## PEOPLE'S MANIFESTO FOR A JUST, EQUITABLE, AND SUSTAINABLE INDIA 2024

BY MEMBERS OF THE VIKALP SANGAM GENERAL ASSEMBLY





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The Vikalp Sangam process is a platform to bring together movements, groups and individuals working on just, equitable and sustainable pathways to human and ecological well-being. It rejects the current model of development and the structures of inequality and injustice underlying it, and searches for alternatives in practice and vision.

Over 85 movements and organisations around the country are members of its General Assembly, as listed at the end of this document.

For more information: http://www.vikalpsangam.org/about/

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# Part 1:

# The commitments we make and seek



We commit, and ask all citizens to commit to an India that is just, equitable, and sustainable for today's and coming generations, and for all of nature, where:

- the well-being and health of all is ensured by providing opportunities to engage in materially, culturally, ethically and spiritually fulfilling lives and livelihoods;
- everyone has meaningful avenues of directly participating in decision-making through direct forms of democracy;
- there is no discrimination based on gender, caste, class, ethnicity, religion, 'race', ability, sexual orientation, and other such features;
- the diversity and pluralism of cultures and knowledges and faiths is respected and enabled to co-exist harmoniously; and
- there is respect for the rest of nature and ecological conditions on which all life depends.

As civil society organisations and movements, we commit to do all we can to achieve such a society, and ourselves be accountable and transparent to the public even as we demand and expect the same from government institutions, businesses, media and others.

The above commitments (and related steps, which we spell out below) are urgently required in the context of the multiple crises we face today. There is growing tide of social conflicts and ethnic or religious tension, intolerance, inequality, ill-health, erosion of cultural (including language) heritage and diversity, loss of traditional knowledge and skills, and massive ecological devastation. This is caused by the currently dominant models of economic development, which prioritise massive industrialization and infrastructure growth, as also commodification and commercialization of nature and social relations, and are dominated by men. It is also encouraged by authoritarian, religiously divisive tendencies in the state, all of these building on traditional inequalities and discrimination of various kinds including gender and caste. These trends are undermining or stalling the gains attained by these sections in the last few decades of democratic processes. We believe in more humane, nature friendly, equitable and inclusive paths of well-being, with active participation of women,

youth, sexual minorities, people with disabilities, indigenous communities, oppressed castes and religious minorities, and others usually excluded by the dominant system.

Since 2019 when we issued a People's Manifesto (https://vikalpsangam.org/article/peoples-manifestofor-a-just-equitable-and-sustainable-india-2019/), the above multiple crises have significantly worsened. Actions that have brought many relatively autonomous regions of India such as Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh, Lakshadweep, and the north-east into more centralised rule are examples. Others are the visibly growing ecological collapse (incidents such as the sinking of Joshimath, and of climate crisis related extreme weather events, are examples), religious or ethnic conflicts such as in Manipur, and sexual violence being condoned or encouraged by institutions of the state such as in the case of Bilkis Bano.

To deal with these multiple crises that India faces, such a commitment, which is in essence also a renewed commitment to the values of the Constitution of India and to a meaningful democratic and dignified society, should become the central objective of all decisionmaking and actions, including public planning. It requires urgent short-term and long-term steps in every sector or area of society.

Broadly, we are seeking the following actions at policy and programmatic level, outlined in Part 2, and detailed in Part 3, with a special section relating to Youth in Part 4.

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# Part 2:

### **Outline and Summary of Actions**



A fundamental re-orientation of institutions, policies and programmes relating to India's economy, society, politics, culture, and environment would include the following actions.

 Highest priority in all plans, budgets, policies and programmes of government, to the most vulnerable sections of society, including those discriminated against on the basis of caste, gender, sexual orientation, class, ethnicity, faith/religion, 'race', ability/disability, literacy, geographical location, and other such features. Such priority to be ensured by government in corporate sector too.

### Talisman for every public action: does it benefit the vulnerable, does it reduce discrimination?

2. Strong measures to tackle the gross economic inequalities facing Indian society, including caps on salary levels, significant reduction in the ratio of highest and lowest income levels, high taxation on income, wealth and inheritance of the rich, basic minimum income and employment guarantee for the vulnerable, pension for all workers in the primary sector, and steps to curb the enormous 'black economy' that drains resources away from where they are needed most.

Talisman for every public action: does it reduce economic inequality, does it economically empower those who are currently marginalized?

3. Widespread programmes for re-establishing harmony and sustaining diversity amongst people of different faiths, ethnicities, languages, and cultures, from school level upwards, and prompt action against those spreading misinformation, hatred, and enmity amongst various communities.

Talisman for every public action: does it increase harmony, does it reduce social conflicts, misconceptions, and tension?

4. Further democratisation of decision-making, empowering gram sabhas and urban area or mohalla sabhas with financial and legal powers apart from those already provided for in the Constitution and relevant laws, ensuring processes of prior informed consent of such bodies for activities in their territories, and initiating decision-making forums at landscape levels such as river basins and sub-basins. In this, steps must be taken to ensure informed participation from the youth, women, sexual minorities, people with disabilities, and other vulnerable or marginalized sections, with necessary support rather than by having others 'represent' these sections.

Talisman for every public action: does it increase meaningful participation of all people, especially of the currently marginalised?

5. A comprehensive policy and law on accountability and transparency of all institutions of the state, of political parties, of corporations, financial institutions, and of media houses; and repeal of laws/provisions that enable the state to stifle democratic dissent or provide draconian powers to police and armed forces;

#### Talisman for every public action: is it fully transparent to the public, does it enhance accountability, does it curtail unaccountable power of the state?

6. A massive programme on livelihoods that combine traditional and modern skills and knowledge, with highest priority in all plans and budgets to the two biggest livelihood sectors of agriculture (including farming, pastoralism, fisheries, and forestry) and crafts manufacturing; this should include reserving all products and services that can be made or generated at micro, small and medium-scale by promoting local, community-based, and decentralised production, through measures such as the facilitation of democratically run producer collectives (cooperatives, companies, unions, etc).

Talisman for every public action: does it enhance and secure livelihoods of the vulnerable and marginalised, does it accord respect to all sources of livelihood that are dignified?

7. A national land/water use plan and policy, informed by the agro-ecological and socio-cultural diversity of the country, with steps for conservation of the most important ecosystems and ecological functions on which all lives (including those of the non-human world) depend, and of the commons, wildlife and biodiversity they contain; and initiation of a countrywide programme of land/soil and water regeneration oriented at creating sustainable natural resource assets for local economies; all this through legal measures that empower and recognise rights of local communities akin to what is provided for in the Forest Rights Act, and Constitutional recognition of the rights of natural ecosystems and species.

### Talisman for every public action: does it protect natural ecosystems and ecological functions?

8. A comprehensive policy and legal regime to ensure that economic planning respects ecological limits at all levels, local to national, including through independently conducted, participatory, comprehensive environmental impact assessments of projects, programmes, schemes and sectors; and that all chemicals and substances harmful to human or ecosystem/animal health are replaced by ecologically sensitive substances.

Talisman for every public action: does it sustain the natural environment and retain ecological health vital for people and wildlife? Does everyone have clean air to breath, clean water to drink, and a safe space for their mental health?

9. Programmes to prioritise public support to all basic needs, including health, sanitation, housing, learning and education, water, food and energy, and livelihoods, providing significantly higher budgetary allocations for these than currently given; actions to convert all food production into agroecological and safe processes with maximum support to small farmers, pastoralists and fishers and their full rights over land, seeds, water, knowledge, and other commons; actions to produce most energy through decentralised renewable sources by 2030 while also undertaking measures to contain demand to what is essential and within ecological limits; actions to help marginalized sections cope with and adapt to the climate crisis and other disasters; and urgent actions to regenerate and conserve water sources which give priority to water use for essential life functions.

Talisman for every public action: does it enhance,

secure, and make accessible/affordable basic needs of everyone, and in particular of those currently deprived of these, in ways that are ecologically sustainable and that ensure their democratic, community-led control.

10. Steps to make urban and rural settlements dignified, livable, and sustainable, as self-reliant for basic needs as possible, and with full rights of access to land, housing, and other amenities for the vulnerable sections of society, and highest priority to public and non-motorable means of mobility/ transportation.

#### Talisman for every public action: is it leading to more livable and sustainable conditions of living for everyone, especially those currently deprived?

11. Initiatives to transform all learning and education towards methods that are activity-based, enjoyable, culturally and ecologically rooted (prioritising learning in mother tongues), enabling learners to imbibe the ethics of justice and responsibility, driven by self-learning processes, critical thinking, inquiry and self-awareness, and able to instil respect for cultural diversity and ecological sustainability, including through relevant amendments of Right to Education Act, and community-based processes for both children and adults. Specialized curriculum for and relating to marginalized groups must be added at all levels; and to make education fully accessible including to those with special needs, alternative modes of communication should be explored, enabled and encouraged. At least 6% of GDP should be dedicated to this sector.

Talisman for every public action: is it leading to holistic learning opportunities for everyone in rural and urban areas, especially those currently marginalised?

12. A comprehensive policy and programmes on innovation, technology and knowledge, that encourages and supports public and informal processes of innovation, recognises the creativity of 'ordinary' people, maximises the availability of knowledge and information in the public and commons domain including through independent media, recognises and respects the diversity of knowledge systems including folk knowledge, and puts all technological developments up for public review to gauge how responsible they are to the goals of justice, accessibility, and sustainability.

### Talisman for every public action: does it further democratise and make publicly accessible knowledge and technology?

13. A comprehensive policy and relevant programmes to make conditions for healthy living and health services accessible to all, especially to vulnerable sections, including through the integrated use of multiple health systems, linkages with other determinants of health (food, social, mental and physical environment, education, etc), community governance and monitoring; dedicating at least 3% of GDP to ensure that the public sector reaches all.

Talisman for every public action: is it enabling conditions of health for all, especially for those currently deprived of healthy conditions and health services?

14. Initiatives to encourage the democratic flourishing of the arts (visual and performing), removing the caste, class and gender discriminations that are embedded in some of them, making them accessible to all, and converting public institutions promoting them into independent bodies.

### Talisman for every public action: does it support the arts to flourish in ways accessible to all?

15. Steps to re-establish India's global role as a champion of human rights, peace and demilitarisation, and ecological wisdom, including through the revitalisation of the United Nations and support to people's democratic access to global decisionmaking, and advocacy to make trade and other economic agreements subservient to human rights and environment treaties.

Talisman for every public action: does it enhance global peace, co-existence and justice? Does it enable people's and community voices in global decisions?

16. In all the above, give special attention to the empowerment and facilitation of India's youth, persons with disabilities, senior citizens, women, sexual minorities, Dalits, Adivasis, and others from marginalized and vulnerable sections, and the enabling of their own voices in determining the present and the future. (Pl. see Part 3 on Youth).

Talisman for every public action: does it empower the youth, women and other marginalized genders, and other vulnerable people, towards greater justice and self-determination?

# Part 3: Detailed, sector-wise actions



# Society, culture, and peace

India is facing a dangerous spread of religious and ethnic conflict and intolerance, and its millennia-old civilization based on cultural diversity and co-existence is under grave threat. While much has been gained over the last few decades in strengthening the voices of the marginalised, and reducing inequities and discriminations based on gender, caste, ethnicity, and other features, they continue to be causes for violence and discrimination, mixing in toxic ways with the above. Instead of encouraging the sustenance or revival of co-existence and mutual respect and continued removal of inequities and discrimination, the state is encouraging these regressive trends. It has in recent times even condoned or encouraged sexual violence. There are however also many people's initiatives, some supported by state governments, at dialogue, conflict resolution, and re-establishment of co-existence, from which one can learn. In this context, urgent measures are needed to:

Remove inequalities, inequities, and discriminations of various kinds, including those related to caste, gender, sexual orientation, class, ethnicity, faith/ religion, 'race', ability/disability, literacy, location, and other such features, including special programmes creating dignified living for all; this includes stronger implementation of a number of Constitutional provisions and laws in India that mandate such measures, but also prevention of their misuse by sections of society that are already privileged in many ways, and encouragement of syncretic traditions and practices that fostered coexistence such as festivals celebrated together by people of multiple faiths;

Encourage initiatives aimed at sustaining and promoting harmony and mutual respect among communities of different ethnicities, faiths, cultures, languages, beliefs and ideologies (for instance by encouraging collective inter-community celebrations in various festivals), and take immediate action against those who incite or promote hate, intolerance, misinformation; Instill awareness and respect for diversity and pluralism from childhood, including by encouraging intercommunity celebrations and events in schools and other learning institutions;

Enact a comprehensive Anti-discrimination and Equality law to ensure equal opportunity and protection against all forms of social discrimination;

Take urgent steps to sustain or (where necessary) revive languages and dialects that are being lost, by facilitating inter-generational and other forms of learning in their speakers, mandating mother-tongue learning in schools or other learning institutions, using such languages in official programmes, creating vocabulary aid like dictionaries of such languages and dialects (where appropriate), and adding Constitutional and policy provisions for such measures;

Reverse the decision to include only 6 religions in the Census, and instead, include the identification and recognition of all faiths however small; also add back the census on castes to facilitate proper implementation of relevant schemes and programmes;

Take urgent steps to similarly facilitate the continuation or revival of forms of art (visual, performing, etc) that are being lost, including by converting relevant governmentinitiated institutions into independent bodies, publiclyfunded;

Promote forums of inter-community understanding and dialogue, towards resolution of conflicts and promotion of peaceful co-existence, especially in areas prone to tension and conflict;

Ensure women's safety and dignity, countering sexual violence of various kinds, through inculcation of gender education in pedagogies from childhood, village and urban neighbourhood forums for gender equity and respect, recognising care work and other forms of unpaid labour, involving women in and feminizing urban and rural planning, physical measures such as good lighting on streets and public/private toilets, safe public transport, and safe cycle/walking paths.

Promote inclusivity and equal opportunity for gender and sexual minorities through affirmative action, expanding access to social welfare programmes, expanding budgets, and employment opportunities. Include transgender budget into gender budget.

Undertake special measures and introduce incentives (where not already given) like employment reservation or special tax benefits for SC/STs, transgender individuals and persons with disabilities in both the public and private sectors, including by providing necessary training for enhancing capacities.

Revive the inculcation of basic values like justice, non-violence, simplicity, respect, inter-dependence, generosity, responsibility, and collectivity, in institutions of learning, not in the conventional top-down moralistic manner but through activities that combine joy and learning, including some suggested above.

#### Democracy

The Constitution provides crucial measures for democratic functioning and governance, including citizens' rights and guarantees. However, these need to be deepened, in relation to rural and urban selfgovernance, as also stronger implementation with full involvement of all citizens, many grounded examples of which are already being demonstrated. This further democratisation is especially urgent in the context of the erosion of democratic freedoms by the state in recent times, that have attempted to stifle the right of dissent, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and others enshrined in letter or spirit in the Constitution. In this context, urgent measures are needed to move towards meaningful swaraj, including to:

Assert in all public forums and in actions, the fundamental democratic freedoms and rights enshrined in the Constitution;

Provide for financial and legal decentralisation to bodies of self-governance, recognizing them as legal bodies (bodies corporate), apart from the rights they already have under the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments and related laws;

Provide for full powers of self-governance to gram sabhas (i.e. the full village assembly, not only panchayats); where relevant, dovetail the above with traditional forms of governance (especially relevant for Adivasi/Tribal areas, or mountain and island communities), or recognise them as gram sabhas / panchayats for the purpose of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment (as in the case of the Dzumsa system in Sikkim), enabling internal reforms to remove inequities and discriminations based on gender, caste, or other considerations;

Provide for full powers of self-governance to area or mohalla sabhas (urban neighbourhoods), below the ward sabhas or other existing urban governance institutions that are too big to enable direct participation of all members;

Build capacity amongst all citizens, to meaningfully participate in the above forums of self-governance, and create mechanisms for consensus-based decisionmaking to the extent possible;

Provide special facilitation to those currently marginalised from forums of decision-making, including women and sexual minorities;

Initiate governance, planning and management institutions for larger landscapes ('biocultural regions') that have ecological, geographical and cultural contiguity (such as river basins and sub-basins, subwatersheds, settlements around a contiguous forest, etc), which may or may not coincide with current district, subdistrict, and state boundaries; begin a process of re-imagining current political boundaries to make them more compatible with ecological and cultural contiguities and connections;

Encourage and facilitate political mobilisation of collectives or communities that are non-party in nature, including people's movements, cooperatives, etc; Initiate or strengthen measures to enhance transparency of all political bodies, including full public disclosure of accounts and sources of finance; Promote the autonomy and transparency of constitutional bodies, statutory bodies, and quasi-judicial bodies by establishing procedures that guarantee impartiality in appointments, ensuring transparency in the selection procedure, composition and deciding terms of service to prevent undue influence, strengthening accountability mechanisms to maintain transparency in the functioning of such bodies, and implementing measures that enhance the independence and effectiveness of these bodies.

Ensure full accountability of organs of the state, especially for their role in safeguarding the rights of and justice for marginalised sections, regulating public and private business sector, and providing welfare to those who cannot self-provision; initiate regular, credible and open communication and information about outcomes, targets, processes and achievements in different public sectors and programmes that are verifiable, including through public audits and hearings;

Stop and reverse the trend of privatising essential public services (transport, health, education, and so on) in the name of innovative financing and PPP models, which are are reducing access of the poor to these services, as also public sector employment opportunities for youth, and giving an excuse to the state to reduce budget allocations for social sectors; Bring in policy frameworks for the various priorities given in this document, where not already in place, through fully participatory and consultative processes;

Make public consultation in the formulation and review of all laws and policies mandatory, to ensure transparency and participation; ensure that gram sabhas, urban wards, and other institutions of self-governance are central to such a process;

Enact a law mandating social audits and mechanisms for citizen oversight to ensure that all welfare programmes and schemes are implemented in an effective, transparent and accountable manner;

Repeal laws and provisions that are undemocratic, including those used to give draconian powers to police or armed forces, to stifle democratic dissent, and to label dissenting citizens as terrorists or seditionists or other such terms; instead, encourage vigorous civil society discussion forums that contribute to democratic functioning;

Promote internal democracy and transparency within all organisations and institutions, including civil society groups.



### Livelihoods and Employment

India faces an enormous crisis of unemployment, underemployment, and misemployment, one that threatens to get intensified by trends in automation. There is also massive 'de-skilling' taking place, as traditional expertise and skills such as in agriculture and crafts and arts, are devalued and replaced by manual labour in mass industrial production. The programmes for 'Make in India' and 'Atmanirbhar Bharat' have some components of local livelihoods, but are largely focused on large corporations and big business, bypassing the enormous potential of crafts, small manufacturing and agroprocessing including biomass based rural infrastructure development, and services managed by small providers – local self-reliance is largely bypassed. In the context of the search for meaningful, dignified and adequate livelihoods and employment, hundreds of examples of which are already being demonstrated by communities, civil society and some state governments, urgent measures are needed to:

Give highest priority (in government actions), to the continuation and enhancement of fulfilling traditional livelihoods and occupations that communities or individuals choose to continue while helping to remove any casteist, gender or other discriminations they may be facing; these would include livelihoods in agriculture, pastoralism (nomadic or sedentary), forestry, fisheries, crafts, cottage industry, traditional medicine and other such sectors (recognising that the majority of Indians still depend on them); provide special incentives for current and new generations to remain in or take up such livelihoods, including through economic value chains, empowerment of women in male-dominated sectors, recognising community rights over the relevant resources including land (using the model of Community Forest Resources under the Forest Rights Act), and institutions for encouraging or developing innovation;

Reserve all products and services that can be made or generated at micro, small and medium-scale by promoting local, community-based, and decentralised production (including traditional and new crafts), through measures such as the facilitation of producer collectives (cooperatives, companies, unions, etc) run democratically by their members, phasing out the control of big corporations in these products and services, and facilitating production processes in villages and urban neighbourhoods where such producers are located;

Initiate measures for removing the inequity in pay and remuneration between men and women for the same kind of work;

Initiate measures for capping maximum salaries and pay to a level that is not more than twice the average income, and reducing to the minimum possible, the inequity in pay between physical and mental labour, between occupations of various kinds, and between various levels of employment in an institution;

Enhance and broaden the scope of existing work guarantee programmes like MGNREGA, and introduce new programmes such as an Urban Livelihood Guarantee Scheme to provide basic economic security to the urban poor;

Extend the Employees State Insurance Act (ESI) provisions to all workers, including unorganised workers, and ensure that the ESI corpus (reportedly of over Rs. 1 lakh crore) is used for their welfare;

Ensure that a universal minimum pension is paid, which is at least half of last drawn pay or minimum monthly wage, whichever is higher;

Promote livelihoods and employment that are ecologically sensitive, sustainable, and dignified, building on the vision of 'green jobs' and just transitions (including necessary reskilling and upskilling for those employed in 'dirty' jobs) that has been promoted by the United Nations;

Including care work in the national accounting for comprehensive understanding of the economy and to promote overall well-being of long-term support carers (such as women) by giving some paid leave, affordable childcare and elderly health care, and adequate investments in public health and education systems. Ensure timely recruitment for all vacant Government positions; on top priority, ensure all vacancies are filled in education, healthcare, judiciary, commissions, and other essential public services.

### **Economy and Technology**

While in the past there was a domination of the state over India's economy and technological development, this has been joined by an increasing stranglehold of private corporations, especially since the so-called 'reforms' after 1991. As a result, there is a visible increase in inequality, the alienation of millions of producers who have no control over the means of production, a lack of control by consumers over what they are consuming, weak or absent regulations relating to the ecological and social impacts of technologies, and an almost freefor-all for corporations to grab lands, resources, and finances for their profits. As a counter-trend, there are also initiatives that prioritise people and ecology in economic and technological development. In the context of the overall crises as also alternative approaches already existing, there is a dire need to re-establish public, democratic control (arthik swaraj) over the economy and technology, including measures to:

Enable the re-localisation of production and exchange, in all sectors where it is possible and feasible, and especially in the provisioning of basic needs, with the long-term aim of creating self-reliant, relatively self-sufficient communities where such needs can be generated within a radius of a few dozen kilometers (see below regarding the decentralisation of food, energy, water, and other such sectors);

Strongly regulate the private corporate sector to eliminate labour and environmental exploitation, and monopolies of various kinds, and eventually replace all such production by democratically run producer collectives with appropriate support;

Encourage the creation and spread of decentralised, local exchange systems including community currencies, non-monetised systems, the gift economy, and timesharing based on principles of equal value for all work;

Put in place principles of operation for larger-scale trade and economic exchange, including that this should not be at the expense of local self-reliance or self-sufficiency for basic needs;

Strengthen fiscal decentralisation and federalism, enabling greater fiscal autonomy for States and local self-governments in revenue generation and economic decision-making;

Move all production of goods and services towards processes that are ecologically sensitive and sustainable;

Encourage technological and economic innovation amongst producers and communities, recognising that innovation has been taking place for millennia by 'ordinary' people and is not a monopoly of formal, modern institutions; re-orient existing schemes, missions and institutions of innovation, design, and skills to respect and promote democratic, decentralised, nonformal systems;

Encourage innovation that moves production, transportation and other relevant processes towards ecological sustainability and socio-cultural sensitivity;

Replace GDP as the measure of economic well-being with multi-dimensional, qualitative-quantitative measures that including material, socio-cultural, ecological wellbeing aspects, which are built on decolonial, feminist, ecological approaches; in this, learn from and modify to suit diverse Indian conditions and ways of life, available systems such as Gross National Happiness, National Well-being Accounts, and Genuine Progress Indicator (and not falling into the trap of using a single indicator);

Discourage and disincentivise wasteful consumption and cultures of consumerism, through widespread awareness of the impacts of such behaviour, regulation of industry and advertising that encourages it, and measures to limit the accumulation of wealth (see below); facilitate consumer collectives and unions that can assist in moving the economy towards democratic control and sensitivity towards human and ecological health; Take strong and urgent measures to address the gross economic inequalities afflicting India, by putting caps on salaries/incomes, heavier taxation on higher levels of incomes, wealth, and inheritance, increasing the basic incomes of all those currently below or just above the 'poverty line', pension schemes for primary sector producers and service providers, and other such measures; initiate a national discussion on the need to regulate or eliminate private property and wealth, and their inheritance;

Ensure that all planning, budgeting, and other macroeconomic policies and actions are in consonance with ecological limits and the goals of socio-economic justice and equity.

Relevant to most of the above actions, take strict steps to curb and eliminate the 'black economy' (property incomes, such as profit, interest, rent and dividend, that should have paid direct taxes but do not), which has grown enormously and adversely impacts every aspect of the economy and society; this includes transparency in banking operations, and tax reforms such as gross profit taxation of corporations.

#### Food, Water and Energy

Despite decades of 'development' in sectors and welfare programmes dealing with basic needs, and some definite gains, India still faces a severe crisis of hunger, malnutrition, and unsafe food, lack of access to clean and safe water, and inadequate access to reliable and clean sources of energy. Additionally, hundreds of millions of people are exposed to unsafe and ecologically hazardous ways in which food, water, and energy production or provisioning takes place, and to a huge range of poisons in food and water. There are however also many people's initiatives, some supported by state governments, at meeting basic needs in ecologically sustainable ways that reach the most marginalised people, from which one can learn. In this context, urgent measures are needed for the following:

#### Food

Incentivise and encourage the use of agricultural lands for food production, through means that are agroecological (including organic/natural), low external input, water-saving, small farmer based, biologically diverse (encouraging local millets, pulses, and so on), and where the farmer has sovereignty over the means of production including seeds, land, and knowledge (helping achieve anna swaraj); amend the Food Security Act to become the Food Sovereignty Act to enable such transformation, and transfer all chemical fertiliser subsidies to agroecological production till farmers can be self-sufficient; set an aim for India to become 100% organic in food production by 2040, with interim steps to systematically reduce the use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides and replace them with low external input techniques;

Facilitate access to reasonably priced organic and healthy food (including millets, pulses, fruits and vegetables) to economically marginalised communities, including working populations in cities who are otherwise condemned to eating junk food, through removing subsidies for unsafe food and where necessary providing temporary subsidies to safe/healthy and nutritious food; these should be included in the PDS, mid-day meals and other programmes aimed at reaching food to the poor;

Create awareness about the importance and value of the diversity of cuisines and diets in India, promoting 'slow food' and diverse nutritious foods such as millets over junk food and rejecting the imposition of a casteist food hierarchy and homogenisation of food cultures and practices;

Encourage continuation or renewal of the use of uncultivated foods in diet, taking care to ensure that their use is sustainable;

Facilitate links between food producers and consumers that promote mutual respect and trust, encouraging local trade to meet food needs as far as possible, and enabling them to negotiate prices that are acceptable to both; Provide minimum support price to agricultural products where market conditions are not conducive to a fair price being obtained by the farmer.

#### Water

Establish and implement the following priorities of water use in all relevant policies and programmes (in order of priority): water for life (drinking, washing, sanitation, livestock, wildlife), ecosystem needs and functions, livelihoods (including food production), adaptation to changes (climate, land use, livelihoods, etc), and industrial/infrastructural use; prioritise demand management, especially to curb luxury and wasteful uses, rather than supply augmentation except where there are absolute shortages;

Prioritise decentralised harvesting, governance, and use of water over mega-projects and centralised governance, with appropriate combinations of traditional and modern knowledge;

Provide widespread support for regeneration, restoration, and de-polluting of wetlands and water sources (including decomissioning mega-projects where feasible), and the regeneration and conservation of their catchments;

Ensure equitable distribution of water through community-based governance mechanisms, in particular to tackle the gender divide in provisioning, management and access to water; initiate measures for regulating water (including groundwater) use through such mechanisms;

Reduce water footprint of different water uses like domestic, agriculture and industrial water uses through efficiency measures, equitable water distribution, demand management and recycle and reuse;

Review large water-based infrastructure projects like the interlinking of rivers, inland waterways and large hydro-power projects as they are destructive of lives, livelihoods and rest of nature; instead, encourage initiatives of more sustainable, climate friendly as well as cheaper options with the participation of all concerned people; Halt projects that, in the name of climate adaptation, are shortsighted or create other serious ecological problems, such as several river deepening, widening and straightening processes;

Treat all water and waterbodies as public commons, not available for privatisation; add a Constitutional provision and legal measures to this effect;

Form institutions at different scales (micro-watershed, sub-basins and basins cutting across state and national boundaries as many of our rivers are transboundary in nature) in a nested manner that can serve as legally mandated democratic institutional spaces to share data, information, experiences, to negotiate and resolve conflicts;

Recognise the rights of waterbodies, including rivers and lakes, as entities in their own standing, following on the recognition of the rights of Rivers Ganga and Yamuna by the Uttarakhand High Court.

#### Energy

Put in place strong demand management, curbing wasteful consumption of energy, and evaluating how much energy production is ecologically sustainable and keeping to this limit; promoting energy conservation and saving, and use of efficient materials and equipment over wasteful ones;

Prioritise decentralised, renewable, participatorily governed energy sources, production, and grids over conventional sources and production; phase out fossil fuel and nuclear fuel-based energy production and replace completely by renewables by 2030; optimise and use existing hydropower capacity more efficiently eliminating or significantly reducing the need for new large hydropower plants, and eventually bringing in a moratorium on large hydropower projects;

Initiate measures to ensure equitable access to energy, including redistribution from those currently using it for luxury purposes to those who do not have enough for basic purposes; Promote non-electrical energy options including biomass, and traditional technologies like watermills upgraded as necessary, and passive heating and cooling;

Optimise production and distribution, while equitably distributing their costs, improving efficiency, making public institutions accountable, and incorporating the needs of marginalised sections into energy planning.

### Health and Hygiene

There is widespread health crises for the most vulnerable sections of society, caused by inadequate access to preventive and curative health services especially with the increasing privatisation of the health sector, poor access to nutritional and adequate food and to clean water, increasing exposure to chemical pollutants and conflictual social environments, rapid decline in availability of free or cheap nutritional foods and medicinal resources from nature, irresponsible promotion of junk food and drinks, continuation of 'diseases of poverty' added to by 'diseases of affluence', an alarming level of mental health problems, and a lukewarm promotion of multiple health systems especially AYUSH and folk practices. The thoroughly inadequate nature of the public health system was acutely exposed during the COVID pandemic. It is estimated that Indian households spend nearly Rs. 120 billion on healthcare-related expenses, and nearly 55% of a family's expenditure is out of pocket. But both during COVID and in other situations before and since, there are also inspiring examples of public health measures to prevent ill-health and provide curative support, led by communities, civil society and some government agencies. Learning from these, there is an urgent need for measures to:

Give high priority to preventing ill-health in the first place, by improving social determinants of health such as nutritional food, water, sanitation, mental well-being, a clean environment, safe transport, and a healthy social environment; by challenging commercial determinants of ill-health (factors promoted by corporations and others for profit-making, including smoking and ultraprocessed foods); by promoting time-tested traditional and proven modern understandings about one's body and health, to empower people in taking care of their own health; and by including all this as core part of curriculum in health, nutrition, and medical training institutions;

Ensure access to curative/symptomatic facilities to those who have conventionally not had such access, including through efficient public health services, and accountability of the state's responsibility towards citizens;

Avoid an over interventionist framework, accepting limits to medical interventions;

Facilitate the pluralism and integration of various health systems, traditional and modern, bringing back into popular use the diverse systems from India and outside including indigenous/folk medicine, nature cure, Ayurvedic, Unani and other holistic or integrative approaches; ensure that each health clinic, hospital and other such facility has multiple systems available;

Enable and empower community-based management and control of healthcare and hygiene, with individual and collective responsibility towards maintaining healthy surrounds, creation of safe-spaces for the youth and vulnerable, and elimination of caste-based management of human and other wastes;

Expand and improve existing public health infrastructure, by ensuring access to hospitals and medical services and ensuring a sufficient workforce in them. Ensure accessible medical services to all by implementing rules such as price caps on private hospitals to prevent exorbitant healthcare costs.

Ensure at least 3% of the GDP is dedicated to the above activities.

#### Environment, Ecology, and Climate

The last few decades have seen massive, widespread and irreversible damage to natural ecosystems, biodiversity, and the environment caused by the destructive development projects, commercialisation, centralised and poor governance, lack of meaningful involvement in decision-making people's and management, and certain demographic trends. Since 1991, when economic 'reforms' were brought in, many hard-fought gains in environmental legislation and processes have been diluted or sidestepped, a process that has significantly intensified in the last few years (such as with the latest amendments to forest, biodiversity, and other environmental laws). In recent times this has been exacerbated by the climate crises, which is already impacting tens of millions of people, especially workers in the primary production sectors or outdoors services. The incidence of so-called 'natural' disasters is increasing, with a very poor prevention and response mechanism. And yet budgets for the environment, climate adaptation, and disaster response have remained thoroughly inadequate, and do not include special measures for Dalits, Adivasis, landless agricultural labourers, unorganised daily wage earners, people with disabilities and other marginalized sections including women and children amongst them. On the other hand, hundreds of community-led initiatives at biodiversity conservation and ecological regeneration, or of preventing degradation, of climate and disaster adaptation and response, exist across India – though still as exceptions to the dominant trend. In this context, urgent measures are needed to:

Facilitate independent studies to establish (using the best available traditional and modern knowledge) the ecological limits and carrying capacity of the country as a whole, and of regions within it, and publicise the results widely;

Ensure that economic planning respects these limits at all levels, local to national, including through independently conducted, participatory, comprehensive environmental impact assessments of projects (including infrastructure), programmes, schemes and sectors (including those currently exempted, such as largescale renewable energy projects); such assessments need to be funded through a core budget rather than by project proponents or the ministries/agencies whose programmes and projects are being assessed;

According highest priority to maintaining the integrity and sustenance of natural ecosystems, biodiversity and wildlife populations, with special attention to those already threatened; re-orient all conservation measures to being community-based (using models such as those being established under the Forest Rights Act) and using the best available traditional and modern knowledge;

Ensure that forests, wetlands, grasslands, coasts, marine areas, and other such ecosystems on which communities depend, remain (or are brought back into) the commons, governed by democratic community institutions such as gram sabhas, mohalla sabhas, or traditional governance institutions, with central involvement of women's collectives and those most dependent on such commons;

Assess India's contribution to global ecological problems including biodiversity loss, the climate crisis, toxics and pollution, and take measures towards being a responsible global citizen, while asserting the need for action by other countries who are primarily responsible for these problems;

Assess the ongoing or potential impacts of these global ecological problems on India's biodiversity and people, and initiate urgent measures for ameliorating these impacts, especially where they are affecting or likely to affect already marginalised populations;

Facilitate a review and revision of the National Action Plan on Climate Change (NAPCC), and of state climate action plans, with widespread participation of communities on the ground likely to be most affected, civil society organisations, and other independent experts, with a view to making it more robust and impactful and significantly enhancing the goals for mitigation and adaptation, specific target for emission peaking, and prioritised actions to help those impacted by climate change related events like extreme weather and erratic rain;

Critically review the rapidly growing carbon and green credits market and legal provisions in India, especially the lack of democratic decision-making in these, whether communities (especially the most marginalized) are truly benefiting, and whether there is any impact on reducing the climate crisis. Focus greater attention and provide public support to community-led, alternative approaches for climate mitigation and adaptation, such as community conservation of natural ecosystems and conversion to organic farming;

Ensure that in all climate and other disaster planning, including the NAPCC & National Disaster Response Force (NDRF), the needs of SC/ST are kept in mind and appropriate budgetary allocations are made to meet these; such allocations should be built into the SC/ST sub-plans and other relevant programmes for State Disaster Response Force, Allocation for Welfare of SC, and Allocation for Welfare of ST.

Initiate a nation-wide programme for land and water regeneration, making this a basis for meaningful employment and livelihoods, using methods that are suitable to local ecological contexts, linking this also to the alternative climate approach mentioned above;

Phase out, over the next 10 years, all toxic products such as pesticides and detergents and a host of other dangerous chemicals or metals, replacing them with ecologically sensitive and safe (for human and animal health) alternatives;

Put high priority on cleaning up all waterbodies, eliminating pollution in urban and industrial areas, and bringing down noise to acceptable levels; deal with the air pollution crisis that is killing a million people a year, affecting their mental health, on an emergency basis;

Consider according rights to nature including wildlife, in the Constitution and in law, with related communities and citizens as the primary custodians;

Encourage and incentivise zero waste settlements, with high priority to preventing the creation of waste in the

first place (using traditional or new alternative products that are ecologically safe), prohibition on products that create toxic waste, and where materials are still discarded after full use, convert them into useful products by repurposing, upcycling, recycling, or composting;

Set up a National Environment Commission, with independent Constitutional status akin to the Election Commission and the CAG, to lay down standards, monitor compliance by state and other agencies, and provide a redressal forum for citizens.

Ensure that at least 5% of the national and state budgets are dedicated to the above activities.

#### **Settlements**

Tens of millions of people live and work in horrendous situations in cities, with severely inadequate housing and other facilities, and hazardous conditions in their workplaces. The process of urbanisation itself has been haphazard and ecologically unsustainable, with a massive impact on rural areas from where resources are taken and into which urban wastes are dumped. In many villages, there remains an inadequacy of amenities and facilities, and there is a peculiar 'falling between the stools' condition of semi-rural semi-urban settlements which do not have the financial resources and planning attention that bigger urban areas get, nor the possibility of rural self-reliance any more. In the context of these challenges, and building on several inspiring initiatives towards more sustainable, equitable, just and accessible settlements, there is a need for measures to:

Make ecological and social impact assessments, and area/ward/neighbourhood participation, mandatory for all urban planning and budgeting processes, with appropriate laws and schemes under the 74th Constitutional Amendment (see 'Democracy' above);

Transform town and city planning in ways that make work, home, shopping and leisure much closer to each other for families, minimising the necessity of having to commute long distances for essential activities;



Encourage and incentivise sustainable construction, architecture and housing that is dignified and accessible for all, maximises local materials use, puts a check on size, respects natural landforms and landscapes around it, and prioritises economically and socially marginalised sections of society;

Initiate measures to maximise local, distributed generation of energy, water harvesting and responsible use, and other basic needs of urban residents, minimising long-distance transmission, and the negative footprint of cities on rural areas;

Integrate biodiversity into urban planning, by conserving natural ecosystems, maximising indigenous vegetation including in plantations, and providing migration corridors;

Facilitate the provision of full basic needs and amenities to all rural and semi-rural/semi-urban areas, as appropriate to their ecological and cultural conditions, building on available local skills, knowledge, and resources, and respecting decision-making by local bodies of self-governance including on all the local commons (see 'Democracy' above);

Defend all common spaces, and reclaim them where taken over for private purposes, that are important in each neighbourhood and for the settlement as a whole, including green areas, wetlands, parks, hills, and the like;

Make all settlements friendly, pleasant and safe for walking and cycling.

### Transportation and Mobility

Systems of transportation and mobility in India have been significantly enhanced in recent decades, yet they suffer from serious problems of inadequacy, skewed prioritisation (e.g. highways over small-scale rural connectivity), and ecological damage. Some initiatives to promote sustainable, equitable modes of mobility also exist, and can be a basis for measures to:

Give highest priority to sustainable, accessible and equitable means of transportation in both urban and rural areas, with highest priority to mass public transport (especially buses) and non-motorized means (cycling, walking); these should ensure last-kilometre connectivity for persons with disabilities and senior citizens;

Disincentivise private motorised vehicles, especially the automobile, with heavy taxation, areas/timing that are off-limit to them, and minimal road space;

Institute a cap on the speed of road traffic for safety and to optimise energy use.

### Learning, Education, and Knowledge

While significant strides have been made in extending education and learning opportunities and the spread of information and knowledge, India faces multiple crises in learning and education. These include: inadequate and/or inappropriate systems and facilities in most villages and poorer sections of cities, especially in relation to marginalised or special need sections of society such as dalits, pastoralists, adivasis, 'disabled' and women; schools and colleges over much of India being places not so much of genuine learning and developing all-rounded human beings as of superficial cramming of information; such institutions having very stifling environments and and orientation to just fitting into dominant economic systems; uniform top-down policies that disrespect the diversity of local situations (including of mother tongues) and of innovations in learning; the inculcation of individualistic, selfish, hostilely competitive values amongst learners; the suppression and erosion of traditional and local knowledges by modern, formal ones; and the inadequate implementation of progressive policy directions in national guidelines that mandate more locally relevant, activity-based approaches. On the other hand, there are also many innovative initiatives for more meaningful learning and education, and democratic generation and transmission of multiple knowledge systems, by communities, civil society, and government institutions. In this context, there is a need for measures to:

Promote initiatives to create spaces and opportunities for learning and education that are earth-based, and enable continued or renewed connection with the environment and nature, with communities, with one's own bodies and minds, and with humanity as a whole;

Create learning environments that nurture a fuller range of collective and individual potentials and relationships, treating each learner as having the potential for creativity and innovation, encouraging critical and holistic thinking and action;

Encourage synergies between the formal systems and informal community-based learning, the traditional and the modern, the local and the global, and the combination of theory and practical (e.g. head-hearthands of the Nai Taleem approach);

Enable a range of alternative learning and education approaches, relevant and suitable to diverse cultural, ecological, and social conditions, in particular for Adivasi, pastoral, fisher, mountain, and other such communities that have a rich history and heritage of approaches but are vulnerable to imposition of uniform systems generated from urban centres; and enable such approaches to be recognised in the Right to Education Act;

Create mechanisms of accountability of public institutions including the state towards facilitating such

learning and education, and prioritising these over private institutions;

Create greater learning spaces for adults, with a diversity of creative approaches;

Facilitate the use of different communication and teaching modes, including arts, crafts, theatre, dance, and others;

Re-orient teacher training institutions and processes towards all of the above;

Allocate at least 6% of the GDP to learning and education;

Amend the Right to Education Act to enable a greater diversity of innovating learning environments to flourish, while ensuring minimum quality standards;

Encourage equitable cross-fertilisation and collaboration between modern and traditional, scientific and nonscientific, formal and informal, and urban and rural spheres of knowledge;

Promote initiatives making knowledge as part of the 'commons' rather than a privately owned or controlled commodity, including support to open source, creative commons, and other such systems;

Promote respect for various forms of transmitting knowledge, including traditional forms such as oral methods and story-telling.

#### Media

There is an increasing stranglehold of the media (print, digital, 'social') by private corporations and the state, the spread of 'false' and fake news, the trolling or suppression of voices of dissent, and the struggles that independent media face including repressive state action. In this context, and learning also from the emergence of several innovative, democratic media initiatives, measures are needed to:

Provide public support to independent media in various forms, including by making state-sponsored platforms on TV, radio, and others truly independent;

Facilitate and recognise alternative media initiatives, innovative use of media to communicate enabling and empowering information, and processes that make media (in the form of public outreach) a part of the everyday life of citizens rather than only a specialised profession; Initiate processes that make information access free, or easier (through better connectivity) in places usually neglected, considered 'remote' or disconnected;

Regulate advertising to ensure it is not misleading, offensive, and invasive, especially that which is aimed at children; empower citizens to take legal and other action against such advertising;

Repeal or amend all laws and rules which put arbitrary curbs on free speech, including regulating of information by the Government.

Establish an independent statutory licensing and regulatory authority relating to media, free from government influence;

Take strong action against deliberately false, misleading, and distorted messaging, 'news' and analysis that are aimed at creating disharmony, hatred and conflict, while ensuring that such actions are not misused to impinge on the fundamental rights of every Indian citizen to freedom of expression and protection of personal privacy.



#### Law, Justice, and Customs

In spite of the Constitution's spirit and letter of decentralisation, and though there have been real gains in making laws, policies, and judiciary systems more accessible and participatory, India continues to have a highly centralised system of framing and implementing laws and a justice system that often does not work for marginalised sections of society and is groaning under the weight of unresolved and unheard cases. There has also been a weakening of customary or traditional ways of fairly handling disputes which were more accessible (though also sometimes repressive or discriminatory, and therefore needing reform). There is also a predominantly punitive way of dealing with violations of laws and customs, with the full blame put on individuals, which does not really address the underlying systemic reasons for such behaviour. As counter-trends, a number of innovative approaches to justice and law-making exist, that provide lessons on how to do things differently. In this, there is a need for measures to:

Equal recognition before the law of persons with disabilities, and supporting their meaningful participation in decision-making.

Enable widespread public participation in the framing, governance, and implementation of laws, including through empowering institutions of local selfgovernance to be mandatorily part of such processes;

Ensure that all laws have a core component of public participation in their implementation, and enabling measures for action against those in authority who violate their provisions or deliberately block implementation;

Enhance access to institutions of justice and redressal for those who find it difficult to access them for reasons of social or economic marginalisation; enhance and make effective public support for people who cannot afford their own legal redressal; Facilitate a healthy relationship between formal, statutory law and social norms and customs, each enabling or checking the other in the interest of justice, equity, fairness, and sustainability; increase attempts to broadbase norms as ways of life (starting from childhood), rather than only as formal rules/laws that need to be imposed from above;

Reform the legal regime to take a broader view of what is a 'crime' or 'illegal', with harm to others being the fundamental criterion of what is considered 'punishable' rather than 'difference' based on personal orientation (e.g. gender / sexual preferences); and prioritise measures of redressal, rehabilitation, and behavioural change over conventional forms of punishment such as imprisonment;

Abolish capital punishment;

Enable much greater community involvement in dealing with violations of norms and laws, including decentralised courts and panchayats, traditional dispute resolution mechanisms, ombudspersons, and other such innovations, while bringing in reforms or measures to ensure justice, equity, and fairness.

Repeal the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act, 1967; the National Security Act, the sedition clause under IPC, and other similar laws and legal provisions, which are misused to preventively detain individuals, against the spirit of the Constitution, and against the principles of fairness and justice; ensure no such laws are enacted in the future.

Ensure the independence and integrity of Central Bureau for Investigation and Enforcement Directorate, preventing their misuse for political gains.

### **Global Relations**

There appears to be a distinct decline in the nonaligned, pro-oppressed and pro-freedom roles that India has traditionally taken in its global relations, in the context of a world that is polarised on many fronts and the mixed record of the United Nations in dealing with international conflicts and the destruction of the global commons. Yet, India still does often assert the ideals of a just, fair world where human rights and ecological sustainability are upheld. In this context, measures are needed to:

Encourage and facilitate state, civil society, citizen or multi-lateral initiatives that offer alternatives to the prevalent state of belligerent and hyper-competitive international relations fuelled by geopolitical rivalries;

Pro-actively push for enhancing the human rights, ecological, socio-cultural and other values in international and global relations, including stronger implementation of the many United Nations agreements on these issues;

Champion an approach to collective human well-being, rather than narrow national priorities and notions such as national superiority, as the mandate of diplomacy;

Assert the historical liability of northern/industrialised nations, including those who have been colonial powers, for the devastation wrought on the world (including to climate and the global commons), and seek appropriate redressal and reparation for their ecological and economic debt including the financing of restorative, compensatory measures;

Seek global moratoriums on increases in military, surveillance and police spending, and progressive reduction in spending on these, a global ban on arms trading, and eventually eliminating weapons of all types by all states;

Engage in widespread global dialogue re-examining notions of 'nation-state' and emphasising relations amongst 'peoples' of the world including through restructuring the United Nations to provide central say to non-state collectives and communities; Enhance and sharpen global agreements on the environment, in particular pushing for urgent action on the climate crisis, biodiversity loss, pollution and toxics, including adding specific sanctions or other effective means to ensure their implementation;

Push for regulating global trade, including relevant institutions like WTO, to be in compliance with global and national norms and agreements on labour, environment/ ecology, and human rights; ensure that such trade is never allowed to undermine local economies and cultures, or to cause irreversible ecological damage.



# Part 4: A Special Perspective on Deepening Youth Participation



Promote, support and co-create 'empowering spaces' for young people that nourish their learning and leadership through self-to-society journeys. These include nonjudgmental spaces that are co-led by young people across different and multiple identities, work on and inspire the principles of social justice, reflective action (refl-action), organic renewal, love, learning, freedom, ownership, collaboration and cooperation, and social hope. These spaces must also provide young people with opportunities to engage themselves in various constructive and creative work programs, including those with manual labour. These would help them connect with themselves and their worldviews, and replenish them on an energy and ideational level;

Promote and nurture youth led, youth-centric organisations and empowerment centers at various levels, with processes to empower youth to protect their rights; enable co-creation, implementation, and articulating in various media, a radically transformative youth vision;

Ensure widespread youth participation particularly from vulnerable communities in formulating, implementing and monitoring all laws, policies, plans and schemes; they must mandatorily be involved in all relevant committees;

Significantly increase participation of youth led and youth centric organisations in government schemes like NSS and NYKS to enhance life skills and core capacities of young people along with ongoing volunteering processes;

Provide livelihood and employment opportunities through easy access to resources such as funding, mentorship, etc and building or enhancing capacities for entrepreneurship and meaningful employment; in particular, promote alternative livelihood options linked to ecological regeneration and conservation, social justice, basic need services and products, cooperative and collective economic activity;

Provide special support and services for vulnerable youth (including effective implementation of already available schemes), particularly persons with disabilities, those with mental health challenges and those from Bahujan, Adivasi, religious minority, LGBTQIA+ or other marginalised communities, especially their young women; ensure spaces of learning are safe for such youth;

Set up youth empowerment centers for each cluster of settlements, that offer counseling, sports, recreation facilities and career guidance facilities that are focused on alternative livelihoods;

Honor the promises made in the National Youth Policy and State youth policies including setting up of the youth advisory councils and youth commissions at various levels to report and monitor progress on the commitments made. Formulating state youth policies where there are none;

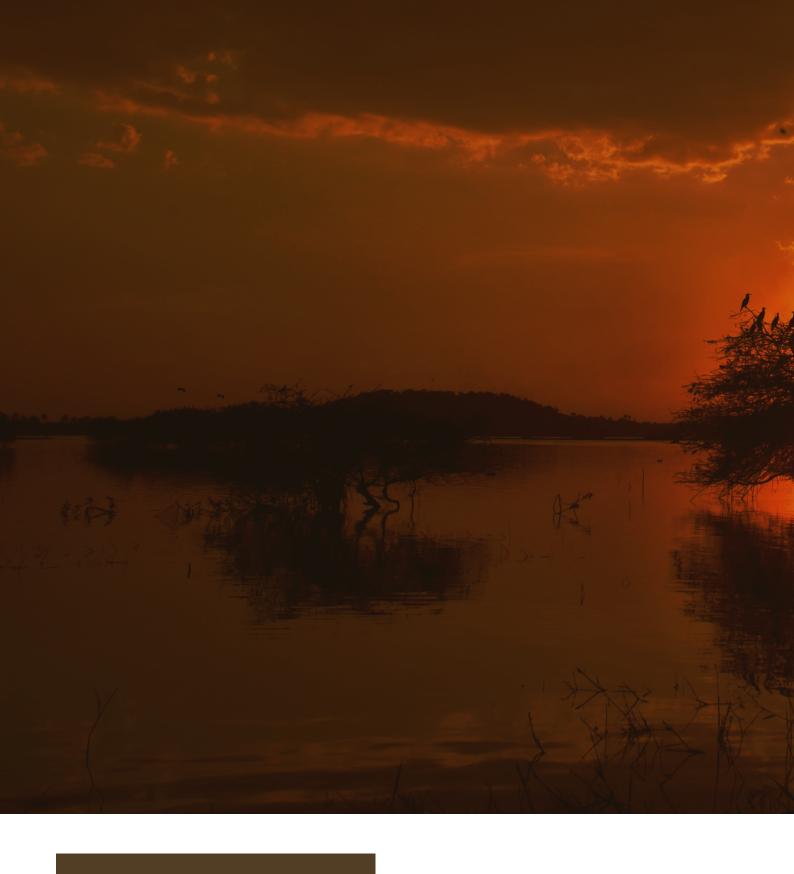
Establish a statutory youth commission for guiding and implementing youth related policies;

Promote national, South Asian and global exchange programs that allow young people to expand their horizons and visions and build solidarities across common concerns including those that are reflected in this manifesto across different issues.

### Members of Vikalp Sangam General Assembly

- Action for Community Organisation, Rehabilitation and Development (ACCORD)
- AGRAGAMEE
- Alliance for Sustainable and Holistic Agriculture (ASHA)
- Alternative Law Forum (ALF)
- Bhoomi College
- Blue Ribbon Movement (BRM)
- Centre for Education and Documentation (CED)
- Centre for Environment Education (CEE)
- Centre for Financial Accountability (CFA)
- Centre for Pastoralism
- Chalakudypuzha Samrakshana Samithi / River Research Centre
- Chetna
- CGnet Swara
- Dakshin Foundation
- Deccan Development Society (DDS)
- Deer Park
- Development Alternatives (DA)
- Desert Resource Centre (DRC)
- Dhaatri Trust
- Dharamitra
- Ektha
- Equitable Tourism Options (EQUATIONS)
- Forest Rights Coalition JK
- Fridays for Future India
- Gene Campaign
- Goonj
- Greenpeace India
- Ideosync Media Combine
- Inner Climate Academy (ICA)
- Margshala Foundation
- Jagori Rural
- Kagad Kach Patra Kashtakari Panchayat (KKPKP)
- Kalpavriksh
- Kriti Team
- Ladakh Arts and Media Organisation (LAMO)
- Let India Breathe (LIB)
- Local Futures
- Maadhyam
- Maati
- Mahila Kisan Adhikar Manch (MAKAAM)
- Mahalir Association for Literacy Awareness and Rights (MALAR)
- Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS)
- Movement for Advancing Understanding of Sustainability and Mutuality (MAUSAM)

- National Alliance of Peoples' Movements (NAPM),
- National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR)
- National Coalition for Natural Farming (NCNF)
- National Federation of Dalit Women (NFDW)
- Nirangal Charitable Trust
- Non-timber Forest Produce Exchange (NTFP-E)
- North East Network (NEN)
- Organic Farmers Market (OFM)
- People's Resource Centre (PRC)
- Peoples' Science Institute (PSI)
- reStore
- Revitalising Rainfed Agriculture Network (RRA)
- Rythu Swarajya Vedika
- Sambhaavnaa
- Foundation for Economic and Ecological Development (FEED)
- Sahjeevan
- Sahodaya Trust
- Sangat
- School for Democracy
- School for Rural Development and Environment (SRDE)
- Shikshantar
- Snow Leopard Conservancy India Trust (SLC-IT)
- Sikkim Indigenous Lepcha Tribal Association
- Social Entrepreneurship Association (SEA)
- Society for Promoting Participative Ecosystem Management (SOPPECOM)
- South Asian Dialogue on Ecological Democracy (SADED)/ Harit Swaraaj Samvaad
- The Himalaya Collective
- Timbaktu Collective
- Titli Trust
- Travellers' University
- Tribal Health Initiative (THI)
- URMUL Seemant Samiti
- Watershed Support Services and Activities Network (WASSAN)
- Youth Alliance
- Yugma Collective
- Yuva Ekta Foundation
- Dinesh Abrol
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