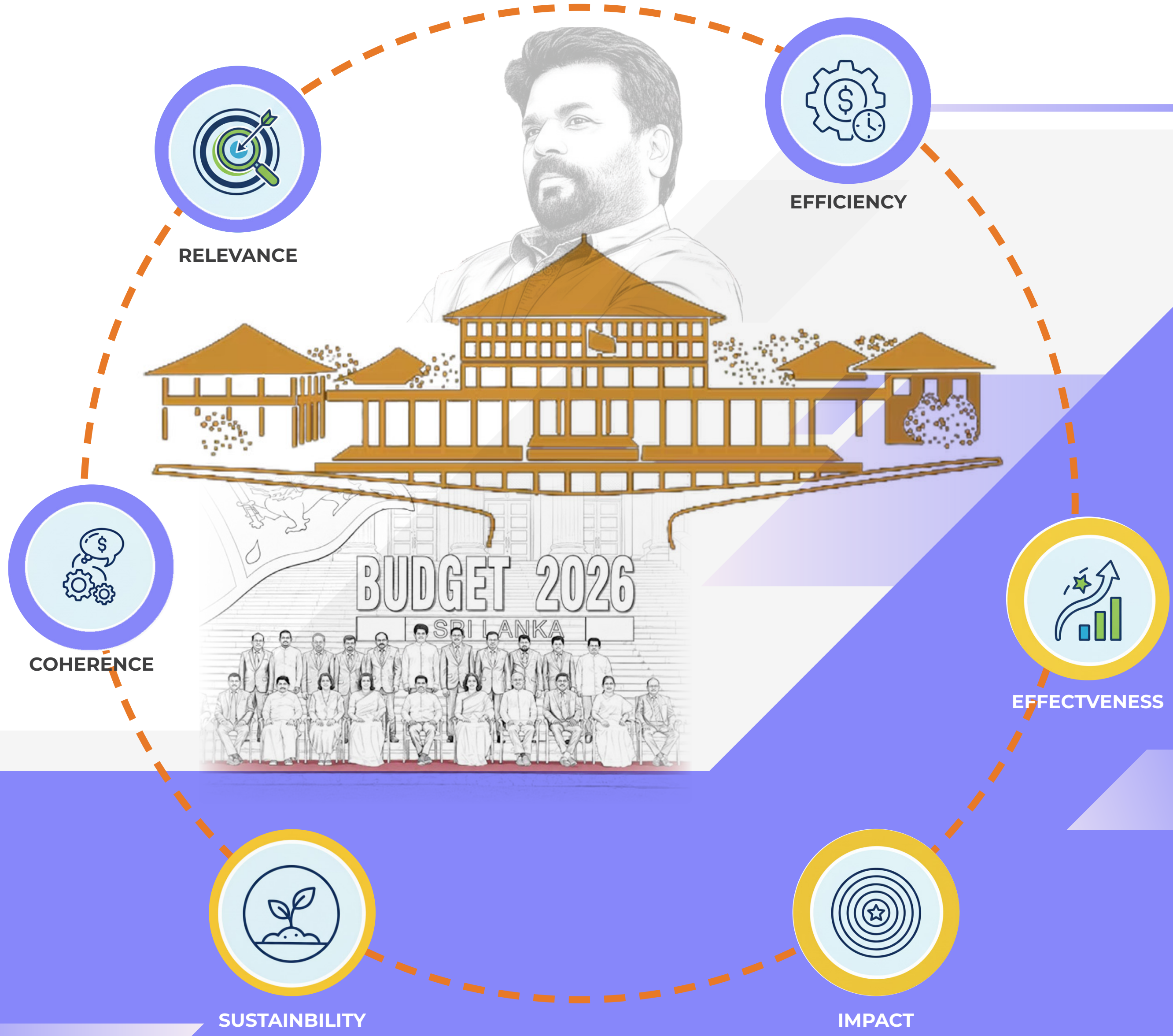
Third Biannual Report
(January-June 2026)

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 September 2026

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Disclaimer: *This report is an independent monitoring initiative by PAFFREL 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

PAFFREL, in collaboration with the March 12 Movement (M12M), has undertaken an independent monitoring initiative to assess the implementation of the Government's election manifesto and promote transparency, accountability, and results-oriented governance.

Following the 2024 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, this initiative has assessed the extent to which government actions and decisions have aligned with the commitments outlined in the manifesto, ***A Thriving Nation - A Beautiful Life***. The present monitoring report focuses on the first six months of 2026 and examines Cabinet decisions made between January and June 2026, allocations in the National Budget 2026 for the implementation of manifesto commitments, Executive directives, and relevant parliamentary actions. These actions were assessed using a structured monitoring framework comprising defined principles, criteria, and assumptions.

The findings indicate that the Government has formally adopted its election manifesto as a guiding National Policy Framework and has established internal mechanisms to monitor and track its implementation. The report also provides an overview of the structure and content of the Government's manifesto, with particular attention to policy-oriented and development-oriented promises and commitments. This analysis seeks to illustrate the nature and distribution of the manifesto commitments and to assess the Government's stated direction and progress in translating these commitments into policies, programs, and actions during the period under review.

The monitoring exercise is intended not only to assess the alignment of government actions with electoral commitments but also to contribute to informed public discourse on the implementation of the manifesto. By independently reviewing government decisions and actions, the report seeks to strengthen public oversight and encourage greater transparency, accountability, and performance-oriented public administration.

PAFFREL and M12M remain committed to continuing this independent monitoring process throughout the Government's term, intending to ensure sustained public oversight and support the effective translation of electoral commitments into concrete policies, programs, and tangible results for citizens.

List of Tables

List of Figures

Table of Contents

Abbreviations

CIABOC	Corruption Action Plan by the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption
MPs	Members of Parliament
NCAP	National Anti-Corruption Action Plan
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
SLIDA	Sri Lanka Institute of Development Administration
SSCL	Social Security Contribution Levy
USD	United States Dollar

Executive Summary

This report presents the Third Phase of the Independent Monitoring of the Implementation of the National People's Power (NPP) Government's Manifesto, *A Thriving Nation, A Beautiful Life*, covering the period January to June 2026. The monitoring is conducted by People's Action for Free and Fair Elections (PAFFREL) together with the March 12 Movement (M12M) to independently assess the extent to which government decisions, policies, legislation, budgetary allocations, and institutional actions correspond with the commitments made to citizens at the 2024 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. The initiative seeks to strengthen public oversight of manifesto implementation and promote transparency, accountability, and results-oriented governance. The assessment applies the OECD-DAC evaluation criteria of relevance, effectiveness, and efficiency. Given the relatively early stage of implementation, impact and sustainability are not yet assessed, as sufficient evidence of longer-term outcomes is not yet available.

Manifesto promises orientation: The manifesto's 1,333 promises across 25 sectors fall into three broad categories: Policy-Oriented (407; 31%), Development-Oriented (523; 39%), and Policy-and-Development-Oriented (403; 30%). Governance and rights-based sectors (Constitution, National Security, Judicial System) are predominantly policy-oriented, while production and service-delivery sectors (Housing, Fisheries, Transportation) lean development-oriented. During January–June 2026, policy initiatives advanced in several areas, including the National Policy on Fisheries and Aquaculture, the National Policy on Green Hydrogen, a Digital Economy Bill, women's and children's protection legislation, and digitalization of 3.5 million land plots, but these remained concentrated in a limited number of sectors, and even lower-cost, policy-only commitments have not been pursued at a satisfactory level.

Cabinet decision-making: The first phase of monitoring covered November 2024 to June 2025, reviewing 299 Cabinet decisions. The second phase, covering July to December 2025, examined 457 decisions. The third phase, covering January to June 2026, examined 381 Cabinet decisions, a decline of 76 decisions (16.6%) from the previous six-month period. Between January and June 2026, 381 Cabinet decisions were assessed, of which 24 statutory decisions were excluded, leaving 357 decisions for analysis. 107 decisions (30%) were not linked to the Government's manifesto, while 92 (26%) were highly relevant, 81 (23%) relevant, and 77 (22%) partially relevant. Decision-making was concentrated in key sectors, led by Finance, Planning and Economic Development (56 decisions; 15.7%), followed by Transport, Highways and Urban Development (51; 14.3%). Agriculture, Livestock, Land and Irrigation and Health and Mass Media also accounted for significant shares. Overall, Cabinet activity was strongly concentrated on economic management, infrastructure, agriculture and land, and health, while nearly one-third of decisions fell outside the manifesto framework.

National budget and institutional planning: The monitoring extends beyond Cabinet decision-making to examine implementation of the National Budget 2026, first and second-quarter budget performance, and ministerial action plans. The monitoring assessed the extent to which the 2026 National Budget and ministerial action plans translated the Government's 1,333 manifesto commitments into financial and institutional priorities. The 2026 Budget allocated Rs. 8,980 billion, with 64% for recurrent expenditure and 36% for capital expenditure, while total expenditure by the end of the second quarter reached Rs. 4,111.16 billion (46%) of the annual allocation. However, the assessment was constrained by limited access to ministerial progress data: only 15 of 25 ministries provided first-quarter reports, while second-quarter reports were unavailable. Consequently, financial progress could be assessed, but physical and output-level progress against specific manifesto commitments could not be adequately established. The limited and delayed reporting itself highlights a significant transparency and accountability gap in monitoring budget implementation.

Legislation: The report examines 15 Acts enacted by Parliament during the first six months of 2026. These demonstrate varying levels of alignment with manifesto commitments, particularly in governance, economic regulation, taxation, financial management, social protection, and environmental governance. Some legislative measures were not directly traceable to specific manifesto promises but nevertheless advanced broader institutional, regulatory, transparency, and economic governance objectives, underscoring the importance of assessing parliamentary action both against direct manifesto references and its contribution to the manifesto's wider policy goals.

Electoral and democratic reforms: Parliament established three special committees addressing the conduct of Provincial Council and Local Government elections, reform of the parliamentary electoral system, and mechanisms to safeguard the voting rights of Sri Lankan citizens residing within the country and overseas. These initiatives reflect institutional engagement with manifesto commitments on democratic participation, electoral reform, and inclusive governance. At this stage, however, their establishment and deliberations represent process-level progress; their substantive contribution to manifesto implementation will depend on the recommendations produced and on subsequent legislative and policy action.

Overall assessment: The third monitoring phase shows that manifesto implementation remains an active process, with progress evident across executive decision-making, parliamentary action, budgetary planning, and institutional reform. At the same time, the existence of policy decisions, legislation, or institutional mechanisms does not in itself constitute fulfilment of an electoral commitment. Stronger alignment between manifesto commitments, ministerial action plans, budget allocations, expenditure, and implementation outcomes is needed to improve policy coherence and public accountability.

Recommendations: Based on these findings, the report recommends:

1. Strengthen Government Monitoring and Reporting Mechanisms;
2. Establish a Results-Based Monitoring and Evaluation Framework;
3. Institute an Annual Public Review of National Anti-Corruption Action Plan (NACAP) Implementation;
4. Institutionalize Evidence-Based, Inclusive Policymaking;
5. Ensure Effective, Timely Implementation of the Right to Information Act; and
6. Prioritize Core Democratic Governance Commitments in Constitutional Reform

These measures would provide a stronger basis for assessing effectiveness and efficiency in subsequent monitoring phases and, as sufficient evidence emerges, for evaluating the longer-term impact and sustainability of manifesto implementation. PAFFREL and M12M will continue independent monitoring throughout the Government's term of office, tracking not only whether commitments are reflected in decisions and plans, but whether they are adequately resourced, effectively implemented, and ultimately translated into tangible, measurable benefits for citizens.

Rohana Hettiarachchi
Executive Director
People's Action for Free and Fair Elections (PAFFREL)

1

Introduction

1.1. Context

Governments worldwide are increasingly evaluated not only on the promises they make but also on their ability to implement those commitments and deliver measurable results. While many countries adopt ambitious development agendas, a persistent challenge remains in translating policy intentions into tangible outcomes. This has highlighted the importance of effective planning, monitoring, and evaluation systems that focus on results, accountability, and long-term impact.

In Sri Lanka, strengthening governance and public accountability has become particularly important in the context of ongoing economic recovery and institutional reform. Political party manifestos serve as a public commitment to citizens, providing a clear benchmark against which government performance can be assessed. Systematic monitoring of manifesto implementation enables citizens, policymakers, and other stakeholders to determine whether government actions are consistent with the promises made during elections while identifying gaps and areas requiring improvement.

The current Government, led by the National People's Power (NPP), was elected on the basis of its manifesto, *A Thriving Nation, A Beautiful Life*, which outlines a comprehensive vision for national transformation. The manifesto emphasizes not only policy commitments across multiple sectors but also the importance of implementation, transparency, and performance monitoring.

Independent monitoring is an essential mechanism for promoting democratic accountability. By objectively assessing the alignment between government decisions and manifesto commitments, it provides evidence on implementation progress, identifies challenges, and generates lessons to strengthen future policymaking.

Building on its long-standing role in promoting free and fair elections and democratic governance, the People's Action for Free and Fair Elections (PAFFREL) has undertaken the independent monitoring of the implementation of the NPP manifesto.

This report presents the findings of the Third Phase of that initiative. It assesses actions made by the NPP government between January and June 2026 to determine their alignment with the commitments contained in *A Thriving Nation-A Beautiful Life*.

The report provides an evidence-based assessment of the government's progress in translating electoral promises into policy actions and contributes to greater transparency, accountability, and informed public dialogue on governance.

1.2 Scope of the Report

This report presents the third phase of PAFFREL's independent monitoring of the implementation of the Government's manifesto. It assesses Cabinet decisions, Executive actions, Parliamentary actions, and ministerial performance undertaken between January and June 2026 to determine their alignment with the government's manifesto commitments.

The analysis is based on Cabinet decisions, official government publications, publicly available information, and information obtained through the Right to Information (RTI) Act. As this report covers the second year of the current government's tenure, it examines the extent to which government actions have translated manifesto commitments into policy and administrative decisions.

As an independent, evidence-based assessment, the report aims to promote transparency, accountability, and informed public dialogue while contributing to improved governance and strengthening future monitoring of manifesto implementation.

1.3 Methodology

The third phase 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. This phase continued to monitor the ministerial performances on projects (Initiated/In-Progress/Completed), service delivery improvements, and enacted legislation.

The assessment applies the OECD-DAC evaluation criteria of **Relevance**, **Efficiency**, and **Effectiveness** to evaluate the consistency of government actions with manifesto commitments. However, it does not assess the longer-term impact and sustainability of these interventions, as these require implementation evidence over a longer period.

Criteria	Explanation	Assessment
Relevance	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]	**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. **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. **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.
Efficiency	Efficiency examines the extent to which the costs of development interventions are justified by their results, taking into account possible alternatives.	It assesses whether an intervention has delivered, or is likely to deliver, its intended outcomes in a timely and cost-effective manner.
Effectiveness	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.	It evaluates by measuring the degree to which stated commitments have been implemented as intended and by identifying gaps between articulated goals and actual achievements.

1.4 Analytical Framework

This report tracks how well the government is delivering on its manifesto by examining five sources of evidence:

1. **Executive Decisions** – Presidential decisions that set overall direction and priorities, translating manifesto promises into government-wide action.
2. **Cabinet Decisions** – Formal policy approvals, resource allocations, and legal/administrative frameworks, based on published Cabinet Office press releases (not internal cabinet papers, which aren't public).
3. **Parliamentary Actions** – Budget approvals, legislation, committee oversight, and policy debates. The National Budget was passed in April 2025 for implementation through December 2025.

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

4. **National Budget Allocations** – Whether funding matches manifesto priorities, assessed against three criteria: *Relevance* (does the allocation match a manifesto commitment), *Efficiency* (is funding adequate for full implementation), and *Effectiveness* (are there clear timelines and measurable targets). As in the third phase of the process, effectiveness was also hard to assess since summary of physical progress data (as opposed to just financial spending data) isn't consistently published across ministries.

5. **Ministerial Performance** – Assessed via Strategic Plans (2025–2029), 2026 Action Plans, and Quarterly Progress Reports (1st Quarter and 2nd Quarter), requested from all 25 ministries via Right to Information (RTI) applications. This phase also observes the "Clean Sri Lanka" initiative, CIABOC's Anti-Corruption Action Plan, the anti-narcotics operation "A Nation United," and the government's response to Cyclonic Storm Ditwah (November 2025).

Each manifesto promise is then classified into one of five categories: **Implemented, Partially Implemented, Initiated, Yet to be Implemented,** or **Gray Area (to be verified).**

1.5 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 Programs (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 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 the first phase, 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 first-quarter progress reports had been received from 15 ministries, and second-quarter reports were not received for the internal review by June 15, 2026.

2

Analysis of Manifesto Promises Orientation

2.1 Manifesto Promises Orientation

An analysis of the **1,333 Promises/Activities** contained in the **'A Thriving Nation – A Beautiful Life'** manifesto shows that they can be classified into three main categories:

- **Policy-Oriented Promises** aimed at strengthening laws, public policies, institutional structures, transparency, accountability, regulatory systems, and governance mechanisms. Such commitments generally can be implemented through policy and institutional reforms rather than large-scale capital investments.

- **Development-Oriented Promises** focused on expanding public services, infrastructure, capabilities, and opportunities that directly benefit citizens. The successful implementation of these commitments requires adequate public financing and sustained investment.

- **Policy and Development-Oriented Promises** combine institutional and governance reforms with the delivery of public services and development outcomes. Their successful implementation depends on both effective policy reforms and adequate financial and institutional capacity.

2.2 Overall Assessment of the Manifesto Promises Orientation

The analysis of the 1,333 manifesto promises/activities across 25 sectors classified the commitments into three broad categories: Policy Oriented, Development Oriented, and Policy and Development Oriented. Approximately one-third of the commitments fall within each category, highlighting the multidimensional nature of the government's manifesto and the different requirements for their implementation.

The findings indicate that policy-oriented commitments, many of which can be implemented primarily through legislative, institutional, regulatory, and administrative measures with relatively limited financial resources, have not been pursued at a satisfactory level. Development-oriented commitments, which require substantial investment and sustained program implementation, have also shown a gap between approved budgetary allocations and tangible, observable progress on the ground. The third category, combining policy reform with development delivery, requires both effective decision-making and adequate financial and institutional capacity, and therefore presents a more complex implementation challenge.

Manifesto Promise Orientation	No. of Manifesto Promises	Percentage (%)
Policy-Oriented	407	31
Development-Oriented	523	39
Both (Policy and Development-Oriented)	403	30
Total	**1333**	**100**

Table 1 Manifesto promises orientation

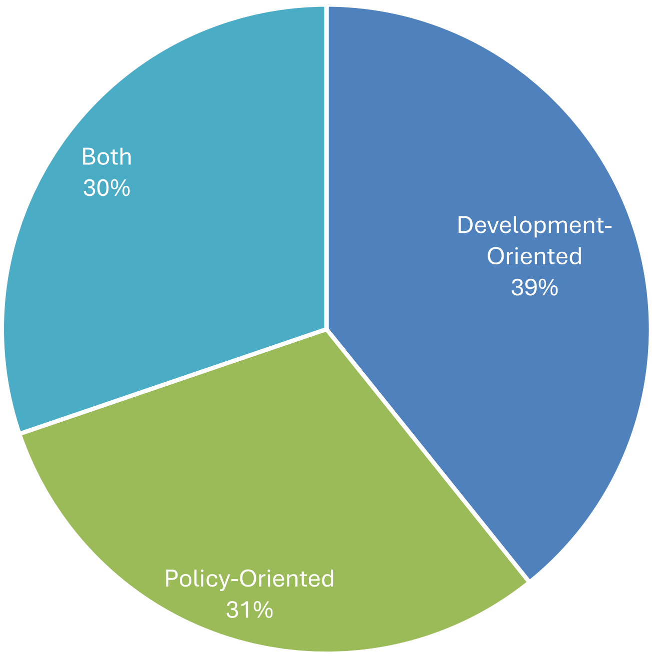


Figure 1Percentages of manifesto promises orientation

The manifesto monitoring analysis identified **1,333 manifesto promises/activities across 25 sectors**, which were classified into three broad categories: **Policy-Oriented, Development-Oriented, and Policy and Development-Oriented**. This classification highlights the multidimensional nature of the government's manifesto and the different implementation requirements associated with each type of commitment. Of the total commitments, **407 (31%) are Policy-Oriented, 523 (39%) are Development-Oriented, and 403 (30%) combine both policy and development dimensions.** The relatively balanced distribution demonstrates that manifesto implementation requires not only the formulation and reform of policies but also their translation into tangible development interventions.

As the government entered its **second year of implementation**, it would be premature to expect all development-oriented commitments to have produced tangible outcomes within the reporting period. Nevertheless, the **first six**

months of 2026 (January–June) provide an important opportunity to assess whether the Government has taken concrete policy and institutional actions towards fulfilling its commitments.

Accordingly, the following analysis focuses primarily on **selected policy measures, institutional initiatives, and early implementation actions undertaken during January–June 2026**, rather than attempting to assess final development outcomes at this stage. This approach provides an indication of the government's direction of implementation while recognizing that many development commitments require a longer timeframe to generate measurable results.

The evidence suggests that there were **significant policy-making developments**, but they were concentrated in a limited number of sectors. Importantly, some are **direct policy actions**, while others are preparatory or implementation measures rather than completed policies.

2.3 Sectorial Analysis

The below table presents a sectoral breakdown of the manifesto's promises, classifying each of the 1,333 identified commitments by their orientation: policy-oriented, development-oriented, or both. Promises are grouped into 39 sectors spanning and the classification allows for an assessment of how different policy areas are approached in the manifesto, whether a given sector is driven primarily by institutional and legal change, by concrete implementation and delivery, or by a combination of both, and enables comparison of relative emphasis across sectors based on the volume and nature of promises made.

No.	Sector	No. of Manifesto Promises			Total
		Policy-Oriented	Development-Oriented	Both	
1	Education	50	8	20	78
2	Health	12	30	13	55
3	Housing	1	11	0	12
4	Sports	10	16	4	30
5	Arts & Culture	9	30	32	71
6	History	5	2	0	7
7	Environment	18	18	29	65
8	Media	6	4	5	15
9	Social Protection	9	15	16	40
10	Labour	17	1	6	24
11	Women & Gender	12	2	6	20
12	Children	2	5	8	15
13	Youth	5	17	15	37
14	Elders	1	5	3	9
15	Persons with Disabilities	9	12	13	34
16	Macro Economy	21	32	30	83
17	Agriculture	4	32	16	52
18	Livestock	2	15	4	21
19	Fisheries	5	43	20	68
20	Digital State	3	9	4	16
21	Research & Development	2	46	7	55
22	Tourism	3	22	15	40
23	Industries	6	34	16	56
24	Mineral Resources	6	20	12	38
25	Energy	5	22	13	40
26	Transportation	4	33	10	47
27	Maritime Business	4	7	4	15
28	ICT	6	15	9	30
29	Land	6	4	13	23
30	Construction	3	8	8	19
31	Constitution	14	0	0	14
32	Public Service	10	0	4	14
33	Judicial System	18	0	5	23
34	Public Security	10	3	1	14
35	Prison	6	0	7	13
36	Drug free Society	3	1	4	8
37	Diplomacy	62	1	22	85
38	National Security	22	0	5	27
39	Universal Citizen	16	0	4	20
	Total	**407**	**523**	**403**	**1333**

Table 2 Sector-wise distribution and classification of the 1,333 manifesto promises

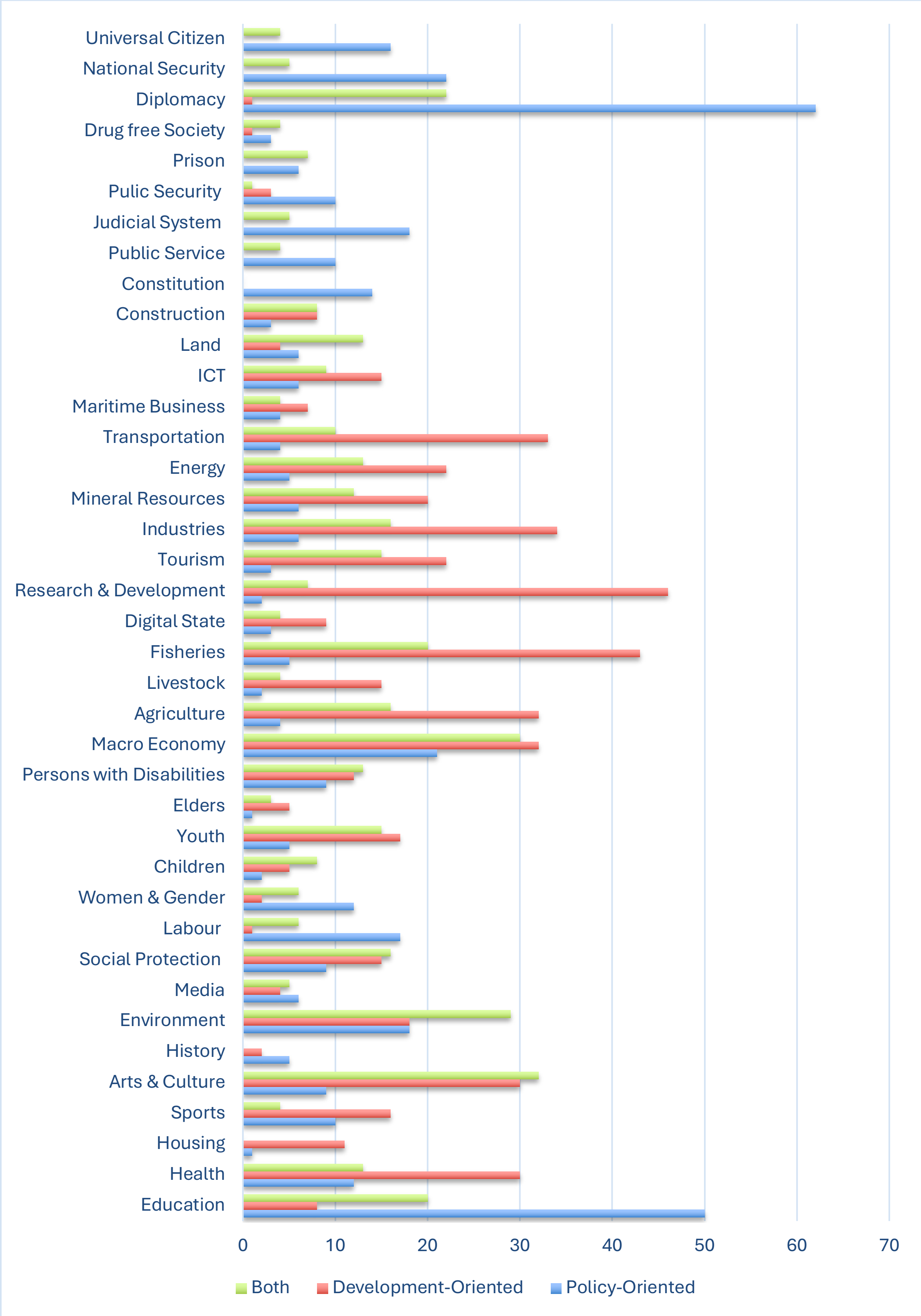


Figure 2 Policy-Oriented, Development-Oriented, and Both (Policy and Development-Oriented) manifesto promises

Looking at the distribution across sectors, Diplomacy, Macro Economy, Education, Arts and Culture, and Fisheries contain the highest number of promises. Together, these five sectors account for roughly 30% of all promises in the manifesto.

There is a clear pattern emerging in governance and rights-based sectors. Areas such as the Constitution, National Security, Universal Citizen, Judicial System, and Diplomacy are predominantly policy-oriented. The Constitution, for example, is entirely policy-oriented, while National Security has 81.5% policy-oriented promises and the Judicial System 78.3%. Sectors such as the Constitution, Public Service, Judicial System, Prison, National Security, and Universal Citizen, contain no development-oriented promises at all.

In contrast, production and service-delivery sectors tend to be more development-oriented. Housing, Research and Development, Livestock, Transportation, and Fisheries have particularly high proportions of development-oriented promises. These commitments are more likely to involve tangible outputs such as infrastructure, facilities, increased production, and improved services. At the same time, several sectors demonstrate a strong combination of policy and development commitments. Land, Prison, Children, Arts and Culture, and Environment have some of the highest proportions of promises classified as "Both." This suggests that these areas require not only institutional or legal reforms, but also concrete implementation and service delivery.

As seen in the table, diplomacy stands out as a particularly notable example. Although it has the second-highest number of promises, with 85 in total, almost all are policy-oriented. There are 62 policy-oriented promises compared with only one development-oriented promise. This reflects the nature of foreign policy, where commitments are more likely to concern international relations, diplomatic positioning, and policy frameworks than physical development.

Overall, it suggests that the manifesto slightly favors tangible, development-oriented commitments, with 523 development promises compared with 407 policy-oriented promises. However, the 403 promises combining both approaches demonstrate that policy reform and practical delivery are often interconnected. Therefore, rather than being dominated by either policy statements or material development pledges, the manifesto presents a relatively balanced combination of institutional reform, policy change, and tangible development commitments.

2.4 Policy Initiatives

The government identifies the public service as the principal instrument for implementing State policies and emphasizes strengthening the capacity of the Sri Lanka Institute of Development Administration (SLIDA) to support policy formulation and enhance the skills of public officers responsible for implementation. It also identifies the establishment of research- and development-based policy foundations as a priority, particularly to integrate history, culture, and heritage into national development strategies.

The government's manifesto sets out a broad range of policy statements and commitments covering public administration, education, health, social protection, the economy, governance, and sectoral development. The key policy statements relevant to the assessment are summarized below.

NKRA	Sector	Aim	Key Commitments
Community	Education	Provide "quality education that contributes to the development of a humane, responsible, and progressive society."	• Developing an education policy that recognizes "culture as a broad and dynamic domain. • Mainstreaming "vocational education" within the national education system to address the gap between education and the labour market. • While safeguarding university autonomy, ensuring that the "University Grants Commission (UGC)" guides the development of academic programs in accordance with national policy priorities.
	Health	Focuses on "increasing public investment in the health sector" and strengthening it as an effective and accessible public service.	• Not specified in the document.
	Sports	Implement a "sports and physical well-being policy" aimed at restoring national pride and promoting a healthy, disciplined population.	• Establishing a "National Sports Commission" mandated to formulate a national policy that ensures standards, equity, and development in sports. • Integrating "sports and physical activity into public health policy."
	Environment	Based on the vision of "a sustainable environment that ensures the healthy existence of biodiversity," prioritizes the sustainable use of natural resources while maintaining a balance between socio-economic development and environmental protection.	• A participatory approach to sustainable environmental management. • Measures to minimize the impacts of climate change. Development of a healthy society with the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values required to maintain a balanced environment. • "Reviewing and implementing national policies on mangrove ecosystems. • Preparing and implementing a "National Solid Waste Management Action Plan," including a review of existing solid waste management plans and related policies. • Raising public awareness of environmental policies and legislation through "print, electronic, and social media."
	Media	Media policy should respond to the specific needs of the country, society, and communities; emphasizes the importance of establishing an appropriate policy framework.	• Review existing media laws, regulations, agreements, and ethical standards, with particular attention to media freedom, in order to develop an effective national media policy.
Social	Pension	"Development and implementation of a comprehensive pension policy applicable to all workers in the country."	• Not separately listed; the aim itself is the commitment.

NKRA	Sector	Aim	Key Commitments
	Labour	"Formulation and implementation of a comprehensive labour policy."	• Recognizes the economic and social value of "unpaid care work" and proposes that State policies should acknowledge and appropriately account for such work within the national economy.
	Women	Prioritise "public services and policy interventions that reduce the pressures and burdens faced by women."	• Developing policies that address women's economic and social needs. • Enacting laws and policies to ensure the "gradual achievement of at least 50% representation of women in political institutions."
	Children	Policy on "child protection and welfare" adopts a comprehensive approach to safeguarding children in Sri Lanka.	• Emphasizes increased budgetary allocations, improved health and safety measures, legal reforms, and the advancement of educational opportunities for children.
	Persons with Disabilities	Recognizes and upholds the rights of "persons with disabilities" to participate in society on an equal basis, including access to education and vocational training, employment, transportation, and public services; seeks to create an economically and socially inclusive society.	• Enforcing the allocation of "3% of employment opportunities in the public and private sectors for persons with disabilities," with the intention of gradually increasing the quota to "5%. • Establishing an "online information centre" to provide families of persons with disabilities with access to information and resources relating to government policies and services.
Economy	Economic Policy	Identifies the development of a "production-based economy" as a central objective and guiding principle, focusing on mineral resources, information and software technology, tourism, agriculture, marine resources, and creative industries (art, cinema, literature, music, theatre).	• Identifies "science and technology as key drivers" of the proposed production-based economy. • Focuses on "economic democracy," integrated with a human resource development plan and a technological development roadmap to promote equitable participation in economic activities.
	Tax Policy	Establish "a dedicated institutional unit for the formulation and implementation of tax policy."	• Including a specialized section dealing with international transactions.
	Monetary Policy	Stabilizing "policy interest rates" to promote stability in financial markets, including the foreign exchange market.	• The aim itself constitutes the commitment.
	Trade	Amend the "import policy."	• Protection of local production. • Food security. • Access to raw materials required for production. • Priority for essential and investment goods. • Competitive access to imports.

NKRA	Sector	Aim	Key Commitments
	Agriculture	Formulated taking into account prevailing conditions, with the expectation that implementation will increase agricultural productivity and incomes; overall objective is to improve agricultural productivity, farmer incomes, and agriculture's contribution to the national economy.	• Increasing annual national tea production to "over 400 million kilograms." • Increasing coconut productivity to "80 coconuts per tree per year." • Increasing rubber productivity to "1,300 kilograms per hectare per year." • Achieving a paddy yield of "6 metric tons per hectare."
	Fisheries	Develop and manage the fisheries sector in a "sustainable and environmentally responsible manner," using scientific and practical approaches.	• Seeks to increase fish production, ensure the availability of fish products to consumers at reasonable prices, and improve the livelihoods and living standards of people engaged in the fisheries sector.
	Tourism	Establish a "Tourism Policy Formulation Council (TPFC)" to support the development and formulation of policies for the tourism industry.	• The aim itself constitutes the commitment.
	Industrial Policy	Implement a "national industrial policy framework" providing essential institutional, financial, technical, and market support for industrial development.	• The aim itself constitutes the commitment.
	Digital and Artificial Intelligence	"Develop and implement a national Artificial Intelligence (AI) policy" to promote ethical use of AI, protect data privacy, and facilitate the integration of AI technologies across State institutions.	• Envisages ensuring access to "State services in all national languages."
	Energy	Energy policy and action plan aim to promote "socio-economic development and expand Sri Lanka's participation in the global economy while protecting the environment and safeguarding resources for future generations."	• The aim itself constitutes the commitment.
	Maritime	Propose an "integrated maritime policy and governance framework" to ensure the sustainable use of maritime resources.	• Seeks to provide balanced opportunities for industry development while incorporating the contributions of key stakeholders, including ports, shipping and nautical companies, and maritime specialists, with the objective of positioning Sri Lanka as a leading maritime nation.
	Telecommunication	Policy framework covers the broader "communications sector," including wired and wireless telecommunications, broadcasting, cinema, and entertainment.	• Not separately listed; the aim itself is the commitment.

NKRA	Sector	Aim	Key Commitments
	Land	Propose the "management and conservation of land resources" in accordance with land-use policies and principles.	• Preparation of "local development plans aligned with the National Land Use Planning Policy."
Governance	Foreign Policy	Grounded in Sri Lanka's tradition of "non-alignment," with national interests identified as the cornerstone of foreign policy. Emphasis: a non-aligned and balanced diplomatic approach; strategic foreign policy based on understanding of global/regional geopolitical dynamics; a balanced security posture; economic independence; protection and promotion of Sri Lanka's national interests.	• Developing clear guidelines through a "comprehensive foreign policy document" outlining strategic priorities, objectives, and expected conduct of Sri Lankan representatives abroad, with periodic review. • "Decentralizing diplomatic initiatives" by empowering Sri Lankan missions abroad to take initiatives within the overall foreign policy framework, subject to appropriate oversight and accountability. • Making "science, technology, and innovation" fundamental tools of Sri Lanka's foreign policy. • Maintaining a firm policy of opposing "foreign military bases, similar military agreements, and militarization initiatives in the Indian Ocean."
	Security Policy	Strengthening "national information and cybersecurity systems" and empowering the relevant institutions responsible for their management.	• Envisages the development of a "strong, secure, efficient, and interconnected national information network," while addressing emerging cybersecurity challenges.
	National Language Policy	"Full implementation of the National Language Policy recognized under the 16th Amendment to the Constitution."	• Including the provision of necessary resources, technical facilities, and institutional capacity.
	Governance	Identifies the need to overcome longstanding social and structural divisions and create a "unified Sri Lankan identity that accommodates all ethnic and social communities," including Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim, and plantation communities.	• Proposes a range of "material, structural, and institutional interventions" to address these divisions. • Emphasizes the participation of "all communities in national development," from the formulation of a production-based economy to ensuring the fair and equitable distribution of its benefits.

Table 3 Policy initiatives during January-June 2026

The evidence suggests that there were significant policy-making developments, but they were concentrated in a limited number of sectors. Importantly, some are direct policy actions, while others are preparatory or implementation measures rather than completed policies during January-June 2026 as follows:

Policy Area	Significant development during January–June 2026	Source
Education	National Steering Committee for Education Reforms established.	Cabinet Decision
	Micro-Credentials National Policy and Framework initiated.	Cabinet Decision
Environment	National Policy on Green Hydrogen	Cabinet Decision
	Updated the Green Reporting System	Cabinet Decision
	A National Action Plan for Human-Elephant Conflict was developed.	Cabinet Decision
Women	Women Empowerment Targeted Program approved	Cabinet Decision
	Legislative reforms on women and children initiated	Policies, Regulations and Guidelines
Children	Initiated drafting the New Child Rights Act	Cabinet Decision
	Domestic violence legislation and other child-protection legislation proposed	Cabinet Decision
Fisheries	National Policy on Fisheries and Aquaculture updated, redrafted and approved for implementation	Cabinet Decision
Digital & AI	Preparation of a Digital Economy Bill	Cabinet Decision
	AI/digital transformation agenda advanced	Cabinet Decision
Energy	National Policy on Green Hydrogen	Cabinet Decision
	Energy-sector reforms and transfer plan progressed	Cabinet Decision
Land	Digitalization of 3.5 million land plots and integration into the Land Information System	Cabinet Decision
National Language	Some implementation-related actions, but limited evidence of a major new policy during the period	
Governance	National Commission for Research and Development established	Cabinet Decision

Table 4 Significant policy making initiatives during Janury-June 2026

Significant highlights

- **Education:** A **National Steering Committee for Education Reforms** was appointed in March 2026. In April, the Cabinet also approved cooperation with the Commonwealth of Learning to formulate and implement a **National Policy and Framework on Micro-Credentials**, linking higher education and technical/vocational education with lifelong learning and employability.
- **Fisheries:** This is probably one of the **strongest examples of direct policy implementation.** In January 2026, Cabinet approved implementation of the **National Policy on Fisheries and Aquaculture**, noting that the policy had been updated and redrafted to align with the Government's **A Thriving Nation – A Beautiful Life framework.**
- **Women and Children:** Cabinet approved a package of proposed legislative reforms in January 2026, including a new Child Rights Act, new legislation on domestic violence, foster-care legislation, and amendments to several existing child-protection laws. In June, the **Women Empowerment Targeted Program** was also approved as a 2026 Budget measure.

- **Environment:** The first half of 2026 saw several policy-level initiatives, including the **National Policy on Green Hydrogen**, updated national Green Reporting Guidelines, and preparation of a National Action Plan on Human-Elephant Conflict.
- **Digital/AI:** In June, Cabinet approved the preparation of a **Digital Economy Bill** to accelerate digital transformation and development of the digital economy. This is relevant to the manifesto's digital policy commitments, although it should be classified as **policy/legal development rather than full implementation**.
- **Land:** Cabinet approved the digitalization of approximately **3.5 million land plots** held in hard copy by the Survey Department and their integration into the Land Information System. This is a significant institutional and digital-governance development relevant to the manifesto's land-management objectives.

3

Cabinet Decisions and Manifesto Alignment (from January-June 2026)

3.1 Overview of Cabinet Decision Analysis

As part of the manifesto implementation monitoring process, Cabinet decisions were systematically analyzed against the commitments contained in the Government's manifesto. The monitoring exercise is conducted every six months to assess the extent to which government decisions align with manifesto promises.

The first phase of monitoring covered the period from November 2024 to June 2025, during which 299 Cabinet decisions were reviewed. The second phase covered July to December 2025, analyzing 457 Cabinet decisions. This third phase covers the period from January to June 2026, during which 381 Cabinet decisions were examined. Compared with the previous six-month period, the number of Cabinet decisions declined from 457 to 381, representing a reduction of 76 decisions (16.6%).

To assess the degree of alignment between Cabinet decisions and manifesto commitments, the decisions were initially classified using a four-tier relevance rating system (Highly Relevant, Relevant, Partially Relevant, and Irrelevant) based on nationally recognized development evaluation principles. In the Phase III, the monitoring exercise rallies on below classification:

1. Highly Relevant
2. Relevant
3. Partially Relevant
4. Not in the Manifesto
5. Statutory

Based on stakeholder feedback received following the publication of the first two monitoring reports, the classification framework was expanded in this third phase to improve analytical accuracy and transparency. The 'Irrelevant' category was removed from the analysis and it has been streamed into the 'Not in the Manifesto' category. The Not in Manifesto category captures policy decisions that, while significant, do not correspond to any explicit commitment contained in the election manifesto.

The Statutory category includes routine administrative or legally mandated Cabinet decisions that are not directly associated with manifesto commitments. These decisions were identified separately in previous reports and excluded from the substantive analysis of manifesto implementation. However, the cabinet decisions (24 out of 381) falling into this category were excluded from the cabinet decisions analysis.

The findings indicate that 107 out of 357 Cabinet Decisions (30%) fell under the Not in Manifesto category, making it the largest single category during the reporting period. Highly Relevant decisions accounted for 26% of the total, followed by Relevant decisions at 23% and Partially Relevant decisions at 22%. The introduction of the additional categories provides a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of Cabinet Decisions and enables a clearer distinction between manifesto-related actions, statutory obligations, and policy initiatives that extend beyond the commitments made in the election manifesto.

No. of Cabinet Decisions	Relevance Status	Percentage (%)
92	Highly Relevant	26
81	Relevant	23
77	Partially Relevant	21
107	Not in the Manifesto	30
357		**100**

Table 5 Summary of the relevance assessment

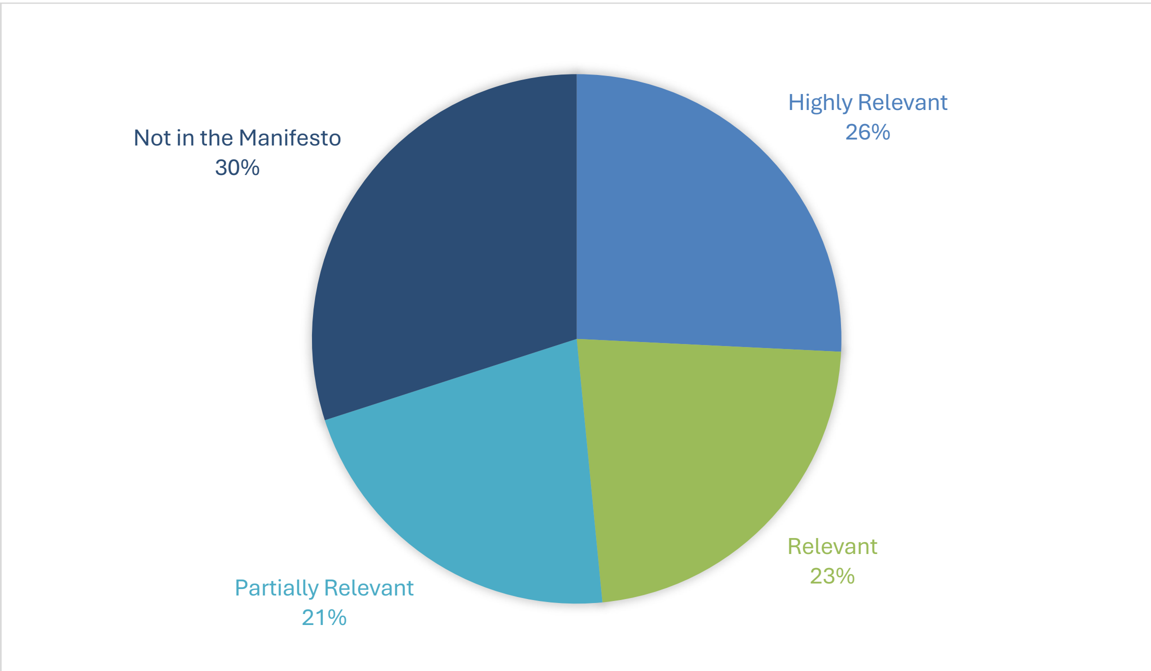


Figure 3 Percentages of the relevance of alignment to the manifesto promises

3.2 Ministerial Cabinet Decisions

No.	Ministry/Entity	Highly Relevant	Relevant	Partially Relevant	Not on the Manifesto	Total
1	Agriculture, Livestock, Land and Irrigation	7	8	6	8	**29**
2	Buddhasasana, Religious and Cultural Affairs	0	2	1	6	**9**
3	Defence	1	2	3	0	**6**
4	Digital Economy	1	2	2	2	**7**
5	Education, Higher Education and Vocational Education	4	5	6	5	**20**
6	Energy	9	1	6	1	**17**
7	Environment	4	5	2	0	**11**
8	Finance, Planning and Economic Development	13	8	13	22	**56**
9	Fisheries, Aquatic and Ocean Resources	0	0	2	1	**3**
10	Foreign Affairs, Foreign Employment and Tourism	2	2	3	0	**7**
11	Health and Mass Media	5	7	7	9	**28**
12	Housing, Construction and Water Supply	6	1	2	8	**17**
13	Industry and Entrepreneurship Development	3	2	3	2	**10**
14	Justice and National Integration	1	3	1	0	**5**
15	Labour	2	3	0	2	**7**
16	Plantation and Community Infrastructure	0	1	0	1	**2**
17	Ports and Civil Aviation	4	2	3	5	**14**
18	Public Administration, Provincial Councils and Local Government	2	2	2	6	**12**
19	Public Security and Parliamentary Affairs	1	3	1	3	**8**
20	Rural Development, Social Security and Community Empowerment	2	1	0	0	**3**
21	Science and Technology	0	1	1	1	**3**
22	Trade, Commerce, Food Security and Cooperative Development	2	1	0	0	**3**
23	Transport, Highways and Urban Development	15	9	10	17	**51**
24	Women and Child Affairs	5	1	0	0	**6**
25	Youth Affairs and Sports	0	2	0	1	**3**
26	President	3	6	2	5	**16**
27	Prime Minister	0	1	1	2	**4**
	Total	**92**	**81**	**77**	**107**	**357**

Table 6 Ministry/Entity-wise distribution of cabinet decisions by relevance to the government's manifesto

During the reporting period, the Cabinet of Ministers considered a total of 381 Cabinet decisions and 24 decisions were excluded which are statutory purposes. 357 Cabinet papers were submitted by line ministries, while two or more ministries jointly submitted 07 Cabinet papers. In addition, 16 Cabinet papers were submitted by the Executive President, and 4 were submitted by the Prime Minister.

The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development accounted for the highest number of Cabinet decisions, representing 15.7% of the total decisions. This was followed by the Ministry of Transport, Highways and Urban Development, which accounted for 14.3 %. The Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, Land and Irrigation and the Ministry of Health and Mass Media each accounted for approximately 8.1% of the total Cabinet decisions.

This distribution indicates that Cabinet decision-making during the reporting period was particularly concentrated in the areas of economic and financial management, transport and infrastructure development, agriculture and land, and health and mass media.

4

Parliamentary Actions Review

4.1 Monitoring of Parliamentary Acts enacted during January-June 2026

During the first six months of 2026, Parliament enacted 15 Acts covering a wide range of areas, including governance reforms, economic regulation, taxation, financial management, social protection, dispute resolution, and environmental governance. The assessment of these Acts against the Government's Manifesto commitments indicates that the majority have varying degrees of relevance, while some represent broader governance and institutional reforms beyond specific manifesto commitments.

Among the 15 Acts, Acts No. 1, No. 3, No. 4, and No. 6 were not directly linked to specific manifesto commitments. However, some of these laws contribute to broader economic governance objectives. For example, the Colombo Port City Economic Commission (Amendment) Act, No. 1 of 2026 supports improved regulatory oversight, transparency, and investment promotion, while the Institute of Real Estate Professionals, Sri Lanka Act, No. 6 of 2026 strengthens professional regulation and accountability in the real estate sector.

Several Acts demonstrated direct alignment with manifesto commitments. The Parliamentary Pensions (Repeal) Act, No. 5 of 2026 directly fulfilled the commitment to abolish parliamentary pensions, contributing to fiscal responsibility and public confidence in governance.

The Microfinance and Credit Regulatory Authority Act, No. 9 of 2026, directly responds to the manifesto commitment to regulate predatory microfinance practices and protect vulnerable borrowers, particularly women. However, concerns have been raised by stakeholders regarding whether the Act sufficiently prioritizes borrower protection and debt relief, as opposed to focusing primarily on institutional regulation. This is particularly significant given that the manifesto specifically committed to "taking measures to alleviate the burden of predatory microfinance loans with high interest rates on women" (p. 44).

Economic and fiscal reform-related legislation showed significant alignment with manifesto commitments. The Social Security Contribution Levy (Amendment) Act, No. 10 of 2026 and the Inland Revenue (Amendment) Act, No. 11 of 2026 strengthened the tax administration framework and supported efforts to broaden the tax base. Nevertheless, concerns remain regarding transparency in the utilization of SSCL revenue and whether it is clearly linked to social security objectives. The Value Added Tax (Amendment) Act, No. 14 of 2026 was assessed as partially relevant, as it contributes to tax reform and administration but does not fully address the manifesto commitment to introduce differentiated VAT categories and rates.

In the areas of governance, justice, and institutional reform, the Universities (Amendment) Act, No. 2 of 2026 was considered partially relevant, as its effectiveness in reducing political influence in Vice-Chancellor appointments depends on the implementation of revised procedures. The Mediation (Civil and Commercial Disputes) Act, No. 13 of 2026 was directly relevant as it strengthens alternative dispute resolution mechanisms and supports faster resolution of commercial disputes. The Rescue, Rehabilitation and Insolvency (Corporate and Personal) Act, No. 12 of 2026 was considered indirectly relevant, as it improves debt resolution mechanisms but does not directly address sovereign debt sustainability analysis or debt restructuring processes.

Maritime and environmental-related legislation demonstrated mixed relevance. The Judicature (Amendment) Act, No. 8 of 2026 partially supported the manifesto commitment by strengthening maritime judicial capacity and dispute resolution, although it did not directly address marine environmental conservation. Similarly, the Poisons, Opium and Dangerous Drugs (Amendment) Act, No. 7 of 2026 had limited relevance, mainly through strengthening maritime law enforcement against illicit activities rather than marine protection. The National Environmental (Amendment) Act, No. 15 of 2026 was directly aligned with environmental commitments by strengthening environmental regulations and addressing legal gaps. However, discussions during the legislative process highlighted issues related to the distribution of environmental governance powers between Parliament and Provincial Councils.

Overall, the analysis indicates that Parliament has enacted several laws that contribute to the implementation of manifesto commitments, particularly in anti-corruption, taxation, social protection, governance, dispute resolution, and environmental reform. However, the degree of alignment varies, with some Acts requiring further assessment of implementation outcomes to determine whether legislative reforms translate into the intended policy objectives. In addition, timely availability and updating of parliamentary legislative records remain important for effective monitoring and evaluation of parliamentary performance.

No.	Parliamentary Action (Act)	Certified Date	Manifesto Promise/s	Source
1	Colombo Port City Economic Commission (Amendment) Act, No. 1 Of 2026	20 Jan. 2026	Not linked to the Manifesto	1/2026 : Colombo Port City Economic Commission (Amendment)
2	Universities (Amendment) Act, No. 2 Of 2026	17 Feb. 2026	Instead of appointing vice-chancellors based on political connections, a new method will be implemented to uphold the honour of universities (p.13)	2/2026 : Universities (Amendment)
3	Licensing Of Container Depot Operators Act, No. 3 Of 2026	17 Feb. 2026	Not linked to the Manifesto	3/2026 : LICENSING OF CONTAINER DEPOT OPERATORS
4	Licensing Of Shipping Agents, Freight Forwarders, Non-Vessel Operating Common Carriers and Container Operators (Amendment) Act, No. 4 Of 2026	17 Feb. 2026	Not linked to the Manifesto	Act
5	Parliamentary Pensions (Repeal) Act, No. 5 Of 2026	17 Feb. 2026	Abolishing the pension offered to MPs after 05 years (p. 109)	5/2026 : Parliamentary Pensions (Repeal)
6	Institute Of Real Estate Professionals, Sri Lanka Act, No. 6 Of 2026	06 March 2026	Not linked to the Manifesto	6/2026 : Institute of Real Estate Professionals, Sri Lanka
7	Poisons, Opium and Dangerous Drugs (Amendment) Act, No. 7 Of 2026	06 March 2026	Protection and conservation of a stable marine environment in the sea, and the ensuring of the maritime judiciary powers which enacts the maritime law against challenges to the development of the maritime industry (p. 126)	7/2026 : Poisons, Opium and Dangerous Drugs (Amendment)
8	Judicature (Amendment) Act, No. 8 Of 2026	20 March 2026	Protection and conservation of a stable marine environment in the sea, and the ensuring of the maritime judiciary powers which enacts the maritime law against challenges to the development of the maritime industry (p. 126)	8/2026 : Judicature (Amendment)
9	Microfinance And Credit Regulatory Authority No. 09 Of 2026	09 April 2026	Taking measures to alleviate the burden of predatory microfinance loans with high interest rates on women (p. 44) Provide relief to deprived parties after reviewing microfinance loans provided in violation of legal provisions and guidelines given (p. 58)	9/2026 : Microfinance and Credit Regulatory Authority
10	Social Security Contribution Levy (Amendment) Act, No. 10 Of 2026	17 June 2026	Make required legal reforms to enhance efficiency in tax administration (p. 56) Broaden the tax base in line with tax principles (p. 57)	10/2026 : Social Security Contribution Levy (Amendment)
11	Inland Revenue (Amendment) No.11 of 2026	03 June 2026	Make required legal reforms to enhance efficiency in tax administration (p. 56) Broaden the tax base in line with tax principles (p. 57)	Act

No.	Parliamentary Action (Act)	Certified Date	Manifesto Promise/s	Source
12	Rescue, Rehabilitation and Insolvency (Corporate and Personal)	30 June 2026	Prepare an alternative Debt Sustainability Analysis (DSA) aiming to maintain debt sustainability and to keep the interest at a bearable level for the purpose of using it as and when necessary, in pursuit of debt restructuring engagements (p. 59)	12/2026 : RESCUE, REHABILITATION AND INSOLVENCY (CORPO-RATE AND PERSONAL)
13	Mediation (Civil and Commercial Disputes), No.13 of 2026	30 June 2026	Reinforce the conflict resolution framework to accelerate the resolution of commercial disputes through courts and arbitration (p. 84)	13/2026 : Mediation (Civil And Commercial Disputes)
14	Value Added Tax (Amendment), No.14 of 2026	30 June 2026	Categorize goods applicable for VAT and introduce a different tax rate for each category (p. 57) Broaden the tax base in line with tax principles (p. 57) Categorize goods applicable for VAT and introduce a different tax rate for each category (p. 57)	14/2026 : Value Added Tax (Amendment)
15	National Environmental (Amendment) Act, No. 15 of 2026	21 July 2026	Reviewing and update addressing weaknesses, deficiencies, and gaps in existing environmental regulations also aligning with international agreements and local environmental laws (p. 33)	15/2026 : National En-vironmental (Amend-ment)

Table 7 Parliamentary actions during January-June 2026

4.2 Committee Actions in the Parliament towards manifesto implementation

In addition to enacting legislation to advance key governance-related commitments in the manifesto, the Parliament of Sri Lanka has established three committees to examine and recommend reforms relating to electoral and democratic governance.

1. **Conducting the postponed Provincial Council and Local Government elections to strengthen citizens' participation in governance,**
2. **Introducing a new parliamentary electoral system, and**
3. **Safeguarding the voting rights of Sri Lankan citizens residing within and outside the country.**

These committees address the following areas:

1. **Committee on Provincial Council and Local Government Elections:** This committee was appointed to examine matters relating to the conduct of Provincial Council elections, which have remained postponed for an extended period. Its work includes reviewing existing legal and administrative barriers and recommending measures to facilitate the timely conduct of elections, thereby strengthening citizens' participation in local governance.
2. **Committee on Reforming the Parliamentary Electoral System:** This committee was appointed to examine the existing parliamentary electoral system and recommend reforms aimed at establishing a more effective, representative, and accountable electoral framework. Its work focuses on addressing longstanding concerns

relating to representation, electoral processes, and the relationship between elected representatives and voters.

3. **Committee on Safeguarding the Voting Rights of Sri Lankan Citizens Abroad and Migrants:** This committee was appointed to explore mechanisms to protect and facilitate the voting rights of Sri Lankan citizens residing within and outside the country. It is expected to examine possible legal and administrative arrangements to enable greater participation of overseas and migrant citizens in the democratic process.

The establishment of these committees demonstrates parliamentary engagement with manifesto commitments relating to democratic participation, electoral reform, and inclusive governance. However, at the evaluation stage, their establishment and ongoing deliberations represent process-level progress rather than the fulfilment of the respective commitments. The extent to which these initiatives contribute to the achievement of the manifesto promises will ultimately depend on the recommendations of the committees, subsequent legislative and policy measures, and the effective implementation of those measures.

5

Implementation Assessment of the National Budget 2026

5.1 Overview of the Policy Direction of the National Budget 2026

The National Budget is the primary instrument through which a government translates its political manifesto into actionable programs 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.

The first phase of the monitoring focused primarily on outputs, in view of the limited monitoring period from November 2024 to May 2025. The second phase covered the period from June to December 2025, was intended to track ministerial performance in translating manifesto promises into implementation outcomes. In the second phase, the monitoring team sought to obtain second quarter (April–June 2025), third quarter (July-September 2025), and fourth quarter (October-December 2025) progress reports and Annual Action (Implementation) Plans-2025 along with Strategic Plans (2025-2029) from all 25 ministries through Right to Information (RTI) requests.

In the third phase, the team continued to obtain Strategic Plans, Annual Action (Implementation) Plans for 2026, and first-quarter (January–March 2026) and second-quarter (April–June 2026) progress reports from the 25 ministries. Only one Strategic Plan, from the Ministry of Buddhasasana, Religious and Cultural Affairs, was received. Annual Action (Implementation) Plans for 2026 were received from 15 ministries, while plans were partially received from two additional ministries. First-quarter progress reports were received from 15 of the 25 ministries, comprising 11 complete and 04 partial submissions. For the second quarter, progress reports were received from 10 ministries, comprising 06 complete and 04 partial submission. Given the gaps in the submission of progress reports, the assessment was based primarily on the reports received, supplemented, where possible, by other available official documents and information. Accordingly, the findings reflect the available evidence on the progress made by ministries in implementing their respective manifesto commitments, while recognizing the limitations arising from incomplete reporting and gaps in available information. The following table provides an overview of the status of the collection of the required documents from the 25 ministries.

No.	Ministry	Annual Action (Implementation) Plan-2026	Quarterly Progress Report (QPR) 2026	
			Q1	Q2
1	Housing, Construction, and Water Supply-**Water Supply**	Received	Received	Not Received
	Housing, Construction, and Water Supply-**Housing**	Received	Received	Received
	Housing, Construction, and Water Supply-**Construction**	Not Received	Received	Not Received
2	Transport, Highways, and Urban Development-**Transport**	Received	Not Received	Not Received
	Transport, Highways, and Urban Development-**Highways**	Received	Received	Received
	Transport, Highways, and Urban Development-**Urban Development**	Received	Not Received	Not Received
3	Ports and Civil Aviation	Received	Received	Received
4	Environment	Received	Received	Not Received
5	Plantation and Community Infrastructure-**Plantation**	Received	Received	Not Received
	Plantation and Community Infrastructure-**Community Infrastructure**	Received	Received	Not Received
6	Women and Child Affairs	Not Received	Not Received	Not Received
7	Rural Development, Social Security, and Community Empowerment	Received	Received	Not Received
8	Agriculture, Livestock, Land and Irrigation-**Agriculture**	Not Received	Received	Received
	Agriculture, Livestock, Land and Irrigation-**Livestock**	Not Received	Received	Received
	Agriculture, Livestock, Land and Irrigation-**Land**	Received	Received	Not Received
	Agriculture, Livestock, Land and Irrigation-**Irrigation**	Not Received	Not Received	Not Received
9	Science and Technology	Received	Received	Not Received
10	Energy	Received	Received	Received
11	Justice and National Integration	Received	Received	Not Received
12	Education, Higher Education and Vocational Education-**Education**	Not Received	Not Received	Not Received
	Education, Higher Education and Vocational Education-**Higher Education**	Received	Received	Received
	Education, Higher Education and Vocational Education-**Vocational Education**	Received	Not Received	Not Received

No.	Ministry	Annual Action (Implementation) Plan-2026	Quarterly Progress Report (QPR) 2026	
			Q1	Q2
13	Trade, Commerce, Food Security and Cooperative Development	Not Received	Not Received	Not Received
14	Health and Mass Media	Received	Received	Not Received
15	Buddhasasana, Religious and Cultural Affairs	Received	Received	Received
16	Public Security and Parliamentary Affairs	Received	Received	Not Received
17	Foreign Affairs, Foreign Employment and Tourism	Not Received	Not Received	Not Received
18	Fisheries, Aquatic and Ocean Resources	Received	Received	Received
19	Public Administration, Provincial Councils and Local Government	Not Received	Received	Received
20	Labour	Received	Not Received	Not Received
21	Industry and Entrepreneurship Development	Not Received	Not Received	Not Received
22	Digital Economy	Not Received	Not Received	Not Received
23	Youth Affairs and Sports	Received	Received	Received
24	Defense	Not Received	Not Received	Not Received
25	Finance, planning and economic development	Received	Not Received	Not Received

Table 8 Status of collecting required documents from 25 ministries

5.2 National Budget 2026 and Manifesto Commitments

Budget proposals were introduced in 2026 to operationalize 1333 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.

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 8,980 billion was made for all Ministries, Special Spending Unites, with 64% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 36% is allocated for capital expenditure.[2] The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development has the highest budgetary allocation among all other ministries and accounts for approximately 56% of the total budget. This includes the debt repayments.

2. Budget Estimates 2026, Volume I, Fiscal Year 2026, https://www.treasury.gov.lk/api/file/f5514bb0-58d9-4a6b-8bd5-0684966285e0

5.3 Assessment of Ministerial Performance

At the end of the 2nd quarter of 2026, total expenditure of the government was Rs. 4,111.16 billion, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 46%.

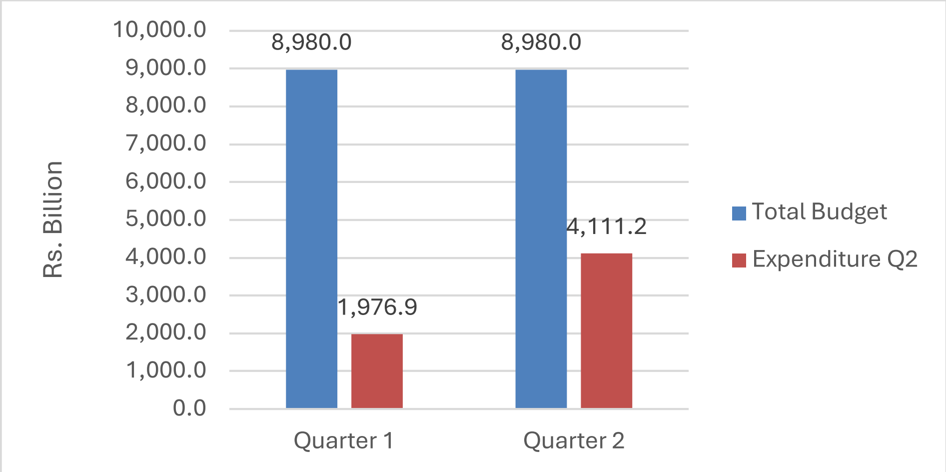


Figure 4 Total expenditure Vs. Budget 2026

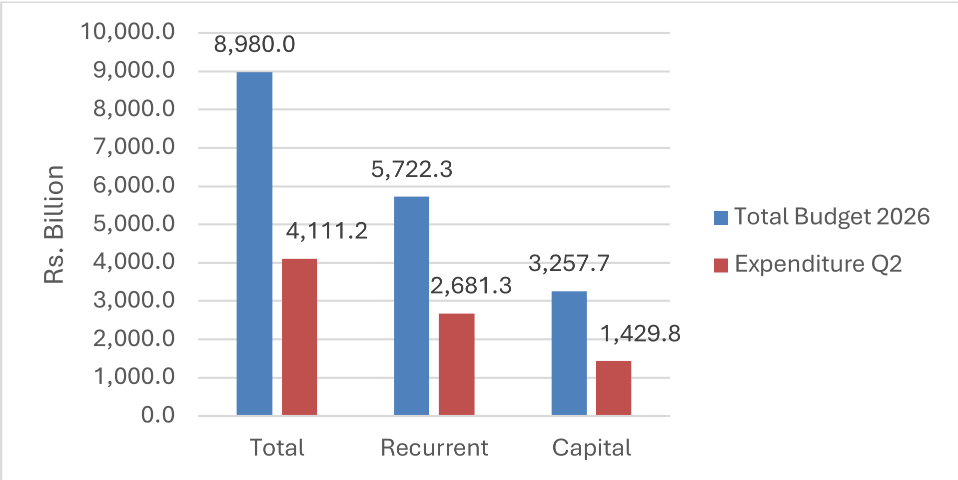


Figure 5 Recurrent and Capital expenditure progress at the end of 2nd Quarter

Government expenditure accelerated during the second quarter, with cumulative spending increasing from Rs. 1,976.94 billion at the end of Q1 to Rs. 4,111.16 billion by the end of Q2. However, this amounted to approximately 46% of the Rs. 8,980 billion annual budget, remaining below the 50% level that would indicate an even pace of expenditure during the first half of the year. While expenditure typically increases as ministries progress with procurement and project implementation, the current pace warrants continued monitoring during the second half of the fiscal year. The expenditure pattern also indicates a slightly higher execution rate for recurrent expenditure than for capital expenditure. Recurrent expenditure reached Rs. 2,681.34 billion, or 47% of its Rs. 5,722.26 billion allocation, while capital expenditure stood at Rs. 1,429.82 billion, representing 44% of the Rs. 3,257.74 billion allocation. From a manifesto-monitoring perspective, the lower execution of capital expenditure is significant, as many development-oriented commitments depend on capital investments and project implementation. If this gap persists, it could affect the timely delivery of development-related manifesto commitments, particularly during the remaining half of the fiscal year.

Education, Higher Education and Vocational Education

Institutional Planning

The Ministry of Education has the highest number of commitments among all sectors and accounts for approximately 8% of the total activities. According to the National Policy Framework, the number of education-related commitments has been identified as 108 out of the total 1,385 activities listed.

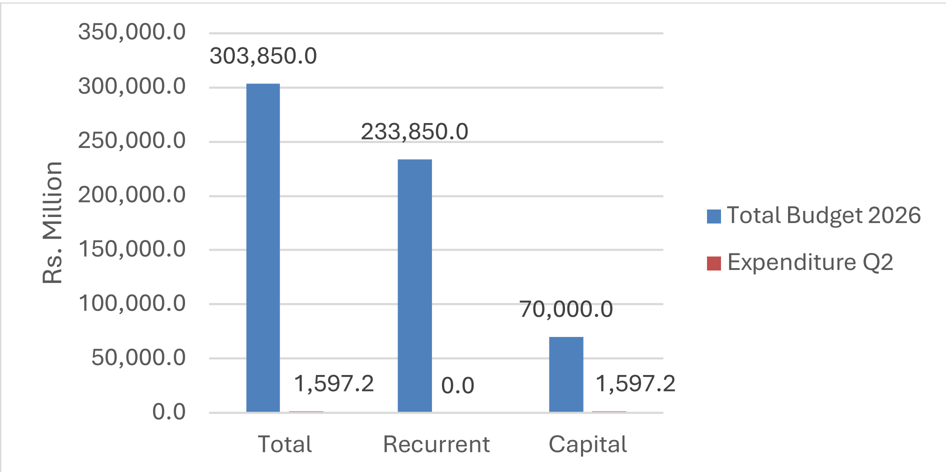
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 has been approved. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 131 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Higher & Vocational Education Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Higher Education Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Higher Education Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 303,850 million was made for the education sector, and its 3.38% of the total budget, with 77% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 23% is allocated for capital expenditure.



In comparison, the 2025 Budget allocation for the 2026 Budget, there is a small improvement in the total fund allocation from 3.09% to 3.38% from the total allocation.

Progress

At the end of the 2nd quarter of 2026, Higher education sector expenditure was Rs. 1,597.2 million, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 8% for capital expenditure. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Construction of Sewerage Treatment Plant for Hostels, University of Vavuniya - 5%
- Renovations of Hostels, University of Peradeniya - 3%
- Scholarships for Undergraduate Degree Programs at High-ranking Universities - 13%
- Providing Hostel Facilities for University Students - 5%
- Construction of a Professorial Unit, University of Moratuwa - 1%
- Establishment of a Professorial Unit in the Eastern University at Hospital Batticaloa - 1%
- Establishment of a Laboratory Complex at Agriculture faculty, University of Ruhuna - 4%
- Digital Transformation of the University of Kelaniya - 5%

Health and Mass Media

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of health-related commitments has been identified as 94 out of the total 1,385 activities listed which account for approximately 7% of the total activities.

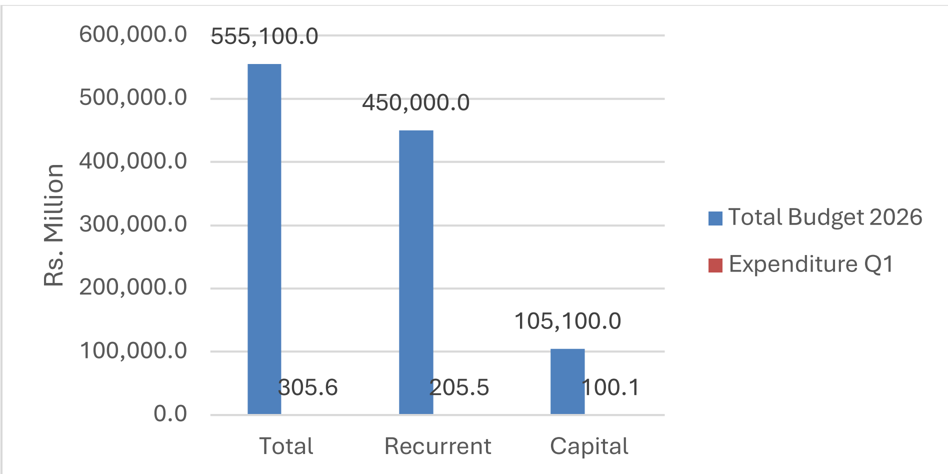
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 has been approved. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, there are 143 projects and programs adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Mass Media Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Mass Media Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 555,100.0 million was made for the health Ministry, and its 6% of the total budget, with 81% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 19% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

In 2026, Rs. 305.63 million was spent on the Mass Media sector during the 1st quarter, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 10% for the Mass Media sector. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Digitalization of Terrestrial Broadcasting Project (DTTB) - 25%
- Awarding scholarships for training Programs (ASIDISI) - 16%
- Establishment of National Institute of Media - Table the draft bill in the parliament

Housing, Construction, and Water Supply

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 33 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

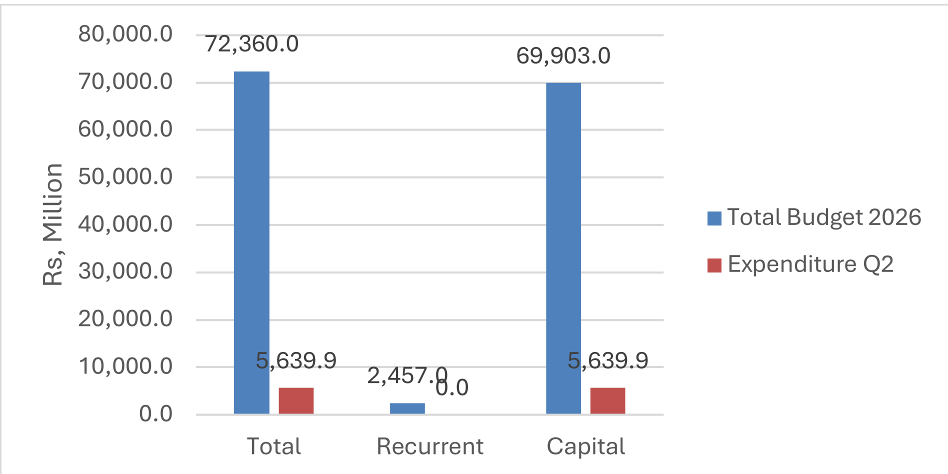
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 has been prepared. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 has been approved. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 53 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 72,360.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 3.4% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 96.6% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

At the end of the 2nd quarter of 2026, expenditure was Rs. 5,639.91 million, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 31.5% for capital expenditure. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Renovation of building common amenities and sewerage systems of old housing schemes constructed by NHDA for low-income families (Rs. 650 million) - Preparation work for 32 projects ongoing.
- Renovation of Housing Scheme (Rs. 500 million) - Contracts awarded and progress not reported.
- Sanitary facilities for the persons with differently abled (Rs. 500 million) - Not yet started.
- Resettlement / Permanent Houses for the Conflict Affected Families (Rs. 5,000 million) - 27% of work completed.

Women and Child Affairs

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 59 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

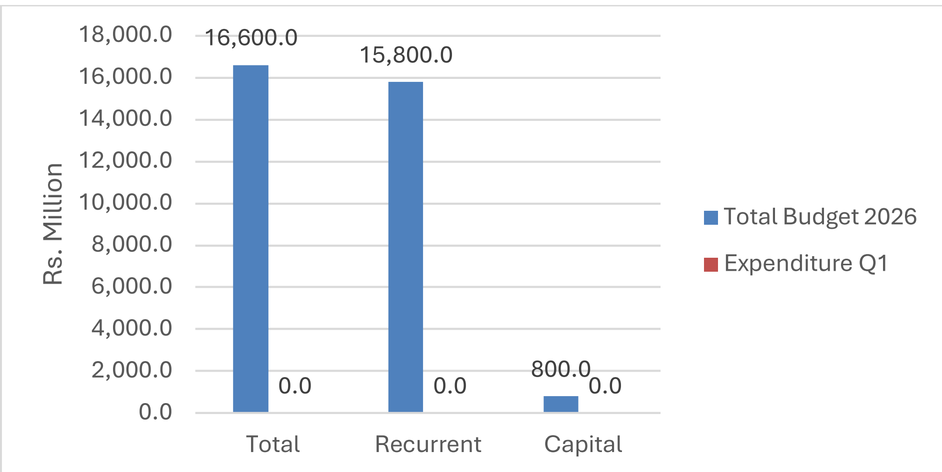
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 21 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 16,600.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 95% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 5% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

The summary of the financial and physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry for 2026.

Sports and Youth Affairs

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 64 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

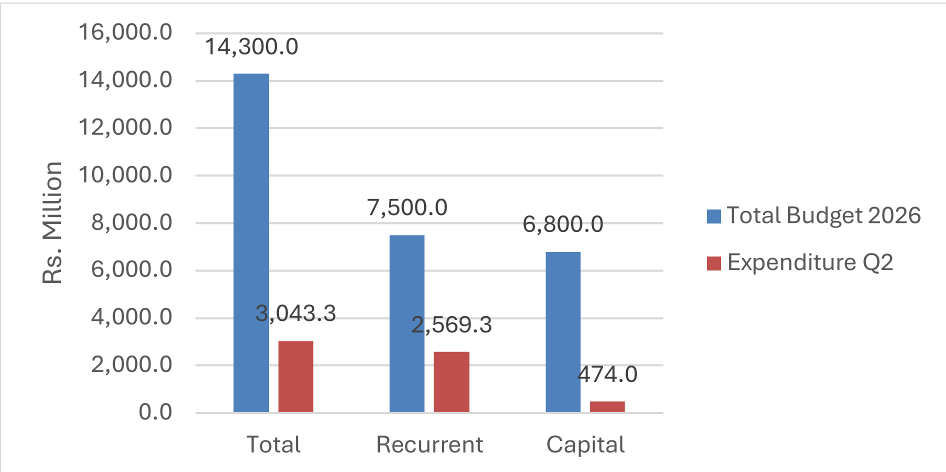
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 has been approved. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 20 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 14,300.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 52% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 48% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

At the end of the 2nd quarter of 2026, expenditure was Rs. 3,043,.3 million, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 21%. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Establishment of Sports Culture - 19.29%
- Development of Provincial Sports Complexes - 40%

- Development of District Sports Complexes - 56%
- Completion of Sports Stadium, Kalmunai - 25%
- Provision of Sports Infrastructure Facilities for Schools and Sports Societies in Rural Areas - 20%
- Leadership Development - 40%

Labour

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 25 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

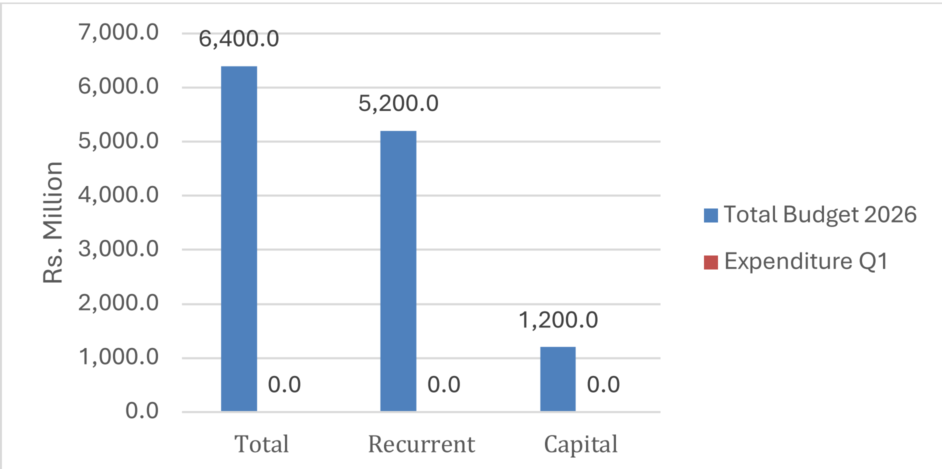
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, there are 16 projects and programs adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 6,400.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 81% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 19% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

The summary of the financial and physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry for 2026.

Agriculture, Livestock, Land, and Irrigation

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 107 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

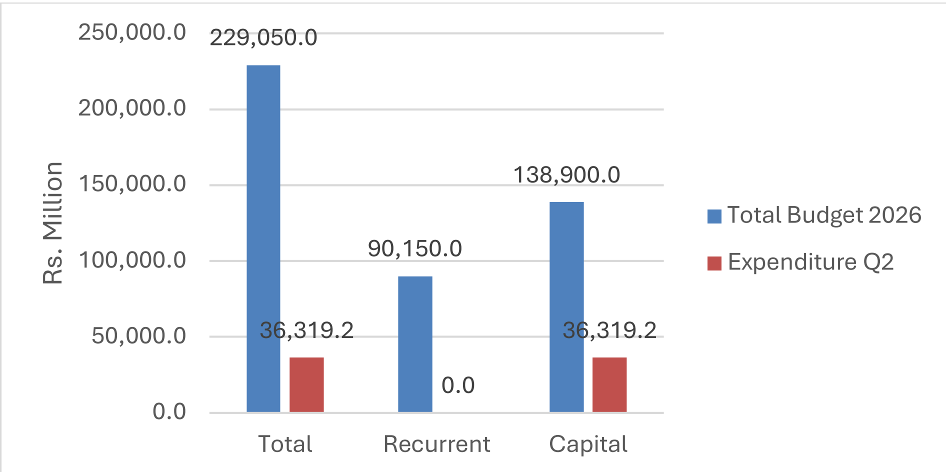
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, there are 120 projects and programs adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 229,050.0 million was made for the Ministry and its 2.5% of the total budget, with 39% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 61% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

At the end of the 2nd quarter of 2026, expenditure was Rs. 36,319.18 million, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 26% for capital expenditure. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows.

- Special Programs for Food Security and Technology - 25% (15 development project under implementation)
- Government Contribution for Crop Insurance - Payment 60% completed (Rs.136.26 millions of Liabilities have Paid as indemnity for 6,361.34 acres to 5,820 farmers)
- Maintaining a buffer Stock of Paddy - 75,735.7 Mt of paddy has been purchased from paddy farmers - 95%
- Smallholder Agribusiness Partnership Program (SAPP) - 91% (all sub projects are ongoing)

- Term Loan of Fertilizer Subsidy Program- 57% payments are ongoing
- Establishment of Diary Processing Plant at Badalgama - 10% progress
- Climate Smart Irrigated Agriculture Project (CSIAP) - 93% (project completed)
- Smallholder Agribusiness Resilience Project (SARP) - 44% (all sub projects are ongoing)
- Integrated Rurban Development and Climate Resilience Project - 20% (all sub projects are ongoing)
- Development of Youth entrepreneurs in Agriculture and Industry Sector - 27 loans issued, 149 loans already approved. (55%)

Fisheries, Aquatic, and Ocean Resources

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 66 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

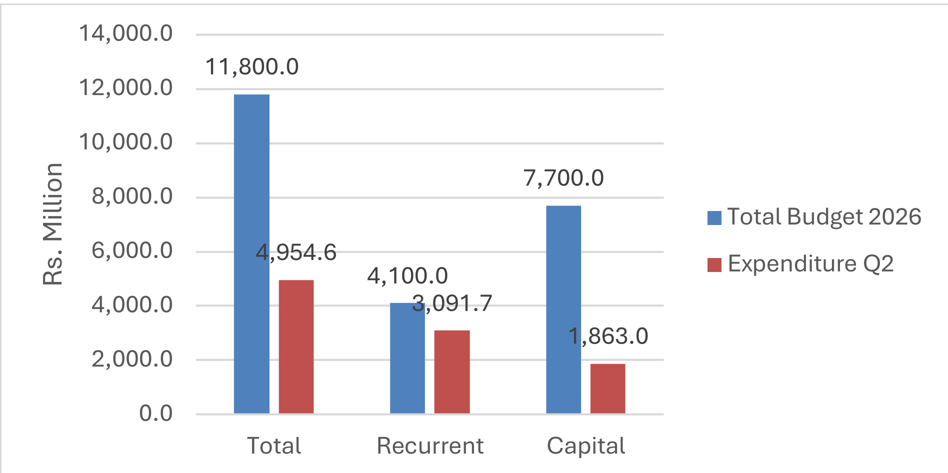
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 20 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 11,800.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 35% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 65% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

At the end of the second quarter of 2026, total expenditure was Rs 4,954.6 million, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 42%. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Construction of Gandara fishery harbour - 87% completed
- Development of Mylidde fishery harbour - 25%
- Negombo Lagoon Development Project - 33%
- Provide Infrastructure facilities for small scale landing sites to increase livelihood through post-harvest loss mitigation -35%
- Feasibility Studies and Investigations of Construction Activities - 40%
- Project proposal on extension of existing quay wall, access road and boundary wall at Valachchenai fishery harbour - 7%
- Rehabilitation of Karainagar Boatyard of CeyNor Foundation Ltd - Not yet started
- Renovation, Rehabilitation and Improvement of existing fishery infrastructure of 15 harbors - 40% completed
- Fishing community awareness program - 40%

Digital Economy

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 37 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

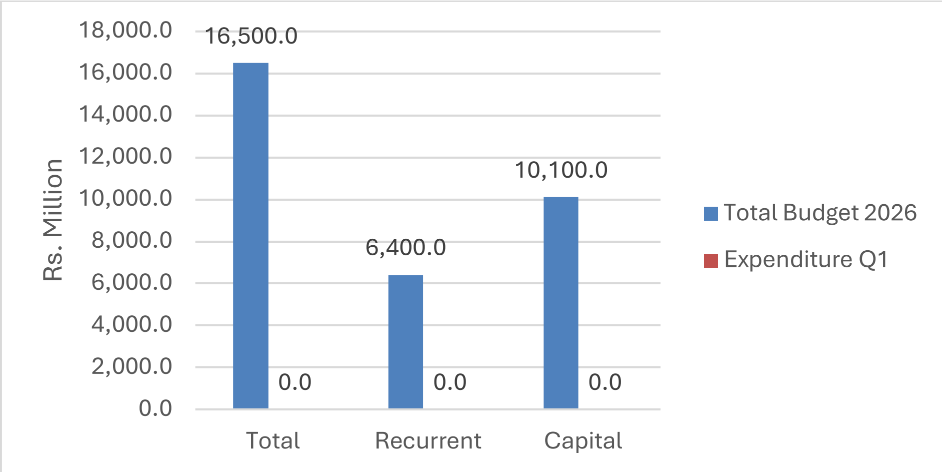
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 22 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 16,500.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 39% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 61% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

The summary of the financial and physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry for 2026.

Buddhasasana, Religious, and Cultural Affairs

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 82 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

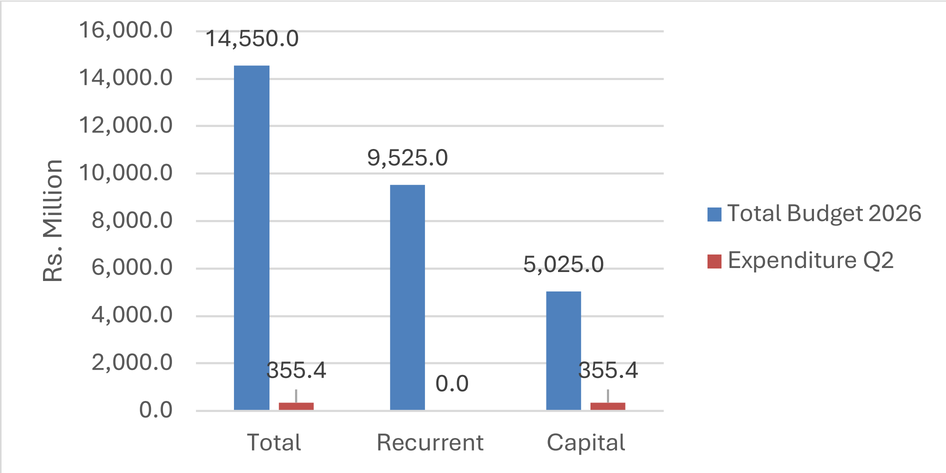
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 84 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 14,550.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 65% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 35% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

At the end of the second quarter of 2026, capital expenditure was Rs 355.4 million, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 7% for capital expenditure. The physical progress as at the end of June 2026 is 17.36%. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Construction of Cultural Centers - 58% (5 centers out of 13 centers completed)
- Amaradeva Aesthetic and Research Center - 86%
- Heritage Conservation of Intangible Assets - 20%
- Heritage Promotion and Preserving Native People - 15% (6 cultural programs)
- Modernize National Art Gallery - 20%
- Sacred Area Development (Buddhist) - 40%
- Facilitation of Dhamma Schools - 50%
- Completion of Construction of Islamic Cultural Centers and Improvement of Mosque -75%
- Development of Christian Religious Places with Archeological Value - 20%
- Facilitate Christian Religious Places and Churches - 30%
- Renovation, Rehabilitation of Infrastructure Facilities of Hindu Temples - 25%
- Furniture for Hindu Dhamma Schools - 25%
- Conservation and Maintenance of Archaeological Sites and Monuments -107 sites in maintenance and 16 projects in conservation
- Maintenance of Kanniya Hot Water Wells - 0.13%

Environment

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 76 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

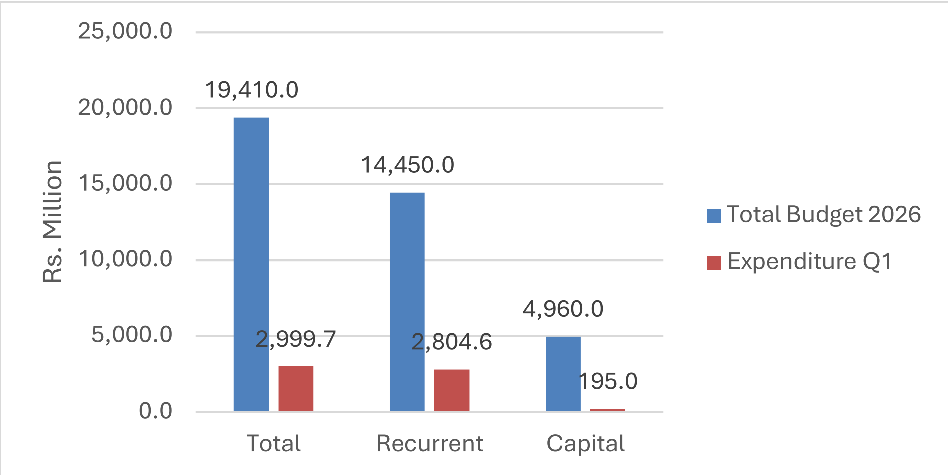
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 52 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 19,410.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 75% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 25% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

In the first quarter of 2026, Rs 2,804.62 million was spent on recurrent expenditure, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 19.4% for recurrent expenditure. Rs. 195.03 million spent on capital expenditure, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 3.9% for capital expenditure. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Regional Project on Strengthening Resilience of Vulnerable Communities in Sri Lanka and India to Increased Impacts of Climate Change ADAPT4R - 10%
- Integrated Management and Environmentally Sound Disposal of POPs Pesticides in the Agriculture Sector and Mercury and Waste in the Healthcare Sector - 22%
- Preliminary mangrove carbon stock assessments for Fiji and Sri Lanka - 5%

- A study on faunal pioneers to restored mangroves and mapping sea grass mangrove interphases using satellite and drone technology - 5%
- Research and Development (Forest)- 8.17%
- Forest Protection - 21.9%
- Capacity Building (Forest) - 8.9%
- Construction of Electric Fences - 10%
- Habitat Enrichment for Wildlife - 15%
- Dehiwala Zoological Garden - 9%
- Development of Royal Botanical Garden Project - 10%

Justice and National Integration

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 33 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

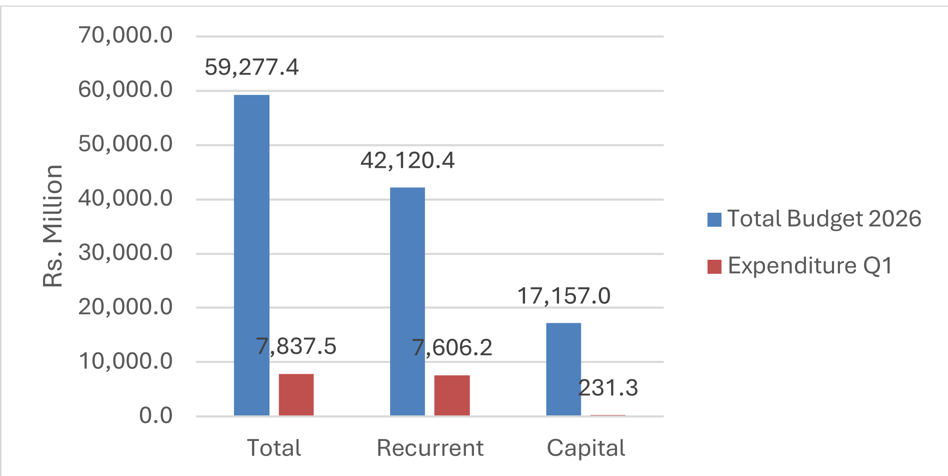
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, there are 62 projects and programs adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	**Update of Collection**
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 59,277.4 million was made for the Ministry, with 71% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 29% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

Rs 7,837.08 million was spent on projects and programs in the first quarter of 2026, reflecting approximately a 13% of financial progress.

The summary of the physical progress is not given in the reports.

Public Administration, Provincial Councils, and Local Government

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 20 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

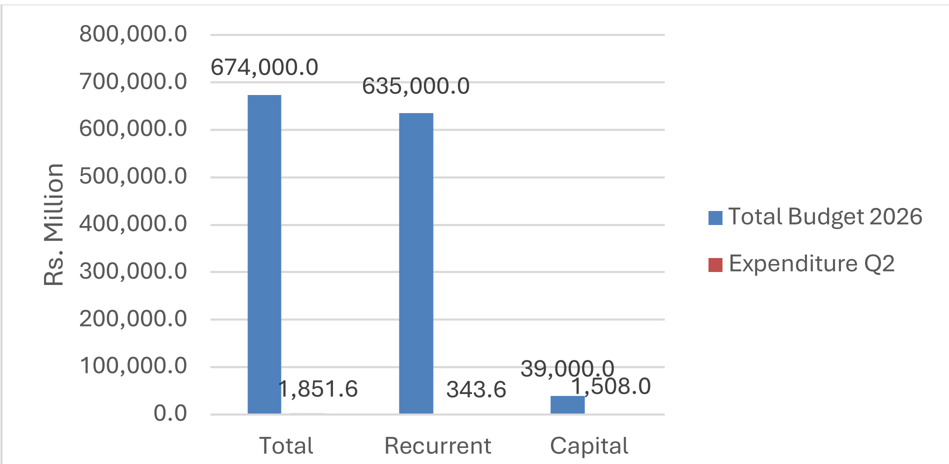
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 107 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 674,000.0 million was made for the Ministry, and its 7.5% of the total budget, with 94% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 6% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

At the end of the 2nd quarter of 2026, Home Affairs Division expenditure was Rs. 1,851.6 million, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 4% for capital expenditure. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Upgrading independence square: Preparation of concept paper ongoing
- Upgrading Circuit Bungalows: 30% completed
- Improving the provision of digital facilities by Divisional Secretariats: Procurement is ongoing

Trade, Commerce, Food Security, and Cooperative Development

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 21 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

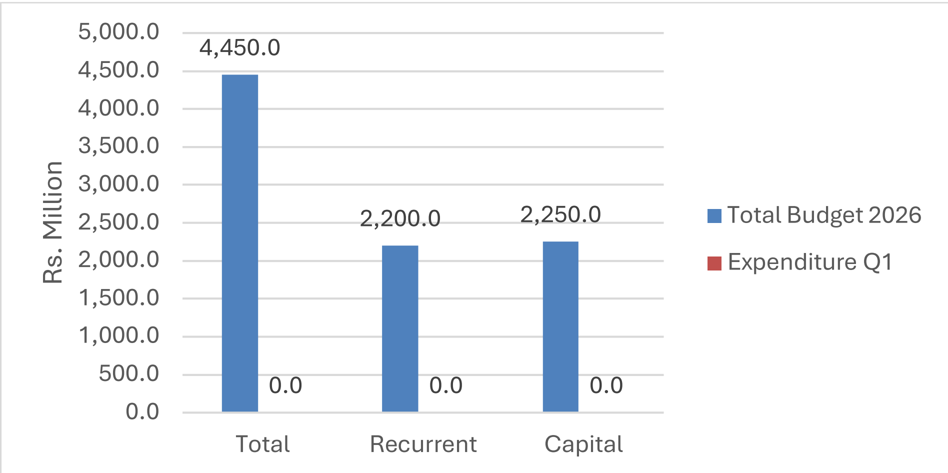
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 15 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 4,450.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 49% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 51% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

The summary of the financial and physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry for 2026.

Energy

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 68 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

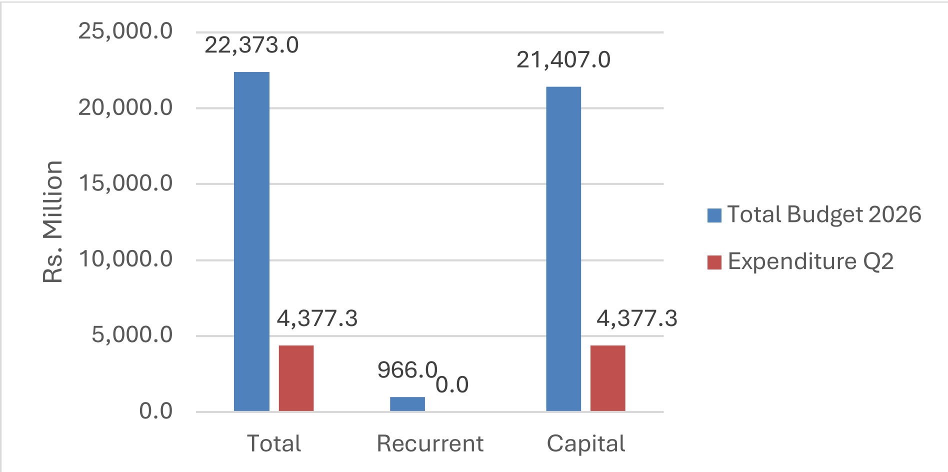
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 21 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 22,373.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 4% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 96% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

At the end of the second quarter of 2026, capital expenditure was Rs. 4,377.25.4 million, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 20% for capital expenditure. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Colombo Waste to Energy Power Plant - 25%
- Kerawalapitiya – Port 2nd Transmission Line Project - 2%
- New Habarana-Kappalthurai Transmission Development Project CEATP 1 (AIIB) - Tender process ongoing
- Sampur-Kappalthurai Transmission Development Projects (AIIB) - Tender process ongoing
- Rooftop Solar Aggregation and Virtual Net Metering Project - 0%

Transport, Highways, and Urban Development

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 50 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

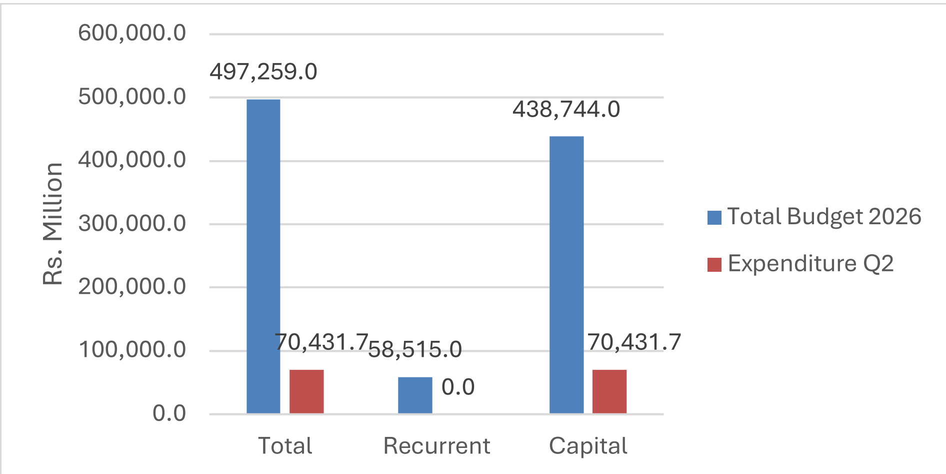
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, there are 120 projects and programs adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Highways Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 497,259.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 12% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 88% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

At the end of the second quarter of 2026, capital expenditure was Rs. 70,431.30 million, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 16% for capital expenditure. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Kadawatha-Meerigama section of Expressway - 5% for construction work
- Pothuhera-Galagedara section of Expressway- 2.78 % for construction work
- Kandy Multimodal Transport Terminal Development Project - 1.9%
- Development of Access Roads to Kandy Multimodal Transport Center - 8.9%

- Road maintenance and improvements -17%
- Rural Road reawakening program -16.3%
- Reconstruction of Damaged/Weak Bridges on National highways - 24%
- Infrastructure and Road Safety - 10%

Industrial Development and Entrepreneurship

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 95 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

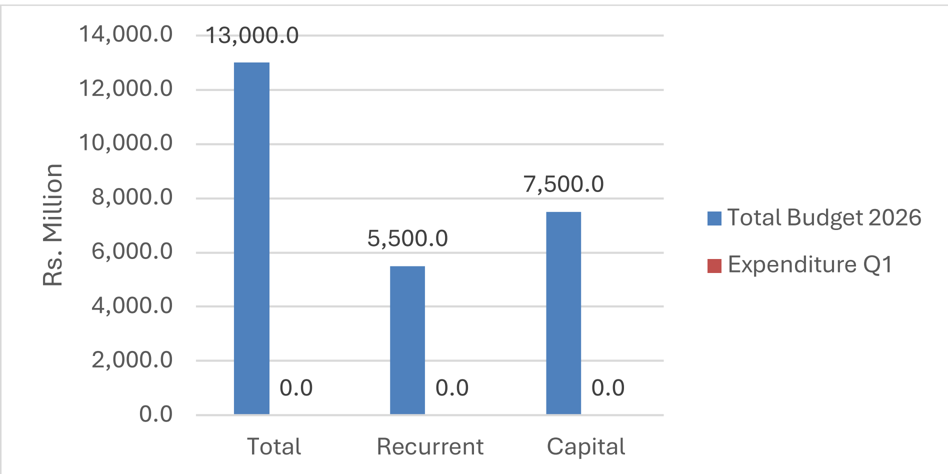
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 24 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 13,000.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 42% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 58% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

The summary of the financial and physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry for 2026.

Plantation and Community Infrastructure

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 18 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

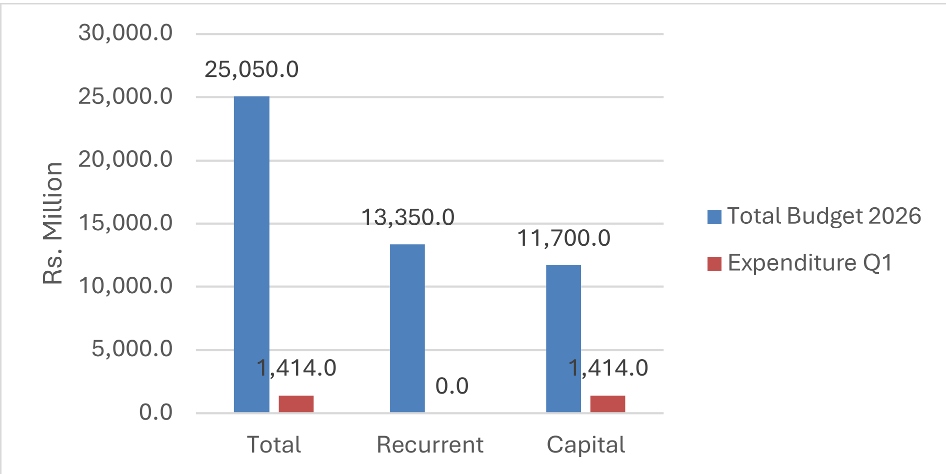
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 31 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 25,050.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 53% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 47% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

Rs 1,414.01 million was spent on projects and programs in the first quarter of 2026, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 12% for capital expenditure. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Cadastral Surveys in the Plantation Sector - 23%
- Providing underutilized lands for investments - 30%
- Control whitefly pest damage in Coconut cultivation - 2.5%
- Control of brontispa pest damage in Coconut cultivation - 1.5%

- Coconut Development Activities under the Kapruka Fund - 15%
- Enhancement of coconut production through establishment of Northern coconut triangle - 8%
- Tea Small Holding Development - Tea replanting - 10%
- Subsidy for Rubber replanting - 10%
- Increasing the productivity of abandoned matured Rubber Cultivation through rehabilitation - 3%
- Infrastructure Development in the Estate Sector - 0%

Foreign Affairs, Foreign Employment, and Tourism

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 139 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

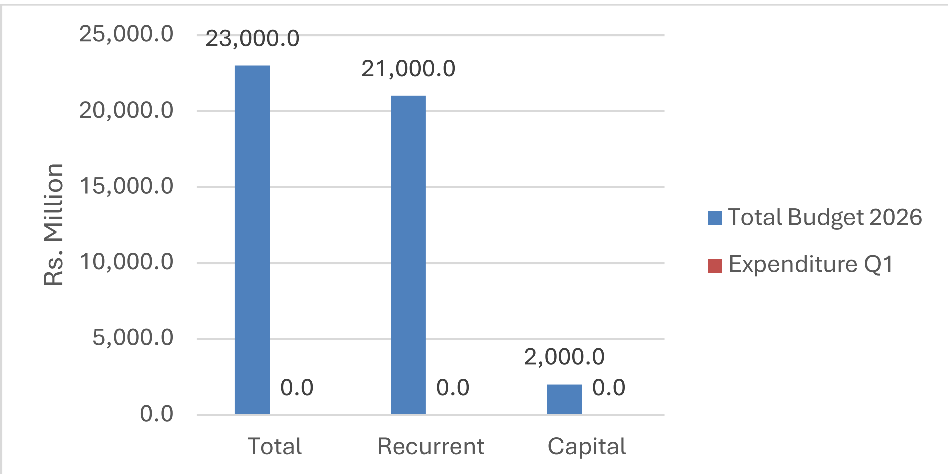
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, there are 12 projects and programs that were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 23,000.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 91% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 9% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

The summary of the financial and physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry for 2026.

Public Security and Parliamentary Affairs

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 45 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

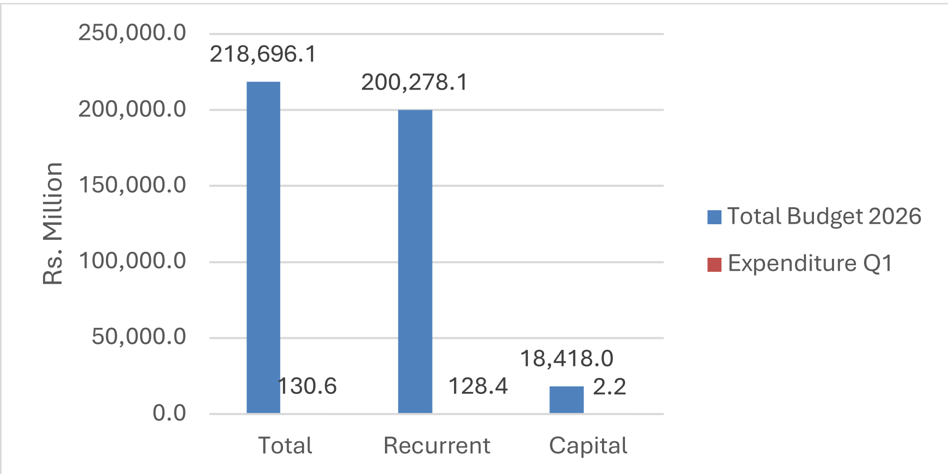
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 15 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 218,691.1 million was made for the Ministry, with 92% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 8% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

The summary of the financial and physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry for 2026 for quarter two.

Defense

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 42 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

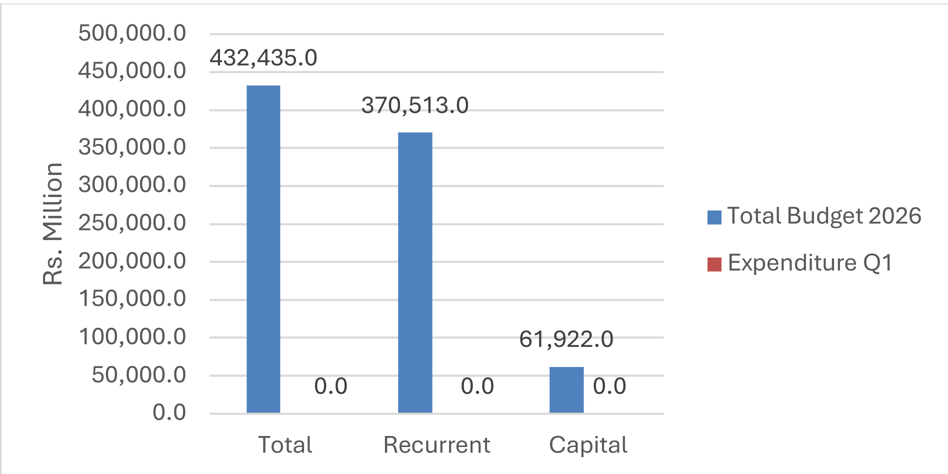
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 71 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 432,435.0 million was made for the Ministry and its 4.8% of the total budget, with 86% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 14% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

The summary of the financial and physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry for 2026.

Science and Technology

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 28 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

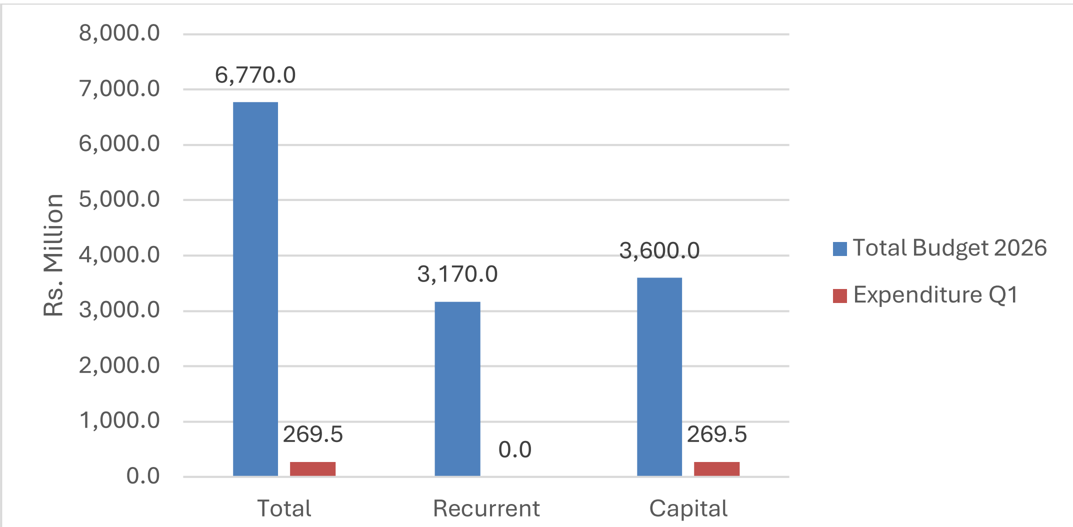
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, there are 18 projects and programs that were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 6,770.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 47% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 53% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

Rs 269.46 million was spent on projects and programs in the first quarter of 2026, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 4.4% for capital expenditure. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Science and Technology Policy Formulation and Implementation - 35%
- Facilitation of Research Projects - 30%
- Science & Technology Collaboration under Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation - 10%
- Strengthening of the National Quality Infrastructure (NQI) Systems - Not yet started
- Expanding the Capacities & Capabilities of SLAEB - Not yet started.

Rural Development, Social Security, and Community Empowerment

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 81 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

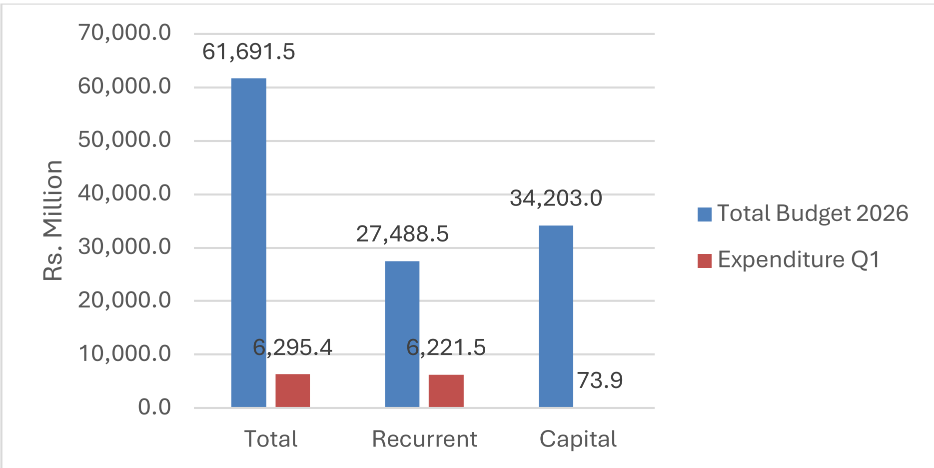
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 31 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 61,691.5 million was made for the Ministry, with 45% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 55% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

Rs 6,295.37 million was spent on projects and programs in the first quarter of 2026, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 10%. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Integrated Rural Development Program (*Praja Shakthi*) - 22,823 projects approved
- Providing livelihood assistance for self-employment for 16,000 families - 3%
- Referral youths for vocational training institutes and employments (16,964 Youths) - 58%

Ports and Civil Aviation

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 28 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

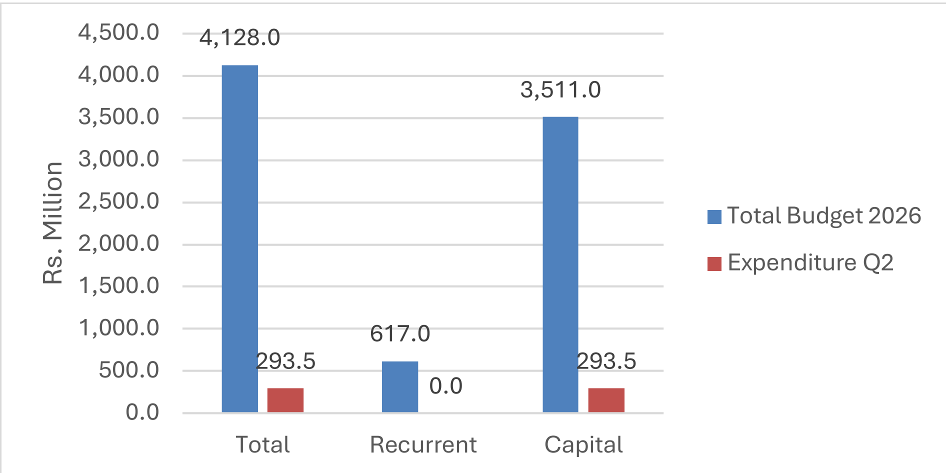
The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, there are 10 projects and programs that were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 4,128.0 million was made for the Ministry, with 15% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 85% is allocated for capital expenditure.



Progress

Rs 293.5 million was spent on projects and programs at the end of second quarter of 2026, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 8% for the capital expenditure. Detailed physical progress of some projects is as follows:

- Higurakgoda International Airport Development Project (construction of 2.5 km runway) - 72% completed
- Detail Design for the Extension of Western Breakwater for West Container Terminal II - 39%

Finance, Planning, and Economic Development

Institutional Planning

According to the National Policy Framework, the number of commitments has been identified as 55 out of the total 1,385 activities listed for this ministry.

The Ministry's Strategic Plan for the implementation period 2025–2029 is still under preparation. Annual Implementation Plan – 2026 not yet received. According to the Budget Estimates 2026, 124 projects and programs were adopted during the year 2026 to implement the listed promises.

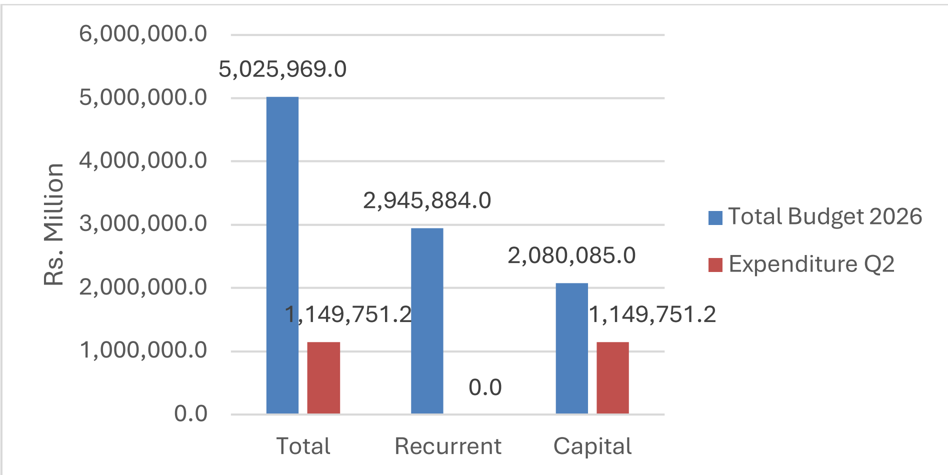
Documentation	Update of Collection
Strategic Plan (2025–2029)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
Action Plan (Annual Implementation Plan – 2026)	Received
QPR – Q1 (March 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received
QPR – Q2 (June 2026)	Requested through RTI. Not Received

Assessment of Ministerial Budget

Allocation

Under the 2026 Budget Estimate, an allocation of Rs. 5,025.9 billion (including debt repayments) was made for the Ministry, with 59% of the allocation is for recurrent expenditure, while only 41% is allocated for capital expenditure.

The Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development has the highest budgetary allocation among all other ministries and accounts for approximately 56% of the total budget.



Progress

Rs 1,149.75 billion was spent on public debt repayments at the end of second quarter of 2026, reflecting a financial progress of approximately 55% for the capital expenditure.

The summary of the financial and physical progress is yet to be received from the ministry for 2026.

6

Observations

1. Amendments to National Housing Policy and Manifesto Commitment:

The Government has initiated the **amendment of the National Housing Policy**, which was last amended in 2019. In April 2026, Cabinet approved the revision of the policy through an expert committee, with emphasis on adequate and quality housing, infrastructure, low-income communities, social inclusion, and sustainable human settlements. However, **the amendment of the National Housing Policy itself is not a specific commitment in the NPP manifesto,** '*A Thriving Nation - A Beautiful Life*'. Rather, the manifesto identifies the housing challenges faced by low-income urban, rural, and estate communities and sets out specific objectives to address them. In particular, it recognizes the poor housing conditions of estate communities, including overcrowded line rooms and inadequate facilities. Therefore, the amendment of the National Housing Policy should **not be presented as the direct implementation of a manifesto promise**. Instead, it can be considered a **policy measure that may provide a framework for implementing the housing-related commitments contained in the manifesto.** The policy revision is a positive step towards addressing Sri Lanka's longstanding housing challenges. However, the revised policy should explicitly incorporate the housing needs identified in the manifesto, particularly those of **estate communities and other low-income households**, including access to adequate housing, basic services, secure land tenure, infrastructure, and affordable construction. The Government should also establish clear targets and implementation mechanisms to ensure that the policy translates the manifesto's housing commitments into **measurable outcomes for vulnerable communities** such in the estate sector.

2. **Microfinance and Credit Regulatory Authority Act No. 09 of 2026:**

This act is directly aligned with the manifesto commitment by establishing a regulatory framework for the microfinance sector, concerns have been raised by some stakeholders that its provisions place greater emphasis on regulating and safeguarding microfinance institutions than on providing immediate relief and protection to borrowers-particularly women trapped in high-interest debt. As a result, questions remain about the extent to which the Act fulfils the manifesto's commitment to alleviate the burden of predatory microfinance loans. A gap has been identified **between the manifesto's borrower-protection commitment and the final text of the Microfinance and Credit Regulatory Authority Act, No. 9 of 2026.** This gap likely stems from the **limited scope of public consultation and collecting ground level evidence** during the law-making process, and from concerns over how far expert views and stakeholder recommendations were incorporated into the legislation. Broader consultation, greater transparency, and stronger engagement with relevant expertise would have better aligned the Act with the specific manifesto commitment on borrower protection, and should inform any future amendment.

3. **Social Security Contribution Levy (Amendment) Act, No. 10 OF 2026:**

While the amendment supports broader tax reform and revenue collection, concerns persist over the transparency and accountability of how SSCL revenue is allocated and whether it is used for its intended social security purposes.

4. **National Environmental (Amendment) Act, No. 15 of 2026:**

Although the primary objective of the Act was environmental law reform, the legislative process also generated significant discussion on the distribution of powers between Parliament and Provincial Councils, particularly regarding their respective responsibilities in environmental governance and regulatory authority.

5. **The Value Added Tax (Amendment) Act, No. 14 of 2026:**

This parliamentary action is partially relevant to the manifesto commitment. The Value Added Tax (Amendment) Act reforms the VAT framework, contributing to the broadening of the tax base and the improvement of tax administration. However, unless the amendment specifically introduces differentiated VAT rates for distinct categories of goods, it only partially fulfills the manifesto pledge to categorize goods and apply different tax rates to each category. Meanwhile the manifesto promise is *"Introduce a 0% VAT rate for essential food items including locally produced milk & eggs, infant milk, drugs, schoolbooks, stationeries & equipment, magazines & journals, library services, agricultural equipment, fertilizer, solar panels & accessories, machinery for renewable energy generation, motor vehicle and equipment used by a disabled person, locally manufactured software and IT related services, and computers, research and development services, computers"* (p. 57). While it introduces reforms to the VAT framework and tax administration, it does not implement the manifesto proposal to apply a 0% VAT rate to the specified essential goods and services. Consequently, the commitment remains only partially fulfilled through this legislative amendment.

6. **An interest rate that is 5% higher than the normal bank rate(s) for senior citizens' fixed deposits:**

During the second phase of monitoring, this commitment was assessed as *partially implemented*, as a Cabinet decision approved an additional interest rate of 3%, rather than the promised 5%. Following the launch of the previous monitoring report in January 2026, Opposition MP Dr. Harsha de Silva publicly argued that the manifesto promise had not been fulfilled. Similar concerns were also raised by members of the public during media discussions on the report. To verify the basis and implementation status of the policy, the monitoring team submitted a request under the Right to Information (RTI) Act to the relevant authorities. However, no response had been received by the time this report was finalized.

7. Poverty Alleviation and *Prajashakthi*:

The ***"Prajashakthi"*** **National Programme,** with a 2026 allocation of **Rs. 25 billion**, represents a major government initiative for poverty reduction and rural development. Through *Praja Shakthi Committees* at the Grama Niladhari level, the programme aims to identify local development priorities, while the **"1,000 Villages, 1,000 Projects"** initiative has expanded rural development interventions nationwide. Despite these efforts, the identification of approximately **1.6 million poor families** by May 2026 highlights the continuing scale of the poverty challenge. While manifesto commitments on poverty alleviation have been reflected in budgetary allocations and Cabinet decisions, **effective implementation requires transparent and needs-based project and beneficiary selection.** Concerns regarding potential political influence at the local level selection of *Praja Shakthi Committees.* The ***Aswesuma*** **beneficiary selection process** also remains critical. Although the double payment provided in April 2026 offered immediate support to vulnerable households, its inefficiency of the governance in utilizing both time and resources. Similarly, greater transparency is required regarding the **collection and utilization of the Social Security Contribution Levy (SSCL),** particularly how the revenue contributes to social protection and poverty reduction.

8. The National Anti-Corruption Action Plan:

Although the National Anti-Corruption Action Plan (NACAP) was relaunched by the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption (CIABOC) for the period 2025–2029, a comprehensive assessment of its implementation progress was not available during the reporting period. Meanwhile, the specific manifesto commitment to establish CIABOC branch offices in every district remains unimplemented. Similarly, the commitment to report to Parliament on complaints that remain uninvestigated for more than six months is still pending. No clear information or evidence of progress on these commitments was identified from either Parliament or CIABOC during the reporting period. In June 2026, the Cabinet approved the submission to Parliament of newly gazette anti-corruption regulations requiring **digital asset declarations by designated high-risk public officials**, in accordance with the Anti-Corruption Act, No. 9 of 2023. This represents a positive step towards strengthening digital governance, enhancing transparency, and improving the monitoring of public officials' assets. However, the effectiveness of this measure will depend on the availability of secure and reliable digital infrastructure, adequate technical capacity, effective data-protection mechanisms, and user-friendly access to the system. Particular attention should also be given to ensuring that relevant public officials and citizens have sufficient digital literacy and access to use and engage with the system effectively.

9. Cyclone Ditwah Recovery and Reconstruction:

Following the devastation caused by Cyclone Ditwah, with total damage estimated at approximately US$4.1 billion, the Government initiated a range of recovery and reconstruction measures. These included relief assistance, housing reconstruction, rehabilitation of infrastructure and schools, support for affected agricultural and MSME sectors, and the establishment of the **"Rebuilding Sri Lanka Fund"** A number of Cabinet decisions were also taken to facilitate these interventions. However, implementation progress on the ground remains limited and a comprehensive review of the 22 Cabinet decisions related to Ditwah recovery was not available during the reporting period. Many affected families continue to live in temporary camps, tents, or with relatives, while facing continuing housing, livelihood, weather, and social challenges. While the Government has initiated a broad range of recovery measures, the absence of a publicly available implementation progress review makes it difficult to assess the status, effectiveness, and coverage of these interventions**.** A regular monitoring and public reporting mechanism for Ditwah recovery projects is therefore essential to ensure accountability, identify implementation delays, and ensure that affected communities receive timely and equitable assistance.

10. 2026 Budget Implementation:

The 2026 Budget**,** themed ***"Steady and Strong: Committing to Fiscal Discipline for a Resilient Economy,"*** targets a primary surplus of 2.5% of GDP, government revenue of 15.4% of GDP, and an overall fiscal deficit of 5.1% of GDP**,** broadly reflecting the fiscal consolidation objectives of the ongoing IMF program. While these policy directions indicate progress towards fiscal discipline, **the availability of timely and sufficiently detailed economic and budgetary data for independent third-party assessment remains limited**. Moreover, the reported fiscal improvements have not yet translated into a strong perception of improved economic conditions among the general public, particularly in relation to the cost of living and inflation. At the same time, the **expansion of the Social Security Contribution Levy (SSCL) and VAT-related measures represents** a significant component of the Government's revenue mobilization efforts. However, greater transparency on revenue collection, expenditure, and the distributional impact of these measures is required to enable the public to understand and assess the benefits of fiscal consolidation. While the 2026 Budget demonstrates a clear commitment to fiscal discipline, greater transparency, timely publication of economic data, and stronger communication of fiscal outcomes are necessary to strengthen public confidence and enable independent assessment of budget implementation**.**

11. IMF Program Compliance and Debt Management:

The Government has continued to implement the IMF-supported program, despite the government's manifesto commitment to seek a more flexible and socially responsive arrangement. The manifesto specifically proposed renegotiating the program, developing alternative approaches to tax administration and expenditure management, preparing an **alternative Debt Sustainability Analysis (DSA)**, and conducting a comprehensive audit of foreign loans to strengthen transparency and accountability in public financial management. During the reporting period, **no publicly available evidence of an alternative DSA or a comprehensive foreign-loan audit** was identified. This represents an area requiring further monitoring against the manifesto commitments. While continued engagement with the IMF has supported fiscal consolidation and macroeconomic stability, concerns remain regarding the social impact of revenue-based fiscal consolidation and the growing burden of debt servicing. The Government therefore faces the challenge of balancing IMF-related fiscal targets with its commitments to protect vulnerable groups and improve living conditions.

12. Repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA):

The Government has repeatedly reaffirmed its manifesto commitment to **repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) and replace oppressive legislation while strengthening civil rights**. A draft replacement law was published for public consultation in December 2025/January 2026, with the consultation period ending on 28 February 2026. The Government has stated that the replacement legislation is expected to be finalized before the end of 2026. However, concerns remain regarding whether the proposed replacement legislation adequately addresses the shortcomings of the PTA. Rights groups have raised concerns that certain provisions in the draft could retain **broad powers of arrest, detention, search, and seizure**, potentially reproducing some of the risks associated with the existing legislation. Meanwhile, the **continued use of the PTA during the reporting period**, including its reported use in the arrest of a young Tamil rapper in Jaffna in June 2026, raises further questions regarding the Government's progress towards fulfilling its commitment.

13. Abolition of the Executive Presidency and New Constitution:

The **abolition of the Executive Presidency and the introduction of a new Constitution** remain key commitments of the Government. However, despite having a two-thirds parliamentary majority, no clear timetable, draft framework, or concrete legislative process for constitutional reform had been publicly presented during the reporting period**.** The absence of a clear roadmap or visible progress indicates that these commitments remain largely at the policy or political commitment stage rather than moving towards implementation. Given the significance of constitutional reform, the Government should provide a clear and transparent roadmap, including a timeline, consultation process, and proposed legislative steps, to demonstrate credible progress towards fulfilling these manifesto commitments.

14. Education Policy - Culture, Arts and Inclusive Education:

The NPP's education policy aims to provide quality education that fosters a developed, humanistic, and responsible society. The NPP Government has identified education transformation as a major policy priority, with its *A Thriving Nation – A Beautiful Life* framework emphasizing equitable access, quality education, student-centered learning, and improved education opportunities. During 2026, several measures have been initiated, including revised school admission arrangements, strengthening Provincial, Zonal and Divisional Education Offices, the Rs. 6,000 school stationery allowance for economically vulnerable students, and collaboration with the private sector and NGOs to provide sanitary napkins to schoolgirls, addressing menstrual poverty as identified in the manifesto. The development of a National Policy and Framework on Micro-Credentials also represents progress towards lifelong learning and employability. However, the specific manifesto commitment to develop an education policy that recognizes culture as a broad and dynamic domain and integrates arts and cultural subjects into the formal education system, supported by systematic teacher training, Vocational education will be mainstreamed as part of the national education policy to fill the gap between education and the job market. We see vocational education as a significant factor in developing the professionals needed to create a production economy that has not yet shown clear evidence of implementation during the reporting period. Further monitoring is required to determine whether a dedicated policy, curriculum reforms, and teacher-training programs are being developed to fulfil this commitment.

15. Online Speech Regulation and Freedom of Expression:

Amending the 2024 No. 09 Online Safety Act by removing restrictions on freedom of expression is the promise of the NPP Government has initiated a review of the Online Safety Act, No. 9 of 2024, in line with its commitment to remove restrictions that may unduly affect freedom of expression. A Government-appointed committee was established to review the existing legislation, while separate private members' motions were also submitted in Parliament seeking amendments to or the repeal of the Act. The Government's review was reportedly nearing completion, with a revised legislative proposal being prepared for Cabinet consideration. On 26 June 2026**,** the Government announced that it would not implement the Online Safety Act in its existing form and that the Cabinet had approved the introduction of replacement legislation.

16. Centralization of Provincial Hospitals and Devolution:

The government manifesto's health policy focuses on increasing financial allocations to the public health sector to develop it as an effective public service. The Government has taken steps to bring selected hospitals previously administered under the provincial health system under the **Central Ministry of Health**, including **District General Hospital -Monaragala** in March 2025, and **Base Hospitals-Puttalam and Mahiyanganaya** in 2026. While these transfers have been presented primarily as measures to facilitate the **development**

and upgrading of the hospitals, they raise important questions regarding the implementation of the **13th Amendment and the devolution of health services**. Although the Central Government has responsibility for national health institutions, the 13th Amendment assigns specified health-related functions to **Provincial Councils**. Therefore, the transfer of institutions previously administered by Provincial Councils to the Central Government should be supported by **clear legal and administrative justification**, including clarification of its implications for provincial authority and the existing framework of health-sector devolution. While centralization may support the upgrading and improvement of hospital services, it should not inadvertently result in the **erosion of constitutionally devolved powers or provincial administrative autonomy**.

17. Women's Rights and Empowerment:

During January-June 2026, the Government introduced several measures relevant to women's rights, protection and empowerment, including the Women Empowerment Targeted Program, proposed reforms to domestic-violence legislation, stronger penalties under employment legislation, support for women-led enterprises, and measures addressing human trafficking. These initiatives indicate progress in strengthening the institutional and policy framework for women's empowerment. However, **the extent to which these measures translate into tangible improvements in women's economic participation, protection from violence, political participation and access to justice requires further monitoring**, particularly through evidence of implementation, budget utilization and measurable outcomes.

18. Child protection & Welfare:

The government's manifesto has made substantial progress towards its child protection and welfare commitment, particularly through the approval of the Five-Year National Action Plan on Child Protection (2025–2029), continued funding for the National Child Protection Authority and Department of Probation and Child Care Services, and the introduction of targeted programs for vulnerable and institutionalized children. The government has also initiated a broad program of legal reforms, including a proposed Child Rights Act, amendments to child-protection legislation, foster-care reforms and measures addressing cybercrime against children. However, several of these reforms remain at the legislative or implementation stage, while the increase in overall ministry funding has been modest and capital expenditure has declined.

19. Monetary policy and Policy interest:

The manifesto proposes stabilizing **policy interest rates** to promote stability in financial markets, including the foreign exchange market. The NPP's commitment to stabilize policy interest rates should be assessed against financial and foreign-exchange stability rather than the absolute level of the policy rate. Although the Central Bank increased the Overnight Policy Rate by 100 basis points from 7.75% to 8.75% in May 2026, the increase was a monetary-policy response to rising inflation, external energy-price pressures and exchange-rate risks. Therefore, the rate increase itself does not constitute a direct breach of the manifesto commitment. However, the episode demonstrates that the objective of stable policy rates remains conditional on inflation and external-sector developments. The promise should therefore be considered 'in progress' until sustained stability in interest rates, inflation and the foreign-exchange market can be demonstrated.

7

Implementation of the government's actions on disaster management

7.1 Status Update on Disaster Management-Related Manifesto and National Policy Framework Commitments

The Second Biannual Report identified thirteen disaster-related commitments embedded across various thematic sections of the government's manifesto, "A Thriving Nation – A Beautiful Life," and ten further disaster-focused commitments consolidated under the National Policy Framework once it was adopted by the National Planning Department. Of the ten National Policy Framework commitments, five were drawn directly from the manifesto, while the remaining five represented new additions introduced at the national policy framework level, additions the monitoring exercise identified as policy expansions made in the period following the Cyclone Ditwah disaster.

The following table assesses implementation status against each of the identified commitments based on the cabinet decisions during the current reporting period.

<table>
<tr><th>No.</th><th>Manifesto Promise/s</th><th>Actions (Cabinet Decisions taken during January-June 2026)</th><th>Major Takeaways and Relevant Ministries & Entities</th></tr>
<tr><td>1</td><td>Identification, management, and risk reduction of natural disaster prone areas (p. 31)</td><td rowspan="2">March 23, 2026:

Obtaining the assistance of the Government of Japan for the establishment of an Amateur Radio Emergency Communication Network for Disaster Response.

Cabinet Decision</td><td rowspan="2">• Conventional communication networks failed during recent disasters, exposing a gap in emergency coordination.
• TRCSL, with the Radio Society of Sri Lanka, launched an Amateur Radio backup network for such situations.
• Japan approved a US$181,837 grant (Grant Assistance for Grassroots Human Security Projects-GGP scheme) to fund the equipment.
• Cabinet approved signing the Grant Agreement (proposed by the President as Minister of Digital Economy).

Ministry:
Digital Economy (TRCSL – implementing agency)</td></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td>Strengthening research and development to identify and protect biodiversity "hotspots," including catchment and vegetation mapping and land-use threat categorization (p. 78)</td></tr>
<tr><td>3</td><td>Development and implementation of scientifically designed sustainable land-use plans for agricultural, industrial, and residential purposes (p. 31)</td><td rowspan="2">March 9, 2026:

Implementation of Strategic Frameworks for Science-Driven Disaster Resilience

Cabinet Decision</td><td>• Cyclone Ditwah (Nov 2025) affected 2.3M people and caused US$4.1B in damage, exposing critical gaps in national disaster resilience.
• Ministry of Science and Technology shifted strategy from reactive "Response and Recovery" to proactive "Science-Driven Resilience" (approved 12 Jan 2026).
• A national research-needs assessment (14 Jan 2026) produced 7 recommendations on research/system development and 7 on implementation.
• Cabinet approved the dual-track strategy.

Ministry: Science and Technology</td></tr>
<tr><td>4</td><td>Introduction of early warning systems for natural disasters, regulation of human activities, and implementation of compensation and insurance mechanisms (p. 33)</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

No.	Manifesto Promise/s	Actions (Cabinet Decisions taken during January-June 2026)	Major Takeaways and Relevant Ministries & Entities
5	Development of climate-resilient crop varieties and adoption of climate-adaptive farming and irrigation techniques (p. 65)	January 5, 2026: *Implementation of the Programme of Providing Relief for the Disaster Affected Cultivations of Pepper, Coffee and Cardamom* Cabinet Decision	• Budget Circulars 08/2025 and 08/2025 (I) already covered relief for short-term crops damaged by adverse weather. • Gap identified: long-term export crops (pepper, coffee, cardamom) also needed re-cultivation support given the sector's economic importance. • Cabinet approved a maximum payment of Rs. 425,000/hectare to affected farmers for re-cultivation. • Free saplings to be provided for gap-filling and re-cultivation via the Department of Export Agriculture. **Ministry:** Finance, Planning and Economic Development (Department of Export Agriculture as implementing agency)
		March 09, 2026: *Provision of relief for the replantation of disaster affected export agricultural crops- Tea, Coconut and Rubber* Cabinet Decision	• Follows earlier relief already approved for field crops, vegetables, fruit crops, and minor export crops (pepper, coffee, cardamom). • Ministry of Plantation and Community Infrastructure recommended similar relief for damaged tea, coconut, and rubber plantations. • Cabinet approved replanting relief per hectare: Rs. 500,000 (tea), Rs. 400,000 (rubber), Rs. 750,000 (coconut). **Ministry:** Finance, Planning and Economic Development (Ministry of Plantation and Community Infrastructure as recommending agency)
		March 30, 2026: *Establishment of the Sri Lanka Climate and Nature-Positive Investment Fund* Cabinet Decision	• Builds on the National Climate Finance Strategy 2025–2030. • Approved drafting legislation to establish: (1) a legally empowered authority for Central Highlands recovery, and (2) the CANOPI Fund, to raise domestic/foreign financing for climate mitigation, adaptation, and conservation. • To be set up as a Statutory Fund by Act of Parliament. • **Ministry:** Finance, Planning and Economic Development

No.	Manifesto Promise/s	Actions (Cabinet Decisions taken during January-June 2026)	Major Takeaways and Relevant Ministries & Entities
		June 1, 2026: *Programme for empowering people affected by the disaster* Cabinet Decision	• Approved measures to restore livelihoods affected by Cyclone Ditwah. • Extend temporary house-rent assistance from 6 to 9 months for eligible affected homeowners. • Restore damaged paddy lands by clearing debris and other materials. • Priorities landslide risk mitigation in affected and high-risk areas. • Provide funding through Treasury disaster relief and rehabilitation allocations. • **Ministry:** Finance, Planning and Economic Development
6	Development of proactive and real-time alert systems for natural disasters such as floods, wildfires, and landslides (p.77)	March 9, 2026: *Implementation of Strategic Frameworks for Science-Driven Disaster Resilience* Cabinet Decision	• Approved a shift from reactive disaster response to science-driven proactive resilience. • Cyclone Ditwah was identified as a climate stress test exposing systemic vulnerabilities. • A national assessment was conducted to identify institutional research needs and lessons learned. • Approved a dual-track strategy covering strategic research/system development and implementation measures. • The strategy includes 14 recommendations to strengthen science-based disaster resilience. • **Ministry:** Science and Technology
7	Conducting research to identify capacity gaps in the maritime sector, including emergency disaster response, and prioritizing a future vision (p. 78)		
8	Disaster mitigation, climate resilience, and adaptation mechanisms through land-use planning (p. 104)	June 8, 2026: *Establishment of Upper Watershed Area Management Authority* Cabinet Decision	• Proposed a separate authority to manage and protect upper watershed areas affected by Cyclone Ditwah and improper land use. • Focus on preventing soil erosion, water-source depletion, and ecosystem degradation. • Authority to develop a long-term protection and climate-resilience program aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals. • A Technical Expert Committee will identify the Authority's institutional structure and functions. • Approved preparation of a draft Bill and establishment of the Authority under a three-phase implementation plan. **Proposed by:** President **Ministry:** Not specifically stated in the Cabinet decision.

No.	Manifesto Promise/s	Actions (Cabinet Decisions taken during January-June 2026)	Major Takeaways and Relevant Ministries & Entities
9	Enhancing Sri Lanka's role in global humanitarian assistance and disaster relief missions, while strengthening domestic rapid response capacity (p. 122)	March *9, 2026*: *Revising the amount paid for constructing a house under the resettlement programme for families affected by landslides and high-risk landslide zones* Cabinet Decision	• Approved an increase in housing assistance from Rs. 1.6 million to Rs. 2.5 million per house. • Supports families relocated from landslide-affected and high-risk areas. • Houses will be constructed under the "beneficiary-build-the-house" method. • The increase aims to provide adequate funding for construction of safer homes. **Ministry:** Defence
		April 6, 2026: *Programme for construction of houses for families living in estates whose houses were completely or partially damaged due to Cyclone Ditwah and those living in areas at high risk of landslides* Cabinet Decision	• Approved a house construction programme for affected estate workers and families. • Provide Rs. 5 million per house, in phases, to construct a 650 sq. ft. house. • Provide a 10-perch plot in a secure location within the estate where possible. • Support alternative land arrangements where the Estate Company no longer requires the worker's service. • The programme targets houses completely or partially damaged, unsafe, or beyond their useful lifespan due to Cyclone Ditwah-related disasters. • Implementation will follow housing guidelines and plans issued by the Ministry of Defence. • **Ministries:** Defence; Plantations and Community Infrastructure
		April 27, 2026: *Programme for the re-construction of religious places affected by the Ditwah Cyclone* Cabinet Decision	• Approved a joint programme to repair and reconstruct religious places damaged by Cyclone Ditwah. • Provide up to Rs. 7.5 million for completely destroyed religious places suitable for reconstruction at the same location. • Provide up to Rs. 5 million for religious places that were partially damaged. • Priority reconstruction includes priests' residences, sermon halls, kovils/churches, sanitation, water, and electricity facilities. • Minor damages to religious places will also be addressed through restoration assistance. • **Ministry:** Buddhasasana, Religious and Cultural Affairs

No.	Manifesto Promise/s	Actions (Cabinet Decisions taken during January-June 2026)	Major Takeaways and Relevant Ministries & Entities
		April 27, 2026: *Project for the construction of Interim Housing for families displaced due to the disasters caused by the Cyclone Ditwah and currently residing in safety centres, tents and houses of relatives* Cabinet Decision	• Approved construction of interim housing for 1,000 displaced families. • Targets families currently living in safety centers, tents, and relatives' houses. • Covers Kegalle, Kandy, Nuwara Eliya, and Badulla Districts. • Provides temporary housing until permanent houses are constructed. • Construction will use the labour contribution of the Sri Lanka Army. • Housing will follow plans prepared by the National Building Research Organization (NBRO). • Addresses difficulties faced by displaced families in finding suitable rental accommodation. • **Ministry:** Defence
		June 1, 2026: *Programme for empowering people affected by the disaster* Cabinet Decision	• Approved measures to restore livelihoods affected by Cyclone Ditwah. • Extend house-rent assistance from 6 to 9 months for eligible families who lost their homes. • Clear and restore damaged paddy lands for cultivation. • Priorities landslide risk mitigation in affected and high-risk areas. • Provide funding through Treasury allocations for disaster relief and rehabilitation. • **Ministry:** Finance, Planning and Economic Development

No.	Manifesto Promise/s	Actions (Cabinet Decisions taken during January-June 2026)	Major Takeaways and Relevant Ministries & Entities
		June 30, 2026: *Obtaining financial assistance of the Government of India for the implementation effort of rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes in Sri Lanka in the aftermath of the Cyclone 'Ditwah'* Cabinet Decision	• Approved obtaining a US$450 million Indian assistance package under *Operation Sagar Bandhu*. • Includes US$350 million in credit facilities and a US$100 million grant. • Credit comprises US$250 million long-term and US$100 million short-term lines of credit. • Funding will support infrastructure, connectivity, health, education, housing, water supply, and disaster management. • Approved entering into the necessary agreements with the Government of India to obtain the credit facilities. • The assistance responds to approximately US$3.5 billion in identified reconstruction needs following Cyclone Ditwah. • **Ministry:** Finance, Planning and Economic Development

Table 9 Cabinet actions during January-June 2026 in relation to manifesto promises related to disaster management

7.2 Relevance of Cabinet Decisions to Manifesto Promises on Disaster Management under Post Ditwah Situations

The Cabinet decisions taken during the period under review demonstrate a significant degree of relevance to the government's manifesto commitments and national policy priorities relating to disaster risk reduction, climate resilience, environmental protection, agricultural recovery, and humanitarian response. A number of the decisions directly address the commitments to strengthen disaster preparedness, reduce vulnerability, protect livelihoods, and improve institutional capacity for responding to natural disasters.

Financial Assistance to the Farmers

The Cabinet decision of 5 January 2026 to provide financial assistance and planting materials to farmers whose pepper, coffee and cardamom cultivations were damaged by the disaster is relevant to the manifesto commitment on developing climate-resilient agriculture and adopting climate-adaptive farming practices (p.65). The decision provides financial support for re-cultivation and the provision of planting materials, thereby supporting the recovery and resilience of disaster-affected agricultural livelihoods.

Replanting process in plantation sector

The 9 March 2026 decision to provide assistance for the replanting of disaster-affected tea, rubber and coconut plantations is similarly relevant to the commitment on climate-resilient agriculture. The provision of up to Rs. 500,000 per hectare for tea, Rs. 400,000 for rubber and Rs. 750,000 for coconut demonstrates direct government intervention to restore agricultural production following climate-related disasters.

Science-Driven Disaster Resilience

The 9 March 2026 Cabinet decision on Science-Driven Disaster Resilience has particularly strong relevance to the manifesto commitments on disaster risk reduction, early warning, research, climate resilience and proactive disaster management (pp. 31, 33, 77, 78 and 103). The decision recognizes the systemic vulnerabilities exposed by Cyclone Ditwah and proposes a shift from a reactive response-and-recovery model towards a science-driven proactive resilience framework. The proposed research and system-development measures are therefore closely aligned with the manifesto's emphasis on scientific approaches to disaster risk reduction.

Financial Assistance to construct the houses

The decision of 9 March 2026 to increase financial assistance for houses constructed under the resettlement program for families living in landslide-prone and high-risk landslide areas is relevant to the manifesto commitment on identification, management and risk reduction of natural disaster-prone areas (p.31). It also contributes to the broader objective of reducing human vulnerability in high-risk locations through planned resettlement.

Assistance on Communication Restoration

The 23 March 2026 decision to establish an Amateur Radio Emergency Communication Network is relevant to the manifesto commitment concerning emergency response mechanisms and strengthening disaster-response capacity (pp. 33 and 78). The decision responds to the disruption of conventional communication networks during disasters and seeks to establish an alternative communication mechanism for emergency services and humanitarian agencies.

Fund mobilization

The 30 March 2026 decision concerning the establishment of the Climate and Nature-Positive Investment Fund is relevant to commitments on climate resilience, adaptation, environmental conservation and biodiversity protection (p.78 and 103). The proposed fund is intended to mobilize domestic and foreign resources for climate mitigation, adaptation and conservation activities, while the proposed institutional framework focuses on the restoration of the Central Highlands.

Interim Housing for estate communities

The decisions taken in April 2026 to construct houses for disaster-affected estate families and to provide interim housing for displaced families are relevant to the government's broader disaster-management and humanitarian commitments. These measures address the immediate housing needs of populations affected by floods, landslides and other consequences of Cyclone Ditwah, while also providing temporary solutions until permanent housing can be constructed.

Reconstruction of Religious places

The 15 June 2026 Cabinet decision to continue the reconstruction of religious places damaged by Cyclone Ditwah is relevant to the broader commitment to strengthen humanitarian assistance and disaster recovery capacity (p. 122). The decision records damage to Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim and Christian religious places and approves additional resources for their restoration.

The Cabinet decision on the program for empowering people affected by the disaster is also relevant to the manifesto commitments on disaster risk reduction and protection of livelihoods. The measures include extending temporary housing assistance, restoring disaster-damaged paddy lands, and prioritizing landslide-risk mitigation activities in areas identified by the National Building Research Organization. These interventions demonstrate an attempt to combine immediate relief with recovery and risk-reduction measures.

Building back better

Finally, the 30 June 2026 decision on Cyclone Ditwah Recovery Projects represents a substantial government response to disaster recovery. The Cabinet approved 1,028 recovery projects at an estimated cost of Rs. 515,460.26 million, together with 38 Provincial Council projects estimated at Rs. 102,219.05 million. The reference to the principle of "Building Back Better" indicates an approach that goes beyond restoring damaged infrastructure and seeks to incorporate resilience into the recovery process. This is strongly relevant to the manifesto commitments on disaster mitigation, climate resilience, adaptation and strengthening disaster-response capacity.

Overall, the Cabinet decisions reviewed indicate that disaster response, recovery and resilience have received considerable policy attention during the period under review. There is particularly clear alignment with manifesto commitments relating to agricultural recovery, disaster preparedness, scientific disaster resilience, landslide-risk reduction, emergency communication, climate adaptation and humanitarian assistance.

However, the Cabinet decisions primarily demonstrate policy approval and initiation of programs. For monitoring purposes, further assessment is required to determine the extent to which these decisions have translated into actual implementation, measurable outcomes, budget utilization, institutional changes and long-term improvements in disaster resilience. Therefore, the activities can generally be assessed as relevant and aligned with the manifesto commitments, while their level of implementation and effectiveness requires continued monitoring.

7.3 Ministerial and other institutional performances in Implementation of Post-Cyclone Ditwah Actions

The Second Biannual Report documented that, in the aftermath of Cyclone Ditwah, disaster management became a decisive dimension of government policy implementation, particularly with respect to rescue, relief, and rehabilitation. As an immediate response, the government declared a nationwide state of emergency and issued a series of gazette notifications and treasury circulars aimed at strengthening accountability and expediting response mechanisms. These included Extraordinary Gazette No. 2464/30 (28 November 2025) declaring the state of emergency; Treasury Circulars No. 05/2025, 06/2025, 07/2025, 08/2025 and 08/2025(i) (28 November – 20 December 2025) issued by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development to provide relief to disaster-affected populations and support their economic recovery; and Extraordinary Gazette No. 2469/09 (31st December 2025) establishing the Presidential Task Force for "Rebuilding Sri Lanka." In addition, the Cabinet of Ministers took five decisions between 1 and 10 December 2025 covering emergency relief, the Rebuilding Sri Lanka Fund, activation of a World Bank contingency financing mechanism, an Asia Pacific Disaster Response Fund grant, and support for the rehabilitation of religious institutions affected by the disaster.

Instrument/ Circular No.	Issuing Authority	Subject	Date Issued
Treasury Circular No. 05/2025	Ministry of Finance, Planning & Economic Development	Emergency relief funding to affected population	28-11-2025
Treasury Circular No. 06/2025	Ministry of Finance, Planning & Economic Development	Support for livelihood restoration	01-12-2025
Treasury Circular No. 07/2025	Ministry of Finance, Planning & Economic Development	Livelihood restoration – continuation	02-12-2025
Treasury Circular No. 08/2025	Ministry of Finance, Planning & Economic Development	Disaster relief loan scheme	05-12-2025
Treasury Circular No. 08/2025 (I)	Ministry of Finance, Planning & Economic Development	Disaster relief loan scheme – amendment	20-12-2025
Extraordinary Gazette No. 2469/09	President	Establishment of "Rebuilding Sri Lanka" Presidential Task Force	31-12-2025

Table 10 Government's gazettes and circulars in the post-Ditwah period

The National Disaster Relief Services Center under the Ministry of Defence on September 3, 2026 shared the progress to the Presidential Secretariat on the "Program for Empowering Persons Affected by Cyclone Ditwah" compiled based on the information provided by the Disaster Relief Service Officers attached to the District Secretariats.

Progress of Relief Measures Provided to Persons Affected by Cyclone Ditwah under Budget Circular No. 8/2025 and 8/2025 (I) Issued by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development as at 3 September 2026 revealed the following information:

The data distinguishes between fixed cash allowances, which do not require individual damage assessment, and structurally-assessed compensation, which does.

No.	Allowance Category / Description	No. of Eligible Beneficiaries	No. of Paid Beneficiaries	Total Disbursed (Rs. Millions)	Completion Progress
1	House-cleaning allowance (one-time, Rs. 25,000)	431,993	431,516	10,787.90	99.95%
2	Household-items allowance (one-time, Rs. 50,000)	172,057	167,458	8,372.90	99.53%
3	Livelihood-loss allowance (monthly, up to 3 months)	1,156	1,156	94.55	99.80%
4	Temporary rental allowance (Rs.25,000/ up to 9 months)	10,762	10,139	1,461.45	94.16%
5	School children's support (Rs. 15,000/child)	207,162	205,200	3,078.00	99.85%
6	Death / permanently disabled Allowance (Rs.1,000,000/per person	629	601	667.90	99.85%
7	Business operating grants (fixed cash)	37,742	28,320	2,715.70	90.84%

Table 11 Fixed cash allowances

No.	Relief Category (assessment-based)	Total Cases Identified	1st Installment Progress	Later Installments Progress	Key Constraint
1	Partial house damage compensation	57,210	54%	27%→3.6%→1.1%	Re-assessment, appeals, disputed classification
2	Full house reconstruction (own land)	31,816	49%	12%→<2%	Land-title verification, appeals
3	Full house reconstruction (govt. land)	incl. above	30%	5%→<1%	Site allocation, NHDA construction pending
4	Business structural-damage compensation	Rs. 325 Mn entitled	—	~9%	Damage assessment is the binding constraint

Table 12 Structurally-assessed compensation

The available data indicate that while death and disappearance compensation has progressed substantially, compensation requiring individual damage assessment remains significantly delayed. Of 815 recorded deaths and missing persons, 629 were deemed eligible for compensation, of whom 601 (96.93%) had been paid, amounting to Rs. 667.9 million. However, 110 eligible cases remained unpaid due to issues including missing death certificates, absence of surviving next-of-kin, pending DNA verification, and unresolved insurance-related matters.

The more significant bottleneck is evident in house and business compensation requiring structural or technical assessment. For 57,210 partially damaged houses, payment of the first installment had reached approximately 54%, but subsequent installments had fallen sharply to 27%, 3.6%, and 1.1%. Similarly, for 31,816 houses requiring full reconstruction or relocation, payment progress remained low, particularly for beneficiaries on government land. Business compensation shows a similar pattern. Only Rs. 28.6 million of Rs. 325 million in recognized structural-damage entitlements had been paid, representing approximately 9%. In contrast, fixed-amount business grants requiring no structural assessment had reached 90.84%, with 28,320 of 37,742 eligible businesses receiving payments amounting to Rs. 2,715.7 million.

Overall, the evidence suggests that the main constraint is not simply the availability of funds, but the complexity of assessment and verification processes. Land ownership disputes, pending title verification, reclassification of damage, incomplete applications, delays in relocation housing, and unresolved appeals are contributing to prolonged delays.

The backlog is particularly concentrated in Puttalam, Gampaha, Colombo, Kandy, Kegalle, and Kurunegala, which have recorded high caseloads and significant disbursements across relief categories. These districts therefore warrant priority follow-up monitoring, particularly for compensation claims dependent on structural assessments, land verification, and appeals.

To obtain comprehensive and up-to-date information on post-Ditwah relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction, and related government programs, PAFFREL submitted Right to Information (RTI) applications to eight relevant ministries and the Presidential Secretariat. The status of these information requests, including responses received and applications that remain pending, is presented below:

No.	Ministry/Entity	Submission Date	Status of Response and Date
1	Digital Economy	05-08-2026	Received responses on 01-09-2026
2	Science and Technology	05-08-2026	Received responses on 24-08-2026
3	Plantation and Community Infrastructure	05-08-2026	Received responses on 31-08-2026
4	Education, Higher Education, and Vocational Education	05-08-2026	Acknowledged receiving application. Requested days to respond (11-08-2026)
5	Defence	05-08-2026	Acknowledged receiving application. Requested days to respond (14-08-2026)
6	Buddhasasana, Religious and Cultural Affairs	05-08-2026	Acknowledged receiving application. Requested days to respond (18-08-2026)
7	Transport, Highways and Urban Development	05-08-2026	Acknowledged receiving application and informed main authority (14-08-2026)
8	Finance, Planning and Economic Development	05-08-2026	Acknowledged receiving application. Requested days to respond (02-09-2026)
9	Presidential Secretariat	05-08-2026	Acknowledged receiving application. Requested days to respond (18-08-2026)

Table 13 Status of information requests through RTIs, and update of responses

As per the information received from the Telecommunication Regulatory Commission of Sri Lanka (TRCSL) responded to the RTI request submitted to the Ministry of Digital Economy and provided its project implementation plan for the establishment of an Amateur Radio Emergency Communication Network in Sri Lanka, in line with the Cabinet decision taken on 23 March 2026. The decision responds to the disruption of conventional communication networks during disasters and seeks to establish an alternative communication mechanism to support emergency services and humanitarian agencies.

According to the implementation plan, the project consists of **seven phases**, with completion scheduled for August 2026. The expected outcomes include the establishment of a national emergency amateur radio network, improved resilience of disaster communication systems, the development of a trained pool of licensed amateur radio operators within TRCSL, enhanced coordination among emergency response agencies, and strengthened **Sri Lanka–Japan cooperation on disaster resilience**. Continued monitoring is necessary to assess whether the planned activities and expected outcomes have been achieved within the stated timeframe.

The Ministry of Science and Technology also responded to an RTI request concerning the "Science Against Disaster - National Program for the Assessment of Institutional Research Needs: Lessons Learned from Cyclone Ditwah as a Climate Stress Test." The relevant Cabinet decision, taken on 9 March 2026, recognizes the systemic vulnerabilities exposed by Cyclone Ditwah and proposes a shift from a reactive response-and-recovery model towards a science-driven and proactive disaster resilience framework. The proposed research and system-development measures are therefore closely aligned with the manifesto's emphasis on applying scientific approaches to disaster risk reduction and strengthening institutional preparedness. Further monitoring is required to assess the progress of the proposed research initiatives and their translation into practical disaster-risk-reduction measures.

The Ministry of Plantation and Community Infrastructure also responded to the RTI application and reported that 2,782 houses in certain districts under the Ministry's purview have been identified as being at high risk. The information provided also refers to a joint action plan developed by the Ministry in collaboration with the Ministry of Finance, in accordance with the Cabinet decision of 30 June 2026 on "Build Back Better." Given the scale of the identified housing risks and the importance of effective implementation of the proposed measures, continued monitoring beyond the current reporting period is essential to assess progress in addressing high-risk housing and strengthening community resilience.

7.4 Utilization of the Supplementary Allocation

On 19 December 2025, the Sri Lankan Parliament approved a supplementary allocation of LKR 500 billion (approximately USD 1.6 billion) to fund post-Cyclone Ditwah rehabilitation[3]. As reported previously, this additional expenditure was expected to raise the 2026 budget deficit by 1.5 percentage points of nominal GDP, thereby constraining fiscal space, a development formally communicated by the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development through Circular No. BD/CBP/01/01/50/2025.[4] The supplementary estimate was allocated across three categories: LKR 250 billion for infrastructure reconstruction, LKR 150 billion for restoring livelihoods and businesses, and LKR 100 billion for direct relief and housing.

Allocation Category	**Approved (Rs. Billion)**
Restoration of damaged infrastructure including roads, bridges, railway lines, irrigation facilities, hospitals, schools, etc.	250
Provision of Livelihood Support	150
Restoration and Reconstruction of Damaged Houses	100
Total	**500**

Table 14 Distribution of allocations among disaster relief activities

According to information presented to the Parliamentary Committee on Public Finance, Rs. 243.9 billion of the Rs. 500 billion Supplementary Estimate No. 01 of 2026 had been utilized as at 30 June 2026[5], representing approximately 48.8% of the total allocation. However, publicly available official information does not provide a disaggregated expenditure breakdown across the three original allocation categories. Subsequently, Rs. 71.7 billion from the unutilized balance was approved for relief measures related to the economic impact of the Middle East conflict.[6] This underscores the need for greater transparency regarding the utilization of the remaining funds originally allocated for post-Ditwah rehabilitation and reconstruction.

3 https://www.parliament.lk/en/home/parliament-news/view/4996

4 https://www.treasury.gov.lk/api/file/4f526647-b266-4ebe-aeee-ae6612c47cd3

5 https://www.dailymirror.lk/breaking-news/CoPF-approves-Rs-71-7-Billion-relief-package-to-mitigate-impact-of- Middle-East-conflict/108-347280

6 https://www.parliament.lk/en/home/parliament-news/view/5314

8

Recommendations

1. **Strengthen Government Monitoring and Reporting Mechanisms:** The Government should strengthen its monitoring and reporting mechanisms to ensure the systematic tracking and transparent reporting of progress on manifesto commitments. Cabinet decisions, policy approvals, budget allocations, and project initiation are evidence of government *action*, but they do not, on their own, demonstrate whether the intended outputs, outcomes, and longer-term impacts have actually been achieved.

2. **Establish a Results-Based Monitoring and Evaluation Framework:** The Government should institute a results-based monitoring and evaluation framework for manifesto commitments, with clearly defined indicators, baselines, targets, timelines, responsible institutions, and mechanisms for periodic reporting. Relevant ministries and agencies should be required to regularly publish reliable, verifiable, and disaggregated data on implementation progress, outputs, outcomes, and, where applicable, longer-term impact. Such a system would strengthen accountability, enable independent monitoring, support evidence-based assessment of government performance, and allow citizens and other stakeholders to judge how far manifesto promises are being translated into tangible results.

3. **Institute an Annual Public Review of NACAP Implementation:** To strengthen transparency, accountability, and public confidence in the Government's anti-corruption commitments, an annual public review of National Anti-Corruption Action Plan (NACAP) implementation should be undertaken and published, either jointly by CIABOC and the Presidential Secretariat, or through an appropriate institutional coordination mechanism. The review should report clearly on progress against targets, outstanding actions, implementation challenges, and measures taken to address delays.

4. **Institutionalize Evidence-Based, Inclusive Policymaking:** The Government should strengthen mechanisms for inclusive, evidence-based law- and policymaking by systematically seeking and incorporating the views of experts, civil society, professional bodies, and other relevant stakeholders. Greater openness to diverse perspectives would produce more informed, transparent, and effective legislation and policy, while strengthening public confidence in the decision-making process.

5. **Ensure Effective, Timely Implementation of the Right to Information Act:** The Government should take concrete measures to strengthen implementation of the Right to Information (RTI) framework and prevent any erosion of the public's access to information. In particular, authorities should ensure information requests are answered within legally prescribed timeframes, and establish effective mechanisms to monitor and address response delays. Strengthening institutional accountability and compliance with the RTI Act would improve transparency, public oversight, and citizens' access to government information.

6. **Prioritize Core Democratic Governance Commitments in Constitutional Reform:** Constitutional and legal reform should be prioritized around measures that strengthen democratic accountability, protect fundamental rights, and prevent democratic backsliding, in line with commitments already made to the public. This means prioritizing the abolition of the Executive Presidency and the repeal or amendment of draconian, rights-restricting laws. Constitutional reform should not be confined to structural or technical amendments that sidestep these substantive democratic commitments.

9

Conclusion

PAFFREL, together with the March 12 Movement, has continued its independent monitoring of the government's manifesto implementation, releasing three monitoring reports to date to inform the public of progress, challenges, and gaps in implementation.

As the Government completes the second year of its five-year mandate, monitoring its manifesto commitments becomes increasingly important, not as a procedural exercise, but as the primary means of assessing whether electoral promises are being translated into concrete action, measurable results, and meaningful improvements in citizens' lives.

The monitoring process has identified a persistent and consequential gap. The Government has introduced regulations, established institutional mechanisms, and appointed an 11-member committee to oversee aspects of manifesto implementation, yet no systematic, publicly available account of overall progress exists. Government action surfaces occasionally, through media reports and individual announcements, but the absence of a comprehensive, periodic official report leaves citizens and other stakeholders without the means to independently assess progress against the commitments made to the electorate.

Closing this gap requires a regular public report from the Government on the status of its manifesto commitments, one that states plainly which commitments have been completed, which are underway, which remain pending, and why, as a step towards strengthening transparency, accountability, and public confidence in governance. Progress claims should be backed by verifiable data on outputs, outcomes, resource allocation, and expected timelines. Such reporting would not substitute for independent monitoring but would complement it, giving citizens a genuine basis on which to judge government performance rather than relying on fragments assembled from press coverage.

At the same time, the implementation of the manifesto should not be pursued at the expense of the fundamental principles of democracy and good governance. The fulfilment of policy commitments must remain consistent with the protection of the right to information, freedom of expression, freedom of association, the rule of law, transparency, accountability, and meaningful public participation in governance. These principles are not merely procedural safeguards; they are essential conditions for ensuring that government policies and reforms are legitimate, inclusive, and responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people.

With three years of its mandate remaining, the Government still has the opportunity to strengthen both the implementation and reporting of its manifesto commitments. Greater openness in sharing information, stronger institutional monitoring, timely public reporting, and meaningful engagement with citizens and stakeholders would help bridge the existing accountability gap. Ultimately, the success of the manifesto should not be measured only by the number of decisions, regulations, or mechanisms introduced, but by the extent to which commitments are translated into tangible results while strengthening, rather than erodes, democratic governance and public trust.

10

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11

Annexures

Annex 1: Cabinet Decisions assessed during January-December 2026

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