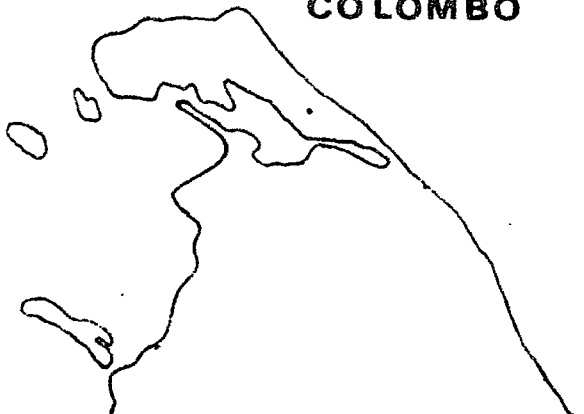


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THE ROLE OF CULTIVATION COMMITTEES IN AGRICULTURAL PLANNING AT VILLAGE LEVEL

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KEHELPANNALA
AND ALUTHNUWARA CULTIVATION COMMITTEES
IN THE ARTI FIELD LABORATORY - BEMINIWATTA

KEGALLE DISTRICT

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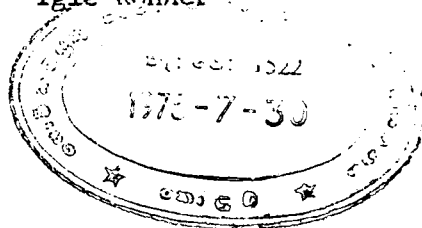
THE ROLE OF CULTIVATION COMMITTEES IN
AGRICULTURAL PLANNING AT VILLAGE LEVEL

A Comparative Study of Kehelpannala
and Aluthnuwara Cultivation Committees in the
ARTI Field Laboratory, Beminiwatte, Kegalle District

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by

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PREFACE

For nearly seven years the Ministry of Agriculture has attempted to utilise the area of a Cultivation Committee and the Cultivation Committee itself as the village level institution in the preparation and implementation of the annual agricultural production programme. At the present time when the country is engaged in a 'production war', the Institute considered it useful to examine *even in* a very small way the role that existing Cultivation Committees were in fact playing in the planning and execution of agricultural programmes within their respective areas. There was also an additional reason for undertaking this study which is in fact over and above the programme of research studies agreed upon by the Institute. The two selected Cultivation Committees fall within the area of the Field Laboratory at Beminiwatte in the Kegalle District where the Institute is undertaking a closely supervised inter-disciplinary examination of the problems of farmers in that area. The study of these two Cultivation Committees was therefore envisaged as an integral part of the work of the Beminiwatte Field Laboratory.

The Study has its obvious limitations. Nevertheless, the Institute hopes that it will focus attention on important problems facing agricultural planners who intend utilising the Cultivation Committee as an institution in organising agricultural development at the village level.

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This study was made possible through the assistance given us by several persons including the office bearers and committee members and Administrative Secretaries of the Cultivation Committees, the Grama Sevakas and Krushikarma Vyapthi Sevakas serving in two areas, and above all, the farmers who helped us willingly. We acknowledge with gratitude their assistance and co-operation.

We are also grateful to our colleagues for their valuable comments on the draft of this report and finally to the Director of the Institute for his comments and encouragement given us in this study.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 General

This is a study of two Cultivation Committees in Kehelpannala and Aluthnuwara in the Kegalle District. The study does not claim to be a comprehensive one. Nevertheless, it was undertaken with the aim of obtaining some essential information which may be of immediate and practical value. The principal focus of the study has been to examine the working of these two Cultivation Committees in the area of implementing an Agricultural Production Programme. The basis for selecting these two Cultivation Committees and the methodology of the investigation that was adopted will be explained later.

Cultivation Committees were established under the Paddy Lands Act of 1958 and were intended to function as village level farmers' institutions for the development of paddy cultivation and the implementation of the tenurial provisions of the Paddy Lands Act. This is an elected body of 12 cultivators of the area registered under the Paddy Lands Act and includes both owner and tenant cultivators. Since the establishment of Cultivation Committees, a few surveys have been conducted in order to assess their efficiency as farmer institutions at the village level. Unfortunately, most of them are unpublished documents which are now difficult to obtain¹. The survey conducted by a visiting FAO specialist has been issued in published form².

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For over a decade policy makers and planners in Sri Lanka have been keenly interested in developing the traditional non-export agricultural sector of the country. The Ten Year Plan published in 1959³ stated that the burden of development in the non-export agricultural sector will devolve largely on peasant producers and that Government policy will be aimed on improving and extending the ancillary services which are basic to the successful implementation of the Investment Programme. The Plan however did not deal specifically with the problems of securing the participation of the rural people in executing the Development Programme that appeared so essential.

1. See Report on the Survey of Cultivation Committees, Department of Agrarian Services, 1966.
2. Ameer Raza - Evaluation of the Paddy Lands Act - Report to the Government of Ceylon, FAO, Rome, 1970.
3. The Ten Year Plan 1959 - page 58.

The short-term Implementation Programme of 1962⁴ emphasised the need to obtain active co-operation of the people for economic development. It was considered as one of the devices "to get things done."

In spite of these statements of intention planning for agricultural development was in practice centrally managed. Agricultural planning derives its true life and character only in implementation at the regional and local levels. Planning from the centre alone cannot take account of the local variations in physical conditions, socio-economic circumstances and the needs and capabilities in different rural areas. The need to locate agricultural development planning at the village level was highlighted perhaps for the first time in the Foreword to the Agricultural Plan, 1958⁵. It was in this document that a development plan for the village was envisaged and the framework laid down for establishing "Multi-purpose Societies" in each village as planning and development units.

The development of Cultivation Committees was made the direct responsibility of a department of Government namely, the Department of Agrarian Services placed under the Ministry of Agriculture. The Cultivation Committees were encouraged to engage in a variety of activities such as minor irrigation, water management and tenurial problems which have a direct bearing on the production of paddy. These efforts however were not closely co-ordinated within the framework of a national agricultural programme embracing the peasant sector. In 1968 a serious attempt was made to secure the participation of Cultivation Committees in the preparation of an annual agricultural production programme directed by the Ministry of Agriculture. Since that time to the present day the Ministry of Agriculture has been principally responsible for preparing the annual Implementation Programme each year for the Maha and Yala seasons. The annual Implementation Programmes have provided some basis for agricultural production programmes at the village level. In the preparation of the annual Implementation Programme a conscious attempt has been made to secure the participation of the Cultivation Committees throughout the island. This annual Implementation Programme which at first was concerned almost exclusively with the paddy production programme has been enlarged and refined over the years in both its scope and the procedures of preparation⁶. It would not

-
4. The short-term Implementation Programme, 1962 issued by the Department of National Planning.
 5. Agricultural Plan, 1958 issued by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.
 6. See questionnaire relating to a village development plan included in the Agricultural Plan, 1958.
 7. See Annual Implementation Programmes 1968 - 73 issued by the Ministry of Food & Agriculture and its successor the Ministry of Agriculture & Lands.

be untrue to say that the preparation of the Annual Implementation Programme by the Ministry of Agriculture has been the main channel through which the rural problems of implementation, particularly, implementation through Cultivation Committees have been so far examined. These annual documents prepared at the divisional, district and national levels contain a great deal of information as to the manner in which the agricultural implementation programmes were prepared and the problems that were encountered in their preparation.⁸ For persons interested in understanding the agricultural implementation policies in recent years, the chapter entitled "Perspectives and Implementation Policies", in the draft Agricultural Development Plan 1971 - 77 will provide useful information⁹.

This brief introduction focussing attention on the establishment of Cultivation Committees and the development of the Annual Implementation Programme in the agricultural sector is presented here as a framework within which the present study of two Cultivation Committees can be placed.

The objectives of this study are:

1. to examine the efficiency of the Cultivation Committee as a village level planning institution;
2. to examine the method of preparation and implementation of the local Agricultural Implementation Programme, and
3. to identify the significant factors that should be taken into account in agricultural development planning at village level.

1.2 Methodology

This is a study of two Cultivation Committees of the Beminiwatte field laboratory area in the Kegalle District, selected on a purposive basis in consultation with the Assistant Government Agent, the Divisional level officials and the Agricultural Productivity Committee. The selection was determined by a broad efficiency criteria; one chosen for its relative efficiency and the other for the lack of it. The two Cultivation Committees selected were the Kehelpannala and Aluthnuwara Committees.

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8. See the Forewords to the Annual Implementation Programmes issued each year from 1968 - 73 by the Ministry of Agriculture. For a sample of a District Implementation Plan see the Implementation Programme for the District of Hambantota, 1973 issued by the Government Agent and the District Agricultural Committee.
 9. Draft Agricultural Development Plan 1971 - 77.

Information for the study was obtained from several sources:-

1. Guided interviews of a 10% sample of farmers from each Cultivation Committee area;
2. Interviews with Cultivation Committee Office-bearers and Members, the two Administrative Secretaries, Grama Sevakas, Office-bearers and Managers of Co-operatives and Krushikarma Vyapthi Sevakas;
3. Files of the two Cultivation Committees and of the Department of Agrarian Services.

1.3 Limitations

1. The two Cultivation Committees may not be representative of most of the Cultivation Committees in the Island, or even in the District (Kegalle). Hence, caution has to be exercised in drawing general conclusions from this study.
2. Being in the nature of a pilot project, the study cannot claim to be an exhaustive one.
3. The information collected from the Aluthnuwara Cultivation Committee was limited due to lack of effective co-operation from the Cultivation Committee.

2. KEHELPA>NNALA CULTIVATION COMMITTEE

Background to the Cultivation Committee area.

The Kehelpannala Cultivation Committee area situated at the South Eastern part of the Beminiwatte field laboratory area comprises the three villages Kehelpannala, Puhulhena and Balathgamuwa. The villages, mostly of the traditional Kandyan type¹ are located on hill slopes while the paddy yayas occupy the valleys. The bulk of the paddy fields are composed of terraces, the liyaddas sometimes being not larger than a few square yards.

Access by road is difficult to most parts of the villages. However, the Cultivation Committee office, the Co-operative Society and the school are centrally located in respect of all three villages.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the village economy, paddy being the principal crop. There is an acute population pressure in the area. Since the available land is limited and rural industries are almost non-existent (except for weaving practised by women as a cottage industry) agriculture by itself is insufficient to provide work to the entire population. There is little chance of extending the area under agriculture. About 30 to 40 families have already left the area to settle in dry zone colonization schemes in the Amparai and Polomaruwa districts. There is also seasonal migration of labour to the dry zone during the slack season.

212 acres in the Cultivation Committee area are under paddy which is cultivated during both Yala and Maha seasons. Of the high land, (above 1700 acres) nearly half is under rubber, while the rest consist of home-gardens cultivated with a variety of yams, minor cash crops, coconut, etc.

Almost all the asweddumized paddy extent is served by minor irrigation. Two perennial streams are utilised to provide water to the entire area making possible two crops a year.

There are 182 registered cultivators of whom 33% are tenants, paying half share as land rent to the owners. Tenancy arrangements are in the majority of cases between relatives and friends and are informal in character. The owner cultivators own only small extents. Landlords with larger holdings (e.g. over 10 acres) of paddy land or high land are almost absent.

1. Terraced paddy fields with "watte" (mixed garden) on lower highland slopes and some "hena" above. Multi-caste village. See Ralph Pieris - Sinhalese Social Organization, Part II. The Village - Chapter 1, "Village Ecology", and Sarkar and Thambiā - The Disintegrating Village.

The operational paddy holding is also very small. Nearly 50% of the cultivators operate paddy holdings of less than one acre in extent. In fact, about 20% of the total number of cultivators operate an area less than half an acre in size. The percentage of cultivators operating more than 2 acres is only about 14%. Tenancy and landlessness are not confined to any village or caste.

Almost all the farmers cultivate new improved varieties of paddy such as BG 11-11 & LD-66. Transplanting, application of fertilizer, weed and pest control are common although in the case of fertilizer application, there is scope for improvement in the matter of application at the correct time and in correct quantities. Transplanting is done during both seasons and weeding by hand is a common practice.

Land preparation is done with buffalo and mamoty. Tractors are rarely used. There is little use of hired labour except for transplanting when female labour is engaged from neighbouring villages, especially by those with larger holdings. Attan labour plays an important part in the agricultural activities.

The three villages consist mainly of Kandyan Sinhalese belonging to different castes. The larger village, Kehelpannala is mainly Govigama. The village elders have succeeded in compromising any differences that might have arisen from the multi-caste situation in the village and caste differences present no bar to social cohesiveness and co-operation.

Another significant factor is the absence of sharp economic and social disparities among the population. The absence of economically and socially commanding families eliminates inter-family rivalry that generally arises from such situations. The villagers also do not take party politics to a point where it hinders village unity and development. All these factors have contributed to a healthy situation in the village.

Background to the Cultivation Committee.

The first Cultivation Committee in the area was elected in 1958. The present Committee was elected in 1968.

From Appendix 1 it appears that upto 1966 the Cultivation Committee was not fully established and was not in a position to collect the acreage levy and to improve the irrigation facilities. Since 1966, the collection of the acreage levy has been very satisfactory and a fair sum of money was spent on providing irrigation facilities. After 1968, the present Cultivation Committee began to take active steps to promote agricultural development in the area.

Farmers of the area give the Cultivation Committee their support and this co-operation is evidenced by :-

- (a) timely payment of acreage levy;
- (b) complete adherence to Kanna meeting decisions and the cultivation calendar;
- (c) adhering to irrigation rules;
- (d) participation in shramadana work.

The Cultivation Committee has a permanent office with a name board¹. The Committee meetings are, as a rule, held on the third day of each month. Attendance of members at these meetings was very satisfactory. The subjects discussed range from day-to-day problems of the farmer to general problems such as equipment, irrigation, financial assistance to cultivators, shramadana, farmer training, etc. The minutes of the meetings are kept in proper order and sufficient detail. The names and signatures of the Committee members present are always given in the minutes.

Kanna meetings are held regularly twice a year before the commencement of each Cultivation Season, when the cultivation operations with regard to the paddy programme for the season are discussed in detail. A majority of the cultivators participate in these meetings. The agricultural extension officer is also invited to attend these meetings.

Out of the sample of 18 farmers interviewed, 14 informed that they attended the Kanna meetings and participated in the discussions.

The Cultivator's Register which includes such details as name of land, area, operator, owner and type of tenure, is correctly maintained and revised annually as stipulated in the Paddy Lands Act (Sec. 35).

The Cultivation Committee is in a very satisfactory financial situation. The annual collection of acreage levy averages roughly to the entire amount due to the Committee (see Annex 1). The Committee has a bank balance of Rs.6,876/80.

The most striking achievement of the Cultivation Committee has been in the area of irrigation. Before 1967, the total amount of money spent on irrigation was less than Rs.4000/-. Since 1968, however, the Cultivation Committee has spent about Rs.60,000/- on the construction of 6 permanent amunas and about 2 miles of concrete channels which enable paddy to be grown over the entire area during both seasons.

1. The front room of the President's house is rented out for this purpose. It is centrally located and is close to the Cooperative.

At present on the initiative of the Cultivation Committee, a 3 mile stretch of road is in the process of being done on shramadana basis. This is a considerable achievement on rough and difficult terrain. Further, the Cultivation Committee out of its own funds carries on maintenance operations like repairing channels. It has spent about Rs.3000/- for such works not exceeding an expenditure of Rs.50/- at a time.

The Cultivation Committee looks after a wide range of farmer needs like fertiliser and credit which it arranges through the co-operatives which also buy paddy under the GPS. The distribution of seed paddy is arranged through the extension services of the Department of Agriculture. The Committee also has a sprayer which it hires to cultivators at a nominal rate.

At the Kanna meeting exact dates are fixed for clearing channels and the decisions are strictly enforced. The work is carried out mostly on a shramadana basis. If farmers fail to attend to channel clearance in time, the Cultivation Committee gets the job done through hired labour and the expenses are recovered from those concerned.

Distribution of water is regulated by the Cultivation Committee. In times of water scarcity, the Cultivation Committee in consultation with the farmer, allocates water on a rotational basis for different parts of yayas. This is strictly enforced by the Grama Sevaka.

In respect of the Kehelpannala Cultivation Committee, at any rate, it cannot be said that a diffusion of responsibility has resulted in poor water management or unsatisfactory maintenance and clearing of channels. If anything it has shown that a Cultivation Committee is capable of discharging its responsibilities with efficiency.

Sowing and transplanting dates are also fixed for the area at the Kanna meeting and as far as possible it is decided to cultivate one seed variety.

The Cultivation Committee has been successful in getting the full co-operation of the farmers of the area for development work, such as, maintenance of irrigation works, water distribution, road construction, etc. Nearly all the farmers interviewed had participated in shramadana work.

Significant attempts have been made by this Cultivation Committee to educate the farmers in improved methods of cultivation. It has organised several farmer-training classes, and also held discussions with extension officers at Kanna meetings.

The Office-bearers of the Cultivation Committee are all known to the majority of the farmers interviewed. 13 of the 18 respondents knew all the Office-bearers (President, Secretary and Treasurer) by name, while 4 of the remaining five knew either two, or at least, one of them.

The farmers were unanimous that the Cultivation Committee was doing a very good job of work, and that they were keenly interested in the affairs of the village. They had complete confidence in the integrity of the Cultivation Committee. While there was hardly any criticism of the Committee's work, many farmers complimented the Committee for its work in the fields of minor irrigation, enforcement of the cultivation programme, supply of certain inputs and organisation of shramadana work.

Preparation of the 1972 - 73 Cultivation Programme

The drawing up of the Implementation Programme was done more or less on the same lines as stipulated in official circulars and guide lines. In May 1972, the Cultivation Committee together with the Grama Sevaka who is the Implementation Officer and the Manager of the Co-operative Society met to discuss the programme. The minutes of the meeting indicate that every item was discussed before arriving at targets for the coming year. The items discussed included the following:-

a) Extent of paddy land to be cultivated.

The estimated acreage was 212 acres for cultivation both in Yala and Maha. The estimate of land to be cultivated with paddy was not difficult to arrive at as it was known that 95% of paddy land was assured of irrigation water.

b) Use of Improved Seed Varieties.

Although in the previous season only 2 acres had been planted with BG 11-11, it was planned to cultivate the entire area with this variety during both seasons. This target which was fixed by the Implementation Officer in consultation with the Committee was conveyed to the cultivators only at the Kanna Meeting in October. Although fixing a high target might under certain circumstances be justified, the unrealistic part of it was that the target was fixed without consulting the farmers.

c) Use of fertilizer.

The amount of fertilizer required had been worked out on the basis of the Agriculture Department recommendations. This seems realistic in an area where all other conditions are conducive to fertilizer use. However, no mention was made of Urea although it is one of the recommended and widely used fertilizers in the area. The estimated fertilizer consumption worked out for 1972/73 was equal to the quantity estimated for 1971/72.

d) Transplanting

Almost the entire paddy acreage is transplanted in both seasons. Here again there is no problem of estimation as year after year the transplanted paddy acreage remain the same.

e) Credit.

Credit requirements had been estimated separately for land preparation, seed paddy, fertilizer, agro-chemicals, and for transplanting (Appendix 2). However, the farmers had not been consulted about their exact credit requirements. In an area where institutional credit is uncommon, an estimation in this manner would be unrealistic.

f) Requirements of Weedicides.

Under transplanted conditions where the supply of water is assured, weeds are not a serious problem and hand weeding is done, where necessary. Chemical weed control was projected for only 12 acres where this was thought necessary.

g) Requirements of Pesticides.

Requirements of pesticides were not included in the Implementation Programme. This was a significant omission as a large proportion of the farmers used pesticides.

h) Cultivation Calendar.

This is a tentative programme prepared 5 months before the commencement of the season. As the cultivation calendar is discussed at the Kanna meeting before the season's work commences, a tentative programme of this nature should be sufficient for the purpose. The calendar in any case needs modification depending on the availability of water.

i) Implements.

225 mammoties had been estimated based on the actual requirements of the cultivators.

j) Expected Yield.

60 bushel/acre was the expected yield for both the Maha and Yala seasons. This was an increase of 10 bushels over the estimate for the previous 2 seasons. Although an increase of 10 bushel/acre over a season may appear optimistic the estimated yield does not seem unrealistic against the target set for the use of BG 11-11, fertilizer and other inputs.

k) Sales under GPS.

The estimated sales under GPS were not included in the Implementation Programme prepared for the 1972/73 Cultivation Year. The amount of paddy to be sold under GPS is generally projected at

the rate of 15 bushels per acre. Since the average size of the operational paddy holding is 1.16 acres, to consider the surplus as 1/4 of the production (15 bushels) does not appear unrealistic.

Subsidiary food crops, fruit and minor export crops are included under highland crops. Estimates are made only in respect of planting material required and the acreage and number of trees to be planted. The proposals relating to the highland implementation programme are no more than a mere guess for several reasons - the Cultivation Committees interest in highland cultivation is limited¹; and highland cultivation is carried out in a rather haphazard manner². In fact, highland cultivation is given very little importance in the Implementation Programme. The same situation applies in the case of livestock. The Cultivation Committee should not have arrived at targets without prior consultations with the farmer, especially in the case of livestock and highland crops which are unlike in paddy more individualistic in character. The estimates for highland crops and livestock could therefore be considered as less realistic.

Implementation of the Programme.

Implementation is the logical next step of planning and certainly the most important. It is at this stage that effective co-ordination and involvement of all the agencies, government officers, officials of the village level institutions and above all the farmers are required. Constant dialogue and communication between all these levels are pre-conditions for any successful implementation of a development plan.

In the case of the Kehelpannala Cultivation Committee, this rapport between the committee and the agencies involved in implementation of the programme was entirely lacking. Once the programme reaches the district level neither the committee nor the implementation officer had any idea whether it has been accepted, rejected or modified. In fact, even at Kanna meetings, no mention is made of the targets or the plan. Thus at the Cultivation Committee Level, the Implementation Programme once it is prepared and sent becomes a mere 'dead letter'.

The involvement of the farmers who are ultimately responsible for the implementation of the actual programme is perhaps the most crucial aspect of the implementation programme. Their involvement in the programme depends on the extent to which they are aware of it and the extent to which they are involved in its preparation.

1. No information is available with the Cultivation Committee in respect of highland.
2. Under the Paddy Lands Act the Cultivation Committee has no power over highland.

Of the 18 farmers interviewed, 14 were completely ignorant of the programme and in fact did not know anything about it. Out of the 4 who knew about the programme 2 happened to be members of the Cultivation Committee. This exclusion of the farmers in the preparation of the programme makes them less committed to it. They are not even kept aware of their responsibility towards the programme and also of the problems likely to arise and the adjustments to be made in the implementation of the programme.

Looking at the implementation programme and the achievements made during the two seasons, one could say that certain targets were not realised. The biggest shortfall was in the highland and live-stock programmes, where performance fell short of targets. The factors responsible being the non-availability of planting material and stock and the unwillingness of farmers to take up to such programmes, especially livestock. Even in the case of credit, what was expected to be provided to the farmer was not realised. Also, projections made for mammoties, barbed wire, etc., were not realised at all.

Some of the abovementioned problems could certainly have been overcome if in the preparation of the programme the farmer and the input supplying agencies were consulted and a continuous dialogue maintained with them at different stages of implementation.

Certain achievements were however made in regard to the paddy programme. Although ambitious targets were fixed in connection with the cultivation of improved varieties of seed, actual performance showed that the targets were nearly realised. The table below shows the position in respect of Maha 1972/73 and Yala 1973:

Table 1

Varieties of Paddy Grown	Number of Farmers cultivating Improved Seeds.	
	Maha 72/73	Yala 1973
BG 11-11	8	15
Other new improved varieties	1	2
H- varieties	6	1
Traditional varieties	3	0
Total	18	18

Fertilizer consumption during the two seasons also came closer to the estimated levels. The targets for fertilizer consumption were worked out on the basis of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. of fertilizer per acre.

The rate of fertilizer consumption by the 18 farmers interviewed worked out at 2.26 cwt/acre in Maha and 2.52 cwt/acre in Yala. This includes V_2 , TDM, Urea and Ammonium Sulphate. The fertilizer recommendations for the area amount to $1-1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. of V_2 , 1 cwt of TDM and $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. of Urea making a total of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{4}$ cwt/acre. The average quantities applied, therefore, were not far removed from the recommended levels.

Yield data was available in respect of 15 farmers for both Maha and Yala. Paddy yields in 1972/73 Maha and 1973 Yala seasons, were 51.9 bushel/acre and 54.5 bushel/acre respectively. This is an appreciable increase over the previous two seasons (bushel:50 per acre as given in the implementation programme), but lower than the estimates for the two current seasons (60 bushels/acre per season). However, looking at per acre yields obtained by individual farmers it is seen that a fair proportion of farmers (40% in Maha and 47% in Yala) had obtained yields above 60 bushels/acre. (1).

Table 2

Per acre yields of individual farmers

Per acre yields in Bu/acre	Number of Farmers	
	Maha	Yala
Below 30	2	3
30 - 60	7	5
60 and above	6	7
Total:	15	15

The implementation programme of the Kehelpannala Cultivation Committee was prepared more or less on the guidelines provided. However the targets in most cases were unrealistic as prior consultations were not held with either the farmers or the input supplying agencies. This factor together with the lack of communication and co-ordination between the Cultivation Committee and the agencies responsible for supplying inputs and those responsible for actual implementation at District and Divisional level made the implementation stage the least satisfactory part of the programme.

(1) The President of the Cultivation Committee felt that the yields quoted by some responding farmers were on the lower side.

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3. ALUTHNUWARA CULTIVATION COMMITTEE.

Background to the Cultivation Committee area.

The Aluthnuwara Cultivation Committee area situated about 4 miles away from the Mawanella town comprises of three villages - Aluthnuwara, Ayagama and Udugala. The area is much less hilly than Kehelpannala and paddy yayas characterised by steep terraces are not evident. Except in regard to the remotest parts the three villages are generally accessible by motorable roads. The historic Aluthnuwara Temple seems to have moulded the entire socio-economic framework of the area.

Agriculture dominates the economy of the area and paddy cultivation is still the main activity of the farming population. Industry is limited to a little weaving and some beedi manufacture. There is also an acute pressure of population on the land.

Rubber, coconut and a variety of minor crops like plantains, yams, pepper, etc., are grown on the highlands which are operated as home garden plots. There are only a few large-sized holdings of coconut and rubber (10 to 25 acres). The total paddy area - 250 acres - is almost entirely rain-fed. A satisfactory minor irrigation infra-structure has not yet been developed. There are no main streams which could be tapped to fill reservoirs for subsequent distribution. Small tanks, however, had been serving the larger paddy tracts in the past but now there are paddy fields instead.

Land ownership and tenure of the area are essentially dominated by feudal relationships. The bulk of the land in this area is either temple or devale lands worked essentially on the Rajakariya system¹. The occupier of the land performs certain services to the temple/devale or in place of such services pays a fixed amount of money. The occupants of the service tenure lands have permanent and hereditary rights to these lands. The majority of the farming population however consists of small owner cultivators and tenants. The latter accounting for about 41%². The operational paddy holding in this area is small, nearly 58% of the cultivators operating an area of less than 1 acre in extent while 13% operate less than $\frac{1}{2}$ acre. Only 3% operate more than 2 acres.

1. See Ralph Pieris "Sinhalese Social Organisation".
2. It was not possible to obtain correct information relating to tenancy as the Register of Cultivators has not been maintained correctly by the Cultivation Committee. The tenants cultivating temple land and performing Rajakariya have not been registered as tenants.

Double cropping of paddy is common in this area, but in the Yala a sizeable extent of land is cultivated with vegetables instead of paddy due to lack of water. Work in the paddy fields is done mostly by buffalo and manmoty though a little ploughing is done by tractor. The majority of the paddy fields is transplanted in Maha, but in Yala, the acreage transplanted is considerably less due to water shortage. Fertilizer is used by most cultivators, but lack of an assured water supply acts as a disincentive to them to use the recommended quantities. Weeding is done mostly by hand and chemicals are often used for control of diseases and pests.

The social structure of the Aluthnuwara Cultivation Committee area is somewhat complex. In addition to the presence of a sizeable Muslim community, the Sinhalese population itself is composed of several castes, the Goigama being the dominant caste. The diversity within the Goigama caste itself is an important factor which has a bearing on the social relations in the village. A few families connected traditionally with the Aluthnuwara devale hold the key positions in the village both socially and economically. Among the Muslim community too, a few families dominate. However, communal or caste rifts are not apparent though political rivalry among the various groups is a common phenomenon. This rivalry does not spring from different political convictions on the part of the peasantry, but rather from attitudes injected into the local society by certain families who want to preserve their privileges and the status quo. This has acted as an impediment to the emergence of truly functional leaders. Rivalry among the few has in fact made any type of unified action for the development of the village impossible. (At the last election of the village Co-operative Society Committee the police had to be present in order to prevent clashes.)

Background to the Cultivation Committee.

The first Cultivation Committee for the Aluthnuwara area was elected in 1958, the second in 1961, the third in 1965 and the present Committee in 1969. According to available information the last election for the selection of Committee members was not properly conducted. In fact, only two of the farmers interviewed knew how the Committee was elected and only one of them had attended the meeting convened to elect members.

The appointment of the present Administrative Secretary was done contrary to the wishes of many of those present at the election.

From the inception, the record of performance of the Cultivation Committee has been very poor. The Department of Agrarian Services has had occasion to comment adversely on the performance of this Cultivation Committee.

The composition of the Cultivation Committee does not reflect all the farming interests of the area. Some of the members are landlords or are non-cultivators and belong to the socially and economically powerful section of the community. The President, the son of the chief Kapu Mahattaya¹ of the Devale is a landlord and a businessman. He himself is not a cultivator but the lands belonging to his family are worked by a large number of tenants. The Secretary who is also the Village Council member of the area is a land-owner and cultivates some lands himself. He too is associated with the Devale. The Treasurer is the former Headman of the area. The Administrative Secretary is not a cultivator and is engaged in trading activities. He also serves as the caretaker of the Co-operative. It could thus be seen that the interests of the office-bearers lie outside agriculture. They belong to the socially and economically powerful families of the village and are of the same family circle.

The Cultivation Committee consists mostly of people belonging to a single political group. The Office-bearers in particular are those who are active in politics. However, this does not seem to have helped the office-bearers and the Committee members to work towards the common objective of mobilising the peasantry for rural development. Further, there is a strong feeling among Committee members that Office-bearers show little interest in rural development and consequently there is little or no co-operation between the Administrative Secretary and the Committee members.

The main reasons for the lack of effective co-operation among the Cultivation Committee office-bearers and members could be summarised as follows:-

- a) Non-farming background of the office-bearers and the Administrative Secretary.
- b) Non-functional character of the leadership² and the consequent disinterest.
- c) Political differences between the Administrative Secretary and the Cultivation Committee members.

The Cultivation Committee has no permanent office. The books and records kept at the Administrative Secretary's house have not been maintained properly.

-
1. A trustee looking after the religious activities of the 'Devale'.
 2. On several occasions the Divisional Officer of the Department of Agrarian Services had warned the Cultivation Committee for acting irresponsibly and had advised the Chairman and Secretary to hold meetings regularly and to reply letters promptly vide - letters from Divisional Officer to Cultivation Committee dated 4.8.71 and 1.11.72.

Committee meetings were not held regularly. For the year 1972 it held meetings once every three months. The number of members participating in the meetings is also extremely poor. At the only Kanna meeting held after a number of years in May, 24, 1973, only six out of twelve Committee members were present.

The issues discussed at these meetings rarely had any relevance to the problems of the farmers of the area. What was repeatedly discussed at these meetings were the problems relating to the collection of the acreage levy. It is doubtful whether these Committee meetings were held at all as very little is recorded as having been discussed and even the names and signatures of the members do not appear in the Minute Book. It is significant that no Kanna meetings were held before 1973.

The Committee does not maintain a correct register of the cultivators. This is a serious handicap to the tenants because this is the only document that makes any reference to their tenancy rights. Consequently, it has not been possible for the Cultivation Committee to settle land disputes on a fair basis.

The Committee has a very poor record of acreage levy collection. From its inception in 1958, it had collected only Rs.1,400/- - this works out at about 4% of the acreage levy due to the Cultivation Committee per year. What is collected by the Administrative Secretary is not handed over to the Treasurer regularly. The Treasurer himself did not know whether the Administrative Secretary had been keeping regular records. Other office bearers were unaware of the finances of the Committee, while almost all the farmers interviewed expressed their doubts about the integrity of the Cultivation Committee. Even a large number of office bearers do not pay the acreage levy. Among the farmers it is mostly the tenants who pay it regularly and this in order to preserve their tenancy rights. Few other farmers who pay the acreage tax said that they do so in order to avoid the Administrative Secretary frequently bothering them for payment.

The Cultivation Committee in two different years spent about Rs.1,400/- for the construction of an amuna. Apart from this, no expenditure had been incurred for development work.

The present Cultivation Committee has shown little interest in undertaking any kind of development work, especially in the field of minor irrigation. No serious efforts were made to encourage the adoption of modern methods of cultivation by the farmers. It neither hired implements to cultivators nor arranged for the supply of

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1. A letter from the Division Officer to Administrative Secretary dated 25.12.69 advised the latter to examine land disputes on a fair basis.

essential inputs. Even farmer training programmes were never arranged through the extension services. The farmers bought their requirements of fertilizer, agro-chemicals etc., from their village Co-operatives; seed paddy was obtained through the K.V.S of the Department of Agriculture.

The bulk of the peasant population of this area is either indifferent to the Cultivation Committee or ignore it completely. Eleven out of thirteen farmers interviewed did not know the office bearers of the Cultivation Committee. Only one respondent knew all the office bearers.

Almost all the farmers interviewed, except one, held the view that the Cultivation Committee had so far not performed any useful service. Some even expressed the view that the present Committee is more a hinderance than an asset to the progress of the village.

The reliability of the Implementation Programme as a document prepared by a farmers' organisation for the purpose of planning and execution of agricultural development programmes at village level depends on:-

- (i) The efficient functioning of the Cultivation Committee and the participation of the Committee and the farmers in preparing it.
- (ii) The extent to which other organisations like the Co-operative and village level workers and leading farmers are involved in its preparation.

These pre-conditions were totally absent in so far as the Aluthnuwara Cultivation Committee was concerned. The Implementation Programme for 1972-73 was prepared by the Administrative Secretary himself. Hence, the projections made in the Implementation Programme were mere guesses bearing no relationship to the needs, capabilities and potential of the area and its farming population.

The Administrative Secretary did not hide the fact that he filled the questionnaire one evening when he was on duty at the Co-operative as its Caretaker and that he needed no discussion with the Committee or with farmers as he knew all that was required to be included in the programme.

A serious handicap to paddy farming in the area is the lack of irrigation facilities. The Cultivation Committee has not done anything in this regard except for the construction of a single amuna. It was reported that a substantial extent of paddy land is not cultivated during Yala due to shortage of water. Of the 13 farmers interviewed one did not cultivate his fields in Yala 1972 while another had cultivated vegetables in his fields. All the farmers interviewed had transplanted their fields in Maha but only 4 out of 11 had done so in Yala. Many farmers expressed the view that the water problem could be at least partially solved by renovating the old tanks.

Table 3 - Varieties of paddy grown:

	Maha 1971/72	Yala 1972
BG 11-11	4*	5
H - Varieties	6	6
Traditional Varieties	2	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total:	12	11
	<hr/>	<hr/>

* One farmer cultivated BG 34 - 8 with BG 11 - 11.

The adoption of new improved varieties is not as striking as in Kehelpannala where the Cultivation Committee with the help of extension services is making a determined effort to popularise them. The cultivation of old improved varieties i.e. H - varieties could be attributed to inadequate water supply especially during the Yala season.

Data was available with regard to fertilizer use for 12 farmers in Maha and 10 farmers in Yala. The consumption rate was 24.5 cwts. in respect of 12 acres in Maha and 14 cwts. in respect of 9.5 acres in Yala. This works out to 2.04 and 1.47 cwt/acre in Maha and Yala respectively. These quantities are short of recommended levels particularly in Yala.

Many farmers used pesticides in both Maha and Yala seasons but complained about the difficulty of obtaining chemicals and sprayers.

Information relating to yield was available in respect of 10 acres for Maha and 10½ acres for Yala - per acre yields were 47½ and 50 bushels/acre respectively for the two seasons. The per acre yield for individual farms varied from 22 bushels to 64 bushels in Maha and 10 bushels to 65 bushels in Yala. None of the farmers had reached the target of 70 bushels per acre given in the Implementation Programme which of course had been fixed arbitrarily.

The differences in the standards of farming between the two Cultivation Committee areas are however not so wide as are differences in the working efficiency of the two Cultivation Committees themselves. The yields in particular between the two Cultivation Committee areas do not show much difference. The yield in itself should however not be taken as a criterion to judge the efficiency of a farmer's organisation since its role is much wider and includes a variety of aspects which promote the well-being of the farming population. Aluthnuwara Cultivation Committee lacks this dimension.

The case of the Aluthnuwara Cultivation Committee raises a fundamental question relating to the basis of the preparation of the Implementation Programme. Here is a Cultivation Committee which is entirely dormant, divorced altogether from the farming activities of the village, engaged in the preparation of an Implementation Programme. The Programme prepared by this Committee does not bear any relevance to the needs of the area. Therefore the divisional and district programmes based on such data could not but become unrealistic if the number of ineffective committees in a given area is fairly large.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

The two Cultivation Committees we have examined in this study reveal that a rural institution vested with the responsibility of programming for agricultural development at village level should have certain basic characteristics.

The most crucial factor that determines the success of a Cultivation Committee is leadership¹. The two Cultivation Committees differ fundamentally in this respect. At Kehelpannala office bearers in particular and the Committee members in general being themselves farmers are representative of the farming community. They are sensitive to problems of the village. They have been able to mobilise the villagers to a very satisfactory degree by smoothening out differences in the village arising out of caste and varied political alignments. They were able to evolve definite programmes of action for agricultural development with the co-operation of the farmers.

In Aluthnuwara, the Cultivation Committee lacks effective leadership and has therefore failed to function as an efficient institution. The capacity of the office bearers of the two Cultivation Committees to provide leadership is given in the description below:-

Kehelpannala	Aluthnuwara
1. Functional	1. Traditional - socially and economically powerful.
2. Not actively involved in politics	2. Politically oriented.
3. Close to people	3. Not closely associated with the people.
4. Interested in farming.	4. Less interested in farming.
5. Act as agents of innovation and education	5. Not interested in acting as agents of innovation.

The Kehelpannala Committee has also been able to secure the effective participation of the village level officers such as Grama Sevakas, Krushikarma Viyapti Sevakas and institutions like the co-operative for its development work. The Aluthnuwara Cultivation Committee has failed to get this co-operation from local officials and institutions.

The degree to which correct leadership could make a Cultivation Committee efficient is shown by the following comparative summary of the activities of the two Cultivation Committees.

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1. Leadership as applicable to the whole Committee in general and to office bearers in particular including the Administrative Secretary.

A. Activity	Kehelpannala	Aluthnuwara
A. 1. Office	Permanent	No permanent office
2. Committee meetings	Held regularly	Not regular
3. Kanna meetings	Held before every season	Not held
4. Cultivation Register	Correctly maintained and up-dated yearly.	Not maintained properly and not up-dated yearly.
B. 1. Cultivation Calendar	Fixed and followed.	Not fixed.
2. Irrigation work	Infrastructure laid out and maintained.	No irrigation facilities.
3. Input supplies	Arranged through the Co-op and Extension network.	Absence of any such arrangements.
4. Implements	Power sprayer hired out.	No implements available.
C. 1. Tenancy rights	Looked after	Neglected.
2. Farmer complaints	Attended to	Not attended to
D. 1. Mobilization of farmers	Successful	Unsuccessful
2. Extension	Organises training classes.	Indifferent
E. 1. Acreage levy	Satisfactory payment	Unsatisfactory
2. Financial situation	Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory

It should be understood by these comments that the Kehelpannala Cultivation Committee is a perfect or an ideal Cultivation Committee. What is significant is that it has been able to evolve and implement definite programmes of action of direct relevance to the cultivators of the area. It was able to provide security to the tenants by preventing unauthorised evictions. The Committee however was not in a position to implement the rent regulation provisions of the Paddy Lands Act. This is due to a variety of socio-economic factors peculiar to the Kandyan areas.

The case of the Kehelpannala Cultivation Committee has revealed that in spite of several shortcomings, its involvement in the preparation of the Implementation Programme has been very much more effective than in the case of Aluthnuwara. With the practical experience gained in carrying out definite programmes of work, Cultivation Committees like Kehelpannala, given a proper orientation and training, could be most effective as village level planning institutions.

The two Cultivation Committees approached the preparation of the Implementation Programme differently. The attitude of the Aluthnuwara Cultivation Committee was an indifferent one.

1. The Committee never met to discuss the programme and fix targets. It was prepared by the Administrative Secretary.
2. Neither the office bearers of the Committee nor the extension officers, or the Co-operative Manager were consulted in the preparation of the programme.
3. No attempt was made to obtain the services of an ad-hoc Committee consisting of leader farmers, village level Government Officials and the Co-operative Managers in the preparation of the programme as was expected in the case of non-functioning or weak committees.

As a result of these factors the Implementation Programme prepared by the Aluthnuwara Cultivation Committee did not reflect the real situation. Such programmes can be totally misleading and lead to unrealistic divisional and district Programmes being prepared. The National programme would also become unrealistic if the same situation was countenanced in other districts.

The preparation of the Implementation Programme was based on two assumptions:

- i. that the Cultivation Committee members are experienced farmers of the village and are therefore sufficiently aware of the needs of the farming population.
- ii. that the Cultivation Committee represent the interests of all the farmers of the area.

Though the members of the Cultivation Committee are all experienced farmers, as in the case of Kehelpannala Cultivation Committee, they may not always represent the interests of the entire farming Community. There is a likelihood of certain groups being overlooked. This is especially so when one considers the problems of development associated with highland and livestock, where consultation with the farmers is an absolute necessity in order to work out a programme. One of the major drawbacks in the preparation of the Implementation Programme therefore is the absence of effective farmer participation.

The Cultivation Committee also lacks adequate training in the formulation of farm plans and production programmes.

The services of experienced officers connected with agricultural development of the area and linked closely to the execution of the Implementation Programme are not made available to the Cultivation Committee at the appropriate stages. Priorities are not determined on the basis of any well thought out socio-economic criteria. The programme is at the most an aggregate of felt needs or "estimated guesses."

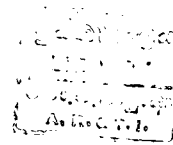
Planning and programme implementation are two inter-connected and continuing functions. However, implementation which probably is the most crucial aspect is the least satisfactory component of the Implementation Programme. Once the programme is prepared and sent to the Government Agent, the Cultivation Committee is not informed whether the programme was accepted, rejected or modified so that the Cultivation Committee is not aware of how or in what manner it should proceed with the implementation of the programme. During the implementation period itself there is no adequate flow of information between the Implementing Agencies and the Cultivation Committee. The problems encountered at the Divisional and District levels in particular are rarely channelled to the village so that adjustments could be affected where necessary. This becomes more important in order that the farmers are kept informed of the difficulties encountered at higher levels so that they do not lose confidence in the Cultivation Committee.

The content of the Implementation Programme itself needs comment. It is basically a programme for the paddy sector. Highland and livestock development taken together receive only marginal importance. The Cultivation Committee as constituted at present has no authority over highland and livestock. This situation will change with the formation of the new Cultivation Committees.

Recommendations.

1. The Cultivation Committee needs to be made a functional organisation representative of farming interests and receptive to problems of the area. Then only could it function as an efficient village level institution for planning and implementing agricultural programmes.
2. Farmer participation and involvement are essential prerequisites to the successful preparation and implementation of development programmes. Steps have therefore to be taken to ensure that this is done.

3. A higher level farmer organisation should be made responsible for co-ordinating local planning between the Cultivation Committee, implementing agencies and the Divisional and District organisations. The role of the APC which is already accepted¹ in this connection has to be made clear and proper orientation given to all concerned.
4. Effective communication and co-ordination between local and Divisional/District levels are essential at both preparation and implementation stages of the programme. There should be effective participation by all officials connected with implementation and input supplying agencies - especially the Co-operative.
5. Proper training and re-orientation of the Cultivation Committee is an immediate requirement if it is to be made fully equipped to undertake the task of planning and implementation on a realistic basis.
6. The Implementation Programme should be a blueprint for the overall agricultural development of the area, highland and livestock receiving greater emphasis. Hence, the need to invest the Cultivation Committee with the responsibility for the total agricultural development of the area. This has already been recognised under the new Agricultural Lands Law.
7. Short-term plans for agricultural development should be accompanied by long-term planning covering aspects like irrigation, soil and water conservation, preparation of cropping and livestock programmes, marketing, storage and transport.



1. See the Foreword to the Implementation Programme 1974 - Ministry of Agriculture.

APPENDIX I

COLLECTION OF ACREAGE LEVY AND EXPENDITURE ON
MINOR IRRIGATION IN KEHEIPANNALA AND ALUTHNUWARA

Keheipannala			Aluthnuwara			
Acreage levy collected Rs	Expenditure on minor irrigation Rs	Year	Acreage levy collected Rs	Expenditure on minor irrigation Rs		
271.00	1958	{	1,823.00	
.....	.....	1959	{		
.....	.....	1960			
.....	.....	1961			
.....	600.00	1962				
19.00	2,600.00	1963				
.....	1964				923.00
.....	1965				{
1,677.00	.....	1966			
178.00	6,169.00	1967				
2,778.00		1968			
1,997.00		1969	.....		
907.00		1970	215.00			
1,496.00		1971	273.00			
2,503.00	60,000.00	1972	.....		
3,657	.....	1973	.....		

	Maha 72/73	Yala 1973	Achievements	
			Maha 71/72	Yala 1971
7. Area under improved varieties -				
Acres				
IR 8 ... (4 months)				
IR 262 ... (3½ months)				
BG 11-11 ... (4-4½ months)	212	212	2	2
BG 34/6 ... (3½ months)				
BG 34/8 ... (3 months)				
BG 34/11 ... (3 months)				
LD 66 ... (4-4½ months)			1	1
MI 273 ... (4-4½ months)				
66 - 355 ...			180	180
H 4 ... (4-4½ months)			29	29
H 8 ... (4-4½ months)				
H 9 ... (5-6 months)				
H 10 ... (3 months)				
PT 16 ... (5-6 months)				
Pinulot ...				
PP ...				
4 - 7 ...				
Total - Acres				
8. Expected Quantity of Fertilizer to be used				
V 2 ...	318	318	318	318
TDM ...	212	212	212	212
Pelleted Fertilizer				
Total - Cwt.				
9. Short term credit requirements -				
Rupees				
Ploughing ...	2200	2200		
Seed Paddy ...	1280	1280		
Chemical Fertilizer	2320	2320		
Agro-chemicals	1200	1200		
Weeding				
Transplanting	2000	2000		
Total - Rupees				
10. Acreage expected to be cultivated under different cultural practices-				
Land Preparation				
1. Ploughing	150	150	150	150
2. Tilling with mamoty	62	62	60	60
3. Tractors				
4. Other				
Total - Acres				

11. Acreage to be planted under different methods

	Maha 71/73	Yala 1973	Achievements	
			Maha 71/72	Yala 1971

(A) Planting Method:

1. Dry Sowing				
2. Sowing-broadcast or row				
3. Transplanting-ordinary or row.	212	212	210	210
Total	212	212	210	210

(B) Weeding:

1. Hand	200	200	200	200
2. Mechanical				
3. Chemical				
M.C.P.A.	12	12	10	10
3, 4, DPA				
P.C.P.				
Paraquat (Gramoxone)				
Other				
Total Acres	212	212	210	210

12 Requirements of Implements

	Already Avail-able	Requirement for 72/73	73	Total
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I. Mammoties:

(a) 7 x 10"	...			
(b) 8 x 10"	...		25	
(c) 9 x 9"	...	84	200	
(d) 10 x 10"	...			

II. Weeders:

- (a) Co-operatives ...
- (b) Cultivation Committees
- (c) Others

III. Seeders:

- (a) Co-operatives
- (b) Cultivation Committees
- (c) Others

IV. Power Sprayers & Dusters:

- (a) Co-operatives
- (b) Cultivation Committees 2
- (c) Others

	Already Available	Requirements for 1972/73	Total
V. Hand Operated Sprayers:			
(a) Co-operatives			
(b) Cultivation Committees			
(c) Others			
VI. Hand Operated Dusters:			
(a) Co-operatives			
(b) Cultivation Committees			
(c) Others			
VII. 2 Wheel Tractors			
VIII. Barbed Wire (Cwt.)		25	
IX. Wire Mesh (Cwt.)		20	
	Maha 72/73	Yala 1973	Achievements Maha Yala 71/72 1971

13. Expected paddy sales under GPS (Bushels)

14. Cultivation Programme:	1972/73 Maha	1973 Yala
(a) Commencement of channel clearing	1972-08-25	1973-04-03
(b) Commencement of sowing		
(c) Issue of cultivation loans		
(d) Issue of seed paddy		
(e) Issue of fertilizer	1972-09-10	1973-05-10
(f) Commencement of harvesting	1973-03-05	1973-08-05

II Cultivation of Subsidiary Crops

15.	Acreage	Production Cwts	Seed Requirements Lbs	Credit Requirements Acreage
1. 1. Red Onions	10	30	25	
2. Chillies	20	40	50	
3. Green grams				
4. Potatoes				
5. Bombay Onions				
6. Manioc	50	1000		
7. Vegetables	100	10000		
Total				

16. Fruit Cultivation:

	Present area or No: of trees	Area or No: of trees to be planted	Requirements of improved plant- ing material
1. Pineapple (Acres)	6000	3000	3000
2. Plantains (Acres)	350	400	
3. Passion Fruit (Acres)			
4. Avocado (No: of trees)	50	50	1000

Total:

Total (acreage or
no. of trees)17. Cultivation of minor
export crops

	Present area or No: of trees	Area or No: of trees to be planted	Requirements of improved plant- ing material
1. Cocoa (Acres)			
2. Coffee (Acres)	40	20	10000
3. Nutmeg (No: of trees)	10	10	5000
4. Pepper (Acres)	100	150	
5. Cloves (No: of trees)	50	20	3600

Total:

Total (acreage or no.
of trees)

IV. Animal Husbandry

18. Breeding animals expected to be obtained from Department of
Agriculture

Chicks	Egg Production	1000
	Broiler	200
Calves - Males		10
Females		30
Buffaloes Calves	Males	25
	Females	50

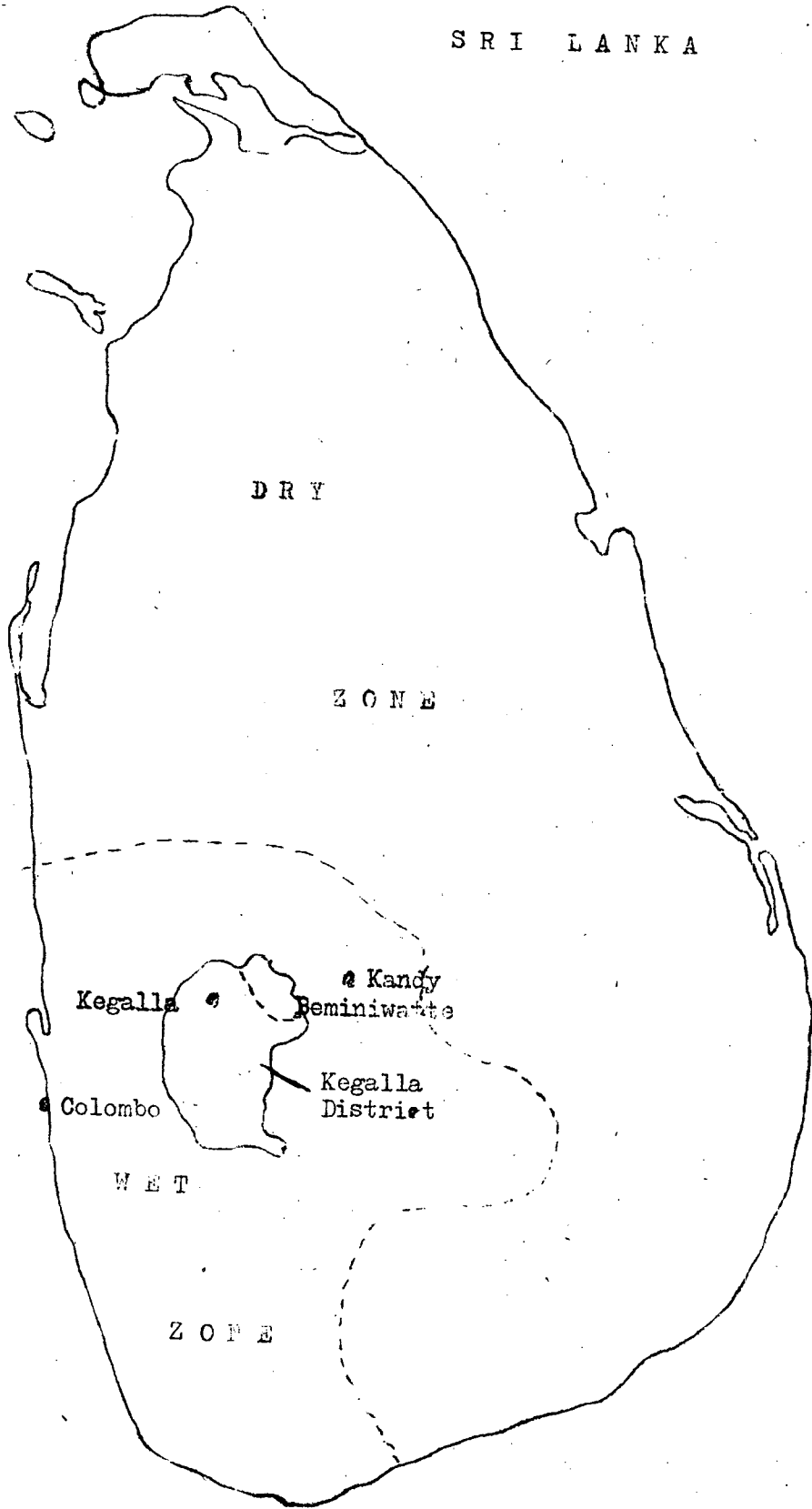
Sgd: Development Officer

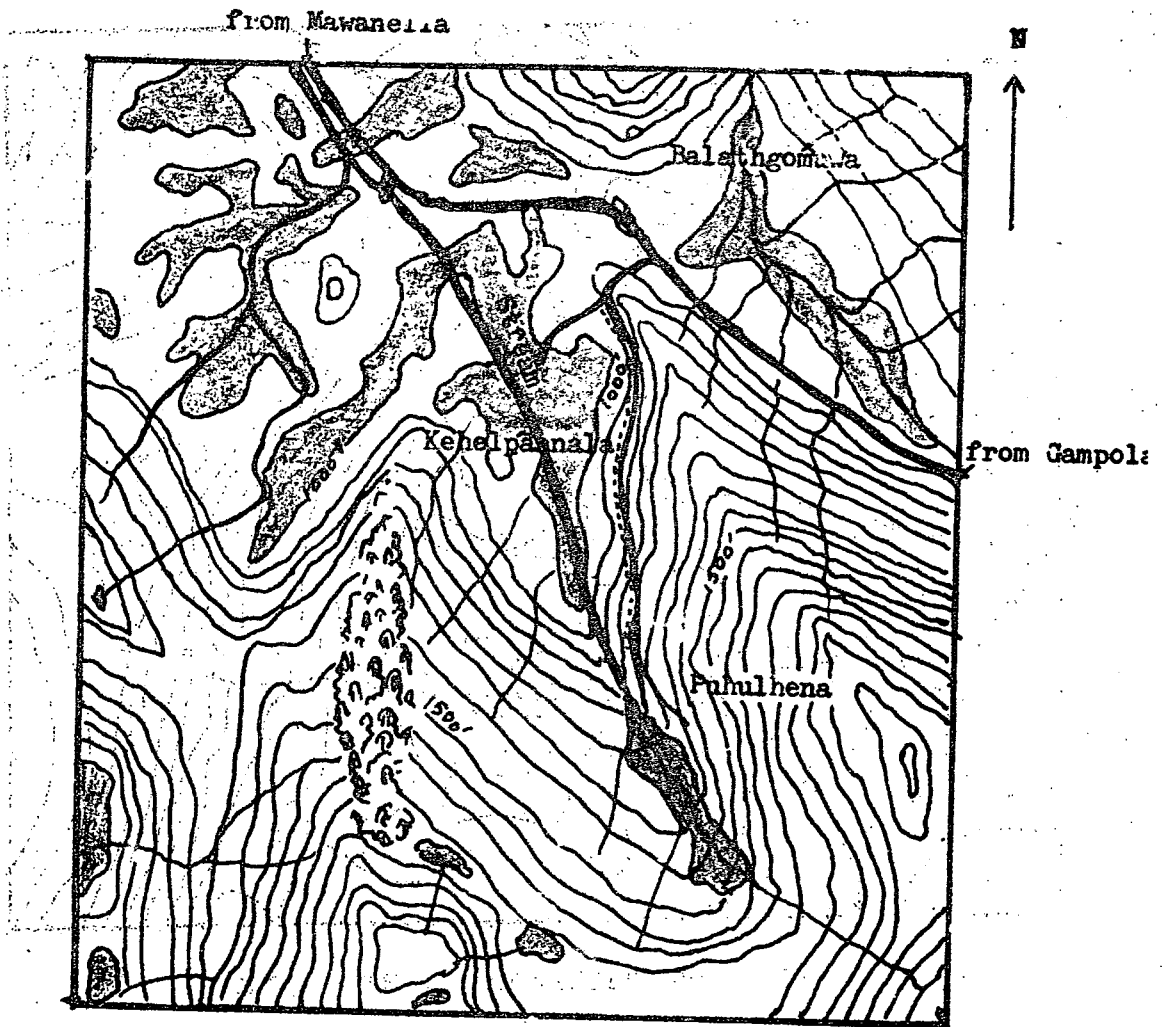
Sgd: President - Cultivation
Committee

Date: 1972-05-31


Date: 1972-05-31

SRI LANKA



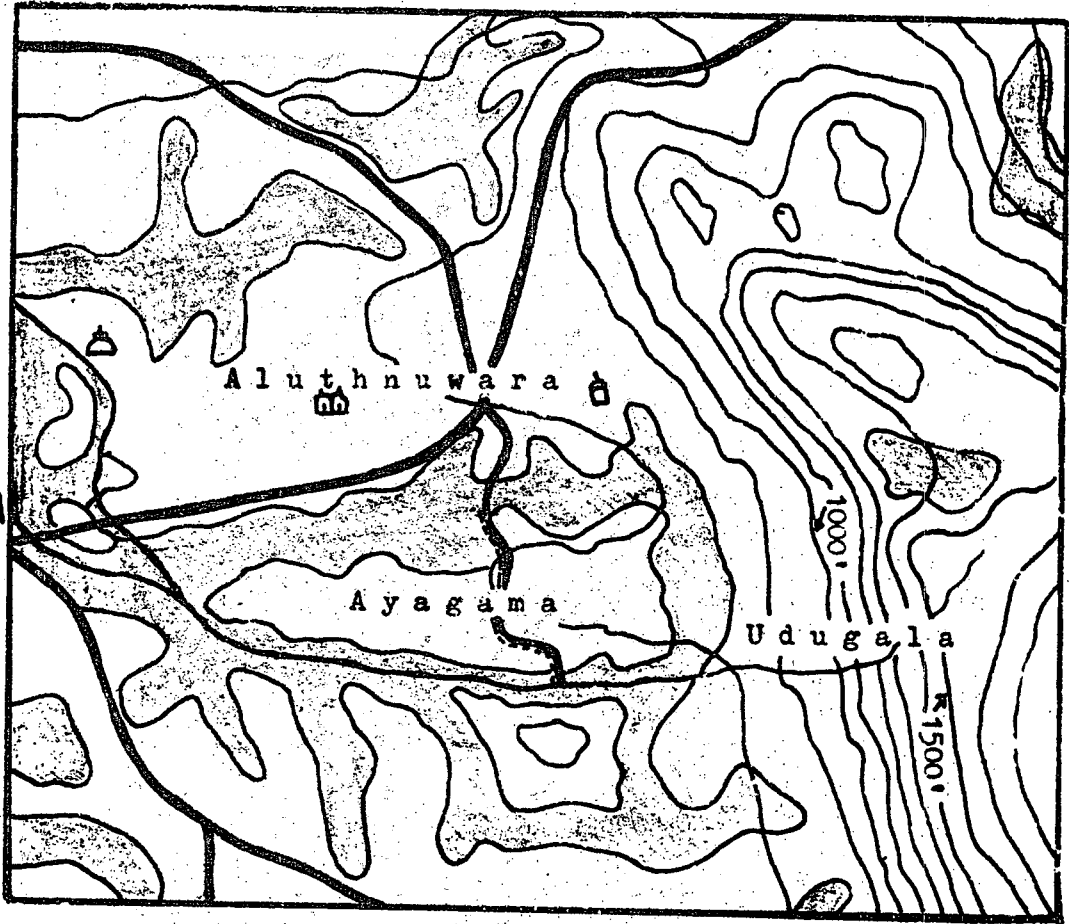


KEHEL PANNALA CULTIVATION COMMITTEE AREA


 Paddy Yavas

from
Hingula

from
Kawahella



ALUTHNUWARA CULTIVATION COMMITTEE AREA

 Paddy Yayas

