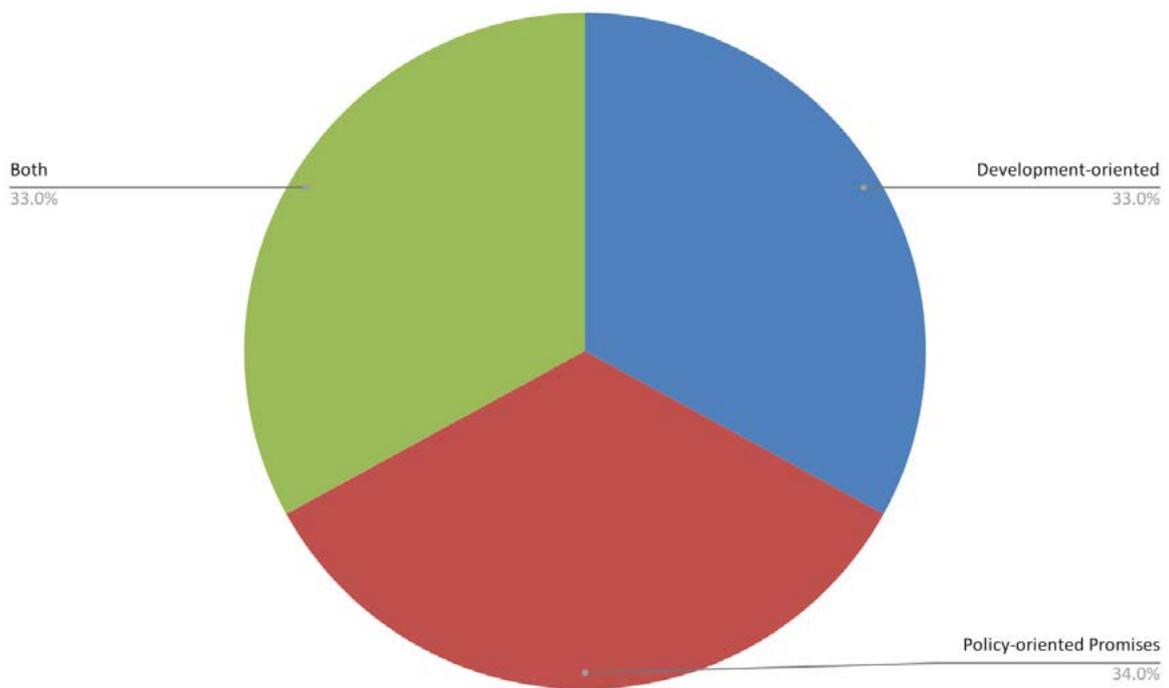


Figure 1: *Orientation of promises of the government manifesto*

In total, the manifesto contains **1,333 commitments**, distributed across a wide range of thematic areas. These include: Education (78), Health (55), Housing (12), Sports (30), Arts and Culture (71), History (7), Environment (65), Media (15), Social Protection (40), Labour (24), Women (20), Children (15), Youth (37), Elders (9), Persons with Disabilities (34), Macroeconomics (83), Agriculture (52), Livestock (21), Fisheries (68), Digital State (16), Research and Development (55), Tourism (40), Industries (56), Gems and Minerals (38), Energy (42), Transportation (47), Maritime Business (15), ICT (30), Land (24), Construction (19), Constitution (15), Public Finance (14), Judicial System (23), Public Security (14), Prisons (13), Drug-Free Society (8), Diplomacy (84), National Security (27), and Universal Commitments (20).

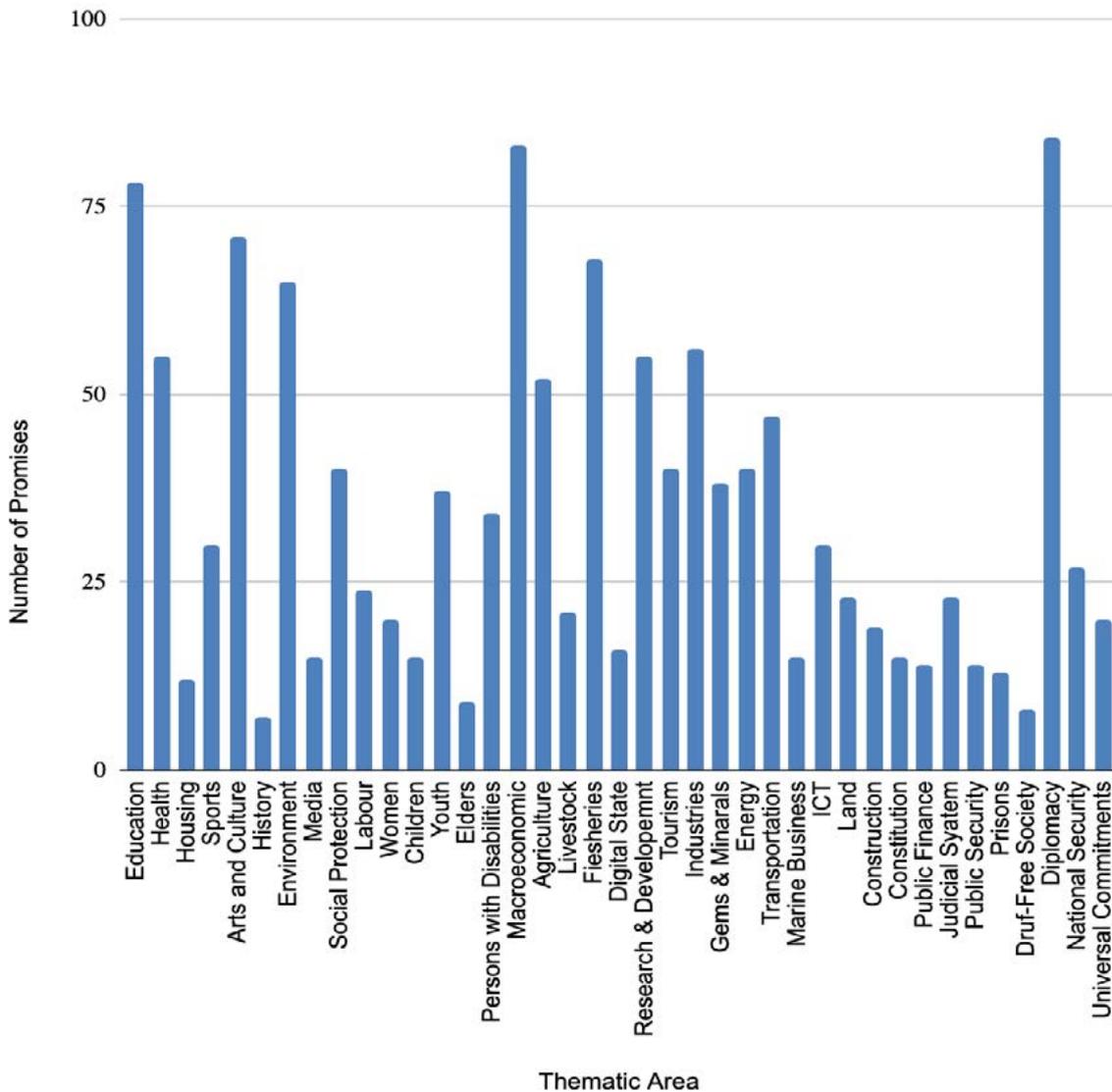


Figure 2: Number of promises under each sector of the manifesto

However, the Government formally recognised the manifesto as the national development policy framework through a Cabinet decision in March 2025. Accordingly, the 1,333 manifesto commitments were translated into 1,385 activities and subsequently distributed across 25 ministries as 1,474 activities. A limited number of activities have been assigned to more than one ministry to facilitate effective operationalisation. These activities are listed through **25 Cabinet Ministries**, as outlined below:

No.	Name of the Ministry	No. of Promises dispersed among ministries	%
1	Foreign Affairs, Foreign Employment and Tourism	139	10%
2	Education, Higher Education, and Vocational Education	108	8%
3	Agriculture, Livestock, Land, and Irrigation	107	8%
4	Industry and Entrepreneurship development	95	7%
5	Health and Mass Media	94	7%
6	Buddhasasana, Religious and Cultural Affairs	82	6%
7	Rural Development, Social Security, and Community Empowerment	81	6%
8	Environment	76	5%
9	Energy	68	5%
10	Fisheries, Aquatic and Ocean Resources	66	5%
11	Youth Affairs and Sports	64	5%
12	Women and Child Affairs	59	4%
13	Finance, Planning, and Economic Development	55	4%
14	Transport, Highways and Urban Development	50	4%
15	Public Security and Parliamentary Affairs	45	3%
16	Defence	42	3%
17	Digital Economy	37	3%
18	Housing, Construction, and Water Supply	33	2%
19	Justice and National Integration	33	2%
20	Ports and Civil Aviation	28	2%
21	Science and Technology	28	2%
22	Labour	25	2%
23	Trade, Commerce, Food Security, and Cooperative Development	21	2%
24	Public Administration, Provincial Councils and Local Government	20	1%
25	Plantation and Community Infrastructure	18	1%
	Total	1,474	

Table 1: Number of promises under each ministry and budget programs/projects

3

Cabinet Decisions and Manifesto Alignment (June-December 2025)

Cabinet decisions play a central role in implementing a government's manifesto, as they translate political commitments into formal policy actions. Through collective decision-making, the Cabinet approves proposals, allocates resources, and establishes the necessary legal and administrative frameworks. Well-coordinated cabinet decisions ensure policy coherence across ministries, reduce overlaps, and strengthen accountability, thereby forming a critical link between manifesto promises and practical governance.

Phase I of this monitoring exercise reviewed cabinet decisions taken between November 2024 and May 2025. During this period, a total of 299 Cabinet decisions were recorded, of which 216 decisions were assessed for their relevance to the manifesto commitments.

Phase II assessed cabinet decisions taken from June to December 2025. A total of **457 Cabinet Decisions** were issued during this period, of which **27** were **Statutory** in nature, reflecting legally mandated decisions. The remaining **430** Cabinet Decisions were assessed for their relevance to the manifesto promises. The assessment found that:

- **22%** were **Highly Relevant**, indicating direct and precise implementation of specific manifesto commitments in both intent and content;
- **31%** were **Relevant**, demonstrating substantial alignment with manifesto themes, though not always corresponding exactly to specific promises;
- **23%** were **Partially Relevant**, suggesting a linkage to manifesto goals but addressing only part of the intended scope or doing so in a limited manner;
- **24%** were **Irrelevant**, showing no clear connection to stated manifesto priorities; and

Overall, **76%** of the assessed Cabinet Decisions demonstrated relevance to the manifesto, with **22%** reflecting a high and **31%** substantial level of policy coherence through direct implementation of commitments. However, the relatively high proportion of partially relevant (**23%**) and irrelevant decisions (**24%**) indicates that a significant number of cabinet actions relate to the continuation of previous government initiatives or arise from situational and administrative necessities. Despite these limitations, the findings suggest the intention of the government in translating manifesto promises into actionable government policies.

No. of Cabinet Decisions	Relevance Status	Percentage (Approx. %)
95	Highly Relevant	22
132	Relevant	31
100	Partially Relevant	23
103	Irrelevant	24
430		100

Table 2: Summary of the alignment assessment

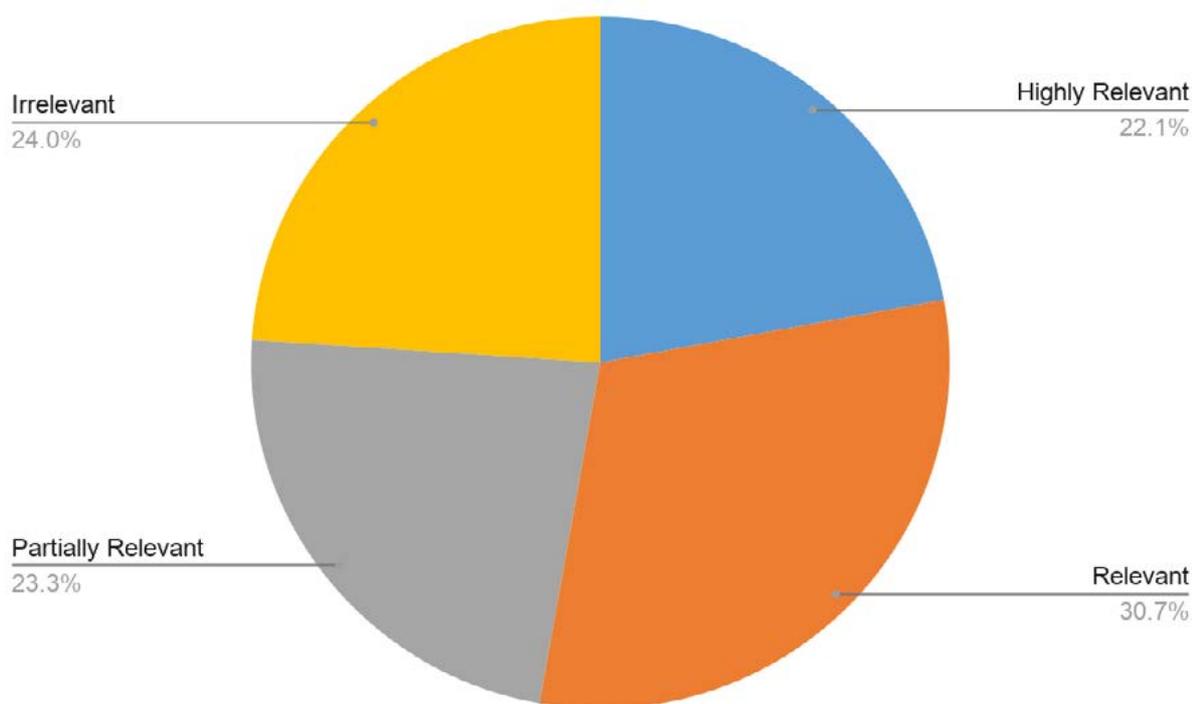


Figure 3: Percentages of the relevance of alignment to the promises

4

Implementation Arrangements for the Government Manifesto through National Budgets and Ministries

4.1. Institutional Planning and Performance Management

The present Government has initiated a structured institutional planning and performance management framework to implement its manifesto commitments.

Manifesto as the National Policy Framework: On March 3, 2025, the Cabinet of Ministers formally adopted the manifesto “*A Thriving Nation – A Beautiful Life*” as the National Policy Framework. Accordingly, all ministries, departments, state institutions, provincial councils, and local authorities were directed to align their planning and implementation processes with this framework.

Performance Monitoring Circular: On March 24, 2025, the Presidential Secretariat issued Circular No. PS/SB/Circular/03/2025, instructing all ministries to prepare their 2025 Action Plans in line with the Progress Monitoring Framework and the Strategic Plans for 2025–2029.

Mandatory Planning and Reporting: All ministries are required to submit Strategic Plans and Action Plans that explicitly incorporate manifesto commitments and to report implementation progress on a quarterly basis through the Ministry Performance Monitoring System (MPMS).

Institutional Oversight Mechanisms: On December 30, 2024, the Cabinet of Ministers appointed a Public Investment Monitoring and Evaluation Committee comprising 11 senior officials to expedite strategic decision-making related to the implementation of public investment projects.

Results-Based Management: The Government has also taken a Cabinet decision dated October 7, 2025, to introduce a Results-Based Management (RBM) approach to strengthen performance accountability and outcome-

oriented implementation. The Ministerial Results Frameworks will help in the timely achievement of development goals within the respective scope in line with the hierarchical responsibilities of each Ministry, thereby ensuring the timely delivery of the desired outputs and benefits to the people, strengthening the linkages between economic sectors, and enhancing public confidence in public investments.¹ The Minister of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, to institutionalize Results-based Management in the Public Sector and to integrate the Ministerial Results Frameworks into the Annual Action Plans of each Ministry and the strategic phases of the budget process, and to take necessary steps to achieve the desired goals.

Strategic Development Projects and Programs: The Government took a cabinet decision on 21 October 2025, to publish the proposed amendments to the Strategic Development Projects Bill in the Government Gazette and subsequently present it to Parliament for approval.

On 17 December 2025, Parliament approved the Strategic Development Projects (Amendment) Act, No. 26 of 2025. The amendments proposed several key changes, including reducing the maximum tax holiday period from 25 years to 10 years, strengthening monitoring mechanisms, and mandating stricter compliance requirements for strategic investments.

This parliamentary action can be considered an expedited step toward advancing the development objectives outlined in the manifesto. However, any potential consequences arising from these amendments should be assessed separately as part of the ongoing monitoring and evaluation process.

4.2. Data gathering on ministerial performance

In line with the above institutional arrangements, this third-party monitoring exercise seeks to assess implementation by reviewing the National Policy Framework approved by the Cabinet of Ministers, Strategic Plan for 2025–2029 requested by a circular for the implementation of manifesto and Action Plan for 2025, also the Quarterly Progress Reports for 2025 (covering the second and third quarters ending June 30 and September 30, respectively), as available as of December 31, 2025. The monitoring team attempted to collect these documents through official online platforms and Right to Information (RTI) requests. The following table presents the status of collection of the required documents.

¹ https://www.cabinetoffice.gov.lk/cab/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=16&Itemid=49&lang=en&dID=13461

No.	Ministry	Ministerial Results Framework (2025-2029) by DPMM	Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Quarterly Progress Report (QPR) 2025			Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025
					Q2	Q3	Q4	
1	Housing, Construction, and Water Supply							
	Water Supply	Received	Received	Received	Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
	Housing	Received	Received	Received	Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
2	Transport, Highways, and Urban Development							
	Transport	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
	Highways	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
	Urban Development	Received	Received	Received	Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
3	Ports and Civil Aviation	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
4	Environment	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
5	Plantation and Community Infrastructure							
	Plantation	Received	Received	Received	Received	Received	Received	Received
	Community Infrastructure	Received	Received	Received	Received	Received	Received	Received
6	Women and Child Affairs	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
7	Rural Development, Social Security, and Community Empowerment	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received

No.	Ministry	Ministerial Results Framework (2025-2029) by DPMM	Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Quarterly Progress Report (QPR) 2025			Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025
					Q2	Q3	Q4	
8	Agriculture & Livestock	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Received	Received	Received
9	Science and Technology	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
10	Energy	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
11	Justice and National Integration	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
12	Education, Higher Education and Vocational Education	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
13	Trade, Commerce, Food Security and Cooperative Development	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
14	Health and Mass Media	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
15	Buddhasasana, Religious and Cultural Affairs	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
16	Public Security and Parliamentary Affairs	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
17	Foreign Affairs, Foreign Employment and Tourism	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received

No.	Ministry	Ministerial Results Framework (2025-2029) by DPMM	Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Quarterly Progress Report (QPR) 2025			Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025
					Q2	Q3	Q4	
18	Fisheries, Aquatic and Ocean Resources	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
19	Public Administration, Provincial Councils and Local Government	Received	Received	Received	Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
20	Labour	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
21	Industry and Entrepreneurship Development	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
22	Digital Economy	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
23	Youth Affairs and Sports	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Received
24	Defense	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received
25	Finance, planning and economic development	Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Table 3: Status of collection of the required documents from 25 ministries

The above table presents the status of ministerial commitments regarding the preparation of Strategic Plans, Action Plans, and Quarterly Progress Reports. While these instruments are essential components of an effective results-based management framework, the monitoring exercise continues to depend heavily on the availability, timeliness, and accuracy of data obtained from formal institutional sources.

In the absence of consistent and publicly accessible information and documentation, the ability to assess progress objectively and comprehensively remains constrained. Strengthening reporting compliance and ensuring regular proactive disclosure of approved plans and progress reports would significantly improve the efficiency, transparency, and credibility of the monitoring process.

5

Implementation Assessment of the National Budget 2025

5.1. Overview of the Policy Direction of the National Budget 2025

The National Budget is the primary instrument through which a government translates its political manifesto into actionable programmes and public services. Monitoring the budget is therefore essential to ensure that promised commitments are adequately financed and effectively implemented. Budget monitoring helps assess whether resource allocations are aligned with manifesto priorities, identify gaps between policy intentions and actual expenditure, and strengthen institutional accountability for results. Transparency and accountability in budget formulation builds public trust and enables timely policy implementation and agility during emerging crises.

Phase I of the monitoring focused primarily on outputs, in view of the limited monitoring period from November 2024 to May 2025. Phase II, covering the period from June to December 2025, is intended to track ministerial performance in translating manifesto promises into implementation outcomes. However, the First Quarterly Progress Report was not prepared due to delays in the 2025 Budget process following the change of government, while the Fourth Quarterly Progress Reports remain unavailable as a result of the Ditwah disaster, despite the reporting period ending on 31 December 2025. Consequently, the assessment relies on the Second and Third Quarterly Progress Reports to evaluate the extent to which ministries have implemented their respective commitments.

The monitoring team initially intended to obtain progress reports from all ministries through Right to Information (RTI) requests. However, documentation was received only from 15 out of 25 ministries. Nevertheless, the tracking and analysis were conducted using all available documents to the extent possible.

5.2. National Budget 2025 and Manifesto Commitments

Budget proposals were introduced in 2025 to operationalize 133 manifesto commitments. This monitoring exercise sought to assess their implementation; however, project-level analysis was not feasible due to limitations in data availability and the absence of detailed, disaggregated reporting.

While overall budget allocations and financial progress could be identified through available official sources, information on physical progress and output-level achievements remained largely inaccessible. This gap constrained a comprehensive assessment of implementation effectiveness and outcome realization.

5.3. Implementation Status by Ministries

1. Ministry of Education

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The Ministry of Education, Higher Education and Vocational Education is one of the key ministries of the Government and is currently held by the Prime Minister in the capacity of Minister of Education, Higher Education and Vocational Education. In the Government Manifesto, the education sector is addressed under the theme “*A Civilised Citizen – Advanced Human Resources.*” A total of 78 promises out of 1,333 manifesto commitments fall under this theme, spanning 16 thematic areas.

However, within the National Policy Framework, the number of education-related commitments has increased to 108 out of the total 1,385 activities listed. Notably, several promises originally categorized under Women and Children’s Affairs, Sports, and Cultural Affairs have either been reassigned or duplicated under the Ministry of Education and Higher Education.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

These have the highest number of commitments among all sectors and account for approximately 8% of the total activities. This indicates that education has been accorded high priority in the manifesto and policy framework. Despite this emphasis, the Ministry’s Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation, and the Action Plan for 2025 did not adequately cover a significant proportion of the manifesto or National Policy Framework commitments. Nevertheless, 157 projects and programmes were adopted during the year 2025 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan-2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR - Q2 (June 2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR - Q3 (September 2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR - Q4 (December 2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the ministry submitted 29 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received Cabinet of Ministers approval, enabling the implementation of various policy initiatives. Monitoring findings indicate that only three (03) Cabinet decisions are highly relevant to the manifesto, five (5) are relevant, seven (7) are partially relevant, and fourteen (14) are not directly relevant to manifesto commitments.

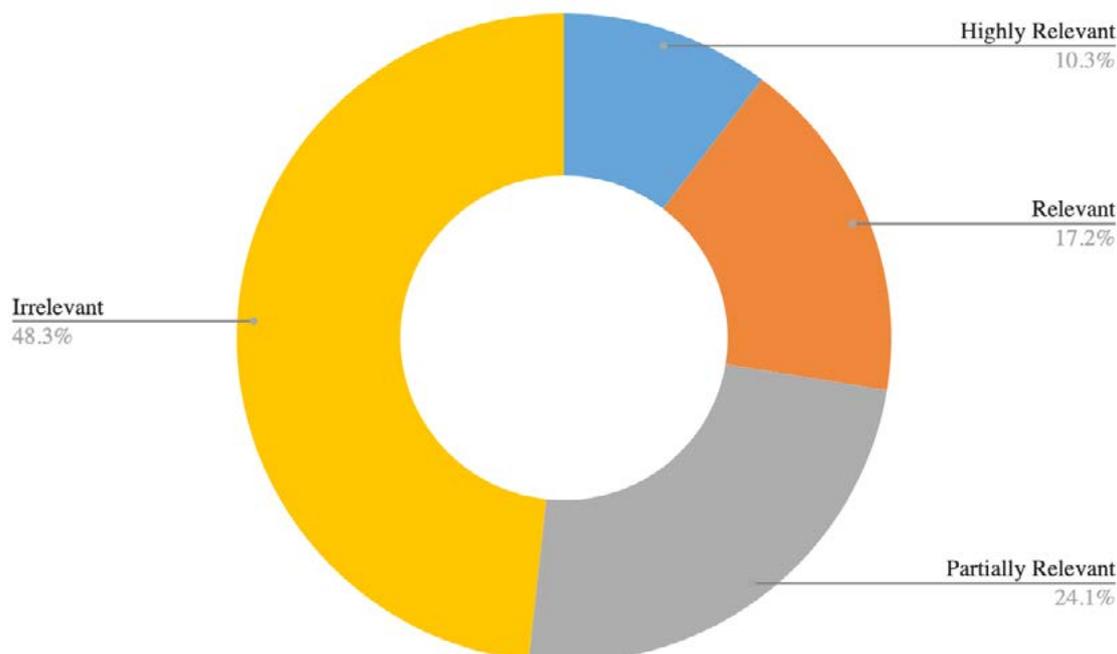


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

Under the 2025 National Budget, an allocation of Rs. 273,339 million was made for the education sector, and its 3.09% of the total budget, and 157 education-related commitments were announced with corresponding budgetary provisions, with 75.89% earmarked for recurrent expenditure and 24.11% for capital expenditure.

In comparison, the 2025 Budget allocation for the 2026 Budget, an allocation of Rs. 303,850 million has been proposed, compared with 76.96% earmarked for recurrent expenditure and 23.04% for capital expenditure. However, there is a small improvement in the total fund allocation from 3.09% to 3.38% from the total allocation.



Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 273,339 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 147,491 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 54%. And, a summary of the physical progress yet to be received from the ministry.

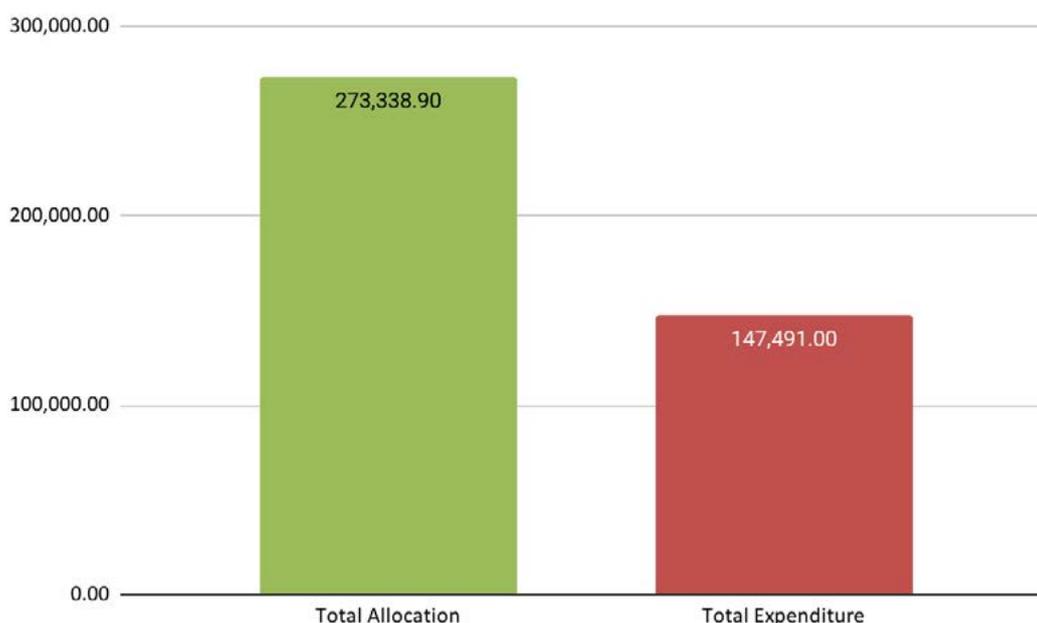


Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

The education-related manifesto commitments place strong emphasis on implementing an education policy that recognises culture as a broad and dynamic domain, introducing reforms aligned with international standards, and fostering life skills and knowledge within a child-friendly learning environment. A further critical commitment is the strengthening of public investment in education, with a pledge to gradually increase education expenditure to 6% of

Gross Domestic Product (GDP). However, it has noted that nearly 1% of GDP has been allocated to education in the National Budget 2025.

Parliamentary actions on Manifesto Commitments

As part of the education reform process, the Ministry conducted 20 consultative workshops, and a reform proposal was submitted to Parliament for debate on July 24, 2025. However, the implementation of education reforms for Grade 6 has not been completed as initially planned and has been postponed to 2027, while reforms for Grades 1 onwards are scheduled to commence from January 2026. Accordingly, the overall status of education reform implementation is assessed as partially implemented.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Offer 200 scholarships per year for high school graduates to pursue degrees at internationally ranked universities.	✓	✓	✓
02	Educational reforms in line with international standards aimed at fostering life skills and knowledge in a child-friendly educational environment.	✓	✓	✓
03	Provide physical and human resources to schools to maintain minimum facilities.	✓	✓	✓

It has monitored 37 promises initiated for implementation by the ministry. The above table lists the promises that have reached two or more milestones; the rest are listed in Annex-2

2. Ministry of Health and Media

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The Ministry of Health is a people-centred and service-oriented institution that also functions in coordination with the media sector. Under the government’s Manifesto, the Ministry is responsible for implementing 55 commitments in the health sector, in addition to 15 commitments under the media thematic area. Monitoring further indicates that approximately 94 health-sector-related commitments have been classified as activities under the National Policy Framework (NPF).

Key health-sector commitments include the gradual increase of government expenditure on health to at least 3% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) within a short period, the efficient and transparent utilisation of public funds, and active measures to combat corruption within the health sector. Since the government has reached the second year of its official period, only 1.6% of the GDP has been allocated for health in 2025.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Further monitoring findings reveal that although the National Policy Framework identifies 94 health-sector commitments as activities, the Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation.

While an Action Plan was prepared during the review period, it did not adequately cover the relevant manifesto or National Policy Framework commitments for 2025.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan-2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

Monitoring observations indicate that the Ministry submitted 59 Cabinet Memoranda during the review period, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby facilitating the implementation of selected policy initiatives. Of the Cabinet decisions reviewed, 25 were assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, 13 as relevant, 12 as partially relevant, 08 as not directly relevant.

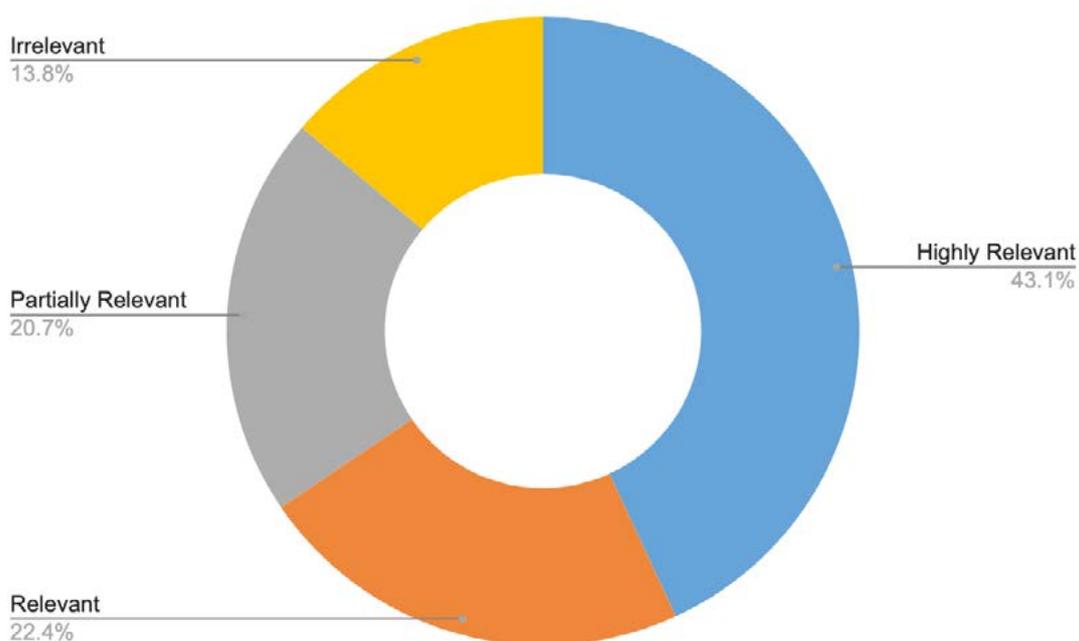


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

In addition, 122 health-related commitments were announced through the 2025 National Budget, with an allocation of Rs. 519,541 million, which is 5.8% of the total budget, with 81.61% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 18.39% is allocated for capital expenditure. This indicates that there is limited fiscal space for infrastructure development and long-term system strengthening. There is an improvement in the National Budget 2026, where Rs. 555,100 million were allocated with 6.18% of the total allocations, but the ratio of the capital current expenditure ratio remains almost the same.

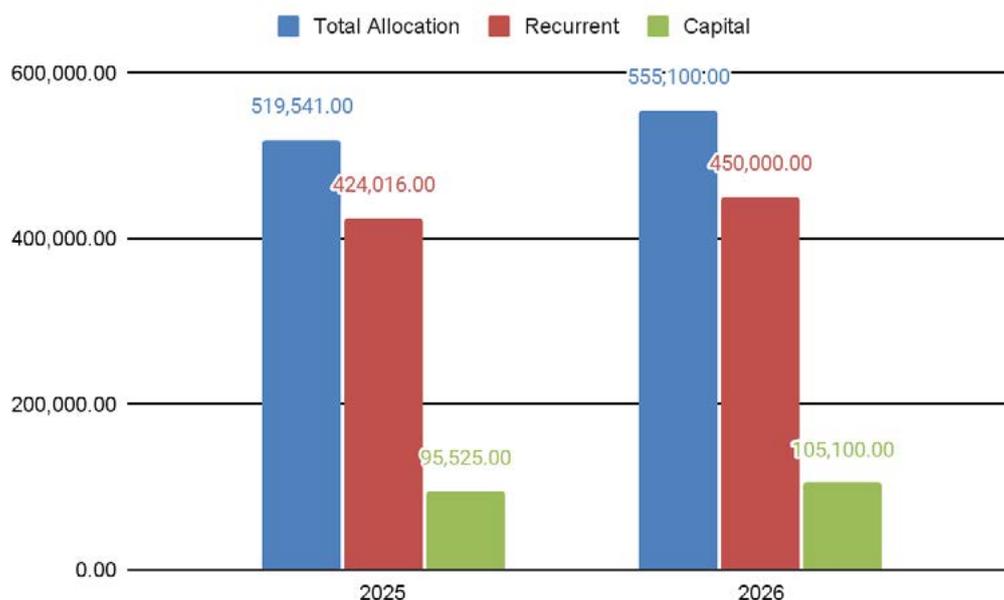


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 519,541 million was allocated to the ministry. The amount of the expenditure and the financial and physical progress for the year 2025 are yet to be received from the ministry.

Parliamentary actions on Manifesto Commitments

With regard to the media sector, the commitment to amend the Online Safety Act, No. 09 of 2024, including the removal of provisions that restrict freedom of expression. Even though the cabinet approval was granted to appoint a committee, this promise remains in the pipeline and has not yet been formally implemented.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Implement satellite clinics to provide specialized health services (including visits by specialist consultants) in family physician unit areas.	✓	✓
02	Certify all laboratory tests and procedures in government health institutions according to ISO standards and provide 24/7 phone access to medical professionals and nurses.	✓	✓
03	Establish facilities for mental, speech, auditory, occupational, and community physical therapy.	✓	✓
04	An extended cardiology unit, oncology unit, ophthalmic unit and nephrology unit with facilities in each district/province.	✓	✓
05	Promote cultivation and research to support the production of indigenous medicines.	✓	✓

It has monitored 63 promises initiated for implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached only one milestone, and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

3. Ministry of Housing, Construction, and Water Supply

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The government's Manifesto emphasises the provision of a *healthy home for every citizen*, effective land management, and the implementation of comprehensive housing programmes as key policy priorities. Within the housing sector, 12 manifesto commitments are identified across four thematic categories: *New Life Housing*, *Urban Housing*, *Rural Housing*, and *Estate Housing*. However, commitments related to Estate Housing have subsequently been reassigned to the Ministry of Plantation and Community Development.

Under the New Life Housing category, the provision of financial assistance to newly married couples for housing construction or purchase has been proposed. A Cabinet Memorandum relating to this commitment has been submitted for the approval of the Cabinet of Ministers.

In addition to housing, the Ministry is responsible for construction and water supply functions. Under the construction sector, 19 commitments are identified, while only a limited number of water supply-related commitments fall under the research and development category. Several construction-related commitments focus on procurement processes, including the introduction of standardised procurement procedures applicable to the state sector.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that, in total, 33 manifesto commitments are currently reflected in the National Policy Framework and the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Urban Development, as housing functions were previously mandated under that Ministry and have since been institutionalised under the Ministry of Housing, Construction and Water Supply. An Action Plan has also been prepared to guide the implementation of relevant manifesto commitments over the period 2026–2028.

Although the following commitments are articulated in the manifesto "*Thriving Nation and Beautiful Life*", they have not been explicitly incorporated into the National Policy Framework:

- Establishing a mechanism to prioritise major construction projects in alignment with national development plans.
- Ensuring that all state institutions adhere to a uniform and standardised public procurement framework.

Water Supply

Documentation	Update of Collection
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan-29)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Housing

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted 10 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby facilitating the implementation of selected policy initiatives. Monitoring analysis indicates that Two (2) Cabinet decisions were assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, while two (2) were assessed as relevant, two as partially relevant, and four as not directly relevant.

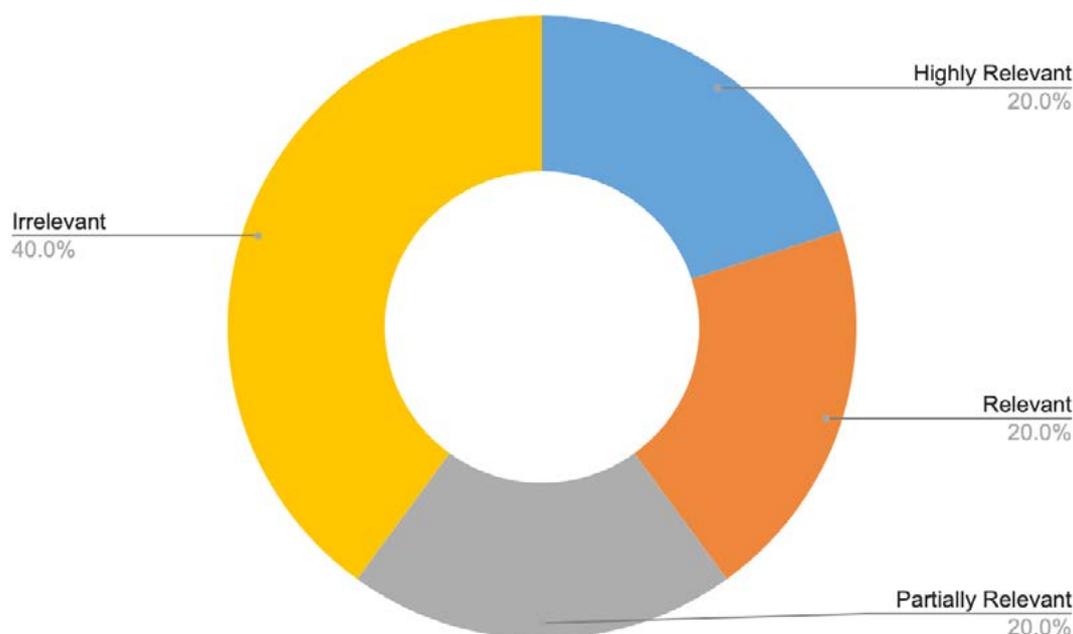


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

In line with the government's plan to construct around 31,000 housing units in 2026, together with an additional requirement of more than 20,000 housing units arising from the Ditwa disaster-related impacts, the "Rebuilding Sri Lanka" initiative has emerged as a core programme of the Ministry for 2026.

Housing-related commitments 50 were announced through the 2025 National Budget. An amount of Rs. 104,268.00 with 2.93% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while 97.09% is allocated for capital expenditure, Rs. 101,212 million has been allocated under the 2026 Budget to support the implementation of these commitment with the same ratio.

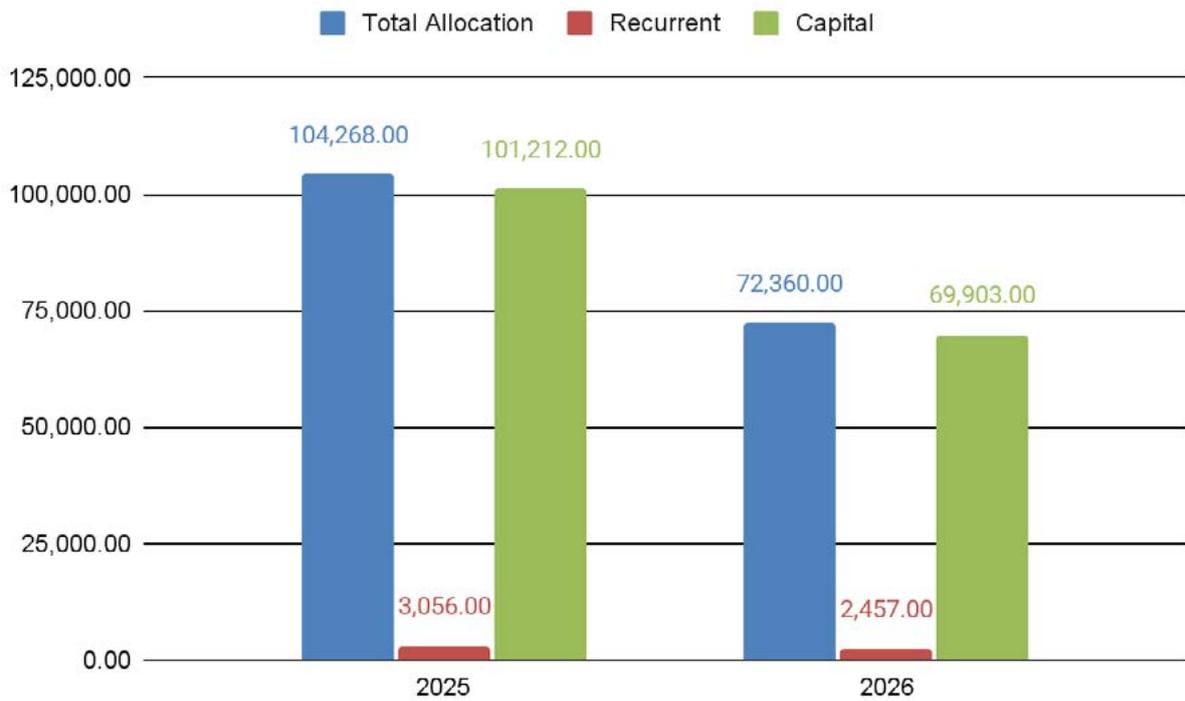


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 104,268 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 26,613 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 31%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.

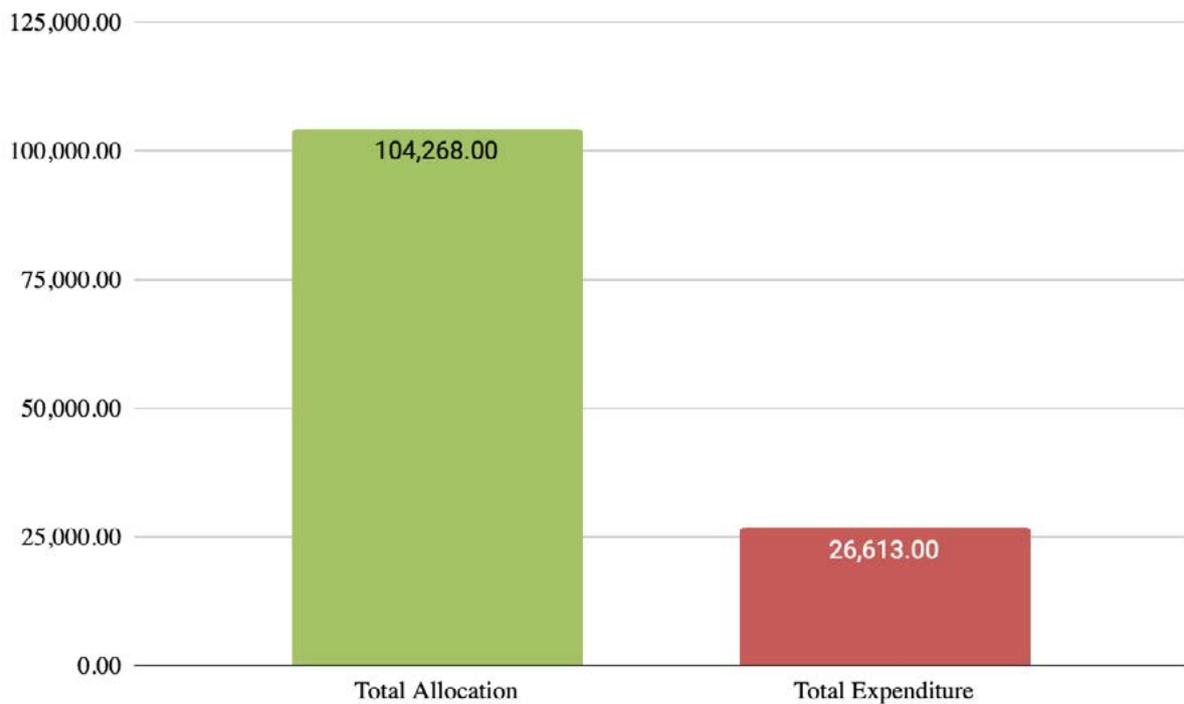


Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Housing-related 50 commitments were announced through the 2025 National Budget. An amount of Rs. 104,268.00, with 2.93% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while 97.09% is allocated for capital expenditure. Rs. 101,212 million has been allocated under the 2026 Budget to support the implementation of these commitments with the same ratio.

However, it is noted that Water supply is an essential service, but there are no specific promises in the manifesto.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Facilitate the provision of affordable housing for residents of low-income settlements in Colombo through government intervention.	✓	✓	✓
02	Develop comprehensive housing projects in urban and semi-urban areas, including essential facilities such as healthcare, education, sports, transportation, and parks.		✓	✓

It has monitored 08 promises initiated for implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones, and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

4. Ministry of Women and Child Affairs

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The government’s Manifesto articulates “A Safe World for Children, A Creative Future Generation” as the core conceptual framework guiding commitments related to child affairs. The key principles underpinning these commitments include the establishment of a legal and institutional framework aligned with international conventions, particularly the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC); ensuring freedom, safety, and protection of children from abuse and all forms of violence; providing adequate care and nutrition; and promoting the overall well-being and holistic development of all children.

Monitoring findings indicate that a significant number of child- and women-related commitments overlap with activities implemented by the Ministry of Education, Higher Education and Vocational Education, underscoring the need for strong cross-ministerial coordination mechanisms. Within the National Policy Framework, 15 commitments are listed under the theme “A Safe World for Children, A Creative Future Generation”, while an additional nine commitments fall under the theme “Early Childhood Development Education”, and 20 promises were women-oriented.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Although these commitments are thematically aligned with the education sector, a total of 59 child- and women-related commitments are included in the National Policy Framework. At the time of monitoring, the Strategic Plan of the Ministry is still under preparation, while an Action Plan has been completed to guide implementation.

With regard to women’s affairs, the manifesto commitment to “combat period poverty by providing women and girls with tax relief, financial support, and other essential resources” has been operationalised through a programme implemented by the Ministry of Education, Higher Education, and Vocational Education and has received budgetary

allocations through the 2025 National Budget. Similarly, the manifesto commitment on education reforms, aligned with international standards to foster life skills and knowledge in a child-friendly learning environment, although listed under child affairs, constitutes a major programme area of the Ministry of Education. However, monitoring observations note concerns regarding the Grade Six English subject module introduced under these reforms, with questions raised about its alignment with the stated manifesto objectives.

Although the following commitments are articulated in the manifesto *“Thriving Nation and Beautiful Life”*, they have not been explicitly reflected in the National Policy Framework:

- Expanding equitable access to state services, including healthcare, legal assistance, social protection, and justice for LGBTIQ+ communities.

- Developing and institutionalising a code of conduct, along with clear operational standards, to guide state officials, including law enforcement personnel, in their engagement with individuals of diverse gender identities.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted 11 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which were approved by the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby enabling the implementation of selected policy initiatives. Of these Cabinet decisions, Four were assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, three as relevant, three as partially relevant, and one as not directly relevant.

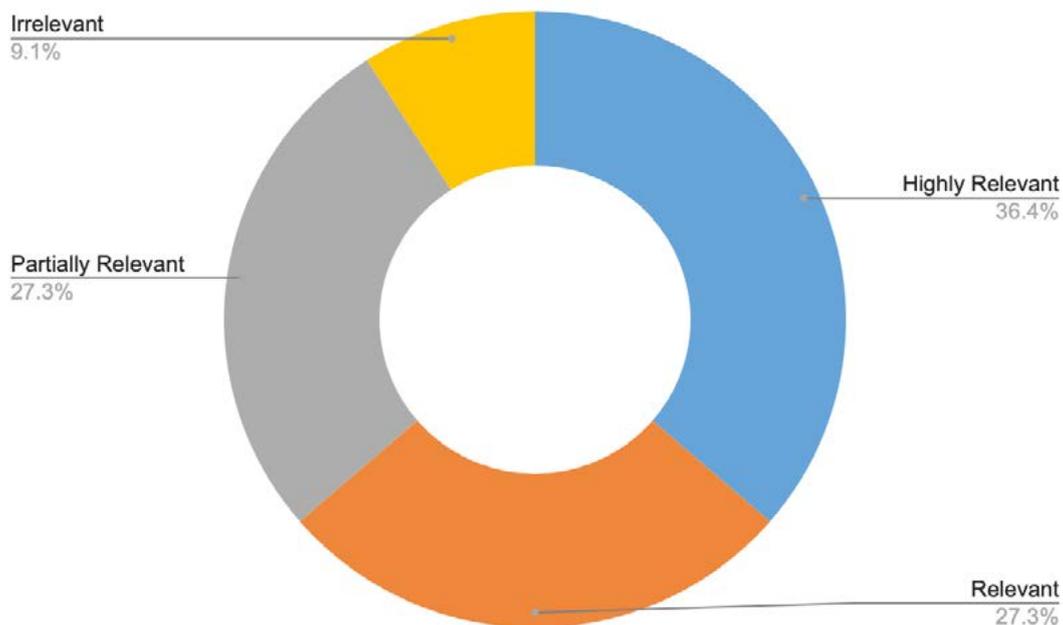


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

Furthermore, 23 commitments under women and child affairs were announced through the 2025 National Budget with an amount of Rs. 16,328 million to support implementation. However, monitoring analysis indicates that approximately 94% of the allocation is recurrent expenditure, with only about 5% allocated for capital expenditure, raising concerns regarding the adequacy of resources for programme expansion and long-term structural interventions envisaged in the manifesto. The 2026 national budget also reflects the figures almost the same.



Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 16,328 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 9,016 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 55%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.



Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Offer financial support to newly married couples for purchasing or constructing their homes.	✓	✓	✓
02	Establish a robust mechanism for early identification and intervention of at-risk children, including children with disabilities, street children and out-of-school children.	✓	✓	✓

It has monitored 20 promises initiated for implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones, the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

5. Ministry of Sports and Youth Affairs

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The government's manifesto identifies *participation, discipline, confidence, competitiveness, professionalism, and international excellence* as the core guiding principles for the sports sector. These principles are further reinforced through commitments to the development of adequate infrastructure, equitable access to sports, international cooperation, and collaboration among government institutions, the private sector, and non-governmental organizations.

Within this framework, the Ministry of Sports and Youth Affairs is responsible for implementing 30 manifesto commitments related to sports, in addition to 37 commitments under the youth thematic area.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that 67 commitments under the Ministry are reflected in the National Policy Framework. At the time of review, the Ministry's Strategic Plan for implementing relevant manifesto commitments over the period 2026–2028 is prepared. also an Action Plan for 2025 has been prepared to guide implementation activities.

Although the following commitments are articulated in the manifesto "*Thriving Nation and Beautiful Life*", they have not been explicitly incorporated into the National Policy Framework:

- Safeguarding the right of young people to access suitable and gainful employment opportunities, with facilitative support from the state.
- Establishing youth environmental committees at the local government level to promote youth participation in environmental governance and sustainability initiatives.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted Six Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby enabling the implementation of selected policy initiatives. Monitoring analysis shows that Two Cabinet decisions were assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, while two were assessed as relevant, one as partially relevant, one as not directly relevant.

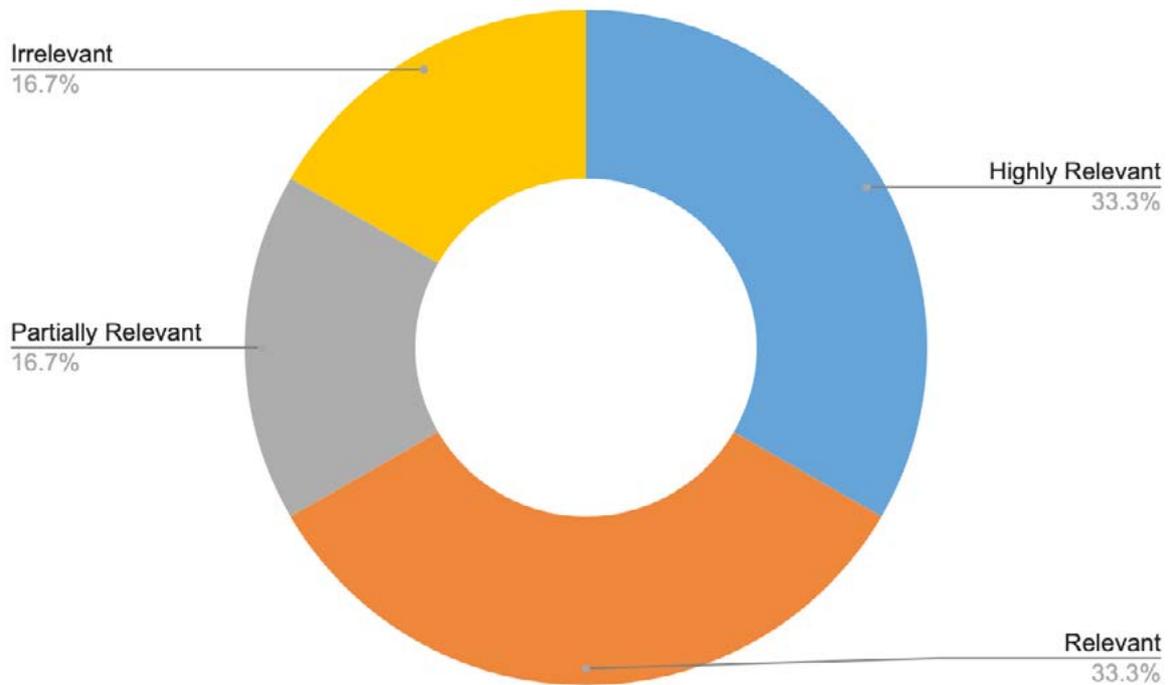


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

A total of 29 commitments were announced with an allocation of Rs. 12,600 million through the 2025 National Budget. Rs. 14,300 million has been allocated under the 2026 Budget to support the implementation of these commitments. The ratio between recurrent and capital expenditure has remained unchanged at approximately 55% recurrent and 45% capital, indicating a relatively balanced allocation between operational costs and development investments.

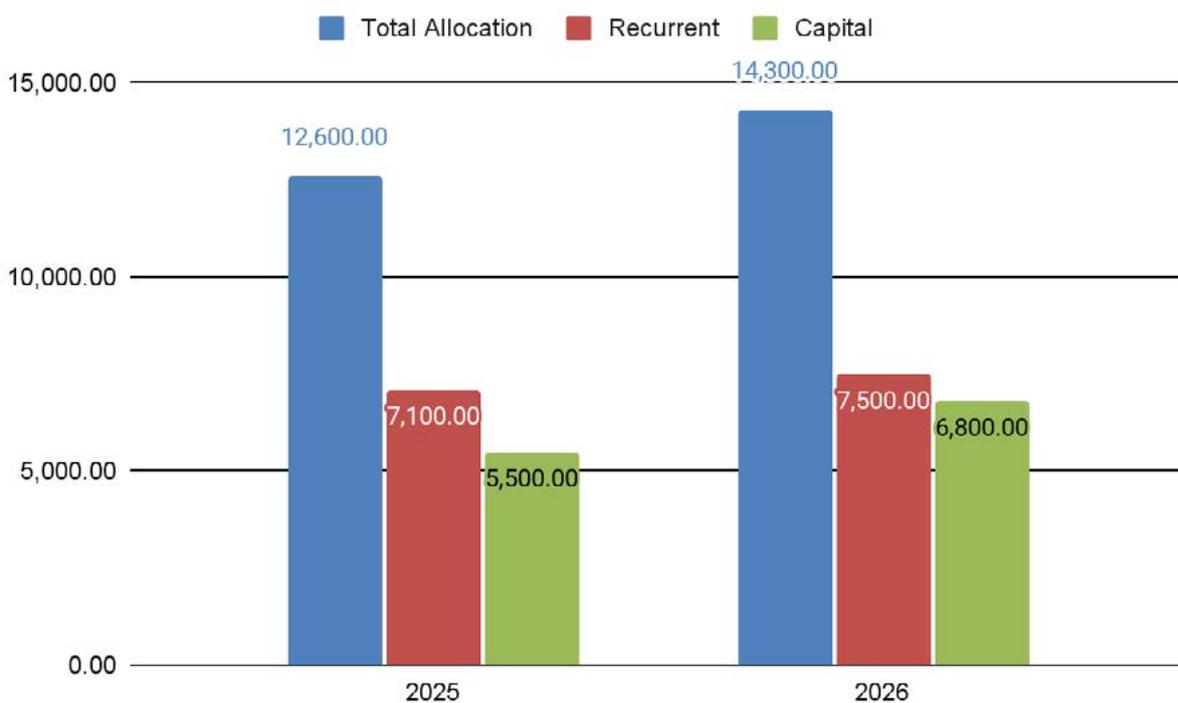


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 12,600 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 4,300 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 34%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.



Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Monitoring also reveals that several sports- and youth-related commitments overlap with programmes implemented by the Ministry of Education, Higher Education and Vocational Education, underscoring the need for effective cross-ministerial coordination to avoid duplication and ensure coherence in implementation.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Establish mechanisms to eliminate all forms of fraud and corruption, including illegal drug use, match-fixing, and other malpractices.	✓	✓	✓
02	Distribution of necessary sports equipment and facilities to all schools equitably through government intervention.	✓	✓	✓
03	Restructuring National Youth Services Council and related institutions such as National Youth Corps, Youth Clubs to develop knowledgeable, skilled young leaders	✓	✓	✓
04	Construct comprehensive sports grounds in each divisional secretariat.	✓	✓	✓
05	Develop a unified sports training program from the grassroots to the national level.	✓	✓	✓

It has monitored 37 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones, and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

6. Ministry of Labour

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The government's manifesto identifies *"An Efficient Workforce – A Respectable Professional Life"* as the overarching theme guiding labour-related commitments. The core principles underpinning this theme include the protection of the dignity and value of labour, equal treatment and diversity in the workplace, and the provision of equal opportunities free from discrimination.

A total of 21 manifesto commitments are listed under this theme, including the establishment of a national salary structure aimed at minimising wage disparities and motivating employees. In this regard, a national salary structure has been introduced through Cabinet decisions, parliamentary actions, and budgetary allocations in 2025 and 2026. In addition, amendments to public- and private-sector monthly salaries as well as revisions to the Minimum Wages Act have been enacted.

However, monitoring findings indicate that these amendments have not directly benefited daily wage workers. A separate manifesto commitment under the theme of *Universal Citizenship* to increase the salaries of upcountry plantation workers in line with the cost of living has not been effectively addressed through the above wage revisions. While a special announcement in the 2026 Budget proposed an increase in the daily wages of upcountry plantation workers in line with the manifesto commitment, responsibility for implementation has been assigned to the Ministry of Plantation Industries, rather than the Ministry of Labour.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring further indicates that all 24 labour-related manifesto commitments have been incorporated into the National Policy Framework. At the time of review, the Ministry's Strategic Plan for the period 2026–2028 was under development, while an Action Plan for 2025 had been prepared but did not fully cover all manifesto commitments.

The monitoring exercise identified that the following commitments are articulated in the manifesto *"Thriving Nation and Beautiful Life"* and are included in the National Policy Framework; however, the number of employment opportunities proposed has been removed:

- Integration of vocational education up to the degree level within the school curriculum.
- Employment of long-term unemployed graduates, with a mechanism to create additional job opportunities as the economy expands.
- Recruitment of 20,000 individuals into the teaching profession.
- Placement of 3,000 STEM graduates and 9,000 non-STEM graduates in the information technology sector.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted eight Cabinet Memoranda, all of which were approved by the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby facilitating the implementation of selected labour-related initiatives. Of the Cabinet decisions reviewed, One was assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, while Four were assessed as relevant, one as partially relevant, and two as not directly relevant.

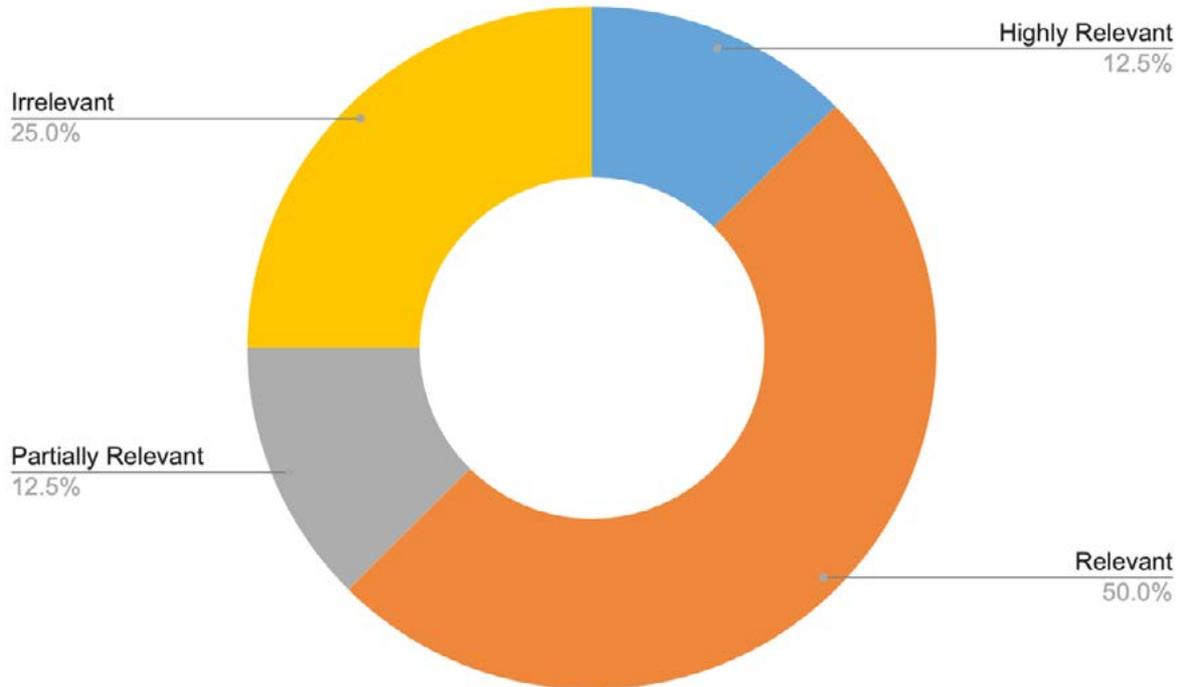


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

Furthermore, many labour-related 14 commitments were announced through the 2025 National Budget, and an amount of Rs. 6,136 million was expended in 2025 with the ratio of 72% recurrent and 18% capital expenditure. Rs. 6400 million has been allocated under the 2026 Budget to support the implementation of these commitments with almost the same ratio.

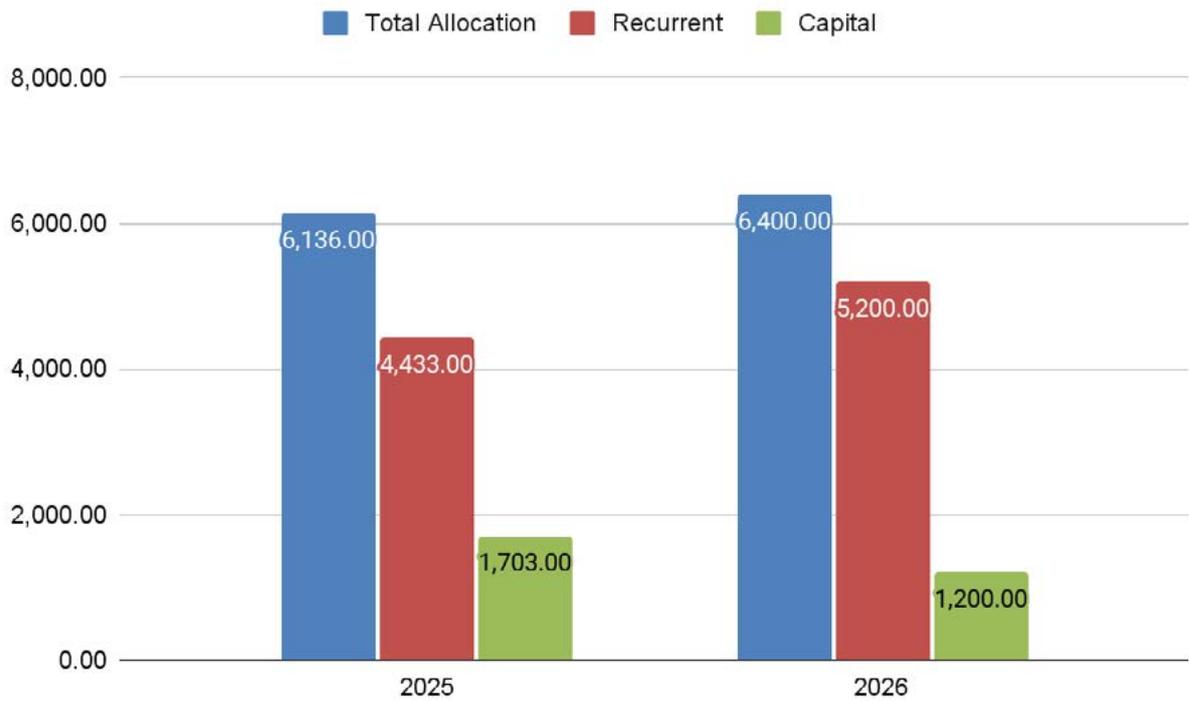


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 6,136 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 3,168 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 52%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.

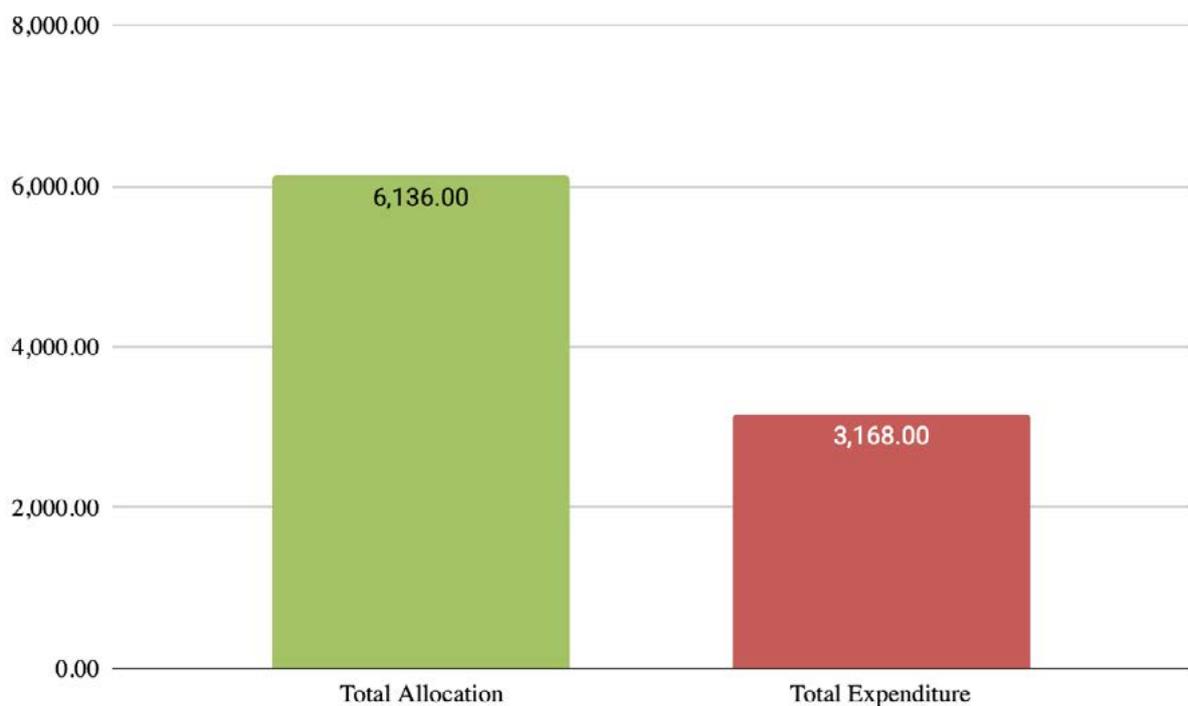


Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Parliamentary actions

Structural changes in the salary for the public and private sector is one of the prominent promises of the government's manifesto. Accordingly, not only the monthly salary, but also the daily wages for the workers were increased by amending the acts. To complete this process, the Budgetary Relief Allowance of Workers (Amendment) Act, No. 10 of 2025, and the Budgetary Relief Allowance of Workers (Amendment) Act, No. 9 of 2025, were repealed, which was granted budgetary allowances from the 2005 and 2016 budgets. As a follow-up, the budgetary allowances previously included in the salary structure were transformed into basic salary and wages by the National Minimum Wage of Workers (Amendment) Act, No. 11 of 2025.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Parliament	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Formulation and implementation of a labour policy.	✓		✓	✓
02	Ensure fair salaries and job security for manpower workers (Salary structure)	✓		✓	✓

It has monitored 14 promises initiated for implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones, and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

7. Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, Land, and Irrigation

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The agricultural sector contributes approximately 8.4% to Sri Lanka's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), underscoring the strategic importance of the manifesto commitments related to this sector. Under the thematic area "*High Productivity – A Nation with Food Security*," the government's Manifesto includes 52 commitments across 10 sub-sectors. In addition, 21 commitments across four sub-sectors fall under the theme "*High-Quality Livestock Production – An Entrepreneurial Approach*," while a further 24 commitments across four sub-sectors relate to land and irrigation. Collectively, these commitments fall within the mandate of the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, Land, and Irrigation.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that 107 agriculture-, livestock-, land-, and irrigation-related commitments have been absorbed into the National Policy Framework, representing the second-highest number of commitments among all sectors, following education, and accounting for approximately 8% of total commitments. At the time of review, the Ministry's Strategic Plan to guide the implementation of relevant manifesto commitments for the period 2026–2028 was under preparation, while the Action Plan for the review period was pending receipt.

The monitoring exercise identified that the following commitment, articulated in the manifesto "*Thriving Nation and Beautiful Life*", has not been explicitly incorporated into the National Policy Framework:

- Protection of land in environmentally or socially sensitive areas.
-

Observation: Despite its inclusion in the manifesto, this commitment is not reflected in the National Policy Framework, indicating a gap between the manifesto’s intent and formal policy adoption.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Received
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted 25 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby enabling the implementation of selected policy initiatives. Of the Cabinet decisions reviewed Six was assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, Nine as relevant, Five as partially relevant, five as not directly relevant.

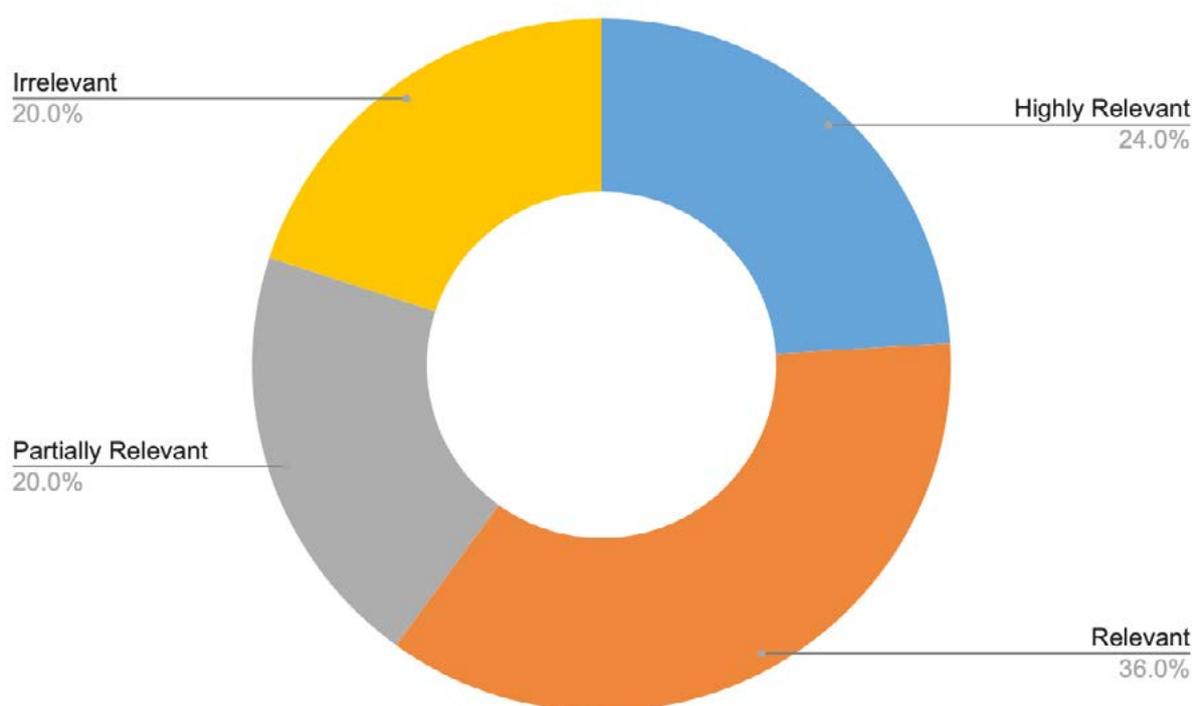


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

119 budgetary provisions to support the implementation of these commitments were included in the 2025 National Budget and, with corresponding Rs. 218,382 million allocations made to the Ministry. It is 2.48% of the total national

budget. 38.38% and 61.62% of the allocation are earmarked for recurrent and capital expenditure, respectively. In comparison, the 2025 Budget allocation in the 2026 budget amounted to Rs. 229,050.00 million, indicating an increase. The ratio of the recurrent and capital expenditure are almost the same.

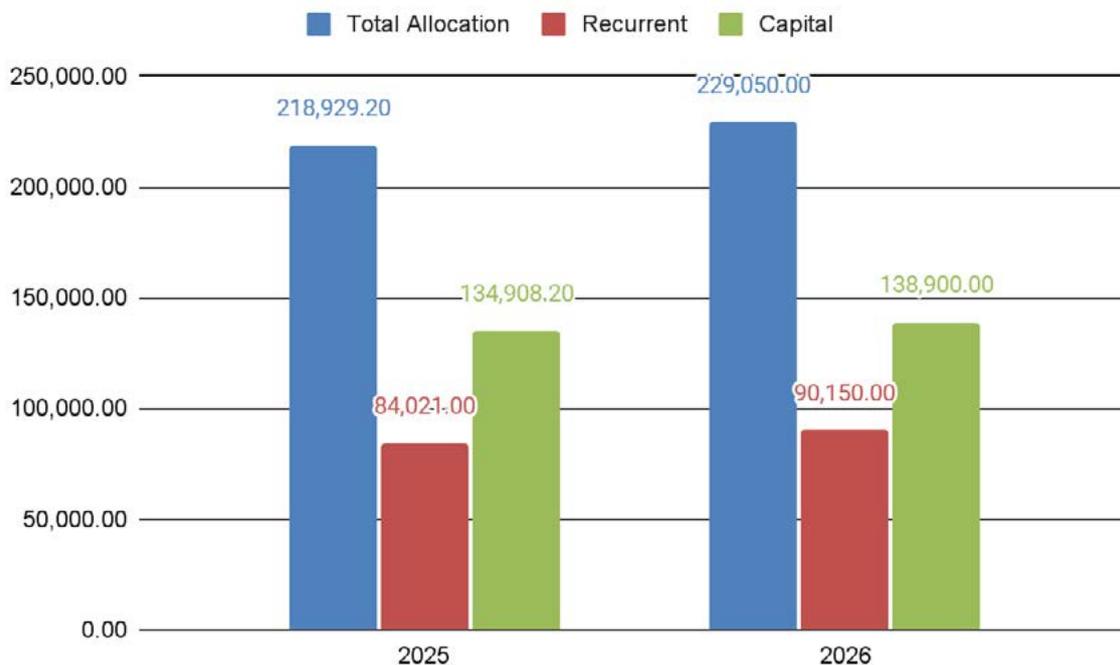


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 218,382 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 95,642 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 44%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.

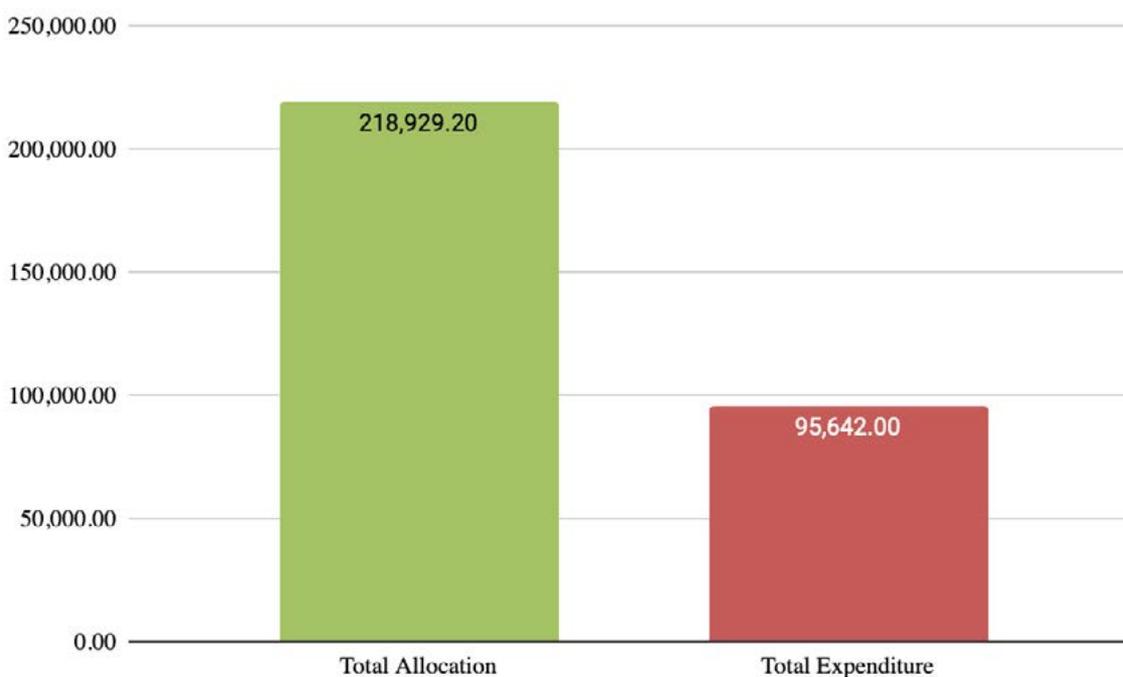


Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Conduct a National program for the control and prevention of widespread animal diseases.	✓	✓	✓
02	Enhance funding for agricultural research and development.	✓	✓	✓
03	Timely renovation of major irrigation systems like tanks, canals, and river diversions.	✓	✓	✓

It has monitored 43 promises initiated for implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

8. Ministry of Fisheries, Aquatic, and Ocean Resources

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The fisheries sector in Sri Lanka comprises three main components: *marine fisheries*, *inland (freshwater) fisheries*, and the *aquaculture industry*. Sri Lanka's maritime jurisdiction includes an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of approximately 517,000 square kilometres. In addition, the country possesses extensive inland and coastal water resources, comprising approximately 21,500 square kilometres of inland water bodies, 1,580 square kilometres of lagoons and estuaries, and 5,200 square kilometres of reservoirs.

The Government's manifesto outlines approximately 68 commitments relevant to the fisheries, aquatic, and ocean resources sector. Key commitments include the sustainable utilisation of living and non-living ocean resources, the establishment of modern ocean-based industries through a blue economy approach, and the development of a Sri Lankan brand in global markets, including a target to increase income from ornamental fish and aquatic plant exports by 25% by 2028.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that 66 sector-related commitments have been incorporated into the National Policy Framework under the mandate of this Ministry. At the time of review, the Ministry's Strategic Plan for the period 2026–2028 was under preparation, while an Action Plan had been developed but had yet to be formally received for monitoring purposes.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted 10 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby facilitating the implementation of selected policy initiatives. Of the Cabinet decisions reviewed, Two were assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, while Seven were assessed as relevant, One as partially relevant.

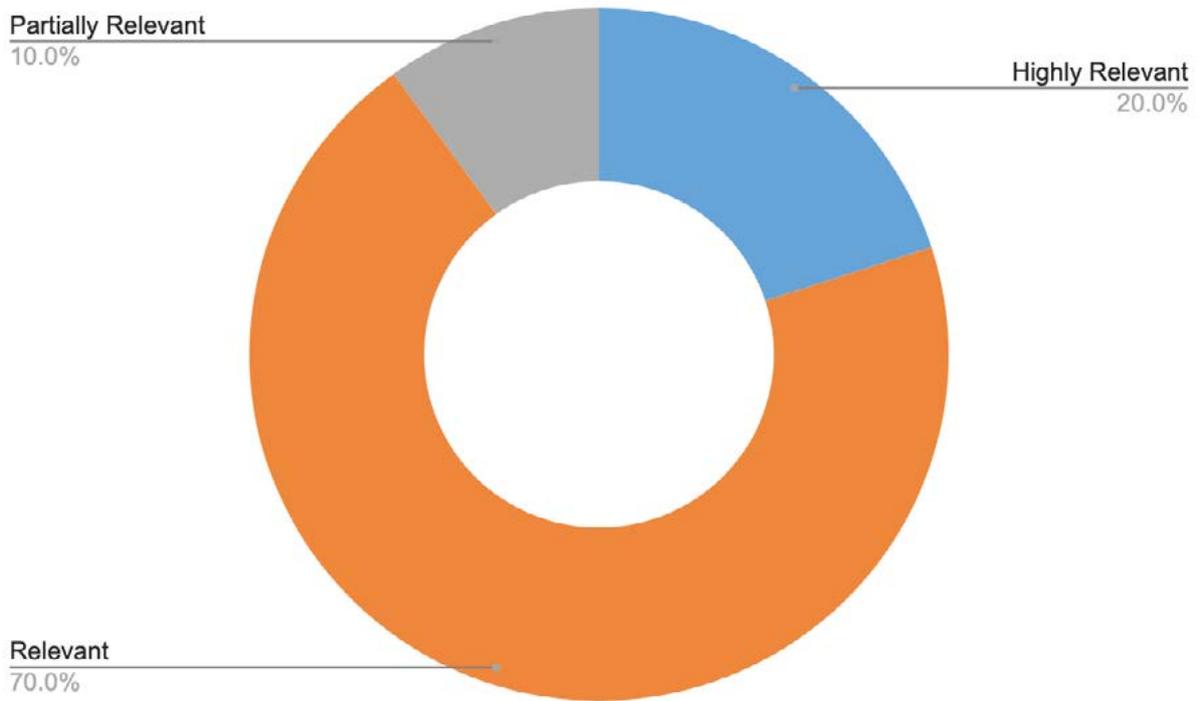


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

With regard to public financing, the Ministry was covered under 20 budget proposals in the 2025 National Budget, allocated Rs. 11,684.30 million, with 53% of allocations being recurrent, and 47% being capital. There are 18 proposals in the 2026 Budget. An allocation of Rs. 11,800 million has been made under the 2026 Budget, of which approximately 35% is allocated for recurrent expenditure and 65% for capital expenditure, indicating a relatively strong emphasis on investment-oriented interventions.

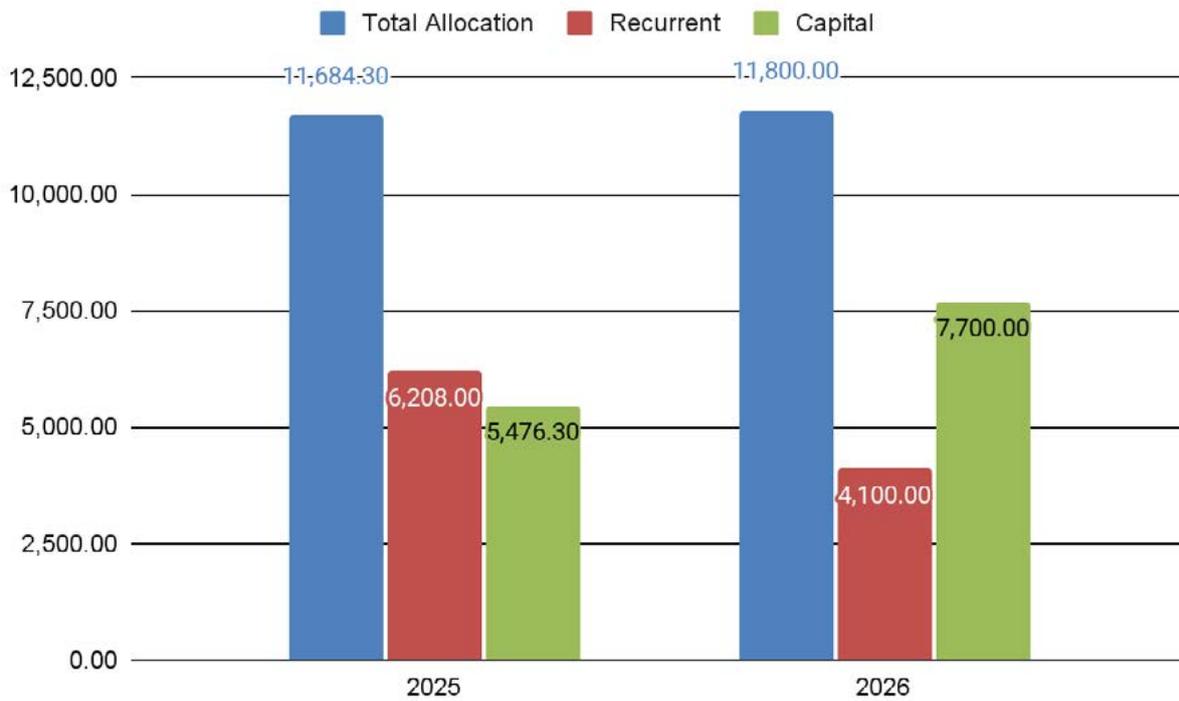


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 11,684 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 5,374 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 46%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.



Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Provide financial and technical support to revitalize ocean fisheries which has currently faced a huge decline.	✓	✓	✓
02	Expand ports and enhancing facilities in the Northern and Eastern provinces to promote trawler fisheries targeting residents.	✓	✓	✓
03	Discourage illegal fishing activities, minimize ocean pollution, and establish a mechanism for emergency responses and minimization of ocean disasters.	✓	✓	✓

It has monitored 21 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones, and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

9. Ministry of Digital Economy

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The Ministry of Digital Economy is guided by the manifesto theme “*A Digital State – An International Partnership*,” which is underpinned by key principles including sustained economic growth driven by innovation, digital transformation of government services, rebranding Sri Lanka’s market identity, harnessing opportunities within the digital economy, strengthening international collaboration for advanced technologies, best practices, and market access, and developing digital infrastructure aligned with international standards.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that 37 commitments under this thematic area are listed in the National Policy Framework. At the time of review, the Ministry’s Strategic Plan to guide the implementation of manifesto commitments for the period 2026–2028 was under preparation, while an Action Plan for 2025 had been developed but had not yet been formally received for monitoring purposes.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted eight Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby facilitating progress on selected policy initiatives. Of the Cabinet decisions reviewed, Three were assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, Two as relevant, two as partially relevant, and one as not directly relevant.

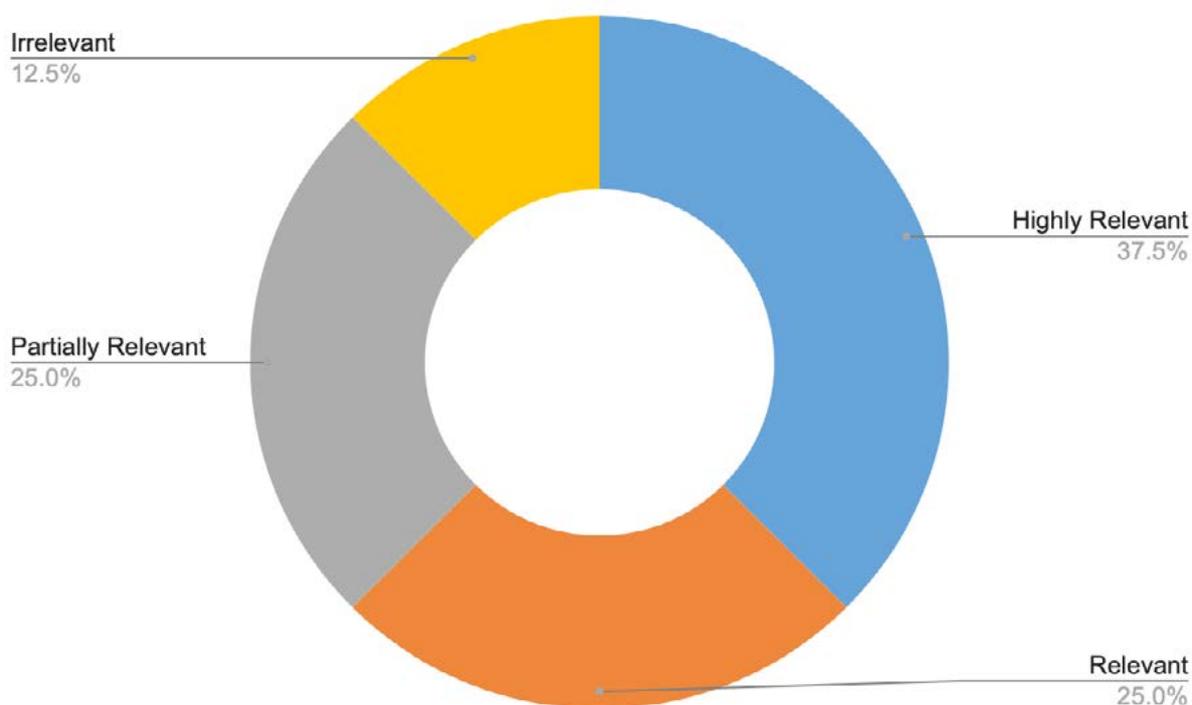


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

Under this thematic framework, the manifesto outlines 37 commitments falling within the Ministry's mandate, supported by 16 budget programmes and projects. The 2025 National Budget has allocated Rs. 16,623 million to the Ministry, with 59% designated for capital expenditure and 41% for recurrent expenditure. Also, the 2026 national budget indicates a slight investment orientation towards digital infrastructure and digital transformation initiatives, which has increased from 59% to 61% of capital expenditure.

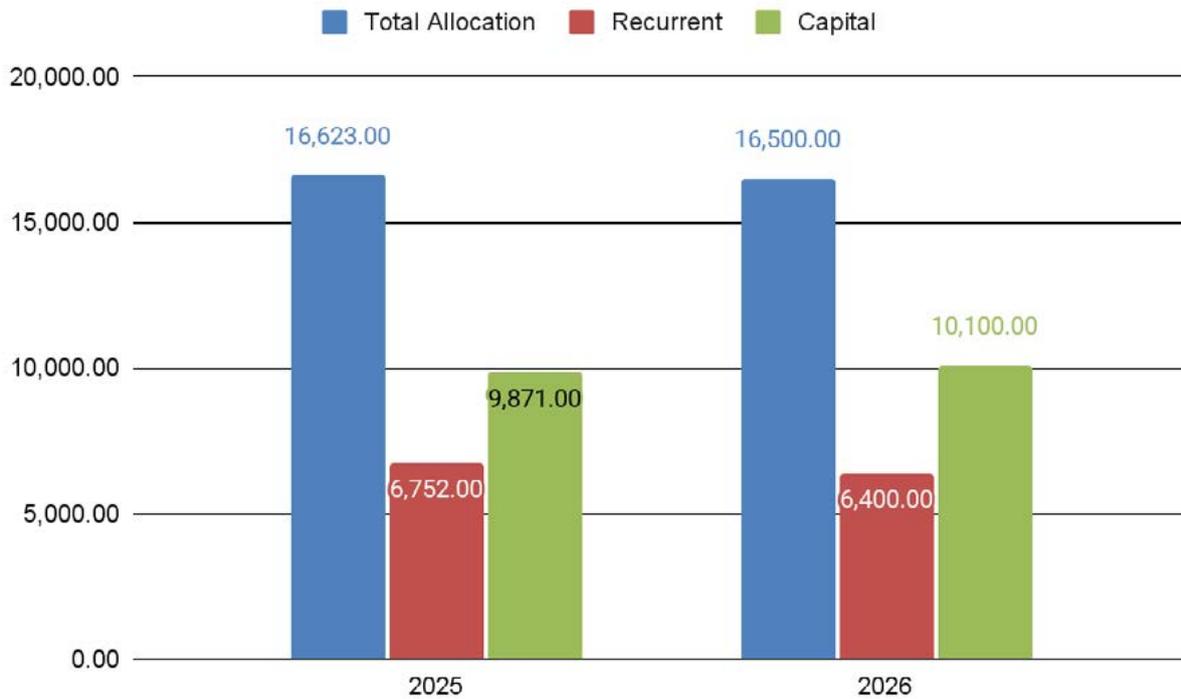


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 16,623 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 2,535 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 18%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.

Improve public finance efficiency, transparency, governance and accountability, and eliminate unnecessary public expenditure through digital-based governance including e-procurement and a strong public oversight mechanism. (p,57) Is one of the promises and the Government intended to implement the above promise through the budget allocation in National Budget 2026.

The policy thrust is backed by substantial fiscal commitments. The 2026 Budget allocates a sizable share of the Rs. 30 billion digitalisation envelope to expanding electronic procurement and payment systems.

According to the Media Sources the government has mandated that from July 1, 2026, all central government ministries, departments, and agencies must rely exclusively on purchase orders generated through the Integrated Treasury Management Information System (ITMIS).

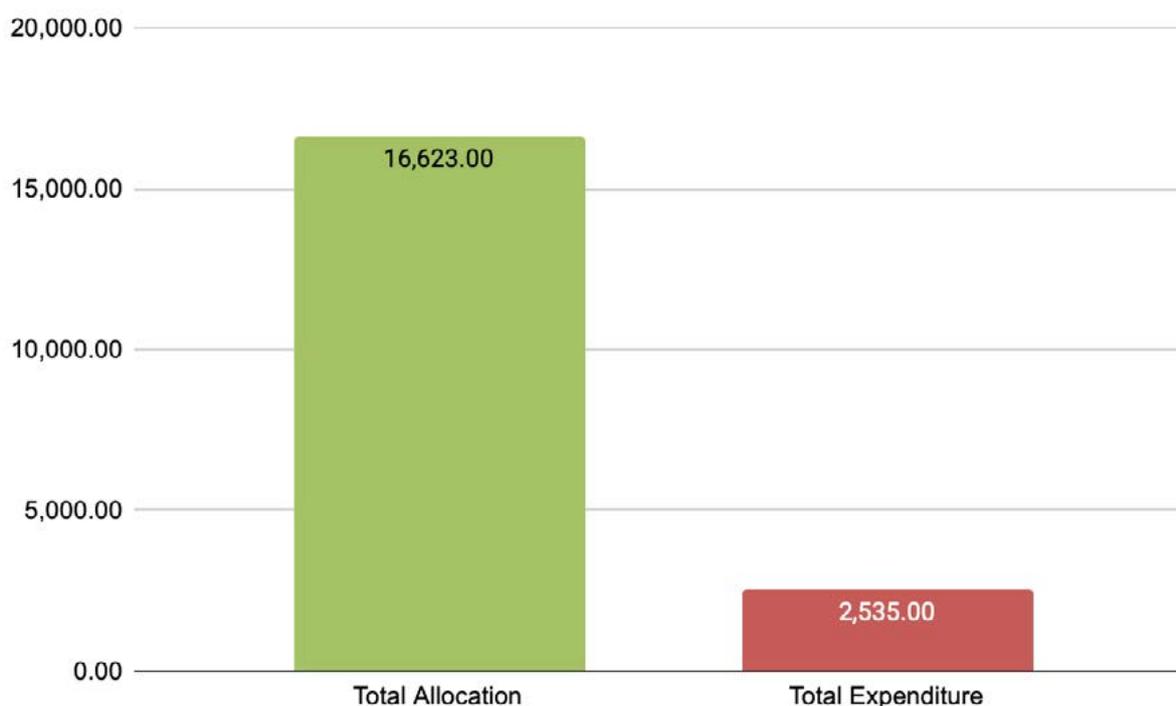


Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Parliamentary actions on Manifesto Commitments

According to the manifesto promise to “Implement a comprehensive legal framework that promotes innovation, safeguards intellectual property rights, and ensures data privacy and protection and cyber security” (87), the government has taken a cabinet decision on March 17, 2025 to publish the Personal Data Protection (Amendment) Bill in the Government Gazette and thereafter Personal Data Protection Act, No.9 of 2022. Accordingly, the parliament has approved the Personal Data Protection (Amendment) Act, No. 22 of 2025, on October 30, 2025, to strengthen regulatory oversight, improve compliance, and boost the digital economy. However, enforcement of this Act is still inoperational.¹ Furthermore, there is no national-level legal framework for cybersecurity in Sri Lanka.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Digitalise state institutions to create a responsive government sector that delivers transparent and efficient services to citizens.	✓	✓	✓

It has monitored 10 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table lists the promises that have reached two or more milestones; the remaining promises are listed in Annex-2.

¹ <https://www.dpa.gov.lk/guid/MEDIA%20Release%20-%20PDPA%20Bill%20Amended%20in%20Parliament%20-%20English%20V%203.0%20in%20Letterhead.pdf>

10. Ministry of Buddhasasana, Religious, and Cultural Affairs

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The government's manifesto theme, *"A Rich Cultural Life – A Compassionate Society"* provides the overarching framework for cultural affairs. This theme is guided by key principles, including:

- The right of every community to preserve and develop its cultural identity;
- The right of communities and individuals to actively participate in cultural development;
- Intercultural enrichment and evolution;
- The development of compassionate individuals with intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic capacities grounded in both local and global cultural knowledge;
- Acceptance of cultural diversity and the promotion of constructive cultural critique;
- Support for cultural products free from political interference; and
- Government initiatives to foster a culturally enriched society.

A total of 82 manifesto commitments are listed under this theme. These include the formulation and implementation of educational policies and awareness initiatives to highlight the value of history, culture, and heritage through school programmes and the distribution of instructional materials. Commitments also emphasize the integration of history, culture, and heritage-related content into school curricula and community-based education programmes, recognizing culture as a broad and dynamic domain. In addition, the theme covers diverse cultural sectors, including literature, film and teledrama, theatre, dance, visual arts, sculpture and photography, music and song, intangible cultural heritage, and traditional arts.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that all 78 commitments have been absorbed into the National Policy Framework. At the time of review, the Ministry's Strategic Plan to guide implementation over the period 2026–2028 was under preparation, while the Action Plan had been developed but was yet to be formally received for monitoring purposes.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI. Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted 16 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which were approved by the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby enabling progress on selected commitments. Of the decisions reviewed, One was assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, Five as relevant, no one as partially relevant, and ten as not directly relevant.

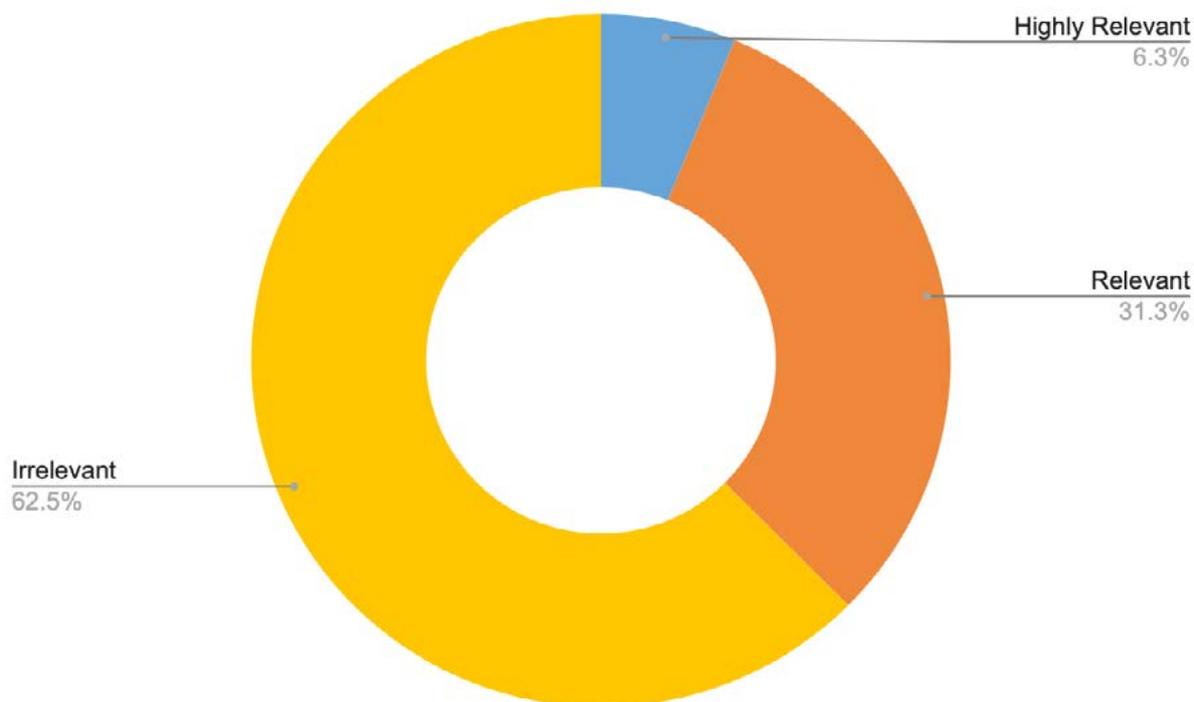


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

The 2025 National Budget has allocated Rs. 14,466.20 million to implement 90 programmes and projects at the Ministry with 59.77% earmarked for recurrent expenditure and 40.33% for capital expenditure. In comparison, the 2026 Budget allocation amounted to Rs. 14,550 million, indicating a slight increase in allocation but ratio of recurrent expenditure from 59.77% to 65.46% and capital decreased from 40.33% to 34.54% which the direction does not move towards development.

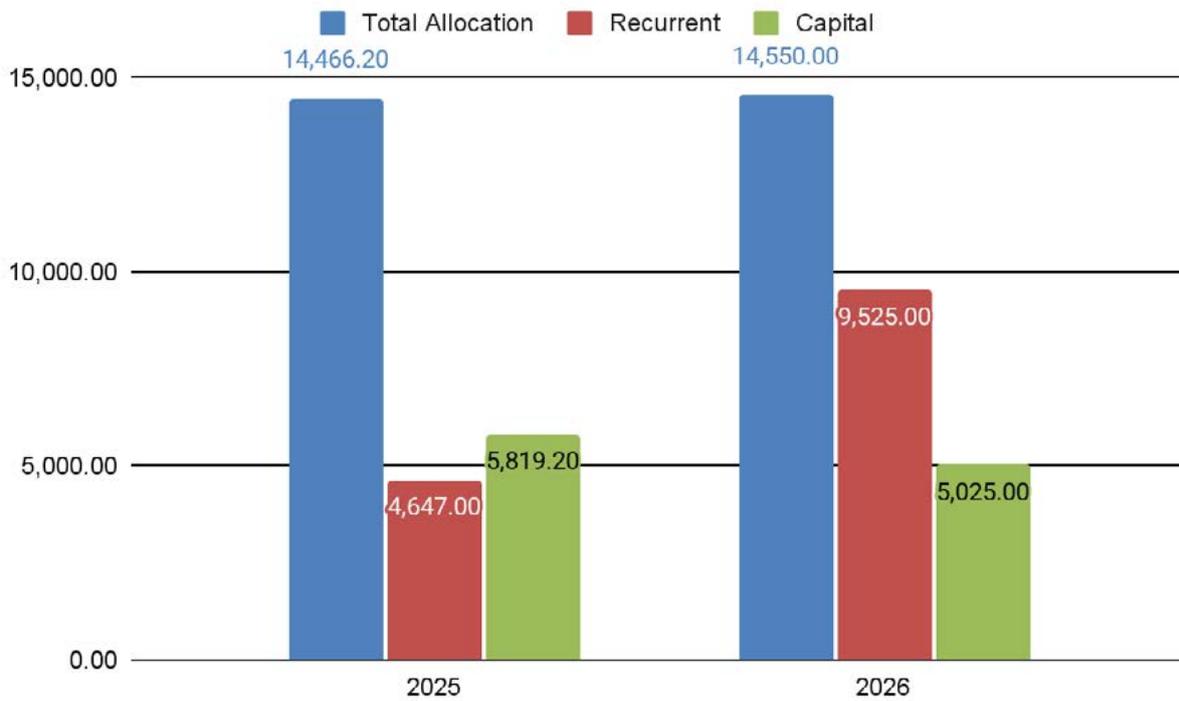


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 14,466.20 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 5,621 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 39%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.



Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Modernizing and reorganizing the National Archives by providing latest technological advancements.	✓	✓	✓
02	Enhancing the understanding of cultural heritage and historical values among stakeholders beyond their current roles in protecting and managing cultural resources.	✓	✓	✓

It has monitored 13 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

11. Ministry of Environment

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The environmental policy of the government is guided by the vision of *“a sustainable environment that ensures the healthy existence of biodiversity.”* It emphasizes the sustainable use of natural resources while maintaining a balance between socio-economic development and environmental protection. Key policy priorities include participatory approaches to environmental governance, minimizing the impacts of climate change, and fostering a healthy society supported by a balanced environment, underpinned by appropriate knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behavioural change.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

While 65 promises listed in the manifesto under 12 thematic areas and Monitoring findings indicate that 76 manifesto commitments have been absorbed into the National Policy Framework. At the time of review, the Ministry’s Strategic Plan to guide implementation of relevant manifesto commitments over the period 2026–2028 was under preparation, while an Action Plan has been developed and is pending receipt through RTI requests.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted Six Cabinet Memoranda, all of which were approved by the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby enabling progress on selected commitments. Of the decisions reviewed, Two were assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, One as relevant, One as partially relevant and two as not directly relevant.

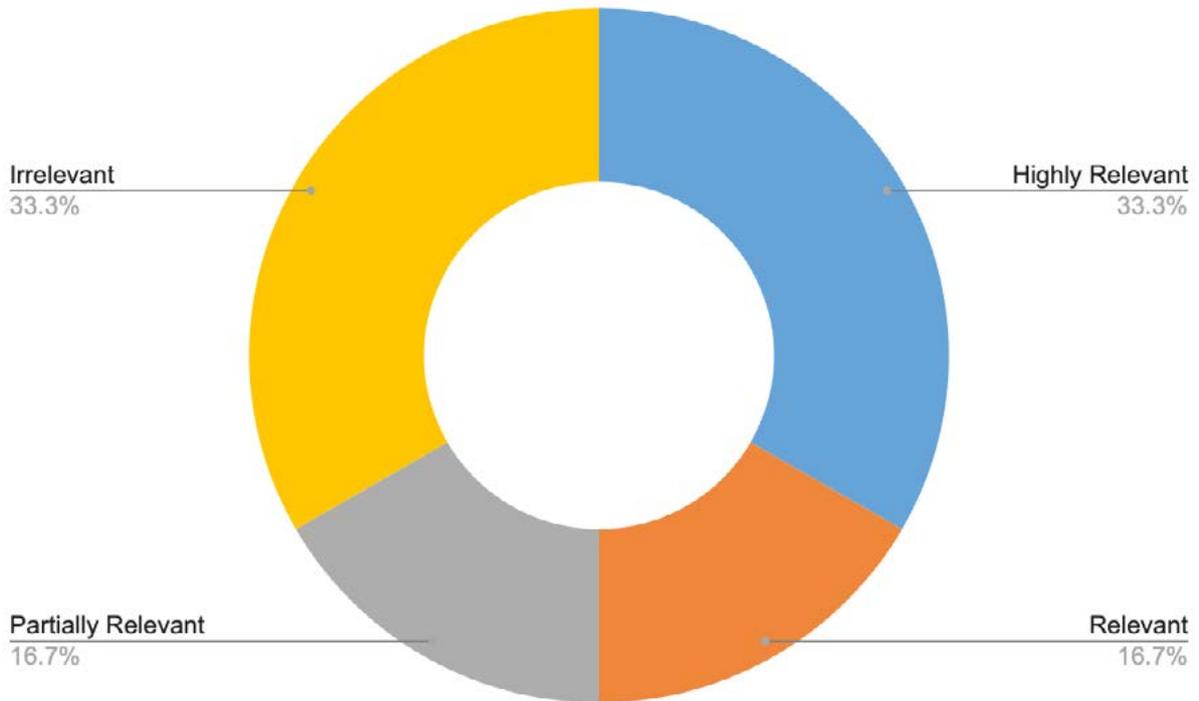


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

54 budget programs and projects proposed in the 2025 National Budget have allocated Rs. 16,077 million to the Ministry, of which 78% is earmarked for recurrent expenditure and 22% for capital expenditure, indicating a focus on operational activities with relatively limited investment in development-oriented interventions.

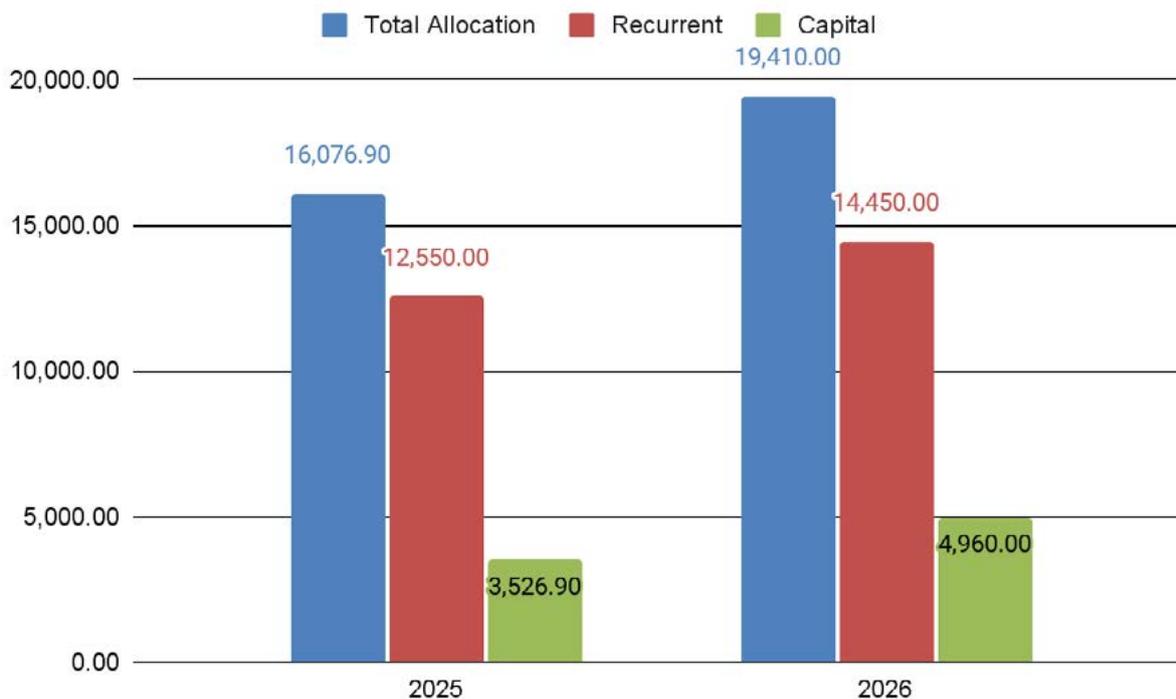


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 16,077 million was allocated to the ministry. The amount of the expenditure and the financial and physical progress for the year 2025 yet to be received from the ministry.

In the 2026 National Budget has indicated increased allocation as Rs. 19,410 million to the Ministry, of which 75% is earmarked for recurrent expenditure and 25% for capital expenditure, which indicates a slight improvement towards investments.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Reviewing and update addressing weaknesses, deficiencies, and gaps in existing environmental regulations also aligning with international agreements and local environmental laws.	✓	✓	✓

It has monitored 14 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

12. Ministry of Justice and National Integration

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

“Rule of Law Governance – A Judicial System with Equal Access” is the central theme of the judicial component of the government’s manifesto. This theme is guided by key principles, including equality before the law and equal protection under the law, judicial independence, public trust, transparency, and efficiency in the administration of justice.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that all 33 commitments have been absorbed into the National Policy Framework. At the time of review, the Ministry’s Strategic Plan to guide implementation of relevant manifesto commitments for the period 2026–2028 was under preparation, while the Action Plan developed by the Ministry was pending receipt.

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted 19 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby facilitating progress on selected commitments. Of these decisions, Four were assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, Six as relevant, Five as partially relevant, and four as not directly relevant.

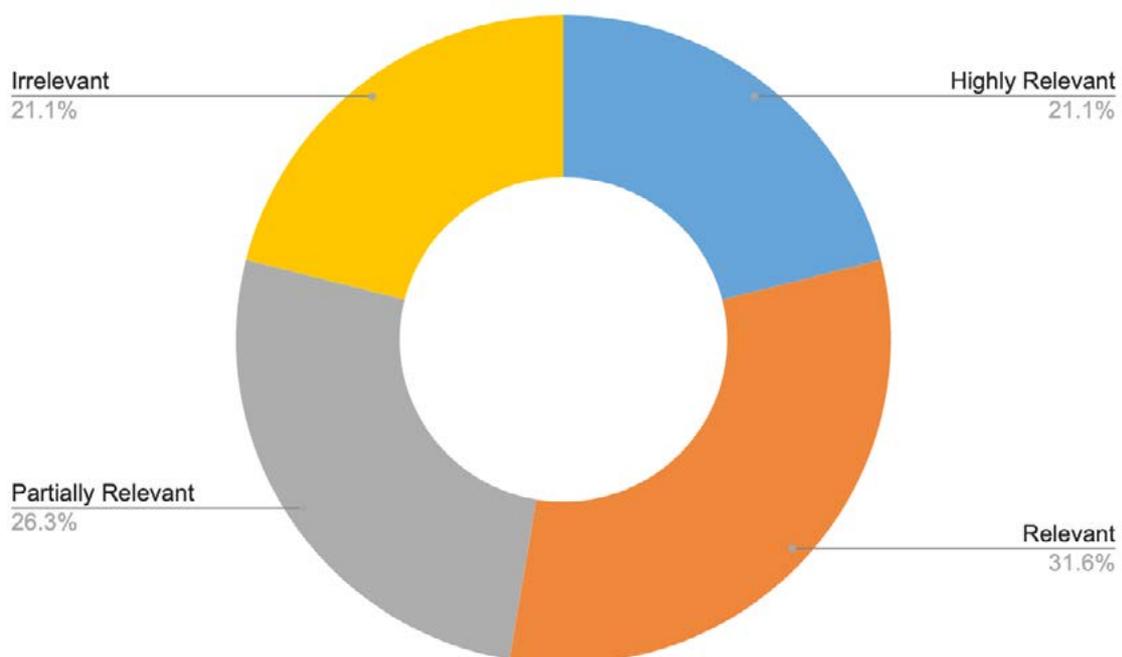


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

The 2025 National Budget has allocated Rs. 54,308 million and 66 budget programmes and projects aimed at achieving these objectives, of which 70% is designated for recurrent expenditure and 30% for capital expenditure, reflecting a predominance of operational spending such on prisons, while supporting selected capital investments in the judicial system. In 2026 also the same scenario indicated in the national budget even though the allocations increased as Rs. 59,277.40 Million.



Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 54,308 million was allocated to the ministry. The amount of the expenditure and the financial and physical progress for the year 2025 yet to be received from the ministry.

Parliamentary actions on Manifesto Commitments

According to the manifesto promise: “prioritize legislation to prevent corrupt practices such as financial abuse, bribery, corruption etc” (P, 113), the Cabinet at its meeting held on 2024-07-15 has granted approval to publish the Bills of Exchange Ordinance (Amendment) Bill prepared by the Legal Draftsman in the Government Gazette and submit the same thereafter to Parliament. The government has approved the The Bills of Exchange (Amendment) Act, No. 13 of 2025 on August 15, 2025 to enhance financial discipline, protect businesses, and reduce the prevalence of “bounced” cheques in commercial transactions.

Further, the approval of the cabinet has been granted to amend the Companies Act, No.7 of 2007 to address the deficiencies relating to the transparency of beneficial ownership of legal persons in line with international standards to curb money laundering, financing of terrorists and other unlawful activities. Accordingly, the parliament has approved the Companies (Amendment) Act, No. 12 Of 2025 on August 4, 2025 to foster investor confidence, improve accountability, and address previous gaps in regulatory oversight regarding ownership transparency.

Improving the efficiency of institutions involved in the criminal justice system to avoid prolonged detention as remand prisoners (P, 116) is the promise in the manifesto and to implement the promise, cabinet approval has been

incorporated in the monitoring report of Phase I. And, it is monitored that related legal arrangements have been made in the parliament by enacting the Code Of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Act, No. 7 of 2025 on June 18, 2025.

Abolishing the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) was one of the key promises listed in the manifesto. However, while keeping the PTA in force, the government intends to replace it with a new law, titled the Prevention of Terrorism Against the State (PSTA). The government has invited suggestions from the general public by circulating the draft bill for review. This approach suggests a potential divergence from the government’s social contract with the people as outlined in the manifesto.

According to the manifesto promise: Strengthening penalties for drug offences and taking measures for the speedy resolution of cases (p, 117), the government took a cabinet decision on June 23, 2025 to amend the Poisons, Opium and Dangerous Drugs Ordinance and the Judicature Act, No.2 of 1978 (Prohibition against trafficking of dangerous drugs on high seas). The first reading was done on December 18, 2025 for the said bill.

According to the manifesto promise: Making the judicial process smoother and more efficient by taking steps to introduce modern technology to the judicial process and providing proper training to the judges and staff (p, 112), the government has taken a cabinet decision to submit the Poisons, Opium and Dangerous Drugs (Amendment) Bill and the Judicature (Amendment) Bill (Prohibition against trafficking of dangerous drugs on high seas) to Parliament.

According to the manifesto promise: Appointing a committee of legal experts to review the existing laws and update the laws as necessary (112), the government has taken a cabinet decision to publish the Mediation (Civil and Commercial Disputes) Bill prepared by the Legal Draftsman in the Government Gazette and thereafter, submit the same for approval of Parliament. The first reading was done on July 11, 2025.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Parliament	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Improving the efficiency of institutions involved in the criminal justice system to avoid prolonged detention as remand prisoners.	✓			
02	Take steps to establish Smart court houses and maintaining soft copies of the judicial reports.	✓		✓	✓
03	Expand facilities within prisons, including special facilities according to international standards	✓		✓	✓
04	Prioritize legislation to prevent corrupt practices such as financial abuse, bribery, corruption etc.		✓		
05	Abolition of all oppressive acts including the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) and ensuring civil rights of people in all parts of the country		✓		
06	Strengthening penalties for drug offences and taking measures for the speedy resolution of cases	✓	✓		

07	Making the judicial process smoother and more efficient by taking steps to introduce modern technology to the judicial process and providing proper training to the judges and staff.	✓	✓		
08	Appointing a committee of legal experts to review the existing laws and update the laws as necessary	✓	✓		

It has monitored 19 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

13. Ministry of Public Administration, Provincial Councils, and Local Government

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

Sri Lanka's public service is the primary instrument for implementing state policies. Comprising approximately Rs. 1.4 million personnel, it includes a wide range of professionals and officers, from ministry secretaries to office support staff. A substantial share of state expenditure is allocated to maintaining this workforce.

The manifesto commitments under this sector are guided by principles including transparency and accountability, merit-based appointments and promotions, efficiency and adherence to formal procedures, ethical conduct and institutional continuity, use of advanced technology, formulation of productive policies, partnerships and public participation, public awareness and skills development, inclusion, and non-discrimination.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

A total of 20 manifesto commitments have been identified under this Ministry. In line with the National Policy Framework, these include the conduct of Provincial Council and Local Government elections, currently postponed indefinitely within one year to enhance public participation in governance, as well as the implementation of the National Language Policy, recognized under the 16th Amendment to the Constitution, through the provision of necessary resources and technical facilities.

Monitoring findings indicate that all 20 commitments are listed in the National Policy Framework. At the time of review, the Ministry's Strategic Plan to guide implementation of relevant manifesto commitments for the period 2026–2028 was under preparation, while an Action Plan had been developed but was yet to be formally received.

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted 12 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which were approved by the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby enabling progress on selected commitments. Of these decisions, Three were assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, one as relevant, Four as partially relevant, and Four as not directly relevant.

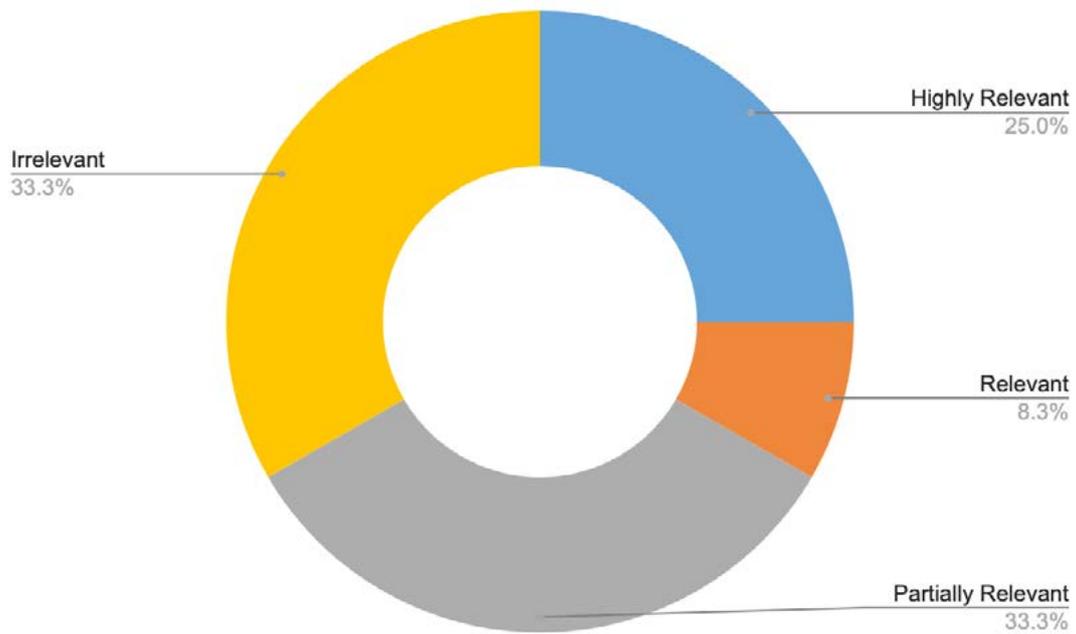


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

The ministry has submitted a cabinet memorandum on August 04, 2025 to appoint a new Delimitation Committee to review the recommendations of the Delimitation Committee held in the years 2012 and 2021 and submit recommendations. But, the committee is not yet established.

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

With regard to public financing, the Ministry was covered under 131 budget proposals in the 2025 National Budget. An allocation of Rs. 588,141.00 million which is 6.66% of the total budget also 93% of the allocations earmarked for recurrent expenditure and only 6.5% for capital expenditure, this is indicating a strong emphasis on recurrent-oriented interventions. Rs. 674,000.00 million was allocated in 2026 which is 7.5% of the total budget recurrent expenditure increased as 95% indicate the same scenario.

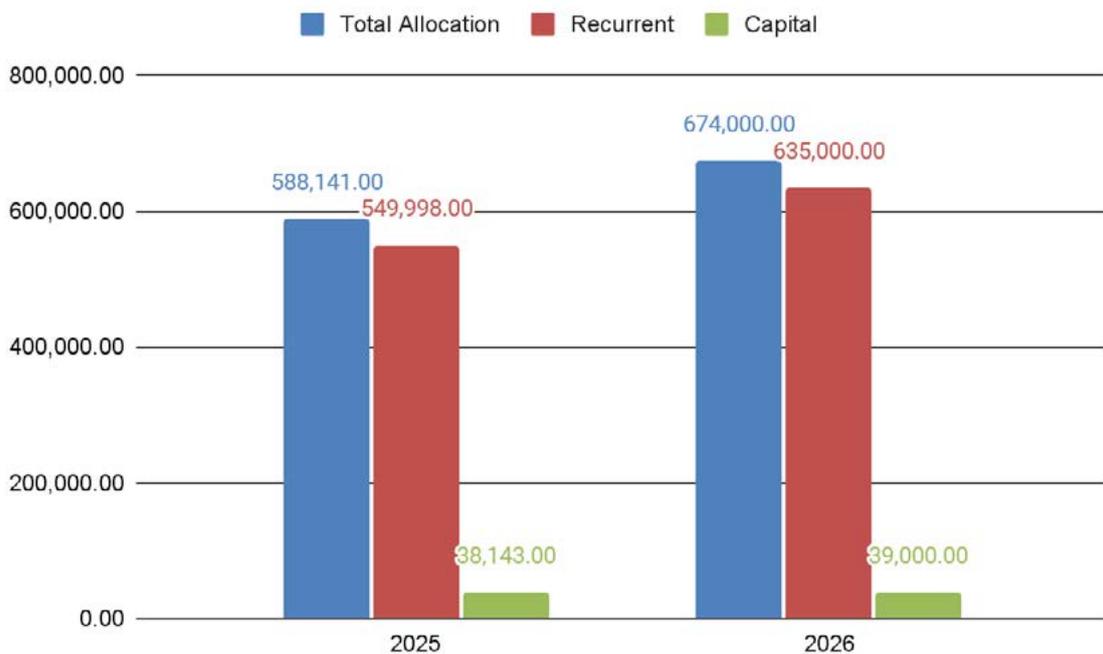


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 588,141 million was allocated to the ministry. The amount of the expenditure and the financial and physical progress for the year 2025 yet to be received from the ministry.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Provide physical and human resources to schools to maintain minimum facilities		✓	✓
02	Digitalise state institutions to create a responsive government sector that delivers transparent and efficient services to citizens	✓	✓	✓
03	Restructure SLIDA to support formulating state policies and develop the skills of officers in implementing the policies		✓	✓
04	The manifesto commitment to safeguard the voting rights of immigrants both within and outside the country	✓	✓	✓

It has monitored 11 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that reached one milestone and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

The manifesto commitment to safeguard the voting rights of immigrants both within and outside the country (p.109) has been partially addressed through preliminary institutional measures. A Cabinet Decision has been taken and a dedicated committee has been established to examine the implementation framework concerning migrant Sri Lankans residing abroad. In addition, advocacy efforts have been undertaken by the Election Commission of Sri Lanka (ECSL), including calls for public opinion and stakeholder engagement.

However, this monitoring exercise observes that these steps remain procedural and preparatory in nature. In the absence of concrete legislative amendments or operational mechanisms enabling overseas voting, the commitment cannot yet be considered fulfilled. Accordingly, the current status is assessed as falling short of the original promise, indicating a gap between policy intent and tangible implementation.

14. Ministry of Trade, Commerce, Food Security, and Cooperative Development

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The government's economic policy framework is anchored in the concept of economic democracy and is integrated with a human resource development plan and a technological development roadmap. It seeks to ensure equitable access to economic opportunities, inclusive participation in economic decision-making, and a fair distribution of economic benefits. The framework is structured around ten key principles aimed at achieving sustainable economic growth, with a target of reaching a real GDP of USD 120 billion by 2030 through the development of a resilient, production-based economy.

In line with these objectives, ten manifesto commitments have been identified under domestic trade, and a further ten under international trade. An additional commitment focuses on providing technical and financial support for the processing and transportation of agricultural produce.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that 21 commitments have been absorbed into the National Policy Framework for this Ministry. At the time of review, the Ministry's Strategic Plan to guide implementation of relevant manifesto commitments for the period 2026–2028 was under preparation, while an Action Plan has been developed but is yet to be formally received.

The monitoring exercise identified the following commitment, which has been articulated in the National Policy Framework but was not listed in the manifesto under domestic trade:

- Ensuring a continuous supply of high-quality goods and services to the public at fair prices by promoting market competitiveness, strengthening the capacity of monitoring institutions, organizing market activities efficiently, and representing the government's stake in commercial operations.

Observation: In line with the overarching thematic goal in the manifesto, this commitment represents an addition in the National Policy Framework, reflecting the government's emphasis on market regulation and consumer protection in the domestic trade sector.

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions During the review period, the Ministry submitted Three Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby facilitating progress on selected commitments. Of these decisions, all three were assessed as highly relevant to manifesto commitment.

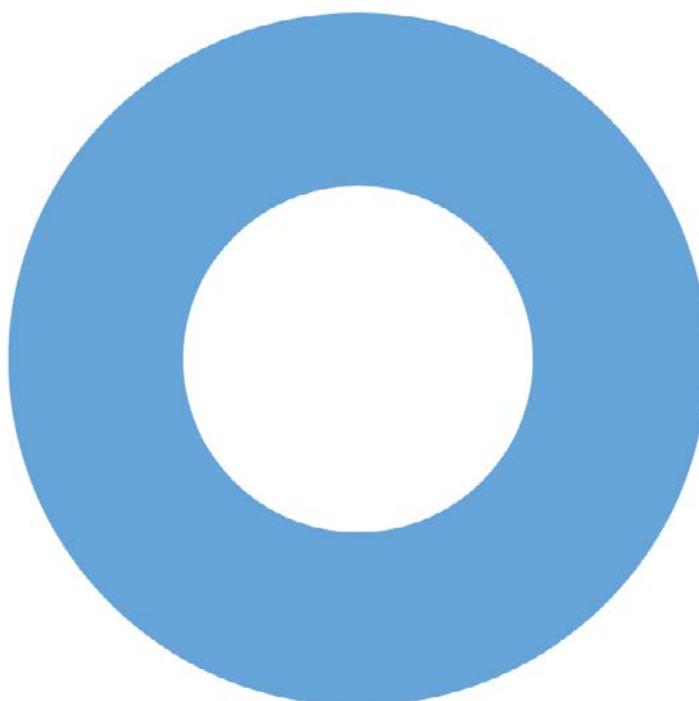


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

Regarding public financing, the Ministry was covered under 15 budget proposals in the 2025 An allocation of Rs. 2,664 million of which 81% is earmarked for recurrent expenditure and 18.33% for capital expenditure, but in 2026 national budget Rs. 4,450.00 and almost 50:50 ration for recurrent expenditure and capital expenditure is a significant change in allocation.



Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 2,664 million was allocated to the ministry. The amount of the expenditure and the financial and physical progress for the year 2025 is yet to be received from the ministry.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Strengthen anti-dumping laws, introduce new fair-trading laws, and update existing regulations.		✓	✓

It has monitored 05 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

15. Ministry of Energy

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The government's policy and action plan prioritizes a transition towards an energy mix that is less dependent on oil-based electricity generation, with a substantial increase in renewable energy to support the development of a green economy. The policy also outlines measures to revive and strengthen the national oil refinery, storage, and distribution infrastructure, ensuring an uninterrupted energy supply. The overarching principles guiding these commitments include recognizing energy as an essential national service, ensuring a sustainable and secure energy supply and consumption, and positioning the energy economy as a source of foreign income.

A total of 68 manifesto commitments, accounting for approximately 5% of the overall manifesto, have been identified under this sector. These include commitments to promote and regulate alternative energy sources in the industrial and transportation sectors, aiming to reduce air pollution from stationary and mobile sources.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that all 68 commitments have been absorbed into the National Policy Framework. At the time of review, the Ministry's Strategic Plan to guide implementation of relevant manifesto commitments for the period 2026–2028 was under preparation, while the Action Plan is pending receipt.

The monitoring exercise identified the following commitment, articulated in the National Policy Framework but not listed in the manifesto under the energy sector:

- Launching a national programme, in coordination with relevant ministries, to provide electricity supply schemes for government hospitals, schools, and religious premises. The programme will incorporate self-generation and energy conservation measures to reduce dependence on subsidies funded through public taxes.

Observation: In line with the overarching thematic goal in the manifesto, this commitment represents an addition in the National Policy Framework, highlighting the government's focus on energy efficiency and sustainable electricity supply for public institutions.

Petroleum

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted 14 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which were approved by the Cabinet of Ministers, collectively facilitating progress on selected commitments. Of these, Two memorandum was highly relevant to manifesto commitments, Three were relevant, Seven were partially relevant, and two were not directly relevant.

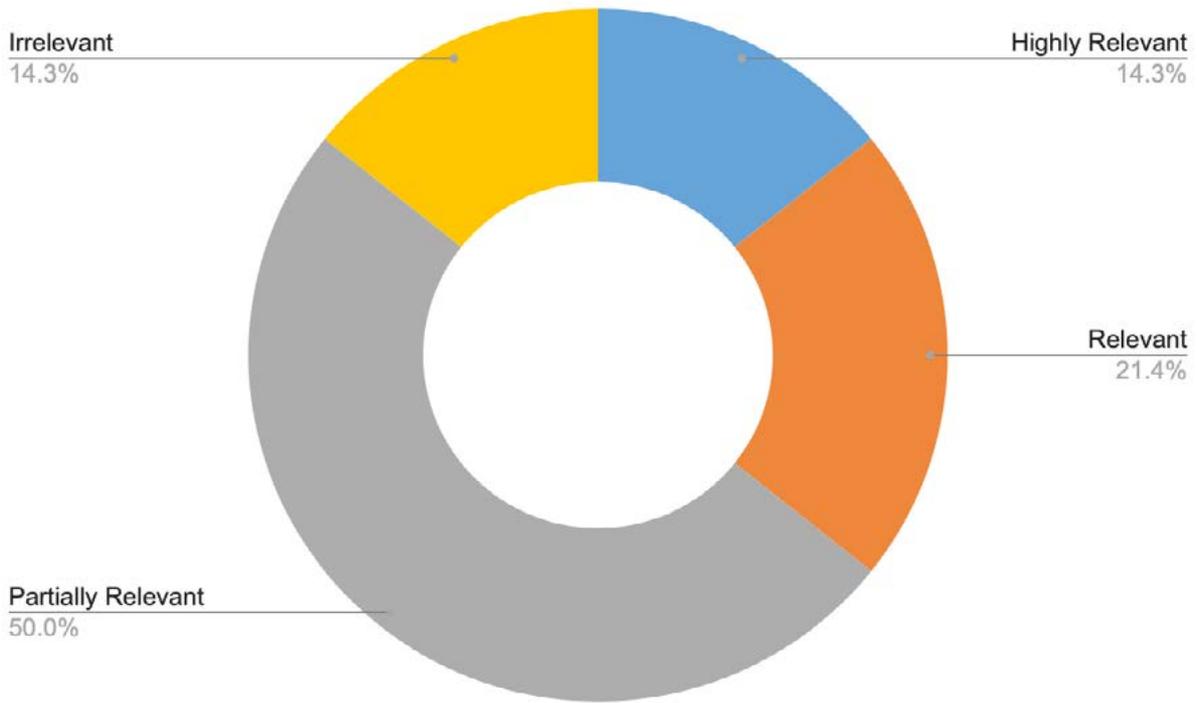


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

The ministry was covered under 21 budget proposals in the 2025 National Budget, an allocation of Rs. 21,142 million has been made, of which 5% is earmarked for recurrent expenditure and 95% for capital expenditure, indicating a strong emphasis on investment-oriented interventions. Rs. 22,373 million was allocated in 2026 and the ratio is also almost the same recurrent to capital expenditure.



Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 21,142 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 2,756 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 13%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.

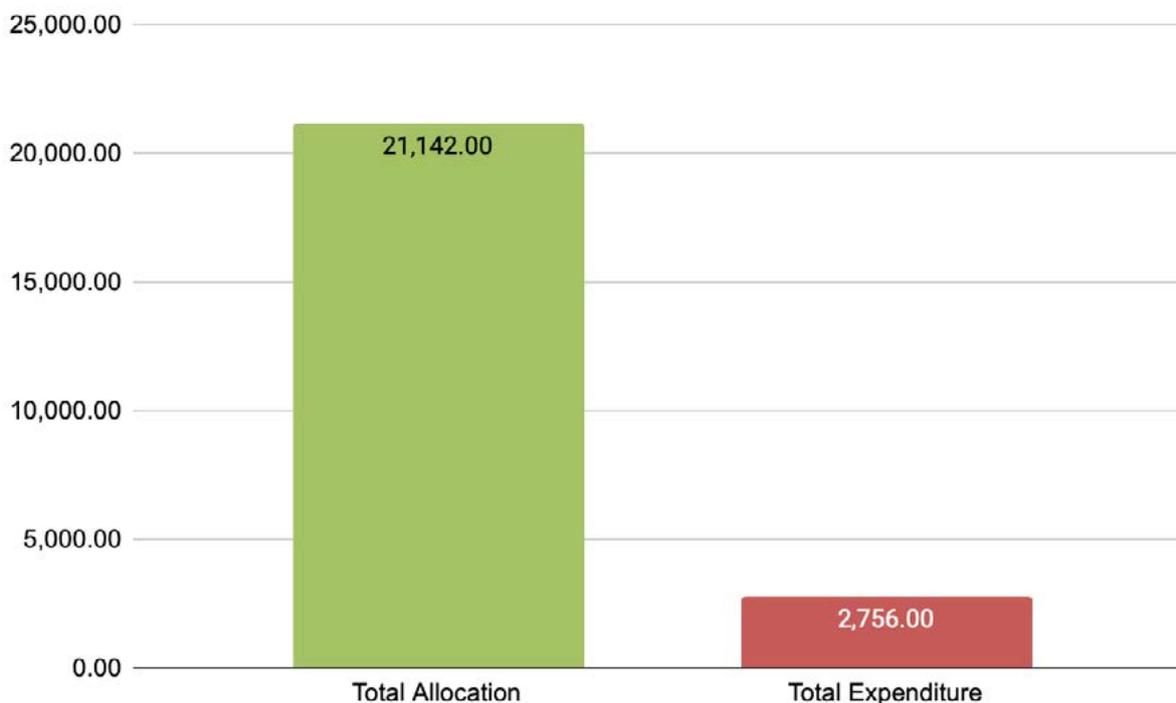


Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Parliamentary actions on Manifesto Commitments

According to the manifesto promise; “electricity prices will be gradually lowered toward the lowest in the region within five years by implementing competitive procurement practices, prioritising solar and wind energy projects with the goal of reducing dependence on oil based generation (P, 91), the government has taken a cabinet decision on December 30, 2024 for the reconsideration of the Electricity Act, No.36 of 2024. Accordingly, the parliament has approved The Sri Lanka Electricity (Amendment) Act, No. 14 of 2025 on August 18, 2025 to restructure the power sector by unbundling the Ceylon Electricity Board (CEB) into separate, independent companies for generation, transmission, and distribution.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Parliament	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Electricity prices will be gradually lowered toward the lowest in the region within five years by implementing competitive procurement practices, prioritising solar and wind energy projects with the goal of reducing dependence on oil based generation.	✓	✓	

It has monitored 16 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

16. Ministry of Transportation, Highways, and Urban Development

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The overarching objective of the Government's transportation manifesto is to establish an efficient and reliable public transport system that ensures safe, affordable, and timely mobility. A key target is to meet 70% of national passenger transport demand through public transportation within five years.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

In alignment with this objective, 47 commitments are outlined in the manifesto under the transportation sector. Monitoring findings indicate that all 50 identified commitments relevant to the Ministry have been incorporated into the National Policy Framework. At the time of review, the Ministry's Strategic Plan (2026–2028), intended to guide the implementation of manifesto commitments, was under preparation, while the corresponding Action Plan had not yet been finalised.

Transport and Highways

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Urban Development

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted Fifty-five Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby enabling progress on selected policy initiatives. An assessment of the approved Cabinet decisions indicates that Five were categorised as highly relevant to manifesto commitments; however, Eighteen four were assessed as directly relevant, Sixteen as partially relevant and Sixteen as not relevant.

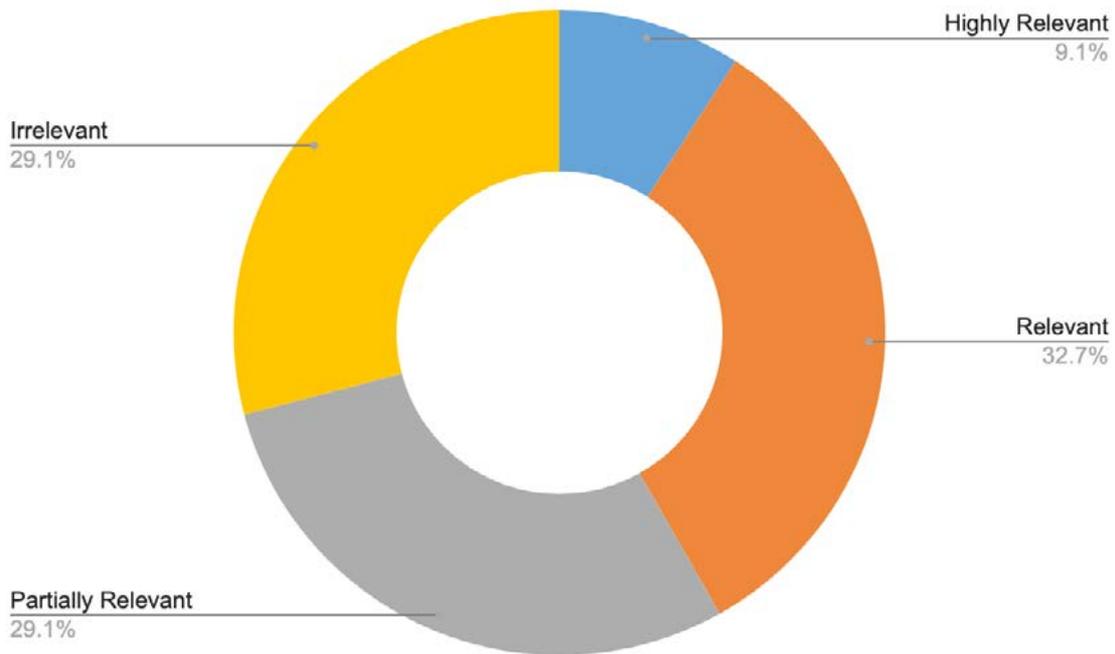


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

The ministry was linked to 108 budget proposals under the 2025 National Budget and an allocation of Rs. 489,303 representing 5.54% of total government expenditure was provided to the Ministry. Of this allocation, 11% was earmarked for recurrent expenditure and 89% for capital expenditure, reflecting a strong emphasis on investment-oriented infrastructure development. In comparison, Rs. 497,259 million was allocated in the 2026 Budget with a similar recurrent-to-capital expenditure ratio.



Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 489,330 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 243,290 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 50%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.



Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Parliamentary actions on Manifesto Commitments

Formalising taxi services including three-wheel service, staff transport, and school transport services to improve their quality and efficiency (P, 98) is a listed promise under the sector of transportation and necessary steps have been taken in the cabinet of ministers during the period of Phase I of the monitoring. In addition, the National Transport Commission (Amendment) Act, No. 8 of 2025 has been enacted in the parliament June 19, 2025.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Parliament	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Formalising taxi services including three-wheel service, staff transport, and school transport services to improve their quality and efficiency	✓	✓		
02	Introduce an efficient 24/7 railway service by including more train compartments and increasing running frequency	✓		✓	✓

03	Identification of rural and estate roads in need of immediate repair, preparation of a priority list, and the repairing and sustainable maintenance of the roads according to a prioritised program .	✓		✓	✓
04	Effective periodic maintenance of express roads (E), highways (A, B), and provincial roads (C,D).	✓		✓	✓
05	Resolving the issues and the completion of construction of the presently stalled central expressway from Kadawatha to Meerigama.	✓		✓	✓
06	Gradually expanding railway lines on a priority basis to cover the regions which are not covered by the railway network at present, and thereby giving railway access to all main cities	✓		✓	✓
07	Identify and develop facilities to establish Transit Cities where the bus and train station is located at the same place, for passengers coming from long distances to suburban cities	✓		✓	✓

It has monitored 51 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

17. Ministry of Industrial Development and Entrepreneurship

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

“An Entrepreneurship Explosion–An Organic Approach” represents the overarching policy direction of the Government for industrial development and private sector expansion. The primary objectives of this policy framework include revitalising collapsed local industries; enhancing the competitiveness of export-oriented sectors; promoting service industries; exploring and securing new global market opportunities; attracting foreign direct investment aligned with a coherent national strategy; fostering an investment-friendly business environment; and ensuring the provision of affordable infrastructure and production inputs.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

A total of 95 commitments related to industrial development and entrepreneurship are articulated in the Government’s manifesto. Monitoring findings indicate that all 95 commitments have been incorporated into the National Policy Framework. At the time of review, the Ministry’s Strategic Plan for the period 2026–2028, intended to guide the implementation of these manifesto commitments, was under preparation. An Action Plan has reportedly been developed; however, it has not yet been formally received for assessment.

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted Fifteen Cabinet Memoranda, all of which were approved by the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby facilitating the advancement of selected policy initiatives. An analysis of the approved Cabinet decisions reveals that One was classified as highly relevant to the manifesto commitments. Nevertheless, nine decisions were assessed as relevant, Three as partially relevant, Two as not relevant.

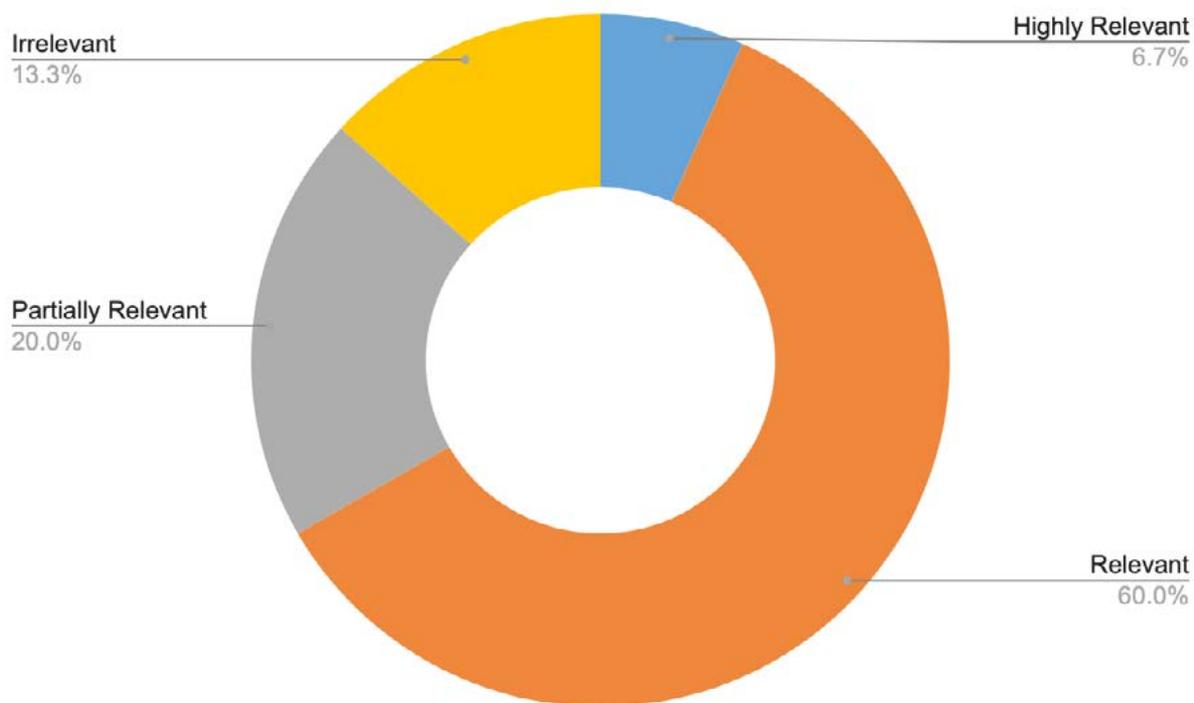


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

The ministry was associated with 25 budget proposals under the 2025 National Budget and an allocation of Rs. 13,943 million, 35% was designated for recurrent expenditure and 65 % for capital expenditure, in the 2026 Budget allocated Rs. 13,000.00 million, and recurrent, capital expenditure ratio also indicates a significant change as 42% recurrent and 58% capital expenditure.



Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 13,943 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 4,511 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 32%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.

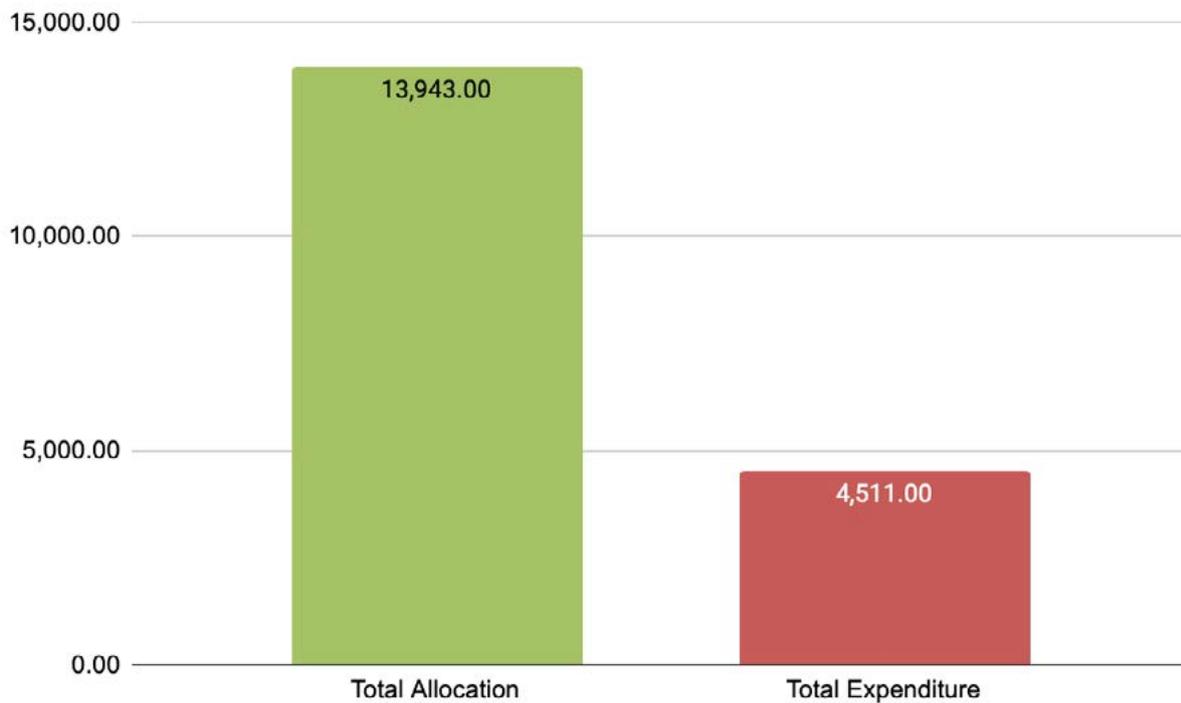


Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Implement a collateral-free loan scheme of up to Rs. 10 million, contingent on feasibility and credit score, through the financial sector to provide crucial financial support to micro, small, and medium-scale entrepreneurs.	✓	
02	Enhance the financial support for micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises by reinforcing the cooperative banking system, including Samurdhi Banks and regional development banks.	✓	✓

It has monitored 18 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached one milestone and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

18. Ministry of Plantation and Community Infrastructure

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The government's manifesto does not identify a distinct thematic focus area specifically dedicated to the plantation sector. However, monitoring findings indicate that **18** relevant commitments have been incorporated into the National Policy Framework of the Ministry of Plantation and Community Infrastructure.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

At the time of review, the Ministry's Strategic Plan for the period 2026–2028, designed to guide the implementation of relevant manifesto commitments, had been prepared. An accompanying Action Plan has also been developed to operationalise these commitments. The Ministry's mandate is twofold: (i) development and regulation of the plantation industry, and (ii) improvement of socio-economic conditions and infrastructure within plantation communities whose livelihoods are directly dependent on the industry.

Plantation and Community Infrastructure

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Received
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted two Cabinet Memoranda, both of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby facilitating progress on selected policy initiatives. An assessment of these Cabinet decisions indicates that assessed all two as relevant.

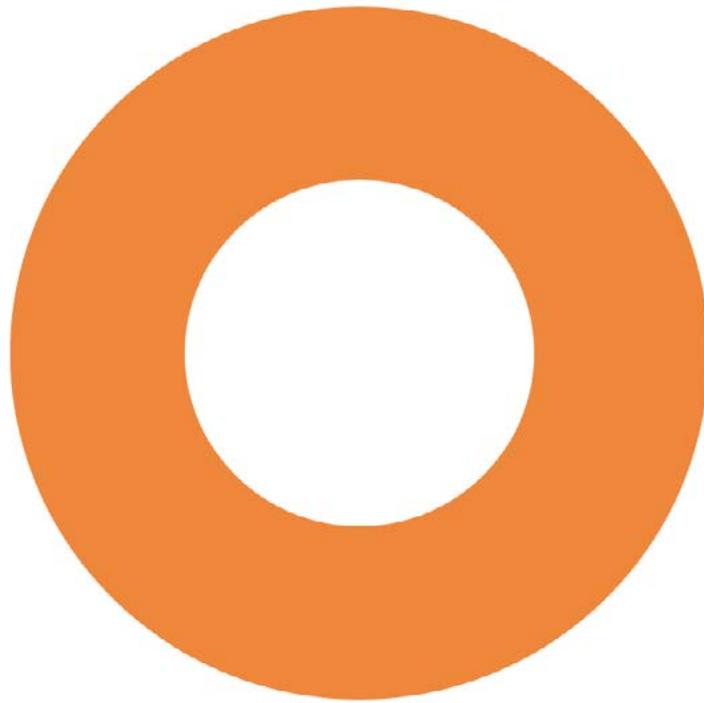


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

The ministry was associated with 37 budget proposals under the 2025 National Budget and an allocation of Rs. 17,783.00 million, its 31% was earmarked for recurrent expenditure and 69% for capital expenditure, reflecting a capital-intensive infrastructure and sectoral development initiatives. Rs. 25,050 million was allocated under the 2026 Budget, recurrent-to-capital expenditure ratio concerted toward development oriented to operational since recurrent increase from 31% to 53.29% and capital expenditure decreased to 46.71% from 69% in 2025.

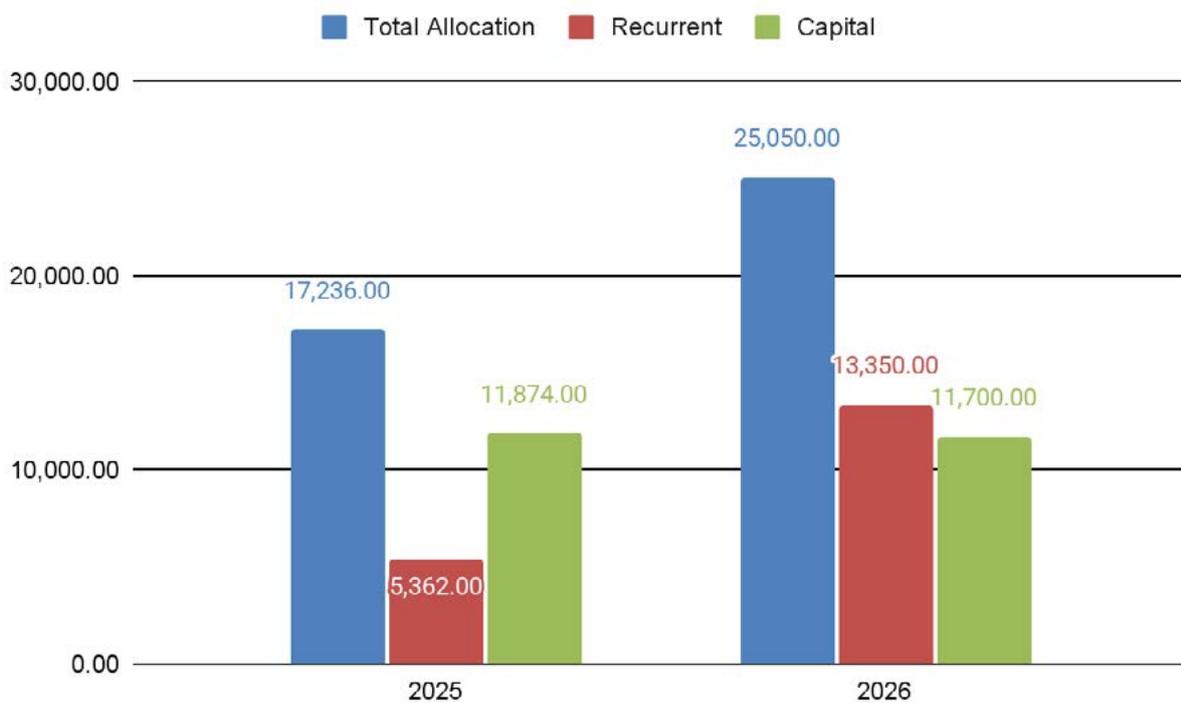


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 17,783 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 7,987 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 46%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.



Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Providing financial and infrastructural support to enhance housing, water and sanitation facilities for Malayagam communities.	✓	✓	✓
02	Developing affordable housing schemes in areas surrounding estates.	✓	✓	✓

It has monitored 07 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

19. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Employment, and Tourism

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

“A Dignified Diplomacy – A Sovereign State” constitutes the overarching policy direction guiding Sri Lanka’s foreign policy framework. The manifesto recognises that Sri Lanka’s contemporary foreign relations are significantly shaped by the need to recover from the severe economic crisis of 2022, which continues to influence external engagements and economic diplomacy. At the same time, rising geopolitical tensions among major global and regional powers present strategic challenges to national security and regional stability, requiring a balanced, non-aligned, and sovereignty-conscious diplomatic approach.

The ministry’s mandate also encompasses tourism and foreign employment. Tourism is identified as a key economic driver with the potential to generate substantial economic, socio-cultural, and environmental benefits. The sector’s resource base is understood to rest on four principal pillars: natural assets, cultural heritage, human capital, and financial capital. Strengthening these pillars is central to enhancing Sri Lanka’s global competitiveness as a sustainable tourism destination.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

A total of 139 commitments are articulated in the manifesto under the purview of this Ministry. Monitoring findings indicate that all 139 commitments have been incorporated into the Ministry’s National Policy Framework. At the time of review, the Ministry’s Strategic Plan for the period 2026–2028, intended to guide the implementation of these commitments, was under preparation. An Action Plan has reportedly been developed; however, it has not yet been formally received for assessment.

The monitoring exercise identified that the following commitment, although stated in the manifesto, has not been reflected in the National Policy Framework:

- Strengthening parliamentary diplomacy as a top priority, given its global recognition, established institutional structures, multi-party representation, and frequent engagement opportunities.

Observation: Despite its inclusion in the manifesto, this commitment is absent from the National Policy Framework, indicating a gap between the manifesto’s intent and formal policy adoption.

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted Twenty-one Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby facilitating progress on selected policy initiatives. An assessment of the approved Cabinet decisions indicates that Five were categorised as highly relevant to manifesto commitments; Seven were assessed as relevant, Seven as partially relevant, and two as not relevant.

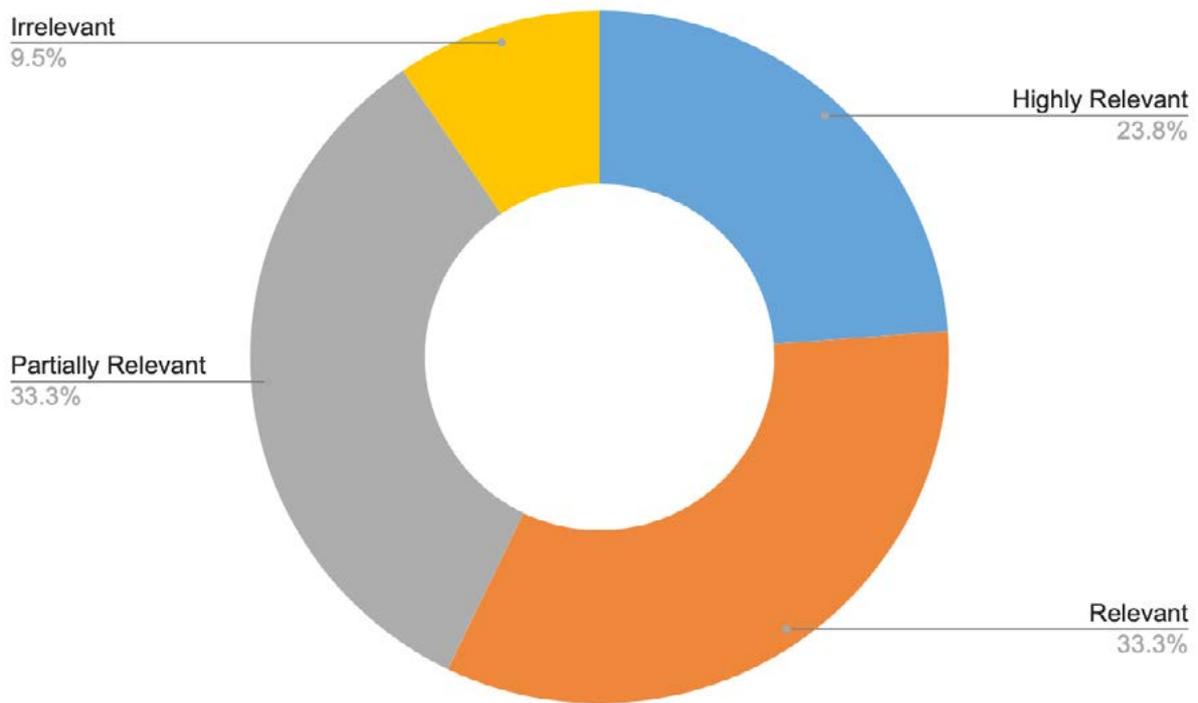


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

With regard to public financing, the Ministry was associated with 7 budget proposals under the 2025 National Budget and an allocation of Rs. 21,773 million, its 90% was earmarked for recurrent expenditure and only 10% for capital expenditure, in 2026 national budget allocation increased as Rs. 23,000 million and ration remains same.



Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, **Rs. 21,773 million** was allocated to the ministry. The amount of the expenditure and the financial and physical progress for the year 2025 is yet to be received from the ministry.

Parliamentary actions on Manifesto Commitments

According to the government’s manifesto to “Providing necessary facilities to convert informal sector tourism operators into the formal sector” (P, 81), the parliament has approved the Gambling Regulatory Authority Act, No. 17 of 2025 on September 3, 2025 establishes a centralized authority (GRA) in Sri Lanka to regulate all gaming activities, including casinos, online, and offshore gambling. It replaces outdated laws to enhance revenue, strengthen anti-money laundering measures, and mitigate social harm.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Parliament	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Identify and improve the critical infrastructure of all tourism destinations across the country.		✓	✓
02	Restructure and strengthen the Diplomatic Training Institute and the Lakshman Kadirgamar Institute of International Relations and Strategic Studies (LKI).		✓	✓
03	Providing necessary facilities to convert informal sector tourism operators into the formal sector.	✓		

It has monitored 20 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached one milestone and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

20. Ministry of Public Security and Parliamentary Affairs

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The overarching theme of the manifesto with respect to public security is the establishment of a people-friendly security service. The Ministry of Public Security and Parliamentary Affairs is entrusted with responsibility for both public security administration and parliamentary affairs.

The government’s manifesto envisions transforming the police service into an independent, efficient, and citizen-oriented institution that operates in close engagement with the public. A central component of the manifesto under this Ministry relates to the implementation of justice. Key commitments include:

- Taking appropriate legal action against politicians and public officials found guilty by Supreme Court verdicts concerning the Easter Sunday attacks;

- Expediting investigations into political killings, abductions of journalists, sportspersons, and other individuals; and

- Ensuring justice for journalists, security personnel, and other individuals who left the country due to threats and political intimidation.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that 45 commitments have been incorporated into the National Policy Framework relevant to the Ministry's mandate. At the time of review, the Ministry's Strategic Plan for the period 2026–2028, intended to guide the implementation of manifesto commitments, was under preparation. An Action Plan has been developed; however, it has not yet been formally received for review.

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted Five Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers. This facilitated progress on selected policy initiatives. An assessment of the approved Cabinet decisions indicates that One was classified as highly relevant to specific manifesto commitments. One was assessed as relevant, one as partially relevant, two as not relevant.

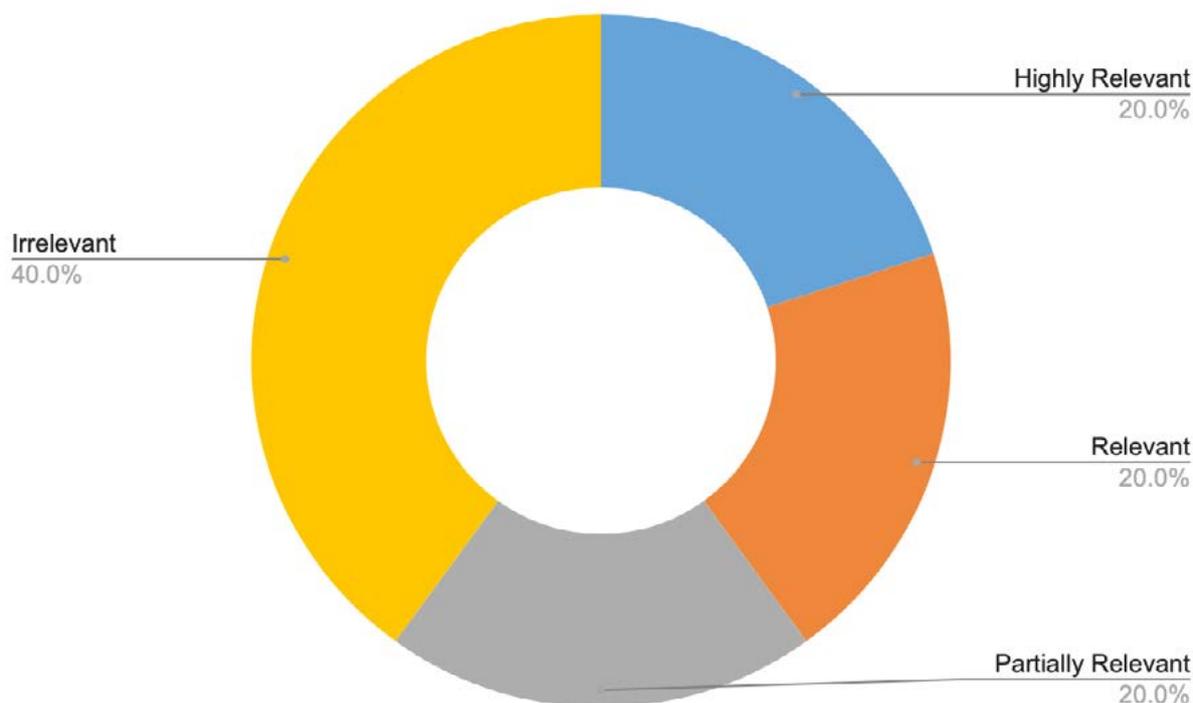


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

The ministry was linked to 17 budget proposals under the 2025 National Budget and an allocation of Rs. 175,992 million, representing 2.25% of total government expenditure was provided to the Ministry. Of this allocation, 91.35% was earmarked for recurrent expenditure and only 8.65% for capital expenditure, reflecting a strong emphasis on

operational-oriented rather than infrastructure development. Rs. 218,696.09 million was allocated under the 2026 Budget, with a similar recurrent-to-capital expenditure ratio.

Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026



In 2025, Rs. 198,422 million was allocated to the ministry. The amount of the expenditure and the financial and physical progress for the year 2025 is yet to be received from the ministry.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Regularize rehabilitation programmes for drug addicts to free them from drug use	✓	✓

It has monitored 04 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached one milestone and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

21. Ministry of Defence

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The overarching objective of the Ministry of Defence is to ensure a secure and resilient state. The manifesto emphasises that national security should be grounded in independent and balanced diplomacy, democratic governance that upholds human rights, equality and social harmony that embraces diversity, and a professional military dedicated to the protection of citizens and the state.

The principal areas underpinning the Ministry's manifesto commitments include: protection of citizens; safeguarding sovereignty and territorial integrity; strengthening internal security and national reconciliation; ensuring maritime domain and airspace security; enhancing accountability and responsibility within the national security framework; protection of national resources; ensuring energy security; strengthening the contribution of state intelligence services to national security; and promoting formal security research and development.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that 42 related commitments have been incorporated into the National Policy Framework under the ministry's purview. At the time of review, the Ministry's Strategic Plan for the period 2026–2028, intended to guide the implementation of manifesto commitments, was under preparation. Although an Action Plan has reportedly been developed, it has not yet been formally submitted for review.

The monitoring exercise identified that the following commitment, although stated in the manifesto, is not reflected in the National Policy Framework under national security:

- Implementing good governance initiatives that promote harmony and coexistence among ethnic communities, while safeguarding democracy, citizen rights, and human rights in accordance with the rule of law.

Observation: Despite its inclusion in the manifesto, this commitment is absent from the National Policy Framework, highlighting a gap between the manifesto's intentions and formal policy articulation in the national security domain.

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Requested through RTI, Not Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted 7 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which were approved by the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby enabling progress on selected policy initiatives. An assessment of these Cabinet decisions indicates that Two were categorised as highly relevant to specific manifesto commitments. Three decisions were assessed as relevant, Two as partially relevant, none as not relevant.

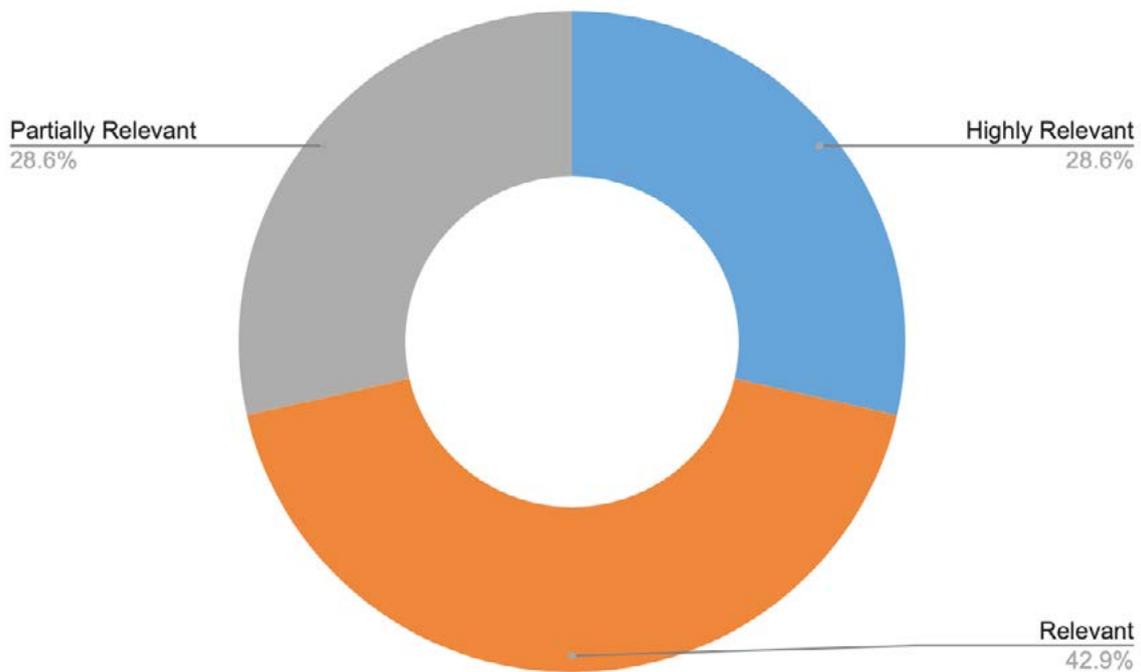


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

The Ministry was linked to 71 budget proposals under the 2025 National Budget and an allocation of Rs. 420,323.70 million, representing 4.76% of total government expenditure was provided to the Ministry. Of this allocation, 86% was earmarked for recurrent expenditure and only 14% for capital expenditure, reflecting a strong emphasis on operational-oriented defence expenses.

Rs. 432,435.00 million was allocated under the 2026 budget, with a similar recurrent-to-capital expenditure ratio.

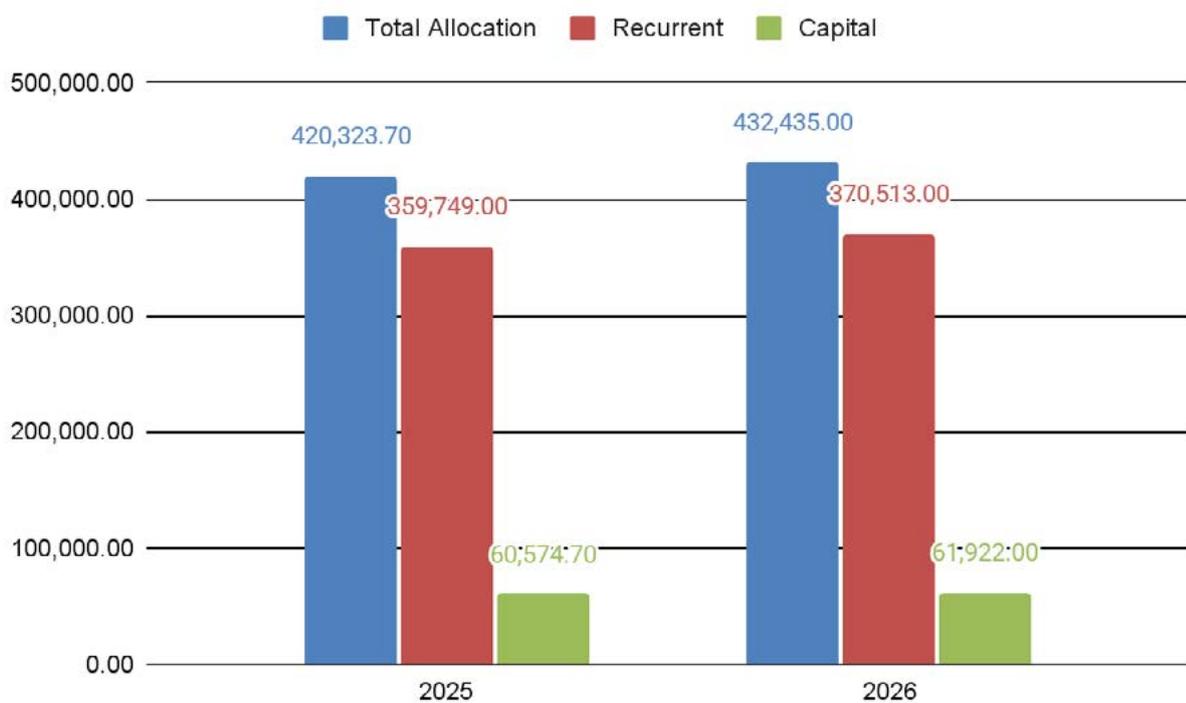


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 420,323.70 million was allocated to the ministry. The amount of the expenditure and the financial and physical progress for the year 2025 is yet to be received from the ministry.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Identify, manage, and reduce risk in natural disaster-prone areas	✓	✓	✓

It has monitored 14 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

22. Ministry of Science and Technology

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The overarching theme of the Ministry of Science and Technology, as articulated in the manifesto, is the promotion of a research- and development-driven approach to deliver scientific solutions for societal advancement and national development. The manifesto recognises that Sri Lanka possesses a strong base of intelligent and skilled human resources, with innovators emerging even at the village level. However, it highlights the limited availability of structured mechanisms to identify, nurture, and commercialise grassroots innovations, as well as the insufficient infrastructure to support research and technology development. Addressing these gaps forms a central pillar of the Ministry's policy direction.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that 28 related commitments have been incorporated into the National Policy Framework under the Ministry's mandate. At the time of review, the ministry's Strategic Plan for the period 2026–2028, intended to guide the implementation of manifesto commitments, was under preparation. Although an Action Plan has reportedly been developed, it has not yet been formally received for review.

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted Six Cabinet Memoranda, all of which were approved by the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby enabling progress on selected policy initiatives. An assessment of these Cabinet decisions indicates that one was categorised as highly relevant to specific manifesto commitments, None was assessed as relevant, two as partially relevant, Three as not relevant.

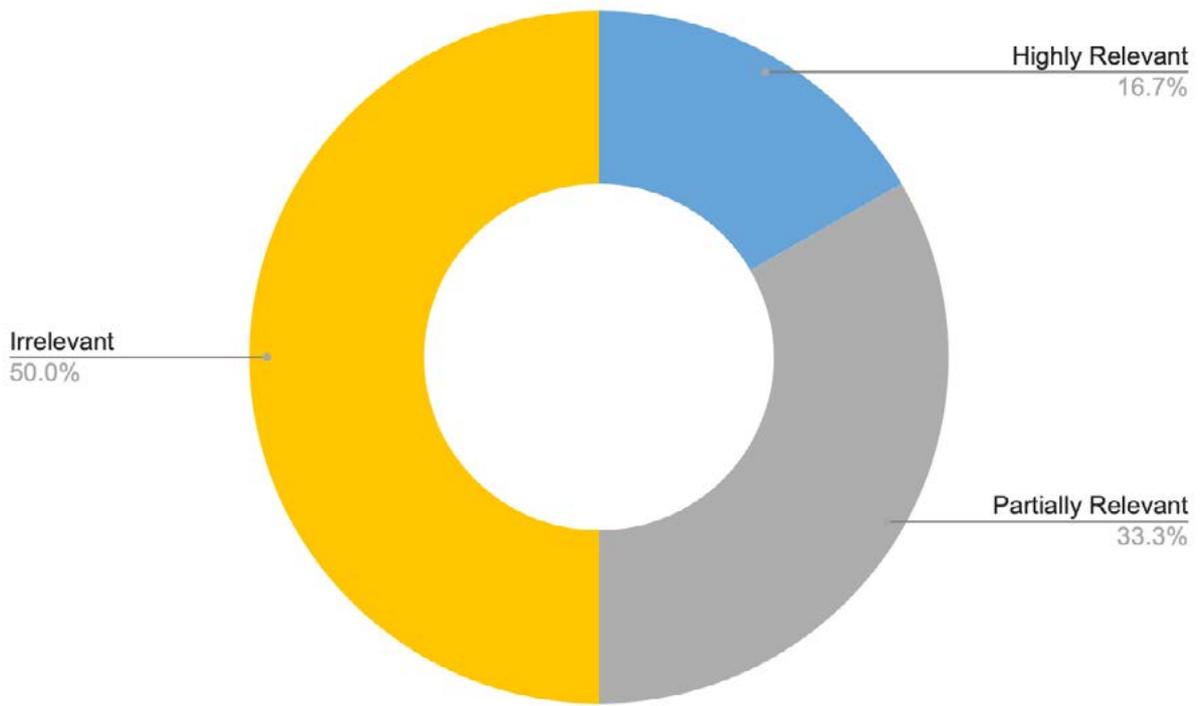


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

The Ministry was linked to 20 budget proposals under the 2025 National Budget and, an allocation of Rs. 5,750 million and it is 49% was earmarked for recurrent expenditure and 51% for capital expenditure, indicating a balance ratio of recurrent and capital expenditure.

In comparison, Rs. 6,770 million was allocated under the 2026 budget, with a slight improvement towards development oriented rather than operational since recurrent expenditure indicates 46.82% and capital expenditure indicates 53.18%.

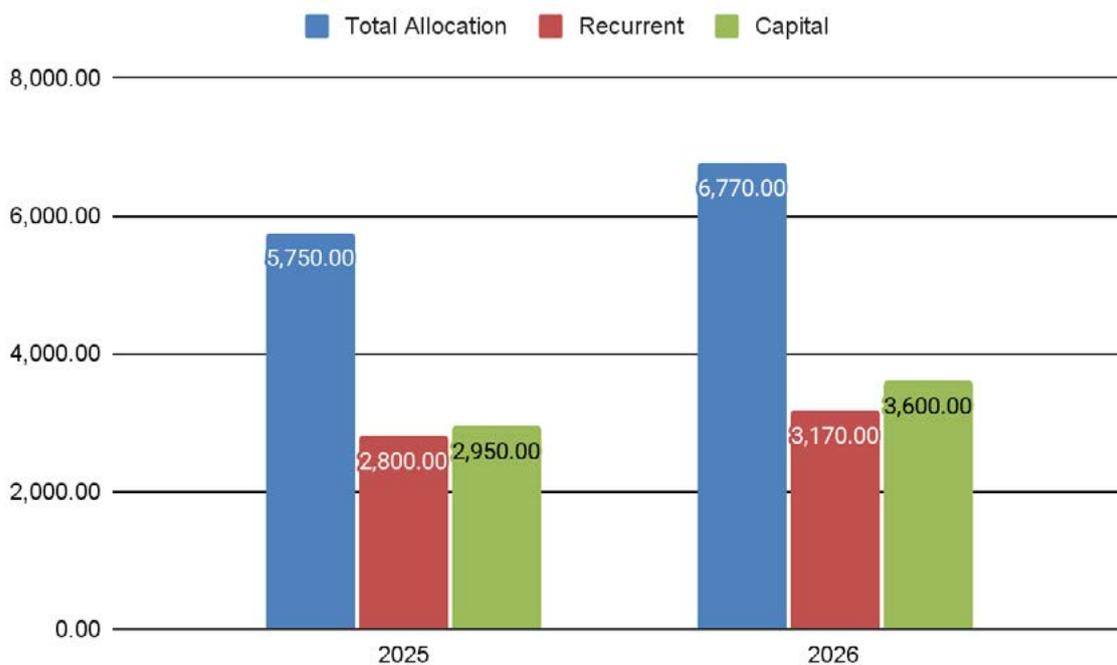


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 5,750 million was allocated to the ministry. However, only Rs. 2,290 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 40%. The summary of the physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry.



Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

23. Ministry of Rural Development, Social Security, and Community Empowerment

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The overarching goal of the Rural Development agenda, as articulated in the manifesto, is the creation of a safer society and an enriched nation through poverty alleviation and inclusive social development. The guiding principles of this policy framework include social solidarity, social empowerment, targeted financial assistance to those in need, strengthened inter-ministerial coordination, life-cycle-based social protection for all citizens, ensuring social justice and leaving no one behind, and promoting efficient and meaningful participation of beneficiaries and relevant stakeholders in the selection and delivery of welfare benefits.

The primary objective of government social protection and welfare programmes is to improve the living standards of eligible beneficiaries while enabling them to transition into active economic participation at the earliest opportunity. The Government aspires to establish a universal social protection system based on a life-cycle approach for all Sri Lankans.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

Monitoring findings indicate that 81 related commitments have been incorporated into the National Policy Framework under the ministry's mandate. At the time of review, the ministry's Strategic Plan for the period 2026–2028, intended to guide the implementation of manifesto commitments, was under preparation. Although an Action Plan has reportedly been developed, it has not yet been formally received for review.

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Requested through RTI, Not Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted 6 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby facilitating progress on selected policy initiatives. An assessment of these cabinet decisions indicates that 2 were categorised as highly relevant to specific manifesto commitments, 2 were assessed as relevant, no one as partially relevant, two as not relevant.

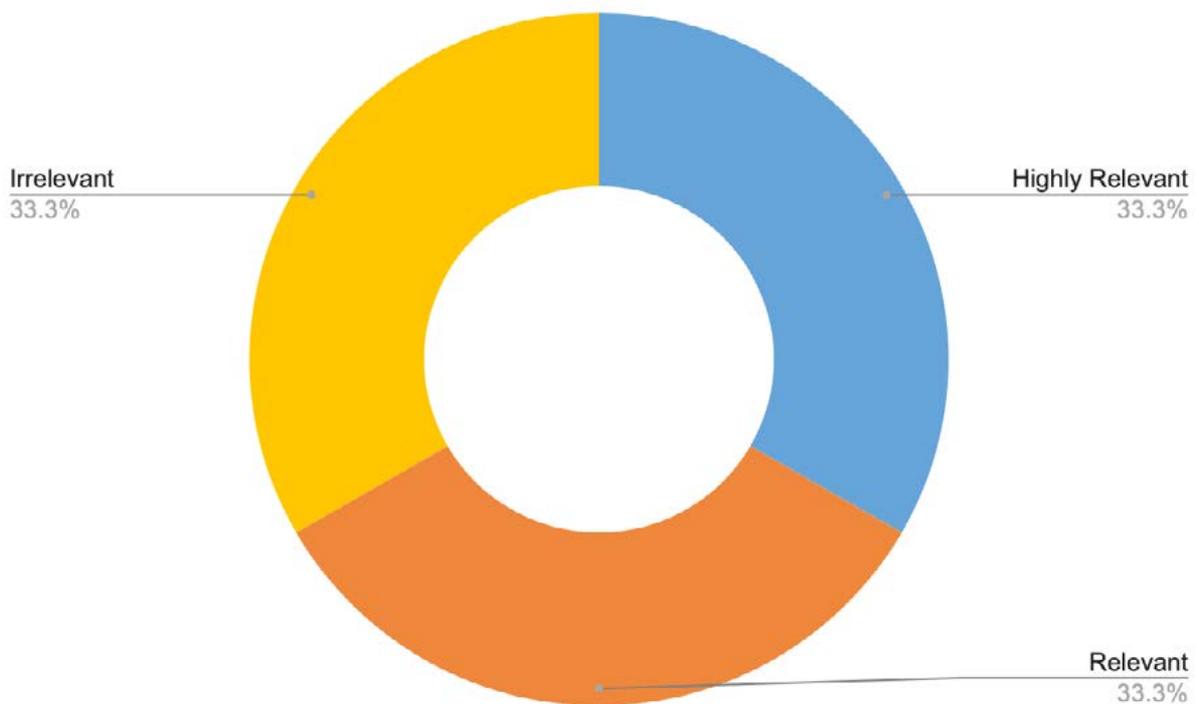


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

The Ministry was linked to 33 budget proposals under the 2025 National Budget and an allocation of Rs. 31,350 million and it is 80% was earmarked for recurrent expenditure and 20% for capital expenditure, indicating a strong emphasis on operational oriented rather than rural infrastructure and development initiatives.

In comparison, Rs. 61,691.50 million was allocated under the 2026 Budget, with a significant change in the ratio of recurrent-to-capital expenditure. Recurrent decreased to 44.56% from 80% and capital expenditure increased from 20% to 55.44%.



Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 31,350 million was allocated to the ministry. The amount of the expenditure and the financial and physical progress for the year 2025 is yet to be received from the ministry.

Parliamentary actions on Manifesto Commitments

According to the manifesto promise to “enhance the financial support for micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises by reinforcing the cooperative banking system, including Samurdhi Banks and regional development banks (p.85)”, the government has taken a cabinet decision on May 7, 2025 making the Samurdhi Community based Banks and Samurdhi Community based Banking Societies subject to the Government Audit through Samurdhi (Amendment) Bill, No. 15 Of 2025. The Parliament Has Approved Samurdhi (Amendment) Act, No. 15 Of 2025 on August 22, 2025 to improve financial supervision and accountability within Samurdhi financial institutions.

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Cabinet	Parliament	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Enhance the financial support for micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises by reinforcing the cooperative banking system, including Samurdhi Banks and regional development banks.	✓	✓	

It has monitored 10 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached two or more milestones and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

24. Ministry of Ports and Civil Aviation

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

The overarching objective of the Ministry of Ports and Civil Aviation, as outlined in the manifesto, is to position Sri Lanka as a key player in the global maritime and aviation sectors. Leveraging its strategic location at the intersection of Eastern and Western sea routes, Sri Lanka handles thousands of tons of goods transported by passing ships each year. The Government aims to transform the country into a world-class nautical hub by enhancing supply chain efficiency, developing a skilled maritime workforce, and capitalising on its location in the Indian Ocean.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

A total of 28 manifesto promises are directly relevant to this Ministry. Monitoring findings indicate that all 28 commitments have been incorporated into the National Policy Framework. At the time of review, the ministry's Strategic Plan for 2026–2028, designed to guide the implementation of these commitments, was under preparation. Although an Action Plan has been developed, it has not yet been formally submitted for review.

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Received
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Received
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Received

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted 4 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which were approved by the Cabinet of Ministers, enabling progress on selected policy initiatives. An assessment of these decisions indicates that One was categorised as highly relevant to manifesto commitments, one was assessed as relevant, one as partially relevant, one as not relevant.



Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

The Ministry was linked to nine budget proposals under the 2025 National Budget and an allocation of Rs. 191 million and Rs. 4128 million in 2026 national budget. It is understood the ministerial reshuffle occurred prior to the 2026 budget submission and expenditure ratio can be analyzed in the next report only.



Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 191 million was allocated to the Merchant Shipping Secretariat of the ministry. However, only Rs. 104 million was spent on projects and programmes during the year, reflecting a financial progress rate of approximately 54%. The summary of the physical progress yet to be received from the ministry. The balance of the allocation was transferred to the Ministry of Transport, Highways and Urban Development due to the reshuffles in ministerial portfolios.

In the latter part of 2025, the institutional structure of key ministries underwent significant restructuring. The functions of Urban Development and Ports and Civil Aviation were separated into distinct administrative entities. The Urban Development portfolio was removed from the Ministry of Housing and reassigned to the Ministry of Transport. Concurrently, the Ports and Civil Aviation portfolio was detached from the Ministry of Transport and reconstituted as a standalone Ministry of Ports and Civil Aviation.

As a result of this mid-year restructuring, the budgetary allocation reflected under the Ministry of Ports and Civil Aviation for 2025 appears comparatively low and does not permit a meaningful analysis for the reporting period. However, the 2026 National Budget provides a separate and full-year allocation for this Ministry, which will enable a more comprehensive assessment in the next phase of monitoring.

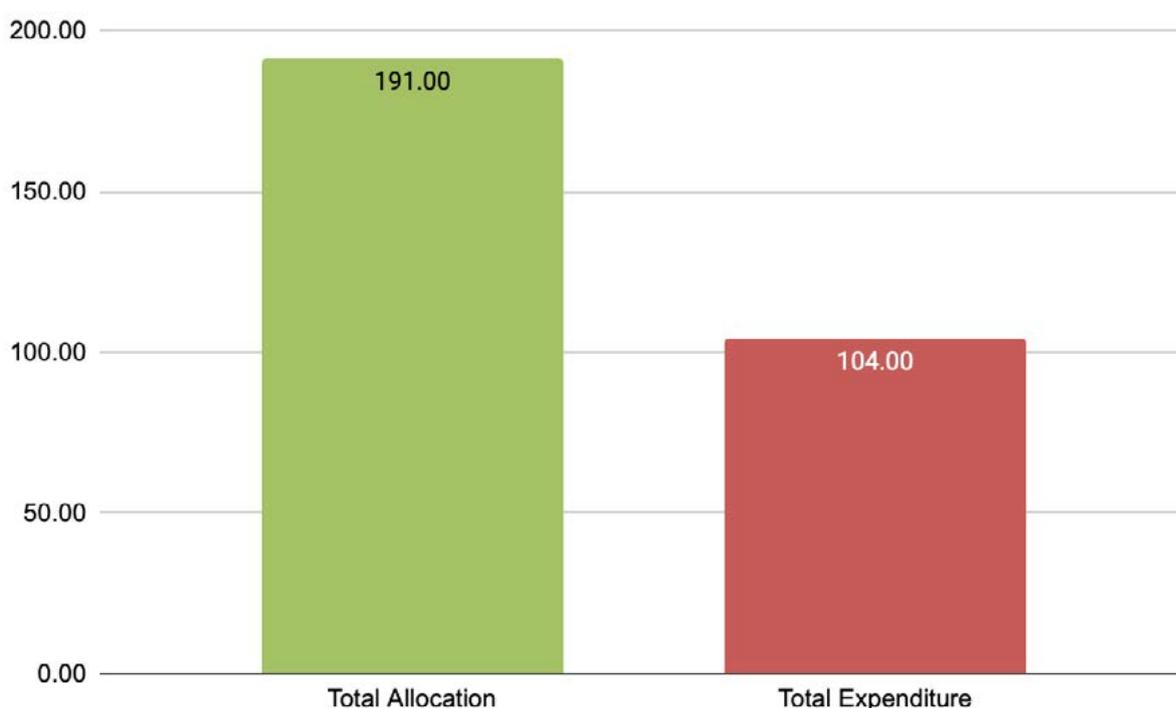


Table: Financial progress (by end of 3rd Quarter)

Implementation path of the manifesto promises

No.	Promise	Budget	Ministerial Progress Report submitted to the Parliament, prior to National Budget 2026
01	Expand the harbour, maintenance, data storage, production processes, national vessels, infrastructure, terminals, and implementations	✓	✓
02	Develop domestic airports and water aerodromes further in potential key areas to support connectivity	✓	✓

It has monitored 09 promises initiated for the implementation by the ministry. The above table indicates the promises that have reached one milestone, and the rest of the promises are listed in Annex-2.

25. Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development

Analysis of Manifesto Commitments

A modern life: A wealthy nation and Democratic Economy - An affluent country is the overall goal of the financial manifesto. The government's economic policy framework focuses on economic democracy and is integrated with a human resource development plan and a technological development roadmap to ensure equitable opportunities in economic activities, participation in the economic decision making process with an equal say, and a fair share of economic benefits, has been developed based on ten key principles to achieve sustainable economic growth and development, aiming a Real GDP target of USD 120 billion by 2030 through a resilient production economy.

Institutional Planning and Document Availability

There are 55 promises listed in the manifesto under industrial and entrepreneurship and monitoring findings indicate that 55 commitments have been absorbed into the National Policy Framework for this Ministry. At the time of review, the ministry's Strategic Plan to guide implementation of relevant manifesto commitments for the period 2026–2028 was under preparation, while an Action Plan has been developed but is yet to be formally received.

Strategic Plan (2025-2029)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q2 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q3 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
QPR - Q4 (2025)	Requested through RTI, Not Received.
Progress Report submitted to the Parliament as at 30-09-2025	Requested through RTI, Not Received.

Analysis of Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

During the review period, the Ministry submitted 66 Cabinet Memoranda, all of which received approval from the Cabinet of Ministers, thereby enabling progress on selected policy initiatives. An assessment of the approved Cabinet decisions indicates that 13 were categorised as highly relevant to manifesto commitments; however, 22 were assessed as relevant, 15 as partially relevant, 16 as not relevant.

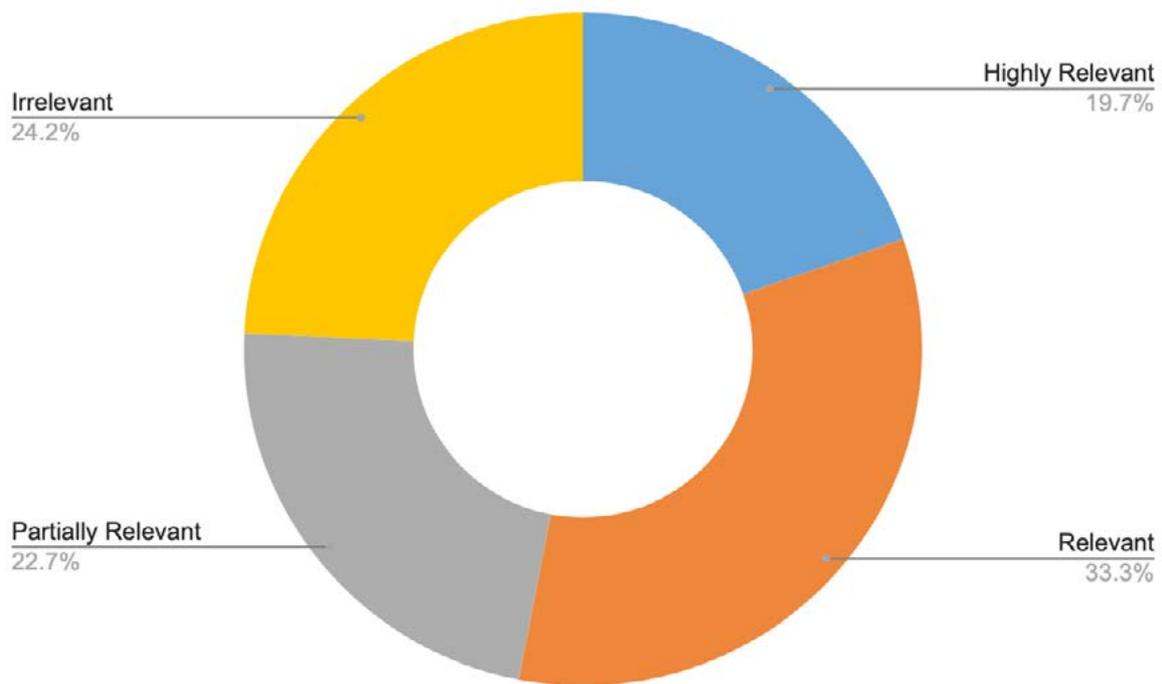


Figure: Ministerial cabinet decisions

Assessment of Ministerial Budgets and Performance

The ministry was linked to 101 budget proposals under the 2025 National Budget and an allocation of Rs. 3,562,925.30 million which is 40.33 % of the national budget allocated to the ministry of finance is significant.

Of this allocation, 95.09% was earmarked for recurrent expenditure and only 4.91 % for capital expenditure, reflecting a strong emphasis on operational-oriented rather than development orientation.

In comparison, Rs. 3,148,229 million was allocated in 2026 it is 35% of the national Budget with gaslight change recurrent-to-capital expenditure ratio as 93.57% recurrent and 6.43% capital.

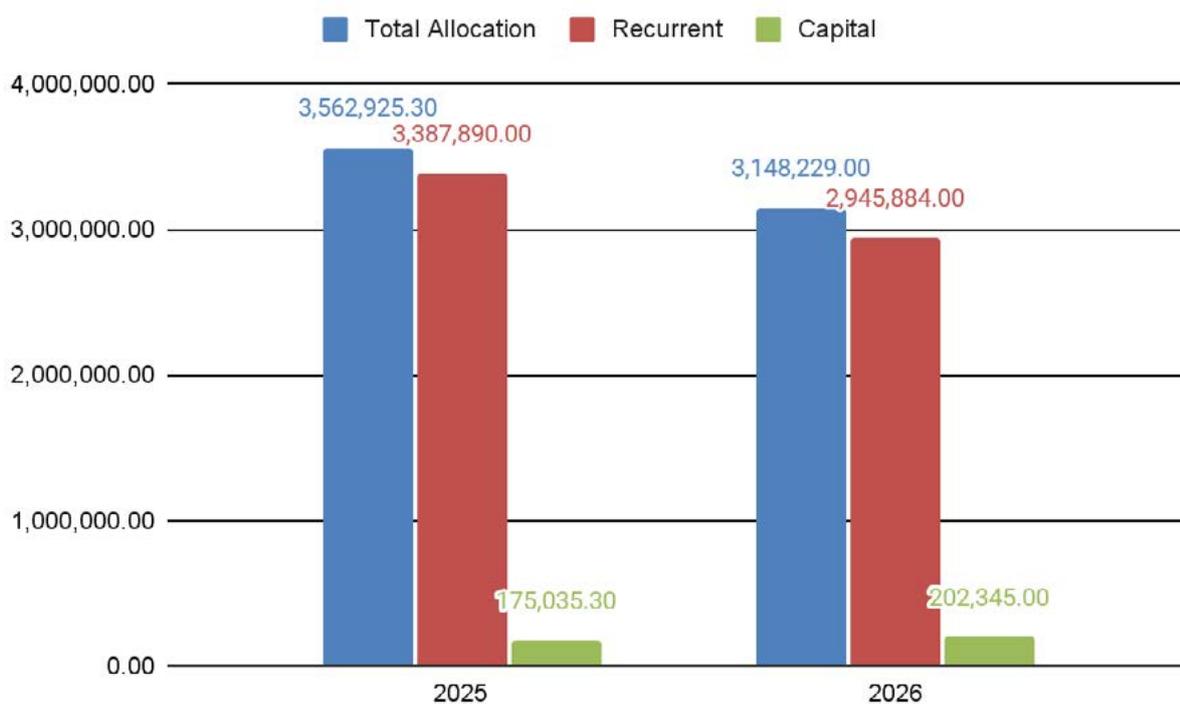


Table: Total budget allocation with Recurrent and Capital in 2025 and 2026

In 2025, Rs. 3,562,925 million was allocated to the ministry. The amount of the expenditure and the financial and physical progress for the year 2025 is yet to be received from the ministry.

Parliamentary actions on Manifesto Commitments

According to the manifesto to “make required legal reforms to enhance efficiency in tax administration” (p, 56), the government took a cabinet decision to increase the Gross Collection Levy from 15% to 18% and increase the Casino Entrance Levy imposed on Sri Lankan citizens from USD 50 to USD100. Accordingly, the government has approved the Betting And Gaming Levy (Amendment) Act, No. 25 Of 2025² effective from January 1, 2026 to increase the casino entrance levy to US\$100 and raise the gross collection levy on betting and gaming businesses from 15% to 18%.

To operationalise the relevant manifesto commitment on strengthening social protection financing, the Government approved the publication of the Social Security Contribution Levy (Amendment) Bill in the Government Gazette through a Cabinet decision dated 15 September 2025, and subsequently presented it to Parliament. The Social Security Contribution Levy (Amendment) Act, No. 24 of 2025 was passed by Parliament on 5 December 2025, introducing revisions to exemptions and clarifying the scope of taxable services with a view to streamlining the tax structure.

The Monitoring exercise expects that the implementation of this Act will be accompanied by enhanced transparency and accountability in both revenue collection and expenditure. In particular, it is anticipated that clear public reporting mechanisms will be established to disclose:

- i. the total revenue collected under the levy,
- ii. its allocation across social protection programmes, and
- iii. measurable outcomes achieved through such expenditures.

Ensuring transparency in the administration of this levy is essential to maintain public trust and to demonstrate that the additional tax burden directly contributes to strengthened and equitable social security services.

Taking measures to alleviate the burden of predatory microfinance loans with high interest rates on women (P, 44) and Provide relief to deprived parties after reviewing microfinance loans provided in violation of legal provisions and guidelines given (P, 58) are promises of the manifesto related to microfinance loans. Accordingly, the government made a cabinet decision on August 11, 2025 for Drafting Microfinance and Credit Regulatory Authority Bill. Another cabinet decision taken on September 22, 2025 on a new Microfinance and Credit Regulatory Authority Bill. The first reading was done on November 26, 2025 for the said bill which replaces the old Microfinance Act No. 6 of 2016 by setting rules for small loan providers to prevent high-interest traps or abuse, ensuring loans are fair for low-income people and small businesses. Licensed lenders must follow interest caps, transparency rules, and ethical debt collection, with penalties for violations. However efficiency of this Law in Comparison to the Manifesto Promise to be measured with the implication in the Parliament as an Act.

2 <https://www.parliament.lk/en/business-of-parliament/act-details/G6406>

5.4. Observations

Key Contextual Considerations from June-December 2025

- The monitoring process identified that a high volume of budgetary allocations goes to recurrent expenditures rather than capital expenditures (excluding debt repayments). This indicates that **ministries** are more focused on operationalization rather than development interventions. As a whole, overall budget allocations indicate this ratio as follows:

Year	Total Allocation (Rs. Million)	Recurrent (Rs. Million)	%	Capital (Rs. Million)	%
2025	6,637,463	5,410,996	81.5%	1,226,467	18.5%
2026	6,450,279	5,166,034	80.1%	1,284,245	19.9%

Table 4: Ministerial budget allocation without debt repayments, Provincial Council Budget, and SSU

- The National Budget allocates funds to Provincial Councils in a manner comparable to line ministries, reflecting their operational and development mandates. In the 2025 National Budget, a total of Rs. 551,944 million was allocated to Provincial Councils, representing 6.25% of total government expenditure.

In the 2026 Budget, this allocation increased to Rs. 618,100 million. However, the composition of expenditure remains largely unchanged. The recurrent-to-capital expenditure ratio continues at approximately 85:15, indicating that the bulk of allocations are directed toward operational and administrative expenses rather than capital investment and development-oriented activities.

Year	Total Allocation (Rs. Million)	Recurrent (Rs. Million)	%	Capital (Rs. Million)	%
2025	551,944	472,500	86%	79,444	14%
2026	618,100	533,000	86%	85,100	14%

Table 5: Budget allocations for Provincial Councils 2025 and 2026

- Debt repayment constitutes a significant fiscal burden. With Rs. 1,600,000 million allocated in 2025 (approximately 18% of total expenditure) and Rs. 1,877,740 million in 2026 (around 21% of total expenditure), the rising share of debt servicing in the National Budget can generate several macroeconomic and structural impacts:

Year	Total Budget Allocation (Rs. Million)	Recurrent (Rs. Million)	%	Capital (Rs. Million)	%
2025	8,835,001	0	0%	1,600,000	18.1%
2026	8,980,000	0	0%	1,877,740	20.9%

Table 6: Budget allocation for debt repayment in 2025 and 2026

- I. **Fiscal Space Constraints:** A higher allocation for debt repayment reduces the fiscal space available for public investment, social protection, infrastructure, and human capital development. This may slow medium- to long-term economic growth if capital expenditure is compressed.
- II. **Crowding-Out of Development Spending:** When over one-fifth of total expenditure is directed toward debt servicing, the government may prioritize recurrent commitments over development-oriented projects. This can weaken public investment momentum, particularly in sectors such as education, health, and regional development.
- III. **Pressure on Taxation and Revenue Mobilisation:** To sustain high debt servicing obligations, the government may rely on increased taxation or broadened tax bases. While this can strengthen revenue performance, excessive tax pressure may dampen private sector investment and consumption if not carefully managed.
- IV. **Limited Counter-Cyclical Capacity:** High debt servicing obligations restrict the government's ability to implement counter-cyclical fiscal policies during economic downturns. In times of crisis, limited fiscal flexibility may constrain stimulus measures.
- V. **Investor Confidence and Debt Sustainability:** On the positive side, consistent and increased debt repayment can enhance creditworthiness, restore investor confidence, and support macroeconomic stability, particularly in a post-crisis recovery context. However, sustainability depends on whether debt servicing is accompanied by economic growth and primary surplus generation.
- VI. **Impact on Growth and Social Equity:** If recurrent and debt obligations dominate expenditure composition, the economy risks becoming consumption-oriented rather than investment-driven. Over time, this may affect employment generation, productivity gains, and inclusive growth outcomes.

The scenario reflects a tight fiscal environment where debt sustainability is a priority. The key economic impact will depend on whether debt servicing is complemented by structural reforms, revenue enhancement, and sufficient capital investment to stimulate long-term growth. Without balancing these factors, high debt repayment ratios may constrain development and recovery efforts.

- The Special Spending Unit (SSU) also allocated Rs.45,593 million from the 2025 national budget and Rs.33,881 budget in 2026.

In Sri Lanka's national budget terminology, a Special Spending Unit (SSU) refers to an institutional category used to allocate appropriations to government agencies, offices, and commissions that are not line ministries but carry out constitutional, statutory, or other nationally-important functions. The institutions and allocations as follows:

No.	Institution	Allocation in 2025 (Million)	Allocation in 2026 (Million)
01	Office of the President	9,000.00	11,385.00
02	Office of the Prime Minister	1,170.00	975.00
03	Judges of the Superior Courts	577.00	689.00
04	Office of the Cabinet Ministers	231.00	275.00
05	Office of the Public Service Commission	345.50	433.00

06	Judicial Service Commission	165.00	185.00
07	National Police Commission	245.00	270.00
08	Administrative Appeals Tribunal	49.50	53.00
09	Commission to Investigate Allegation of Bribery or Corruption	1,374.00	2,109.00
10	Office of the Finance Commission	133.00	162.00
11	Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka	449.00	494.00
12	The Parliament	5,150.43	5,280.00
13	Office of the Leader of the House of the Parliament	78.00	85.00
14	Office of the Chief Government whip of the Parliament	88.50	90.00
15	Office of the Leader of the Opposition of the Parliament	331.00	337.00
16	Election Commission	21,487.00	6,650.00
17	National Audit Office	4,352.50	4,120.00
18	Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration	46.00	52.00
19	Audit Service Commission	80.00	75.00
20	National Procurement Commission	222.00	140.00
21	Delimitation Commission	19.00	22.00
	Total	45,593.43	33,881.00

Table 7: Special Spending Unit (SSU) institutions and allocation

SSUs are presented separately in the budget to reflect their specific roles and expenditure responsibilities outside the traditional ministry structure.

Accordingly, the allocations of Rs. 45,593 million in the 2025 National Budget and Rs. 33,881 million in the 2026 Budget for Special Spending Units are intended to support the operations, administrative costs, and programme activities of these key independent or quasi-independent bodies. This expenditure covers personnel costs, operational expenses, and in some cases specific institutional programmes that are essential for governance, oversight, and constitutional functions.

- The Bill for the **National Audit (Amendment) Act, No. 19 of 2025** was tabled in Parliament on 8 July 2025, received Cabinet approval on 11 September 2025, and was enacted into law on 23 September 2025. The relatively expedited progression from tabling to enactment reflects the prioritisation of governance and accountability reforms within the national reform agenda. The Act constitutes a significant legislative measure aligned with the government's manifesto commitment to strengthening public sector accountability, combating corruption, and enhancing financial governance. Introduced within the broader framework of governance and structural reform commitments associated with Sri Lanka's programme with the **International Monetary Fund**, the amendment reinforces institutional oversight mechanisms and strengthens the independence, authority, and enforcement capacity of the Auditor General. However, the appointment of the Auditor General during this period became a matter of contention between the Government and the Constitutional Council, with concerns raised regarding the intentions and procedural

adherence of the executive. The issue was subsequently resolved through institutional engagement, and an agreement was reached following the reporting period.

- Abolishing the pensions and special privileges given to retired presidents and their families is a promise in the government's manifesto and the enactment of the Presidents' Entitlements (Repeal) Act, No. 18 of 2025 on 10 September 2025 represents a concrete step toward fulfilling the manifesto commitment to abolish pensions and special privileges granted to former Presidents and their families. The Act repeals the Presidents' Entitlements Act, No. 4 of 1986, thereby removing state-funded benefits such as official residences, monthly allowances, staff, office facilities, and transportation previously provided to former Presidents and their widows. Passed with an overwhelming parliamentary majority, the reform is positioned as a fiscal consolidation measure in the aftermath of the economic crisis, reflecting a shift toward greater political accountability and rationalisation of public expenditure; however, reports indicate that constitutional pension entitlements for former Presidents remain in place, suggesting that the implementation of the manifesto pledge is substantial but not absolute.

- Abolishing the pension offered to Members of Parliament (MPs) after five years of service is a key promise of the manifesto. A Cabinet decision to implement this commitment was taken on June 16, 2025 and November 17, 2025, and subsequent parliamentary actions have been carried out following the monitoring period of this phase. The next phase of this monitoring exercise will provide a more detailed elaboration on the progress and implementation of this measure.

- The government's manifesto includes a commitment to abolish allowances paid to Members of Parliament for participation in parliamentary sessions; however, during the reporting period, **no policy or legislative action has been undertaken to implement this promise.** Nevertheless, a related cost-rationalisation measure has been implemented concerning the group insurance facility provided to Members of Parliament. Cabinet approval had originally been granted on 15 May 2023 to provide a group insurance policy with a maximum coverage limit of Rs. 1,000,000 per Member per parliamentary year, and this coverage was operational during the past period. In the 2025 Budget, the Hon. The President proposed reducing this insurance ceiling to Rs. 250,000 per Member as part of expenditure control measures. Subsequently, the Cabinet approved the proposal submitted by the Minister of Public Security and Parliamentary Affairs to revise the insurance benefit limit to Rs. 250,000 with effect from the insurance year commencing on 09 October 2025. While this decision reflects a partial effort toward reducing parliamentary privileges and public expenditure, the core manifesto commitment to abolish session-based allowances remains unfulfilled at this stage.

- The manifesto commitments to implement an integrated operation to prevent drugs and organized crime, and to strengthen penalties for drug-related offences while ensuring the speedy resolution of cases, have been addressed through a combination of legislative and operational measures.
 - I. In terms of legislative reform, the enactment of the Poisons, Opium and Dangerous Drugs (Amendment) Act, No. 41 of 2022 marked a significant step in strengthening the legal framework governing drug offences in Sri Lanka. This amendment to the principal Ordinance (Chapter 218), which came into effect on 25 November 2022, introduced enhanced penalties and procedural provisions aimed at improving enforcement and expediting the handling of drug-related cases. The revised legal framework reflects an intention to adopt a more stringent and deterrent approach to narcotics control.
 - II. Complementing these legal measures, the national operation Quit - A Nation United is being implemented under the theme "A Drug-Free Nation- A Happier Tomorrow." Conducted under the

patronage of the President, the campaign adopts a nationwide, integrated approach involving district-level engagement, public awareness initiatives, and coordinated action among law enforcement and administrative authorities. The President's district visits as part of the campaign signal high-level political commitment and reinforce the objective of a unified national response to drug prevention and organized crime.

III. Together, these measures indicate progress toward fulfilling the manifesto pledges through both strengthened legislative instruments and coordinated national-level operations.

- The removal of tax-free vehicle permits for Members of Parliament (p.109) is a stated manifesto commitment. During Phase I of this monitoring process, it was identified that no vehicle permits had been issued to MPs, indicating initial compliance with the promise

- However, subsequent developments reveal that the government has decided to proceed with the importation of vehicles, not only for MPs but also for public officials. This matter was addressed in Parliament by Senior Minister Sundi Handunnetti, who stated that savings from the 2025 budget would be utilized for this purpose.

- Notwithstanding this explanation, the monitoring exercise identified a separate allocation of Rs. 12,500 million as 2026 budget proposal, comprising Rs. 2,500 million as recurrent expenditure and Rs. 10,000³ million as capital expenditure, for vehicle procurement. These developments warrant further verification and enhanced transparency to ensure consistency with the original commitment and to clarify the fiscal implications of the decision.

- For an efficient public service-a skill based professionalism, the government's manifesto promised establishing Divisional Secretariat offices as multi-service provision centers using digital technology (P, 111). In Phase I of the monitoring process, it is observed that the initiatives include the launch of the 'GovPay' platform for the digitalization of all government payments, the expansion of the services of the President's Fund from its main office in Colombo to the Divisional Secretariat level, and the introduction of the Electronic Birth, Marriage, and Death Certificates (EBMD) facility, which allows Sri Lankans abroad to obtain certified copies of birth, marriage, and death certificates electronically through Sri Lankan diplomatic missions. In the National Budget 2026, A total of 30 billion Sri Lankan rupees (98 million U.S. dollars) has been set aside for major national digital initiatives such as the Sri Lanka Unique Digital Identity project, the e-Grama Niladhari platform, and the Digital Economy Advancement Program. These projects are expected to support the creation of a centralized and secure digital framework to facilitate efficient communication and service coordination across government agencies.⁴ According to the President Media Division, Under the 'Praja Shakthi' National Programme, the Government has allocated Rs. 01 Million each to all District Secretariat Offices and Divisional Secretariat Offices across the island. This funding is for the procurement of necessary information technology hardware and services, including laptops and computers, as well as for building the related capacity of officers.⁵ A central priority of the current government is to reform and modernize the public sector in order to ensure the provision of more efficient, responsive, and high-quality services to citizens.

3 P, 178, Budget Estimates (Approved), 2026, Volume I, <https://www.treasury.gov.lk/api/file/f5514bb0-58d9-4a6b-8bd5-0684966285e0>

4 <https://english.news.cn/20251107/9e30e116da1947b3b81e4903b5866ca5/c.html#:~:text=According%20to%20President%20and%20Finance,provincial%20and%20local%20government%20offices.>

5 <https://pmd.gov.lk/news/under-the-praja-shakthi-initiative-rs-01-million-each-will-be-provided-to-district-secretariats-and-divisional-secretariats-to-enhance-their-digitalisation-capacity/#:~:text=Under%20the%20Praja%20Shakthi%20initiative,limiting%20it%20to%20Colombo%20alone.>

- The manifesto commitment to abolish the Executive Presidency and establish a President without executive powers, appointed by Parliament (p.109), has been monitored during this exercise. It was observed that senior ministers have assured Parliament that the Executive Presidency will be abolished. Similarly, Prime Minister Harini Amarasuriya provided the same assurance in the Parliament⁶ during Phase II of the monitoring process, linking this commitment to the enactment of a new constitution.
- While these assurances indicate political intent, a clear explanation of the process and an official timeline for implementation are yet to be announced by the government. The absence of formal communication on procedural steps and milestones limits the ability to assess progress toward fulfilling this key manifesto promise.
- Giving only one vehicle for Ministers/Deputy Ministers to be used during their period of office (P, 109) was monitored from the Phase I of the manifesto monitoring which needed further clarifications whether the promise to allocate only one vehicle per Minister or Deputy Minister. RTI applications were submitted for all 25 ministries and only 13 ministries have responded. First appeal was made to 07 ministries. The responses from 13 ministries can be drawn as follows:

No.	Name of the Ministry	No. of Vehicles assigned for the Minister	No. of Vehicles assigned for the Deputy Minister/s
01	Trade, Commerce, Food Security and co-operative Development	02	02
02	Women and Child Affairs	02	02
03	Rural Development, Social Security and Community Empowerment	02	01
04	Agriculture, Livestock, Land and Irrigation-Land Division	Not Clear ¹	01
05	Energy	02	Not Clear ²
06	Buddhasasana, Religious and Cultural Affairs	01 01 (National Heritage)	01 (Cultural) 01 (Religious)
07	Transport, Highways and Urban Development	Not Clear ³	01
08	Environment	02	01
09	Plantation and Community Infrastructure	02	02
10	Labour	Not Clear ⁴	02
11	Defence	01	02
12	Housing, Construction and Water Supply	01	02
13	Fisheries, Aquatic and Ocean Resources	02	01

Table 8: Responses of 13 ministries received through RTI

As the above table does not clearly present the RTI response regarding this promise, this monitoring exercise seeks to further inquire into the circular issued to provide guidelines on the use of vehicles by ministers.

6 <https://www.pmooffice.gov.lk/news.php?para=RU5vekFVR2dpQTd2VGRiMkZUNE4wREZ6ZGk2VGF0MXFnK1BpTmFMMkpQajdn-Q3QzQ3NYRHfYbDdIZEdTSmtOKw==>

- The manifesto commitment to take prompt legal action against the relevant politicians and officials in accordance with the recommendations of the Presidential Commission on the Easter Sunday attacks of 21 April 2019 (p.115) has been partially implemented. The President officially handed over the report of the previous committee to the Criminal Investigation Department, and daily hearings are currently being conducted as part of the measures to ensure prompt legal action.
- These steps indicate progress toward fulfilling the promise, although ongoing monitoring is required to assess the effectiveness and timeliness of the proceedings.
- The manifesto commitment to hold provincial council and local government elections within a year, providing citizens an opportunity to participate in governance (p, 128), has been partially fulfilled. Local government elections were conducted as assured in the manifesto. However, provincial council elections have not yet been held. The 2026 budget includes an allocation for this purpose, reflecting preparatory steps toward implementation.
- Following the Phase II monitoring, it was also observed that a parliamentary committee was formed under the patronage of Foreign Minister Vijitha Herath, including opposition MPs, to deliberate on the methodology and process for conducting provincial council elections. These developments indicate ongoing efforts, though the fulfillment of the full commitment remains pending.
- The manifesto commitment to establish an independent media commission to ensure the effective functioning of journalism (p.36) has seen partial progress. On 7 April 2025, the Cabinet granted approval for a bill to establish the Chartered Institute of Media Professionals of Sri Lanka, aimed at standardizing and recognizing media practitioners. While the manifesto envisioned a regulatory body to oversee journalism, focusing on accountability and media standards, the Chartered Institute functions primarily as a professional body rather than an independent regulatory commission.
- Efforts to monitor progress through formal channels have faced challenges. A Right to Information request submitted to the Ministry of Health and Media on 2 December 2025 received no response, prompting a first appeal on 20 January 2026. Meanwhile, the Deputy Minister for Media Dr. Kaushalya Ariyaratne addressed Parliament asserting that establishing the Chartered Institute fulfills the manifesto commitment.
- Given these discrepancies between the original promise and current implementation, further verification is required to determine whether the government's actions accurately reflect the manifesto promise and whether the intended independent oversight of journalism is being realised.
- Investigate complaints received by the Anti-Corruption Commission within Six (06) months or submit a report to Parliament every six (06) months on complaints that are not dealt with (P, 113) was followed up through a RTI process. An RTI request made on December 22, 2025 to the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption (CIABOC) and the Sri Lanka Parliament. An appeal was also made on January 20, 2026 as any response was not received.
- The manifesto commitment to implement the National Language Policy, as recognized under the 16th Amendment of the Constitution, by providing necessary resources and technical support (p.129), remains partially unfulfilled. Although the policy emphasizes equal recognition of all official languages, it was observed that during the Ditwah cyclone disaster, government announcements were made exclusively in Sinhala, neglecting Tamil, another national language. This prompted significant public concern and criticism.⁷

7 <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news-feature/2025/12/18/lost-translation-how-sri-lankas-tamils-face-repeated-disaster-warning>

- To fully honor the manifesto promise, the government must consistently implement the National Language Policy across all official communications, ensuring equitable access to information for all linguistic communities.
- Although the salary structure for the public and private sectors was reformed in 2025 in line with the manifesto promise, the commitment to increase the wages of upcountry plantation workers in accordance with the cost of living (p.129) has not yet been fully realized. The 2026 national budget allocated Rs. 5,000 million for wage incentives for upcountry plantation workers, and a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed with the Regional Plantation Companies to facilitate implementation. Following Phase II of the monitoring period, the MOU is now being executed.
- However, the structural arrangements have generated controversy in Parliament and the Committee on Public Finance, with calls for appropriate legal measures to ensure that the promise is implemented effectively and sustainably.
- Under the sector, A newer constitution-A united Sri Lankan nation, the government's manifesto pleaded to appoint an advisory council consisting of specialists on the subject for each ministry (p, 109). In this regard, RTI applications were submitted for all 25 ministries on November 18, 2025. 16 ministries have responded while the other 09 have not. The information from the received responses of 16 ministries as follows:

No.	Name of the Ministry	Appointed an Advisory Council (Yes/No)
01	Education, Higher Education and Vocational Education	Yes
02	Women and Child Affaires	No
03	Defence	No
04	Agriculture, Livestock, Land and Irrigation-Land Division	No
05	Buddhasasana, Religious and Cultural Affaires	No
06	Energy	No
07	Finance, Planning and Economic Development	No
08	Fisheries, Aquatic and Ocean Resources	No
09	Foreign Affaires, Foreign Employment and Tourism-Foreign Affaires	No
10	Justice and National Integrity	No
11	Labour	No
12	Public Administration, provincial Councils and Local Government	Yes
13	Plantation and Community Infrastructure	No
14	Transport, Highways and Urban Development	No
15	Environment	No
16	Rural Development, Social Security and Community Empowerment	No

Table 9: Responses of 16 ministries received through RTI

According to the above table, the Government has not yet fulfilled its promise to establish advisory councils to support the ministries. The monitoring process further observed that, based on the available documentation, there are no clearly defined criteria regarding the number, selection process, or eligibility requirements of advisors. Therefore, this monitoring exercise intends to seek further clarification on the status of this commitment and its implementation in the next phase of the monitoring.

6

Manifesto Consistency Review against National Budget 2026

6.1. Overview of the Policy Direction of the National Budget 2026

The National Budget 2026 represents the first full fiscal instrument through which the government seeks to operationalize its manifesto promises. This chapter assesses the extent to which manifesto promises (as reflected in the National Policy Framework) are aimed at budgeted programs and projects for 2026 and beyond. The analysis compares:

- Number of Manifesto Promises assigned to each ministry
- Number of Budgeted Programs/Projects
- Number of Manifesto Promises to be Implemented through National Budget 2026

Each ministry has been assigned responsibility for implementing a specified number of promises, as indicated in Column One. Column Two presents the number of projects and programmes allocated to the respective ministries under the National Budget 2026.

This monitoring exercise assessed the degree of alignment between the stated promises and the corresponding budgetary programmes, and the findings of this relevance analysis are presented in Third Column.

No.	Ministry	Total No. of Manifesto Promises	National Budget Project/ Programs 2026	No. Manifesto Promises to be implemented through National Budget 2026
01	Agriculture, Livestock, Land and Irrigation	107	120	74
02	Buddhasasana, Religious and Cultural Affairs	82	84	22
03	Defence	42	71	31
04	Digital Economy	37	22	22
05	Education, Higher Education and Vocational Education	108	171	35
06	Energy	68	21	7
07	Environment	76	52	30
08	Finance, Planning and Economic Development	55	124	41
09	Fisheries, Aquatic and Ocean Resources	66	20	21
10	Foreign Affairs, Foreign Employment and Tourism	139	12	6
11	Health and Mass Media	94	143	29
12	Housing, Construction and Water supply	33	53	20
13	Industry and Entrepreneurship Development	95	24	13
14	Justice and National Integration	33	62	19
15	Labour	25	16	6
16	Plantation and Community Infrastructure	11	31	11
17	Ports and Civil Aviation	28	10	10
18	Public Administration, Provincial Councils and Local Government	20	107	7
19	Public Security and Parliamentary Affairs	45	15	8
20	Rural Development, Social Security and Community Empowerment	81	31	16
21	Science and Technology	28	18	6
22	Trade, Commerce, Food Security and Cooperative Development	21	15	5
23	Transport, Highways and Urban Development	50	120	65
24	Women and Child Affairs	59	21	11
25	Youth Affairs and Sports	64	20	19

Table 10: Alignment between manifesto promises and fiscal planning

6.2. National Budget 2026 alignment with the manifesto

Phase I of the monitoring exercise discussed the budget proposals of national budget 2025 and found that 133 proposals proposed to be completed in year 2025 connected with the manifesto promise. However, monitoring exercise couldn't get clear implementation of above proposals from the records of the relevant ministries.

On the other hand, monitoring identified as budget proposals by the national budget department for the national budget 2026.

No.	Budget Proposals 2026	Manifesto Promise
01	Providing vehicles/machineries required for Government Institutions and Local Councils 2,500 million as recurrent expenditure and 10,000 million as capital expenditure.	Removing the tax-free vehicle permits for MPs (109)
02	Reactivating the Property Loan Scheme for government employees provided through Banks 500 million as recurrent expenditure.	There is no corresponding promise
03	Increasing the Teachers' Hardship allowance and Principals' allowance 1,000 million as recurrent expenditure	Interim allowances for those unable to enter the labor force due to special reasons (42)
04	Increasing the allowance for Gatekeepers at unsafe railway crossings 250 million as recurrent expenditure	Interim allowances for those unable to enter the labor force due to special reasons (42)
05	Encouraging the employment of youth with disabilities or special needs in the private sector 500 million as recurrent expenditure	Facilitating education, training, employment, and livelihoods opportunities for persons with disabilities (40)
06	Providing relief for Thalassemia patients 250 million as recurrent expenditure	There is no corresponding promise
07	Facilitating the Government Institutions to promote Cashless Economy 1,000 rupees million as recurrent expenditure	Digitalise state institutions to create a responsive government sector that delivers transparent and efficient services to citizens (74)
08	Launching a nationwide operation to prevent drug menace 500 million rupees as recurrent expenditure and 1000 rupees as capital expenditure	An integrated operation to prevent drugs and organized crime in the country (116)
09	Enhancing digital accessibility in Government Institutions 1,000 million rupees as capital expenditure	Digitalise state institutions to create a responsive government sector that delivers transparent and efficient services to citizens (74)
10	Ensuring accessibility and sanitation facilities in public places for persons with disabilities and special needs 1,000 million rupees as capital expenditure	Ensure the safety and accessibility of persons with disabilities when designing buildings (53).
11	Freeing up lands for Ratnapura City Development (Construction of Quarters for Government Officers) 500 million rupees as capital expenditure	There is no corresponding promise
12	Establishing Day-care Centres for children with disabilities including Autism 500 million rupees as capital expenditure	Establish a robust mechanism for early identification and intervention of at-risk children, including children with disabilities, street children and out-of-school children (46)

13	Providing housing assistance for reintegration of institutionalized individuals and child protection 2,000 million rupees as capital expenditure	Providing relief to war widows, internally displaced persons, people with disabilities and people with trauma in need of relief and shelter (129)
14	Establishing Aarogya Centers 1,500 million rupees as capital expenditure	There is no corresponding promise
15	Relocating Deniyaya and Dambulla Hospitals to suitable locations 1,000 million rupees as capital expenditure	There is no corresponding promise
16	Constructing City Halls in Ampara and Monaragala 200 million rupees as capital expenditure	There is no corresponding promise
17	Completion of Nindavur Cultural Center of which the construction stopped 300 million rupees as capital expenditure	There is no corresponding promise
18	Silver Economy Investment in Senior Citizens 10 million rupees as capital expenditure	There is no corresponding promise
19	Flood controlling and saltwater intrusion controlling along the Nilwala River in Matara 1,000 million rupees million rupees as capital expenditure	There is no corresponding promise
20	Development of Domestic Airports 1,000 million rupees as capital expenditure	There is no corresponding promise

Table 11: Budget proposals of 2026

For the above 20 budget proposals, this monitoring process identified 10 manifesto promises which are partially relevant. Monitoring will be continued on the process of implementation of the above promises in 2026 which are to be completed.

7

Government's actions on disaster management

7.1. Promises on disaster management and post-Ditwah Cyclone actions

The Government's manifesto "*A Thriving Nation – A Beautiful Life*" does not include a dedicated thematic section on disaster management. However, disaster-related commitments are embedded across several thematic areas of the manifesto. This monitoring exercise identified the following disaster-related promises dispersed across different themes:

1. Identification, management, and risk reduction of natural disaster prone areas (p. 31)
2. Development and implementation of scientifically designed sustainable land-use plans for agricultural, industrial, and residential purposes (p. 31)
3. Introduction of early warning systems for natural disasters, regulation of human activities, and implementation of compensation and insurance mechanisms (p. 33)
4. Regulation and management of forests on mountain ridges and steep slopes with strict controls on their economic and social use (p. 33)
5. Development of climate-resilient crop varieties and adoption of climate-adaptive farming and irrigation techniques (p. 65)
6. Prevention of illegal fishing, reduction of ocean pollution, and establishment of emergency response mechanisms to minimize ocean-related disasters (p. 69)
7. Development of proactive and real-time alert systems for natural disasters such as floods, wildfires, and landslides (p.77)

8. Conducting research to identify capacity gaps in the maritime sector, including emergency disaster response, and prioritizing a future vision (p. 78)
9. Strengthening research and development to identify and protect biodiversity “hotspots,” including catchment and vegetation mapping and land-use threat categorization (p. 78)
10. Disaster mitigation, climate resilience, and adaptation mechanisms through land-use planning (p. 103)
11. Certification of state-sector construction institutions for national disaster response and workforce training (p. 105)
12. Enhancing Sri Lanka’s role in global humanitarian assistance and disaster relief missions, while strengthening domestic rapid response capacity (p. 122)
13. Formalization of disaster management structures to minimize health and economic impacts and protect lives from industrial pollution, environmental hazards, natural disasters, fires, and droughts (p. 126)

The first four promises fall under the theme **“A Fulfilling Life – A Comfortable Country.”** The subsequent seven promises are categorized under **“A Modern Life – A Wealthy Nation.”** The remaining two promises are included under **“A Dignified Life – A Strong Country.”** Notably, no disaster-related promises are included under the theme **“An Honourable Life – A Safer Country.”** Overall, these 13 disaster-related commitments are distributed across multiple ministerial portfolios.

7.2. Disaster related commitments in the National Policy Framework

Once the manifesto was recognized as a national policy framework by the National Planning Department, disaster-related commitments were consolidated under a single thematic category. Ten disaster-focused policy commitments were identified as follows:

1. Identify, manage, and reduce risks in natural disaster-prone areas
2. Develop and implement scientifically designed sustainable land-use plans
3. Regulate forests on mountain ridges and steep slopes with strict controls
4. Introduce early warning systems, regulate human activities, and implement compensation and insurance mechanisms
5. Formalize disaster management structures to minimize health and economic impacts and protect lives
6. Map flood zones and assess correlations with human-made developments, providing data-driven research and development solutions
7. Develop high-tech weather applications to provide early public warnings for storms, floods, tsunamis, landslides, and other disasters
8. Conduct surveys and research on land degradation in high-risk areas and improve soil fertility and structure to prevent landslides
9. Investigate climate-change-induced natural disasters using advanced technologies to mitigate losses
10. Collaborate with industry and public forums to establish a Natural Disaster Management Strategy for the next decade, including insurance schemes and special disaster preparedness funds

Of these ten commitments, the first five originate directly from the manifesto, while the remaining five represent new additions introduced at the national policy framework level. This monitoring process identifies these additions as post-manifesto policy expansions introduced prior to the Ditwah Cyclone disaster.

7.3. Post-Ditwah cyclone policy actions and implementation

In the post-Ditwah Cyclone context, disaster management has become a critical component of government policy implementation, particularly in relation to rescue, relief, and reconstruction. As an immediate response, the Government declared a nationwide emergency and issued regulations and circulars aimed at strengthening accountability and expediting response mechanisms.

To implement post-Ditwah rescue, relief, and rebuilding programmes, the Government issued the following gazettes and circulars:

Gazette/ Circular No.	Ministry/ Institution/Entity	Title	Issued Date	Link
Extraordinary Gazette No.2464/30	The President	Proclamations & c., by the President/ Declaration of a public emergency in Sri Lanka	28-11-2025	https://documents.gov.lk/view/extra-gazettes/2025/11/2464-30_E.pdf
Budget Circular No: 05/2025	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development	Providing Relief for the people Affected by the Emergency Disaster Situation	28-11-2025	https://www.treasury.gov.lk/api/file/1a7c2b96-dba7-4976-bae7-81edf25395f2
Budget Circular No: 06/2025	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development	Expeditious Restoration of Disrupted Lives of the People due to the Emergency Disaster Situation	01-12-2025	https://www.treasury.gov.lk/api/file/73cf1541-c48c-4ce0-9c3d-dd63db381e0a
Budget Circular No: 07/2025	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development	Expeditious Restoration of Disrupted Lives of the People due to the Emergency Disaster Situation	02-12-2025	https://www.treasury.gov.lk/api/file/116b2606-8f0a-4571-852b-f80fd3987518
Budget Circular No: 08/2025	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development	Program for Empowering those Affected by the Disaster	05-12-2025	https://www.treasury.gov.lk/api/file/8322d7b1-c343-4a47-a4c3-27a1c7baa7ec
Budget Circular No: 08/2025 (i)	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development	Program for Empowering those Affected by the Disaster	20-12-2025	https://www.treasury.gov.lk/api/file/a50e4973-227b-4b84-acf2-42748ac25738
Extraordinary Gazette No.2464/30	The President	Proclamations & C., by the President/ Establishment of a Presidential Task Force for Rebuilding Sri Lanka	31-12-2025	https://documents.gov.lk/view/extra-gazettes/2025/12/2469-09_E.pdf

Table 12: Government gazettes and circulars in the post-crisis time

In addition, five Cabinet decisions were taken to support post-Ditwah recovery efforts:

1. Provision of urgent relief to disaster-affected populations (1 December 2025)
2. Establishment of the Rebuilding Sri Lanka Fund (1 December 2025)
3. Activation of Contingency Emergency Response Components within World Bank-funded projects (10 December 2025)
4. Securing a grant from the Asia Pacific Disaster Response Fund for relief and rehabilitation (10 December 2025)
5. Provision of assistance for the restoration of religious institutions affected by the disaster (10 December 2025)

7.4. Financial commitments

In addition to the policy actions taken by the government, financial commitments also dedicated through a supplementary estimate 2026. On 19 December 2025, the Sri Lankan Parliament approved a supplementary allocation of LKR 500 billion (approximately USD 1.6 billion) to fund recovery efforts following the devastation caused by Cyclone Ditwah. However, this additional spending also raises the 2026 budget deficit by 1.5% of GDP, squeezing fiscal space.¹ The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development notified this through the circular No. BD/CBP/01/01/50/2025.² This supplementary estimate was approved to restore the disrupted life of the people and reconstruct the destroyed infrastructure due to the disaster. The estimate allocated LKR 250 billion for infrastructure, LKR 150 billion for business and livelihood recovery, and LKR 100 billion for direct relief and housing.

7.5. Monitoring implications

The combination of manifesto commitments, newly adopted policy measures, emergency gazettes, treasury circulars, Cabinet decisions, and funds mobilised through the Rebuilding Sri Lanka Fund has created an additional and parallel track for monitoring disaster management and recovery efforts. Accordingly, third-party and independent monitoring mechanisms continue to assess disaster response, recovery, and resilience-building processes throughout 2026, particularly under the purview of the Ministry of Public Security operating under the authority of His Excellency the President. The “Presidential Task Force for Rebuilding Sri Lanka” was established to provide strategic leadership, coordination, a unified approach towards and oversight of all post-disaster rehabilitation, recovery and reconstruction matters and, reposing great trust and confidence.³ However, it has been questioned in the Public Finance Committee on the legal status of the Rebuilding Sri Lanka Fund.

As civil society organizations (CSOs) that have been actively engaged in advocacy and response during the crisis. While the inclusion of CSO representatives in the Task Force and related subcommittees is commendable, it was noticed a noticeable lack of publicly available information on how key matters are being addressed in the post-crisis management process. There is also significant scope to strengthen coordination across local, regional, and national levels to ensure a more effective and inclusive response. CSO urged the government particularly to draw its attention to vulnerable populations, including women, whose needs risk being overlooked in disaster response and recovery efforts. Certain observations from the ground indicate the need to further strengthen oversight mechanisms to ensure that disaster management interventions remain inclusive and equitable. Center for Policy Alternatives (CPA) has advocated to bring the attention of the government on the key Short-Term and Long-Term Issues to Consider for Post-Cyclone Ditwah Recovery through highlighting immediate measures to be taken as part of relief efforts, legal

1 <https://publicfinance.lk/public/en/topics/budget-2026-lkr-500-billion-relief-bill-shrinks-fiscal-space-1766561006>

2 https://treasury.gov.lk/api/file/4f526647-b266-4ebe-ae6612c47cd3?utm_source=chatgpt.com

3 https://www.dgi.gov.lk/images/2025/12/31/2469-09_E.pdf

and Policy Issues, governance and Structural Issues, public Finance, and emerging and Long-term issues.⁴ Importantly, civil society has played a critical role during the crisis by supporting affected communities, advocating for inclusive and rights-based responses, and highlighting ground realities. Continued engagement with CSOs can therefore contribute meaningfully to strengthening transparency, accountability, and community-centred recovery efforts.

Meanwhile, the parliament has approved National Building Research Institute Act, No. 20 Of 2025 on October 7, 2025 to establish the National Building Research Organization (NBRO) as a legal, corporate body. The Act aims to manage landslide risks, set national building codes, and ensure disaster-resilient construction. In 2021, Cabinet Decision dated 05-10-2021 instructions were given to the Legal Draftsman to prepare a bill to grant the National Building Research Institute a legal recognition.⁵

4 <https://www.cpalanka.org/key-short-term-and-long-term-issues-to-consider-for-post-cyclone-ditwah-recovery/>

5 <https://island.lk/national-building-research-institute-to-be-established/>

8

Recommendations

Based on the findings of the Second Biannual Report of Manifesto Monitoring, the following recommendations are proposed:

- 1. Clarification of Gaps:** Provide detailed explanations from the government for the gaps observed between the original manifesto commitments as a political document and their translation into the National Policy Framework as a government document. This will contribute to the improvement of credibility of the government, and increase confidence of the public.
- 2. Internal Monitoring Mechanisms:** Explore and report on the effectiveness of internal monitoring exercises conducted by the government, including arrangements coordinated by the Presidential Secretariat, to track manifesto implementation. This ensures that these mechanisms operate at a clearly defined institutional level and regularly publish progress reports on the status of manifesto commitments.
- 3. Evaluation of Implementation Path:** Conduct a thorough evaluation of the manifesto's implementation pathway, from its articulation in the manifesto to incorporation in the National Policy Framework, translation into strategic plans, and operationalisation through ministry-level action plans, including the roles played by relevant ministries and institutions.
- 4. Ministry-Level Adoption:** Assess the adoption or non-adoption of strategic and action plans by ministries, and provide justifications for variations in their commitment to implementing manifesto initiatives.
- 5. Budget Utilisation Accountability:** Provide justification for underutilisation or non-implementation of the National Budget

2025 allocations related to manifesto commitments, including details of amounts returned to the Treasury by the ministries.

- 6. Improving Data Availability:** Enhance the collection, accessibility, and transparency of ministry-level data and information regarding the implementation of manifesto commitments to support effective monitoring and evaluation.
- 7. RTI Response Efficiency:** Improve the timeliness and accuracy of information provided through the Right to Information (RTI) mechanism, ensuring that requests for data on manifesto implementation are processed promptly, reliably, and provided on a proactive basis conforming to the section 8 and 9 of the RTI Act. This will encourage evidence-based independent monitoring and also for the citizens to exercise their constitutionally guaranteed right freely.

9

Conclusion

The Second Biannual Report of Manifesto Monitoring highlights the progress, challenges, and gaps in translating the government's manifesto, *"Thriving Nation and Beautiful Life"*, into actionable policies and programmes. The analysis demonstrates that while certain manifesto commitments have been incorporated into the National Policy Framework and further operationalised through ministry-level strategic plans and action plans, significant gaps remain between the original political commitments and their practical implementation.

The report underscores several key observations: the alignment of manifesto promises with national budget allocations reflects a partial prioritisation of initiatives, yet limitations in institutional capacity, availability of data, and procedural mechanisms have constrained full implementation. Ministries have taken steps to prepare strategic and operational plans, but variation in adoption and execution indicates the need for stronger oversight and coordination.

In addition, the report identifies critical areas such as disaster management, including post-Ditwah cyclone interventions, where the incorporation of policy measures and budgetary provisions is uneven. The findings also reveal opportunities for enhancing transparency, improving institutional coordination, and ensuring that citizen-centered objectives, such as social protection, youth employment, and environmental sustainability, are consistently prioritised.

Overall, the 2026 national budget and related institutional actions signal intent to advance the manifesto's objectives; however, bridging the gap between political commitments and practical outcomes will require sustained policy focus, strengthened governance mechanisms, and enhanced monitoring of ministry-level implementation. The report thus provides a foundation for continued oversight, ensuring that manifesto promises are effectively translated into tangible benefits for the public.

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Annexures

Annex 1: Cabinet Decisions assessed during June-December 2025

Annex 2: Ministerial level manifesto promises Implementation

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