



Date: January 15, 2020

ANALYSIS OF INCOME & EXPENDITURE OF NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES FOR FY 2018-19

A Report by Association for Democratic Reforms

Association for Democratic Reforms

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Analysis of Income & Expenditure of National Political Parties for FY 2018-19

Detailed Report

Introduction

Political parties have multiple sources of funding and thus accountability and transparency should be an important aspect of their functioning. It is essential to have comprehensive and transparent accounting methods and systems which should reveal the true financial position of the parties.

The Election Commission of India (ECI), in its letter dated 19th November,'14 addressed to the Presidents/General Secretaries of all political parties, stated that it was mandatory for the parties to submit details of their audited reports to the Commission. This report analyses the total income and expenditure incurred, all over India, by the **National Parties (less NCP)** during FY 2018-19, as declared by the parties in their IT Returns submitted to the ECI.

The National Parties include Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Indian National Congress (INC), Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), Communist Party of India (CPI), Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM) and All India Trinamool Congress (AITC).

Status of submission of audited reports by the National Parties, FY 2018-19

- The due date for submission of annual audited accounts for the parties was 31st Oct,'19.
- AITC, CPM and BSP submitted their audit reports on time while BJP submitted after 24 days, INC and CPI submitted after 42 days, while the audit report of NCP is still not available in public domain 76 days since the due date for submission.

Doub	Due date for submission: 31st Oct,'19						
Party	Date of submission	Delay in submission					
AITC	26th September, 2019	-					
СРМ	21st October, 2019 -						
BSP	24th October, 2019	-					
BJP	27th November, 2019	27 days					
INC	12th December, 2019	42 days					
СРІ	12th December, 2019	42 days					
NCP	Not Available on ECI website	76 days (As on 15-01-2020)					

Total Income and Expenditure of National Political Parties for FY 2018-19

- BJP declared a total income of Rs 2,410.08 cr during FY 2018-19, but spent only 41.71% (Rs 1,005.33 cr) of the total income while INC's total income was Rs 918.03 cr of which the party spent 51.19% (Rs 469.92 cr).
- AITC's total income was Rs 192.65 cr of which the party spent only 5.97% (Rs 11.50 cr).
- CPM declared a total income of Rs 100.96 cr during FY 2018-19, and spent Rs 76.15 cr (75.43%) of it.

	Total income and expenditure declared by National Parties, FY 2018-19 (Rs in cr)								
Party	Total declared Income	Total declared Expenditure	Excess of income over expenditure	Share of income remaining unspent					
ВЈР	2410.08	1005.33	1,404.75	58.29%					
INC	918.03	469.92	448.11	48.81%					
AITC	192.65	11.50	181.15	94.03%					
СРМ	100.96	76.15 24.81		24.57%					
BSP	69.79	48.88	20.91	29.96%					





	Total income and expenditure declared by National Parties, FY 2018-19 (Rs in cr)							
Party	Total declared Income	Total declared Excess of income over Expenditure expenditure		Share of income remaining unspent				
СРІ	7.15	5.79	1.36	19.02%				
Total	Rs 3698.66 cr	Rs 1617.57 cr	Rs 2081.09 cr	56.27%				

Table: Total income and expenditure declared by National Parties in their audit reports for FY 2018-19

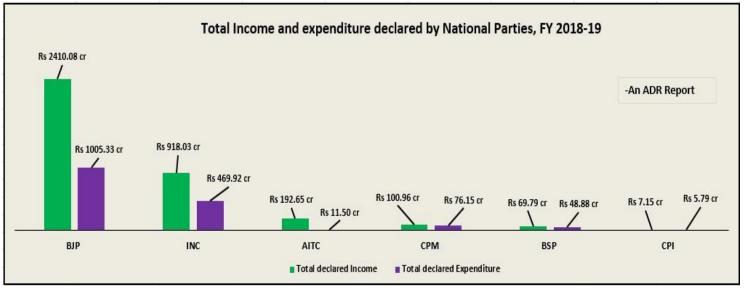


Figure: Total income and expenditure declared by National Parties in their audit reports for FY 2018-19

Total Income of National Parties for FY 2018-19

- The total Income of the National Parties (less NCP) has been compiled from the income from various sources pan India, as submitted in their Income Tax Returns.
- **6 National Parties** (BJP, INC, CPM, BSP, AITC and CPI) have declared a **total income** of **Rs 3,698.66 cr**, collected from all over India.
- **BJP** has shown the <u>highest income</u> amongst the National Parties, an **income** of **Rs 2410.08 cr** during FY 2018-19. This forms **65.16% of the total income of 6 National Parties** during FY 2018-19.
- **INC** declared the <u>second</u> <u>highest</u> income of **Rs 918.03 cr** which forms **24.82**% of the total income of the 6 National Parties.
- **CPI** declared the <u>least income</u> of **Rs 7.15 cr** which forms a mere 0.19% of the total income of the 6 National Parties during the FY 2018-19.

	Income of National Parties for FY 2018-19										
National Party	National Party BJP INC AITC CPM BSP CPI										
Total Income	Rs 24,10,08,36,178 (Rs 2410.08 cr)	Rs 918,03,76,172 (Rs 918.03 cr)	Rs 192,65,73,607 (Rs 192.65 cr)	Rs 100,96,20,770 (Rs 100.96 cr)	Rs 69,79,05,130 (Rs 69.79 cr)	Rs 7,15,04,314 (Rs 7.15 cr)					
% share in total income	share in total income 65.16%		24.82% 5.21%		1.89%	0.19%					
Grand Total		Rs 3,698.66 cr									

Table: Total income declared by National Parties in their audit reports for FY 2018-19





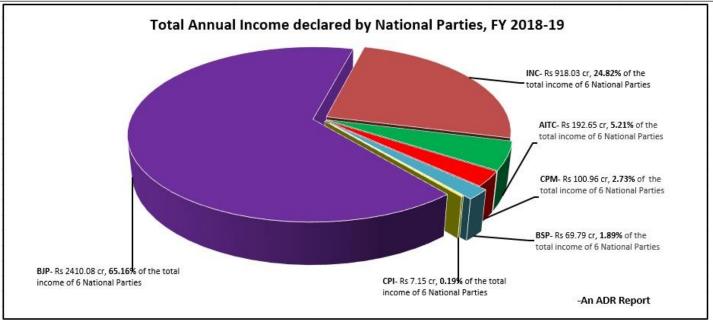


Figure: Total income declared by National Parties in their audit reports for FY 2018-19

Comparison of total income of National Parties between FY 2017-18 and 2018-19

- Between FY 2017-18 and 2018-19, the income of **BJP Increased** by **134.59%** (Rs 1382.74 cr) from Rs 1027.34 cr during FY 2017-18 to Rs 2410.08 cr during FY 2018-19.
- Income of INC increased by 360.97% (Rs 718.88 cr) from Rs 199.15 cr during FY 2017-18 to Rs 918.03 cr during FY 2018-19.
- Between FY 2017-18 and 2018-19, the highest increase in income was declared by AITC of 3628.47% (Rs 187.48 cr) from Rs 5.167 cr during FY 2017-18 to Rs 192.65 cr during FY 2018-19 while the income of CPI increased by 361.29% (Rs 5.60 cr) from Rs 1.55 cr during FY 2017-18 to Rs 7.15 cr during FY 2018-19.
- Between FY 2017-18 and 2018-19, the **income of only CPM decreased** by **3.71%** (Rs 3.887 cr) from Rs 104.847 cr during FY 2017-18 to Rs 100.96 cr during FY 2018-19.

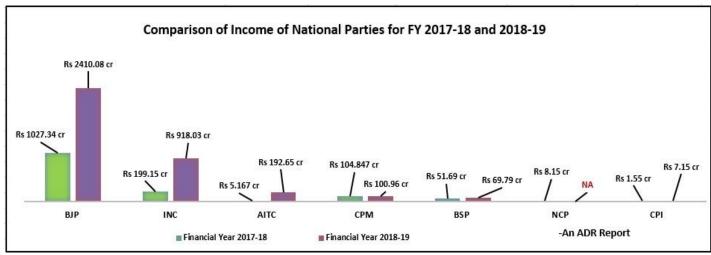


Figure: Total income of National Parties for FY 2017-18 and FY 2018-19





Top 3 sources of income of National Parties for FY 2018-19

- National Parties have declared donations/contributions as one of their 3 main sources of income. National Parties that received highest income from donations/contributions include BJP Rs 2354.02 cr, INC Rs 551.55 cr, AITC Rs 141.54 cr, CPM Rs 37.228 cr and CPI Rs 4.08 cr.
- Voluntary Contributions of Rs 2354.02 cr declared by BJP forms 97.67% of its total income during FY 2018-19.
 Declaration of Rs 551.55 cr under Grant/ donations/ contributions by INC forms the top most income of the party, contributing 60.08% of its total income during FY 2018-19.
- BSP and CPM received highest income from Bank Interest (Rs 38.865 cr) and Fee & Subscription (Rs 39.605 cr) respectively.

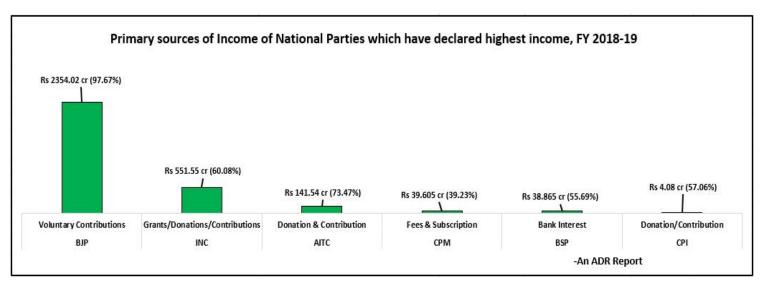


Figure: Top sources of income of National Parties for FY 2018-19

Top 3 sources of income of National Parties for FY 2018-19

		Top 3 sources of income of Nationa	l Parties: Financial Yea	ar 2018 -19
National Party	Total Income	Top 3 Sources of Income	Amount (Rs in cr)	Share of Income
		Voluntary Contributions	2354.02	97.67%
ВЈР	Rs 2410.08 cr	Interest From Banks	53.92	2.24%
ы	KS 2410.08 CF	Fee & Subscription	1.89	0.08%
		Other Income	0.25	0.01%
		Grants/Donations/Contributions	551.55	60.08%
INC	Rs 918.03 cr	Collection by Issuing Coupons	322.59	35.14%
INC		Fees & Subscription	27.57	3.00%
		Other Income	16.32	1.78%
		Donation/Contribution	4.08	57.06%
СРІ	Rs 7.15 cr	Fees & Subscription	1.82	25.45%
CPI	K5 7.15 CI	Bank Interest	0.88	12.31%
		Other Income	0.37	5.18%
		Donation & Contribution	141.54	73.47%
		Fees & Subscription	49.41	25.65%
AITC	Rs 192.65 cr	Collection From Issuance of Coupons & Mukhopatra	1.02	0.53%
		Other Income	0.68	0.35%





Noticed Doct.	Tatallyssess	Top 3 sources of income of National Parties: Financial Year 2018 -19					
National Party	Total Income	Top 3 Sources of Income	Amount (Rs in cr)	Share of Income			
		Fees & Subscription	39.605	39.23%			
	Rs 100.96 cr	Grants/Donations/Contributions	37.228	36.87%			
СРМ		Collection by Issuing Coupons/Sale of Publications	0.987	0.98%			
		Other Income	23.14	22.92%			
BCD	Da CO 70 er	Bank Interest	38.865	55.69%			
BSP	Rs 69.79 cr	Fees & Subscription	30.925	44.31%			
	Tot	Rs 3698	.66 cr				

Table: Top 3 sources of income of National Parties as declared in their audit reports, FY 2018-19

Top 3 items of expenditure of National Parties for FY 2018-19

- The maximum expenditure for **BJP** has been towards Election/General Propaganda which amounted to **Rs 792.39 cr** followed by expenses towards Administrative Costs, **Rs 178.35 cr**.
- INC spent the maximum of Rs 308.96 cr on Election Expenditure followed by expenditure of Rs 125.80 cr on Administrative and General Expenses.
- **CPM** declared to have spent **46.01**% of its total expenditure during FY 2018 -19 on **Administrative & General Expenses** (Rs 35.04 cr) while **BSP** spent **Rs 33.11 cr or 67.74**% of its total expenditure on **Election Expenses**.

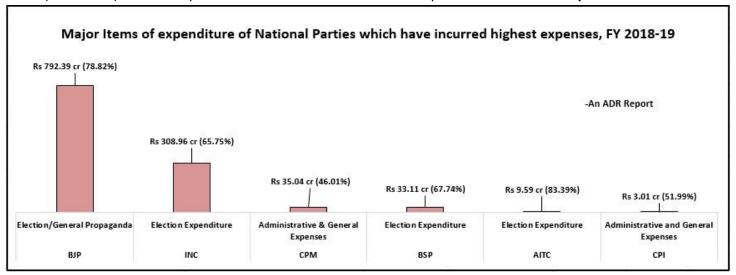


Figure: Top items of expenditure of National Parties for FY 2018-19

Top 3 items of expenditure of National Parties for FY 2018-19

		National Parties Top 3 Items of Expenditure: Financial Year- 2018-19					
National Party	Total Expenditure	Top 3 Items of Expenditure	Amount (Rs in cr)	% share of total expenditure			
		Election/General Propaganda	792.39	78.82%			
BJP	Rs 1005.33 cr	Administrative Costs	178.35	17.74%			
ы		Employee Costs	23.61	2.35%			
		Other Expenditure	10.98	1.09%			
		Election Expenditure	308.96	65.75%			
INC		Administrative and General Expenses	125.8	26.77%			





		National Parties Top 3 Ite	National Parties Top 3 Items of Expenditure: Financial Year- 2018-19				
National Party	Total Expenditure	Top 3 Items of Expenditure	Amount (Rs in cr)	% share of total expenditure			
		Employee Costs	19.27	4.10%			
		Other Expenditure	15.89	3.38%			
		Election Expenditure	9.59	83.39%			
		Employee Costs	1.17	10.17%			
AITC	Rs 11.50 cr	Administrative & General Expenses	0.11	0.96%			
		Other Expenditure	0.63	5.48%			
		Administrative & General Expenses	35.04	46.01%			
СРМ	Rs 76.15 cr	Employee Costs	31.739	41.68%			
		Election Expenditure	9.26	12.16%			
		Other Expenditure	0.111	0.15%			
		Election Expenditure	33.11	67.74%			
BSP	Rs 48.878 cr	Administrative & General Expenses	15.71	32.14%			
		Employee Costs	0.05	0.10%			
		Other Expenditure	0.008	0.02%			
		Administrative and General Expenses	3.01	51.99%			
СРІ	Rs 5.79 cr	Allowance Exp.	1.83	31.61%			
		Election Expenditure	0.737	12.73%			
		Other Expenditure	0.213	3.68%			
	Total Expendit	ure	Rs 161	7.57 cr			

Table: Top 3 items of expenditure of National Parties as declared in their audit reports for FY 2018-19

All sources of income declared by National Parties: FY 2018-19

- 6 National parties collected **83.50**% (Rs 3088.43 cr) of their total income from **Voluntary contributions** for FY-2018-19.
- During FY 2018-19, out of the 6 National Parties, only BJP, INC and AITC have declared receiving an income from Contribution through Electoral Bonds, a total of Rs 1931.43 cr. BJP received donations through Electoral Bonds worth Rs 1450.89 cr, INC received Rs 383.26 cr and AITC received Rs 97.28 cr.
- Rs 1157 cr was income generated through other contributions by National parties during FY 2018-19.

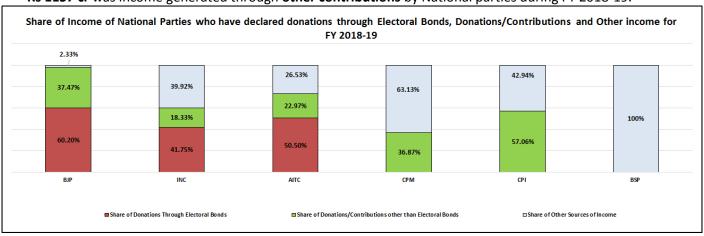


Figure: Share of income of National Parties from Electoral Bonds for FY 2018-19





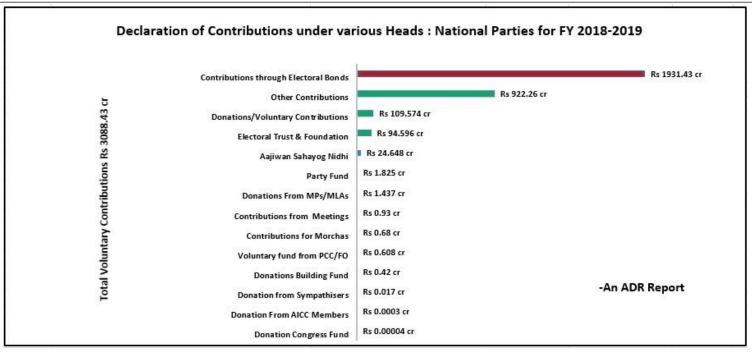


Figure: Declarations of Contributions under various Heads: National Parties, FY 2018-19

All sources of income declared by National Parties		National Party: Financial Year 2018-2019							7.4.1
Main Income Head	Sub Income Head	ВЈР	INC	AITC	СРМ	BSP	СРІ	NCP*	Total
	Contributions through Electoral Bonds	1450.89	383.26	97.28	-	-	-		Rs 1931.43 cr
	Other Contributions	876.8733	2.389	42.996	-	-	-		Rs 922.26 cr
	Donations/Voluntary Contributions	-	70.09	-	37.228	0	2.256		Rs 109.574 cr
	Electoral Trust & Foundation	-	94.596	-	-	-	-		Rs 94.596 cr
	Aajiwan Sahayog Nidhi	24.649	-	-	-	-	-		Rs 24.648 cr
	Party Fund	-	-	-	-	-	1.825		Rs 1.825 cr
	Donations From MPs/MLAs	-	0.174	1.263	-	-	-		Rs 1.437 cr
	Contributions from Meetings	0.931	-	-	-	-	-		Rs 0.93 cr
Voluntary Contributions	Contributions for Morchas	0.681	-	-	-	-	-		Rs 0.68 cr
	Voluntary fund from PCC/FO	-	0.608	-	-	-	-		Rs 0.608 cr
	Donations Building Fund	-	0.419	-	-	-	-		Rs 0.42 cr
	Donation from Sympathisers	-	0.017	-	-	-	-		Rs 0.017 cr
	Donation from AICC Members	-	0.0003	-	-	-	-		Rs 0.0003 cr
	Donation Congress Fund	-	0.00004	-	-	-	-		Rs 0.00004 cr
	Donations Application Fee	-	0	-	-	-	-		Rs 0
	Donations (Souvenir)	-	0	-	-	-	-		Rs 0





	Election Water	1						Associa	ation for Democratic Reforms
	of income declared by tional Parties		National Party: Financial Year 2018-2019						
Main Income Head	Sub Income Head	ВЈР	INC	AITC	СРМ	BSP	СРІ	NCP*	Total
	Aid from AICC	-	0	-	-	-	-		Rs 0
	Sub Total	Rs 2354.024 cr	Rs 551.554 cr	Rs 141.54 cr	Rs 37.228 cr	Rs 0	Rs 4.08 cr	NA	Rs 3088.43 cr
Collection from Sale of	Revenue from issuance of Coupons	-	322.59	-	0.0035	-	-		Rs 322.594 cr
Coupons/Sale of Publications	Sale of Publications	-	-	-	0.984	-	-		Rs 0.984 cr
	Sub Total		Rs 322.59 cr	-	Rs 0.987 cr	Rs 0		NA	Rs 323.58 cr
	Membership Fees	1.874	13.806	-	-	30.925	0.862		Rs 47.467 cr
	Primary Members	-	-	42.173	-	-	-		Rs 42.173 cr
	Levy from Members	-	-	-	38.974	-	0.4089		Rs 39.383 cr
	Delegate Fee	-	10.304	-	-	-	0.05		Rs 10.354 cr
	Bucket Collections	-	-	6.384	-	-	-		Rs 6.384 cr
	Application Fees	0.015	2.783	-	-	-	-		Rs 2.798 cr
Fee & Subscription	Subscriptions from MP/MLA/Councilor/M embers	-	-	0.854	0.631	-	-		Rs 1.485 cr
	Renewal Fee and Education Levy	-	-	-	-	-	0.501		Rs 0.50 cr
	Membership Fund	-	0.4399	-	-	-	-		Rs 0.44 cr
	Share of P & A Membership Fee	-	0.172	-	-	-	-		Rs 0.17 cr
	Annual Fee	-	0.057	-	-	-	-		Rs 0.057 cr
	Membership From Sales	-	0.0094	-	-	-	-		Rs 0.0094 cr
	Sub Total	Rs 1.89 cr	Rs 27.57 cr	Rs 49.41 cr	Rs 39.605 cr	Rs 30.925 cr	Rs 1.82 cr	NA	Rs 151.22 cr
Interest From	Bank	53.922	0.556	0.602	20.58	38.865	0.881		Rs 115.406 cr
Interest on Fix	ed Deposits	-	12.45	0.043	-	-	-		Rs 12.493 cr
Accured Int. o	n FD Re-invested	-	-	0.034	-	-	-		Rs 0.034 cr
Interest on Re	fund of IT	-	-	0.001	-	-	-		Rs 0.001 cr
receiving Muk		-	-	0.685	-	-	-		Rs 0.685 cr
accepting Muk	•	-	-	0.042	-	-	-		Rs 0.042 cr
paper	iankha/Sale of old new	0.027		1.122	-	-	0.0009		Rs 1.15 cr
by the Manag		-	-	- 0.7879	-	-	-		Rs - 0.788 cr
of Mukhopatr		-	-	- 0.038	-	-	-		Rs - 0.038 cr
	Sub Total	Rs 53.95 cr	Rs 13.006 cr	Rs 1.70 cr	Rs 20.58 cr	Rs 38.865 cr	Rs 0.882 cr	NA	Rs 128.985 cr
	Other Receipts	-	3.306	-	-	-	0.127	-	Rs 3.433 cr
Other	Miscellaneous Income	0.166	-	-	2.188	-	-		Rs 2.354 cr
Income	Rent Received	0.051	-	-	0.368	-	0.1698		Rs 0.59 cr
	Relief	-	-	-	-	-	0.0653		Rs 0.065 cr





	f income declared by ional Parties		National Party: Financial Year 2018-2019						Total
Main Income Head	Sub Income Head	ВЈР	INC	AITC	СРМ	BSP	СРІ	NCP*	iotai
9	Sub Total	Rs 0.217 cr	Rs 3.306 cr	-	Rs 2.556 cr	Rs 0	Rs 0.362 cr	NA	Rs 6.44 cr
G	rand Total	Rs 2410.08 cr	Rs 918.03 cr	Rs 192.65 cr	Rs 100.96 cr	Rs 69.79 cr	Rs 7.15 cr	NA	Rs 3698.66 cr

^{*} Audit report of NCP is unavailable in public domain. Thus, the various sources of income have not been categorized for the party.

Observations of ADR

- Audit report of NCP for FY 2018-19 is unavailable on the ECI website. 76 days have passed since the due date for submission of these reports by political parties (October 31, 2019).
- Three National Parties namely **BJP, INC** and **CPI** submitted their Annual Audit Reports after a delay of **27 days, 42 days** each respectively. While the three parties had filed their audit reports with the ECI in the months of November and December last year, the ECI uploaded these reports on January 9, 2020.
- The most common and popular items of expenditure for the 6 National parties for FY 2018-19 are election expenses/general propaganda and administrative/general expenses.
- Given the anonymity provided to donors by the scheme, it is seen that Electoral Bonds have emerged as the most popular mode of donations to National Political parties for FY 2018-19. More than 52% of the total income of six National Parties came from *Donations through Electoral Bonds* (Rs 1931.43 cr), wherein identity of the donors are not disclosed to the public. Of the Regional parties that have submitted their audit reports, only 5 Regional Parties (BJD, TRS, YSR-C, JDS & SDF) have declared receiving donations through Electoral Bonds worth Rs 490.59 cr.
- As per the data shared (shown in the table below) by SBI in response to ADR's RTI application, Electoral Bonds worth Rs 2539.58 cr were redeemed by parties in FY 2018-19. Of this, 76% was received by six National Parties. The total amount of Electoral Bonds declared by National and Regional parties for FY 2018-19 so far is Rs 2422.02 cr. It may be noted that audit reports of NCP and many other Regional parties are not yet available in public domain. Many registered unrecognised parties have also declared contributions through Electoral Bonds to ECI in sealed covers. Once this data is available and subsequently if these parties declare receiving donations via Electoral Bonds, the total share of donations received from Electoral Bonds may increase further.

Phase	Start date	End Date	Last date for redeeming bonds	No. of Bonds redeemed	Amount Redeemed (Rs in Cr)
Phase-II	01-Apr-18	10-Apr-18	24-Apr-18	250	114.90
Phase-III	01-May-18	10-May-18	24-May-18	194	91.40
Phase-IV	02-Jul-18	11-Jul-18	25-Jul-18	82	32.50
Phase-V	01-Oct-18	10-Oct-18	24-Oct-18	731	401.53
Phase-VI	01-Nov-18	10-Nov-18	24-Nov-18	339	184.20
Phase-VII	01-Jan-19	10-Jan-19	24-Jan-19	936	350.36
Phase-VIII	01-Mar-19	15-Mar-19	29-Mar-19	2738	1,364.69
Total				5270	2539.58

• Some of the National parties have expressed great concern and have been highly critical of the Electoral Bonds Scheme, 2018. They criticize the scheme at every public debate possible and one National Party has even filed a PIL against the Electoral Bonds Scheme, 2018. However, it is ironic that these same parties continue to accept donations via Electoral Bonds.





Recommendations of ADR

- The Supreme Court gave a judgment on September 13, 2013 declaring that no part of a candidate's affidavit should be left blank. Along the same lines, we recommend that the Election Commission India impose rules that no part of the Form 24A submitted by political parties providing details of donations above Rs 20,000 should be left blank.
- Full details of all donors should be made available for public scrutiny under the RTI. Some countries where this is done include Bhutan, Nepal, Germany, France, Italy, Brazil, Bulgaria, the US and Japan. In none of these countries is it possible for 75% of the source of funds to be unknown.
- According to the Finance Act, 2017, Section 13A of the IT Act was amended to state that tax exemption will be given to registered political parties "Provided also that such political party furnishes a return of income for the previous year in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (4B) of section 139 on or before the due date under that section." Thus, any party which does not submit its IT returns on or before the due date, their income should not be tax-exempted and defaulting parties should be derecognized.
- Electoral Bonds infringe the citizen's fundamental 'Right to Know' by withholding crucial information regarding electoral funding. Such opaqueness is at the cost of larger public interest and is a severe blow to the very fundamentals of transparency and accountability. Serious concerns have been raised by civil society as well as constitutional authorities such as EC and RBI that anonymous donations through Electoral Bonds will encourage money laundering and lead to increased use of black money for political funding through shell companies. Therefore, Electoral Bonds Scheme, 2018 should be entirely scrapped.
- In the case of continuance of the Scheme, the principle of anonymity of the bond donor enshrined in the Electoral Bond Scheme, 2018 must be done away with. All political parties which receive donations through Electoral Bonds should declare in their Contributions Reports the total amount of such donations received in the given financial year, along with the detailed particulars of the donors as against each Bond; the amount of each such bond and the full particulars of the credit received against each bond. The procedures and reporting framework for the above must be standardized to ensure that a true picture of the financial position of the political parties is revealed to the general public.
- The ECI/CBDT/CAG or any other relevant institution should be entrusted with the responsibility to oversee that there is no discrepancy between the value of Electoral Bonds redeemed and the value of donations received through Electoral Bonds by the political parties, and whether only entitled political parties are receiving funding via Electoral Bonds.
- Those parties not following the ICAI guidelines for auditing of reports should be scrutinized by the IT department.
- All political parties must provide all information on their finances under the Right to Information Act. This will only strengthen political parties, elections and democracy.





Need for a strict mechanism for reporting financial information

To ensure that there is financial transparency and accountability on the part of the political parties, there must be a strict mechanism with respect to reporting of financial information. The procedures and reporting framework must be standardized to ensure that a true picture of the financial position of the political parties is revealed to the general public. Institute of Chartered Accounts of India (ICAI) has put forward a set of recommendations on the request of the Election Commission of India (ECI). These recommendations relate to a standardized and comprehensive reporting framework of financial statements of political parties. ADR feels that there is a dire need for these recommendations to be implemented at the earliest.

For details of **Income and Expenditure** declared by the **National & Regional Political parties** reports, kindly visit: https://adrindia.org/content/income-and-expenditure-report

Disclaimer

Source for the data used in the report are the Audited accounts submitted by the political parties to the Income Tax Department and the Election Commission of India. These can be accessed from myneta.info/party and https://eci.gov.in/files/category/1185-recognized-national-parties/

While all effort has been made to ensure that the information is in keeping with what is mentioned in the statements submitted by the political parties, in case of discrepancy between information in this report and that given in their statements, the information reported by the political parties should be treated as correct. Association for Democratic Reforms, National Election Watch and their volunteers are not responsible or liable for any damage arising directly or indirectly from the publication of this report.

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