

TRIBUNE

MINISTER'S BAN

No Advertisements For Lake House

A Minister, holding an important portfolio in the present MEP Cabinet of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, whom we shall not name for the present, has issued two circulars which affect the rights of newspapers in this country. We reproduce the two circulars which speak for themselves. They constitute, in our view, the most serious threat to the existence of a free press that has arisen since the MEP came to power.

The Minister in question wants nothing short of a servile press. Because a group of papers have criticised certain acts of his, he seeks to deny them legitimate sources of information and also penalise them by withdrawing all advertisements that Departments under Ministry have so far placed with such newspapers.

The first circular is dated September 21, 1956 and the second September 26, 1956, and both have been sent to every head of department in this particular Ministry.

Information

The first circular reads as follows:-

"The Hon. the Minister has laid down the following procedure to be adopted in future with regard to relations with the press:-

"No officer of the Ministry or any department of the Ministry, including the Permanent Secretary and Head of Department, should make any communication to the press without the prior approval of the Minister.

"2. This order will also apply to any factual question put by reporters or others on behalf of the press. If such questions are to be answered, or any other communication to be made, please forward to me a draft of the answer or communication to enable me to obtain the prior approval of the Minister."

The result of this is that Press is made entirely dependent on the Minister who will probably release only news which he thinks will help his politics.

Advertisements

The second circular with the heading NOTICE AND ADVERTISEMENTS reads as follow:

"The Hon. the Minister wishes to know the expenditure incurred by you on notices and advertisements in each of the daily newspapers. Please give the figures for the current financial year.

"2. The Hon. the Minister has also directed that in future no notice or advertisement should be sent to the newspapers of the Lake House Group. Please take order accordingly. In case where you forward notices and advertisements to the Government Printer for distribut-

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ion among the newspapers you should inform the Government Printer that they are not to be published in the papers of the Lake House Group."

Tribune has been among the harshest critics of the Lake House group of newspapers in respect of the policies they advocated. But, we have also never hesitated to commend Lake House papers whenever they supported causes which in our view merited such support. But whatever one's views be about the policies of Lake House, to penalise and discriminate against one newspaper or a group of newspapers solely because of adverse criticism is contrary to the democratic traditions which are said to inspire political life in this country.

The bedrock of democracy is the right to criticise, and we are convinced that Lake House is now being penalised simply because they have dared to criticise some of the activities of the Minister concerned, and very correctly, in our opinion. If the Minister has any charges that the Lake House is anti-national, or anti-social, the Minister should

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TRIBUNE

CEYLON NEWS REVIEW
COLOMBO, Oct. 6, 1956

Vol. 4 No. 21

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FILM

SINCERELY YOURS

Liberace

English at The Liberty

The purists may find this *m-lange* of chopsticks and Chopin and Boogey Woogey and Bach a trifle indigestible. In point of fact, Bach was the only composer, to my recollection, who was left out in this very wide range of popular classics. But one should not be a purist nowadays.

All that belonged to the gracious and spacious days that are no longer with us. It is better to be omnivorous in our tastes even if we have to take liberal pinches of salt to help us along and perhaps liberal doses of something stronger to wash them down with. In these days of a high degree of specialisation in our daily work and avocations, it is a good thing to be catholic in our pleasures. This restores the balance, as it were, helps us snap out of our parochialism and gives us an outlook which would synchronise with the times. Be that as it may, but there is no getting away from it. Boogey Woogey and Bop and all those who purvey it have

TO KUMARAN RATNAM

*A doughty fighter for the finest cause,
A sentinel of freedom, peace and more
Men-haters, rousers of all racial wars
Did never meet a more relentless foe.*

*Beloved Kumaran, you leave us when
This Lanka needs you most - a guiding star
To foil the plans of mad, barbaric men
And drive these shades of darkness wide and far.*

*You are not dead, Kumaran, you still live,
Your life's great work, that fight can never cease;
With us you'll be for evermore to give
Faith, hope and strength to all the friends of peace . . .*

BASIL PERERA

come to stay whether we like it or not, and are, as much a part of the 20th century as Purcell was a part of Elizabethan England. James Agate once said that Boogey Woogey bears the same relation to music that the Solomon Islanders gibberish bears to English. But then J. A. was a howling snob. "Native" English has its uses. It does bring people together who would otherwise have no point of contact. Boogey has a message that some people need and which isn't conveyed by

Handel or Scriabin or Delius or Elgar.

It is almost physical in its appeal and produces a certain exhilaration, a musical drunkenness which certain people like. The pleasure that this exhilaration gives is not to be ignored. Henry Treece dealing with Agate's crack about the Solomon Islanders says that he is liberal enough to understand that there is more in music that can be got out of any one composer or form or period. Boogey, at its own level, supplies an emotional element of a specialised sort which is absent in other forms of music. It is primitive element, but an important one. Did this convince James Agate? Of course not.

Perhaps it doesn't convince you. But if you like a little bit of everything and love music too much to want to be snooty about it, you will enjoy this film. It is all piano. I do not pretend to be able to express any opinion on Liberace's virtuosity but he seems equally at home on the band stand and in the concert hall. But he did strike me as being a little heavy and "hammy" before the camera. But if music be the food of love, the food of joy, the food of sorrow: or, if music be nothing but a concord of sweet sounds, you will undoubtedly say, play on Liberace, play on.

The rest of the picture really doesn't matter one bit.

N.

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STORY OF A PAIR OF BLIND BOYS

THE REPLIES

In the last article, Mettananda's Letter was examined and it was found that Mettananda had brought three specific charges against the new sponsors of the EBP to show why the EBP should not and cannot be revived. Briefly, the charges were: (1) that the group endeavouring to revive the EBP (dissolved on July 14) was unable to bring the entire Sangha into one organisation; (2) this group was "political minded" with a special political programme and was wanting to inflict its politics on the rest of the Sangha and carry through its political aims under the cover of a unified organisation of priests; (3) that a number of priests, three in particular, among those seeking to bring the new EBP in existence were "immoral" and evil (dussila) monks whose private lives was one of the main stumbling block in the way of unity among all priestss.

To this letter by Mettananda, the first reply came from Hewanpola Ratnasara. It was dated September 5, and appeared in the *Daily News* of September 6. He signed the letter as Joint Secretary of the Sri Lanka Maha Sangha Sabha. This organisation was the organisation which Mettananda helped to found in 1953 and which was part of the EBP before dissolution. Hewanpola was one of the five nominees of this association on the special Committee for unity, but when four of his colleagues resigned owing to differences with the Buddhakkhita faction which dominated the Congress of Bhikkhus (stared in 1954), he elected to throw in his lot with Buddharakkhita and his friends.

Minister

Hewanpola's letter was in part a defence of himself for continuing on the Special Committee of EBP, and in part an attack on Mettananda. He did not meet the three charges made by Mettananda, but he countered with a series of charges against Mettananda. He first made clear that Mettananda, not being a monk was not a member, of the

EBP nor one of its leaders - though Hewanpola admitted that he "had close associations with him for a number of years....." However, to this worthy priest "the role Mettananda is attempting to play as a Buddhist leader is still a mystery to the country".

He does not tell us what the mystery is, but he proceeds to state that Mettananda was behaving in the fashion he was because he had not been made the Minister of Education. Hewanpola revealed that soon after the MEP victory at the elections, a concerted effort was made by Mettananda's to get himself appointed Minister of Education. An unnamed Senior Civil Servant (who Hewanpola says shared Mettananda's mat during the discussions) is said to have been the "go-between". It was the failure to become the Minister of Education, Hewanpola declares, was the reason why Mettananda triggered the Jayasuriya fast.

Unconvincing

But about the main charges, apart from the bare denials he says nothing.

We had hoped to publish the rest of *Pertinax's* comment on the EBP in this issue, but owing to pressure of space we have held over for next week the last part of the article in which he evaluates the role of the bhikkhus at the present stage of Ceylon's political development.

ing. His excuses and retorts are lame and unconvincing. Hewanpola gives the names of a few priests who were willing to join the EBP, but he does not say one word about the Malwatte and Asgiriya sects and other important priests who opposed the EBP.

In regard to the charge that the Buddhakkhita faction attempting to foist its politics on the, EBP Hewanpola says nothing more than argue that it was wrong for Mettananda to attempt to disrupt the EBP when it had met with "some measure of success". He ends this letter with a curse that ill becomes a priest: "... At this juncture when we are making an attempt to form a strong united front of all bhikkhus in the country, your (Mettananda's) attempt to divide the sangha will be a sin which you will never be able to atone for many a birth".

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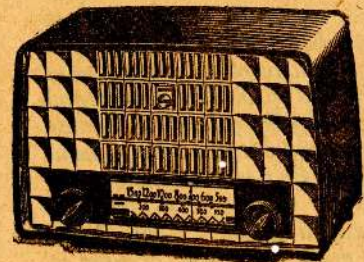
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Bhikkhu Peramuna

(continued from page 323)

The gentle Buddha would not have cursed even the worst sinner (or enemy) in this fashion, but it is just as well to remember that racial-jingoistic policies of the EBP (particularly after the MEP victory) are as contrary to the ethics of Buddhism as Mettananda's slogans on religion, race and language.

The Ven. Mapitagama Buddhakkhihta Thero followed with a letter which was published on September 7, and the Rev. Talpawila Seelvansa Thero also delivered himself of another letter on September 8. Both these letters said nothing more than what Hewanpola stated, but they went into details which showed how sordid the whole squabble within the EBP really was. All they could endeavour to show was that Mettananda was a *disruptor* who was throwing away a good thing.

Immorality

On Mettananda's central charge of immorality, very little was said, except to echo what Hewanpola had stated thus: "It is strange that Mettananda has suddenly come to realise that the very priests who only a few months ago carried on a great struggle against the UNP and were good enough to be associated were now immoral after all. It is sheer impudence on the part of Mr. Mettananda to declare all those priests who are not prepared to dance according to his tune as immoral."

Apart from trying to draw a red-herring across trail of the charge of immorality, Hewanpola Ratnasara, Mapitagama Buddhakkhihta and Talpawila Seelvansa who took upon themselves to defend the EBP against the onslaught by Mettananda, said nothing about teenage young ladies who were said to have been entertained by a particular priests in Chinese restaurants and Muslim hotels, about a VIP in the EBP who was alleged to have a much talked of affair with a "distinguished female", and about another priest who was accused of being a rapacious landlord.

Several priests and laymen wrote letters and made statements. In regard to the charge against Mettananda that he sought to become Minister of Education, a satellite of Mettananda—a priest — offered an explanation to say that this honour was thrust on Mettananda by the EBP, but it could not be fulfilled

because he was not in the House of Representatives and that the two possible Ministries in the Senate were ear-marked for portfolios of Justice and Home Affairs. None of the other letters or statements were of much consequence except to show that there was a great deal of public excitement about this washing of EBP dirty linen.

Kasappa

Before dealing with Mettananda's final reply published on September 15, it is necessary to quote the really outstanding contribution to this controversy by Bhikkhu Kasappa, of Vajirama, Colombo which took the form of a letter published on September 11. The letter speaks for itself and it may be said to represent the feelings of the general mass of thinking Buddhist clergymen and ayemen.

"Without the slightest wish to call any of these folk names, one must say that the controversy between Mr. Mettananda and the political monks reminds one of the saying that, when rogues fall out, honest men get a chance to regain their own.

"Mr. Mettananda's masterly presentation of his case—one offers no opinion about his facts — and his superior command of English, give him the whip hand; and the others can only squirm, hedge and beg the question.

"Suppose it to be true that Mr. Mettananda actually wished to be

a Minister of Education. What is wrong about that? He is not a bhikkhu following rules that prohibit interests and ambitions of a wordly nature. One can only say that, apart from the general foolishness of pursuing and clinging to transient illusory wordly things, Mr. Mettananda was entirely within his rights, though whether he would have proved to be a less obstreperous thorn in the side of the government than the present Minister of Education is quite another matter.

"One thing comes out from this controversy, that the Maha Sangha (which yet includes the vast majority of the genuine bhikkhus of Lanka), the government and the general public should note well, take to heart, and act upon.

"All the folk concerned in this controversy freely admit that the alleged bhikkhus did take active part in politics, and were, so they think, the chief means whereby the U.N.P. was ousted and the M.E.P. installed. Mr. Mettananda approves, but he strongly objects to the continued activity of monks in politics and clearly points out how wrong all this is according to the Vinaya, and so essential a part of the Buddhadhamma the Vinaya is. Mr. Mettananda excuses his initial support of these same alleged bhikkhus' part in ousting the U.N.P. under some doctrine of the end justifying the means. No such doctrine is found

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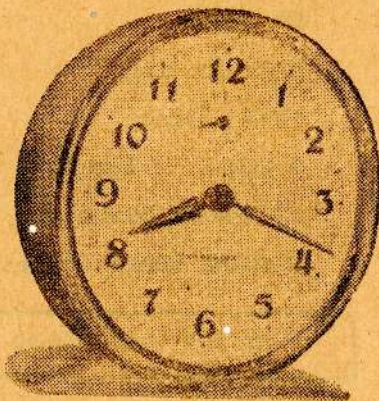
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REMUNERATION

Though running the risk of being accused of encouraging extravagance, I think it is the duty of people like us to view the attempts of the younger men, critically but not destructively. I am a medical practitioner who has seen 45 yrs of service in the profession. Most of my contemporaries are no more, and I still maintain that a good and honest doctor is worth his weight in gold to the community.

There is little gained in the views

expressed in your comment as to the question is whether you think that the salary drawn by a doctor is adequate or not. If inadequate, what will you consider adequate? You have said that the salaries asked by the doctors is three times more than in England. We can overlook India as being below standard and the USA is above, taking England as a mean. Then there is no truth in your assertion. I shall write out the scales of the

Dr. M. J. Fernando of 'The Dispensary' Marawila, has sent us the following article on the question of the remuneration to medical practitioners in Government Service. We invite the views of other readers who have concrete suggestions in regard to what Dr. Fernando says in this article or in respect of all problems connected with the problems of doctors in Government Service.

doctors in England, as appearing in the B.M.J. under appointments with their local equivalent

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|---|---------------|-------------------|
| Unregistered | Intern | £ | 425 per annum | Rs. 425 per Month |
| Registered Medical Officer | 1 Yrs Service | £ | 525 " " | Rs. 525 " " |
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| Register | 4 Yrs " | £ | 850 " " | Rs. 850 " " |
| | 8 " " | £ | 1400 " " | Rs. 1400 " " |

On comparison the starting salary appears high but it is not so when you consider the conditions prevailing in this country. No doctor can carry on the work expected of him without a car. In comparison, the transport system is so good in England that even the most senior man goes to work by bus.

Expense

There is also the question of furniture for the bungalows and so many other things that the young English doctor does not need to worry about. Even the question of quarters for interns is not satisfactory.

Above all this, there is the fact that attempts to compare do not help and I was impressed that the doctors did not ask salaries in comparison or in compensation. They were reported to have asked for an adequate a salary which is I think a basic essential in any demand. If they were to ask salaries paid to the only other profession that can make any claim of equality in responsibility but hardly in the amount of work, that is, the crown counsels. These I believe start on Rs. 750 a month.

I fail to see the argument in the cry that there is free education,

As far as I see it is available to all, even those who do not do a stroke of work. Why not ask them to refund part of it. Also why do we pay the same scales to those who were educated in the time of fees? Should we not increase these? I think this argument is frivolous. It is reminiscent of Suez for the

British because they built it, or a least financed it. Or fishing right to the Europeans because they stocked our streams.

Trying

We must remember that the doctor in Ceylon is working under
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Govt. DOCTORS

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the most trying conditions. It is admitted that each is doing the work of ten. There is also the fact that they work in areas that very few people of their upbringing

NOT THE WAY OF CHRIST

LONDON SEPT. 23

Canon L. J. Collins, preaching in St. Paul's Cathedral here on Religion and Politics, said to-day that "the old-time Imperialistic rattling of sabres" over the Suez crisis was "certainly not the way of Christ".

He told the congregation: "In the present Suez crisis we might try to buy peace in our time by the use of force or by the selfish use of economic power, or by any other threat. But the hatred and frustration created by such a policy will bear in future generations a terrible harvest of wrath and despair.

"The Government's revival of the old-time Imperialistic rattling of sabres may seem to some to be an effective method of dealing with people weaker than ourselves, like Colonel Nasser; it certainly is not the way of Christ".

Canon Collins added. "The way of love applied to this Suez problem might, indeed, bring a measure of economic distress to present-day Britain, but it would also set world politics in a new mould so that future generations would rejoice for that day when a British Government took the risk of deciding a political issue not by the exercise of temporal power but by reliance upon the power of God's love.

"It is high time the so-called men of the world gave place to men of God. What a breath of fresh air might be breathed into politics if we were to wake up tomorrow morning and read in our papers that the Government had ordered the way of non-violence in Cyprus, in Kenya in Africa or in regard to Egypt!"

will consider congenial. And their wives and children also undergo those hardships. At this stage when even under these conditions they make an attempt to lend a hand to the government to clear up the mess it seems unkind to view their request for a better salary in the light of suspicion. There are no middle and tops in the rungs nor bottoms. They are all one, a set of workers asking for adequate pay. There is no reason for the middle and top rungs to smart under the abolition of private practice, and get satisfaction of depriving the bottom of their legitimate dues. I am tempted to quote a much used quote. "Those who know the price of everything but the value of none".

It appears that the majority of the government doctors are for this scheme, to my mind the bargaining about a few rupees is what is fantastic. The doctors all these days had the cake and also ate it. Now I hope the government is not going to heed the advice of those who are urging her to attempt to do the same. It is only in the atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill that any improvement can be made. Any attempt to sharp practice will some day come out and the guilty party will have to shoulder the responsibility. Let us trust that the doctors will in this venture show their profession in its traditional light, and the Govt. will make an honest attempt to use the goodwill to a useful purpose.



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WEEK by WEEK in CEYLON

★ IRIYAGOLLE

★ ABEYWICKREME

I. M. R¹ A. Iriyagolle took the honours for the week by placing his claims to be a Minister in the MEP before the public in no uncertain manner. The Iriyagolle sensation started with whispers that there was a demand from certain quarters that (he) Iriyagolle should have a portfolio. He is at present only the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Home Affairs.

The whispers about Iriyagolle's claims erupted by the middle of last week into the Sinhalese press and later into the English language papers. At first, the story appeared to be rather impersonal with Iriyagolle very much in the background and his champions (unnamed) in the foreground, but it was not long before Mr. Iriyagolle himself took the centre of the stage. The controversy also took the form of whether the number of Ministries should be increased to accommodate Iriyagolle. Many in the Parliamentary Party however insisted that, though the MEP had broken its election boast that the country could be run with ten Ministers, it would be disastrous for the PM to increase the present Cabinet of 13 by one more.

Finally, it was proclaimed that Iriyagolle was satisfied with a promise that when the Cabinet was "reshuffled" in December he would be made a Minister. This is the first the public heard about a Cabinet reshuffle in December, and this led to rumours that Stanley de Soya was going to the UN after the PM's visit in November, and that Iriyagolle was staking his claims now to prevent Subasinghe being moved to the Ministry of Finance.

By Right

In the meantime, an enterprising reporter from the *Sunday Observer* (30/9/56) obtained an interview from Iriyagolle which placed the Ministerial aspirant's sentiments beyond any doubt. Iriyagolle declared that the number of Ministers was not the criterion of good Government! "It depends on the efficiency of the men holding the portfolios," he told the reporter. "It is always best to have a few and efficient

Ministers. Every Tom, Dick and Harry cannot manage a Ministry simply because he gets a portfolio through some means or other..... What happened in the Cabinet Formation on the night of April 9 will be a revelation and regret to the people some day."

The same *Sunday Observer* report indicated that Iriyagolle had confided in a present Cabinet Minister from the Kandyan area that he (Iriyagolle) had been one of the four joint signatories of the MEP manifesto and also had been on its selection committee (to pick candidates) and that if he were good enough to perform such high duties he was entitled by right to be a Minister.

Parliamentary Secretary Iriyagolle is entitled to feel just what he likes about his claims for a portfolio, but the question which seems to worry the public is whether Prime Minister Bandaranaike should succumb to such blandishments. Minister Marikkar, with yogi-like detachment, has offered to resign his Ministry if there is any move to increase the number of portfolios. Ten should have been the number, but any further increase was im-

possible, says Marikkar. And hence his offer to make a make a sacrifice for the good of the MEP.

Minister Marikkar at one time sought public approbation (*Sinhalese Only*) by hacking the English programme on Radio Ceylon and by other "stunts". These according to gossip in political circles have now worn thin, and it would seem that Minister Marikkar has sought the halo of martyrdom to keep himself in the public eye. This is a rather harsh and cruel view to take Minister Marikkar's generous offer to make a sacrificial lamb of himself, but it is difficult to prevent the sting that some persons import into the actions of fellow human beings.

Jaffna

Shortly after giving public notice that he should be enrolled as a Minister, Iriyagolle went to Jaffna with the Minister A. P. Jayasuriya (Home Affairs) last Monday. Ponnambalam and his friends carried black flags, and the Federalists whilst refusing to participate in official functions to the Minister

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Shortly after the MEP came to power, Minister of Lands and Land Development, C. P. de Silva, proclaimed that he was regularising the *squatting* of 5,000 persons on Crown land in the Polonnaruwa area. Why the Minister decided to meet the problem of Crown land distribution in this extraordinary manner is still not known, but the comments of cynically minded people have focussed attention on the fact that this was in the constituency of the Minister himself, and also that only regularly "settled" persons would be entitled to have their names registered on the electoral lists.

Tribune has always stood for a progressive solution of the problem of land and landlordism in this country, and we have been deeply conscious that at the present stage of our economic development it was inevitable that there should be distribution and utilisation of the three million acres of cultivable Crown land which is immediately available to peasants and middle class persons (who can afford to develop the land).

In the colonial past, the Crown through a tedious procedure known as Land Kachcheris distributed tiny fragments to a favoured few as due reward for loyalty. In the twenty-five years of the Senanayake—Kotelawela regime, greater extent of land was thus distributed and untold millions were spent on establishing subsidized colonies to achieve certain political objectives (and not solve the problem of the peasantry or the production of food). These colonies were in some instances set up to create pocket boroughs, and in others to strengthen family nepotism and influence over electors. These colonisation schemes were also utilised to establish the political hegemony of a coterie (known by the generic term UNP) on a national scale, and for this purpose villagers from the South of Ceylon were transplanted in the North whereas there was and there still is enough Crown land for distribution to these villagers in the South itself. This narrow reactionary land policy naturally led to bitter tensions and communal suspicion.

It must be remembered that the present Minister of Lands and Land

Development was — for nearly two decades a favoured civil servant in the Senanayake regime, and whose work was mainly devoted to the execution of the land policies of the father of the UNP. C. P. de Silva has still not showed any signs that he has broken away from the reactionary and suicidal policies of the UNP. His methods and techniques still seem to be UNP under a MEP label. But unwittingly he has set in motion a radical trend in the movement to solve the land problem. His action in settling the "squatters" Polonnaruwa has given rise to a widespread movement in certain areas for land-hungry peasantry to occupy bare, unused Crown land. Reports have come from the Matugama and Kalutura areas that large numbers of peasants and lower middle class unemployed youth have "invaded" Crown land (jungle), taken quiet possession of the same and that they are now proceeding to fell the jungle and cultivate the land. More recent reports show that similar action has taken place in the Nattandiya area as well as in Polonnaruwa.

The *Observer* in an editorial on Friday September 28 bemoaned the spread of this mania for *squatting*. It was called "indiscipline", and rightly the Lake House journal feared that a revolutionary impetus was being given to the upsurge among the peasants. To the credit of the *Observer*, it must be said, that it analysed the malady and stated that the impulse to take possession of Crown land would gather momentum if the Government did not immediately take steps to solve the problem of unemployment and landlessness. But it was alarmed, and perhaps rightly so, that this kind of "taking over" amounted to lawlessness which could grow to uncontrollable proportions. The *Observer* pleaded that such persons should be directed to the proper authority to obtain the necessary permits to take possession of Crown land in a lawful manner.

In saying this the *Observer* stuck its editorial pin on the right spot, but it did not proceed to investigate the matter any further. The real complaint of the vast mass of people who desire to develop land is that

the Crown Lands Ordinance and the Land Colonisation Ordinance are administered with the greatest amount of red tape and bureaucratic bungling. Apart from this, the Senanayake policy of land distribution (with an eye to having pockets of voters in practically every area in the island) stood in the way of an equitable scheme of land distribution. According to the UNP scheme, a man in Galle or Matara who applies for land will have the option of going to Gal Oya, Kantalai, or Vavuniya, and man in Chavakachcheri will be asked to go to Polonnaruwa or Gal Oya. In their desperation, large numbers were torn from their natural surrounding and thrust into unfamiliar surroundings. In very many instances, those who elected to go were the "bad eggs", and owing to the presence of such near-criminal types many of the costly colonisation schemes of Senanayake are today already in shambles.

The "squatting" movement of today only reflects the desire of the landless to acquire land in their own locality. The man in Matugama does not want to find himself in Kilinochi if he can help it, and that is why he is taking over the Crown land which is available in his area. So with the man in Nattandiya. To permit *squatting* is no doubt to surrender the rights of government, but the solution is not in endeavouring to throw out the squatters. A proper land policy is regard to the distribution of Crown land must be formulated. Red tape must be cut. Land nearest to the natural habitat of a landless peasant or middle-class person interested in developing land should be allotted with the least possible fuss. Together with, this propaganda should be done to encourage co-operative production units of an economic size. Instead of this, if the Minister of Lands and Land Development seeks to carry out the policies of His (former) UNP Masters Voice, the MEP will soon find itself in major difficulties. The communalism which prompted the settling of Sinhalese in Kilinochi, Kantalai and Vavuniya has now boomeranged with the *squatting movement* in the South. If the Government does not read the writing on the wall, it does not deserve to survive.

HOODOO

An election Judge has held that Konarage M. P. Rajaratne, Member of Parliament, was not entitled to contest a Parliamentary seat and has unseated him. Rajaratne has filed an appeal to the Supreme Court on certain points of law.

Some weeks before the hearing of the Petition against him, Rajaratne had faded away from the limelight of public attention. From the time he "quarrelled" with the Prime Minister and was expelled from the Government Parliamentary Party, Rajaratne vanished from the front-pages and the banner headlines of the daily newspapers. The election case once again brought his name on the front page, and it may figure again when the appeal is argued (though the daily papers may find the appeal only good enough for page three or five).

Rajaratne was a sensation shortly after the MEP came to power. As Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Information, Broadcasting, Posts and Telecommunications, he acted like a little Hitler in regard to the accent of Radio announcers and the like. He raised the most communal and racial slogans and was seen fraternising with the rabble that assaulted Tamils on the Galle Face Green on June 5. In fact, a number of persons who had created trouble and been injured on that day (treated at the General Hospital) were from the Welimada area. Through racialism, Rajaratne had hoped to climb the topmost rungs of political popularity in a few weeks.

The rise and fall of Rajaratne is a telling indictment of the techniques of newsreporting of the Lake House group of papers. They made a sensation of Rajaratne. But, they dropped him like a hot potato when they found that he wanted a "E. L. Senanayake" Bill to save him from his election case and that the PM would have none of it (after all, one of matters

that want against the UNP in the General Elections was the amending bill to enable E. L. Senanayake to contest a seat).

Hoodoo

A friend of mine, who is inclined to be superstitious remarked that ever since 1952, any person Lake House tried to build up as a popular figure or any person who received undue publicity in its news columns suffered quick disgrace or political annihilation.

Talk the case of J. R. Jayawardena. From 1952, Lake House made a concerted and conscious effort to build him up J. R. as the coming Premier. He has now vanished from the political scene (though he is still shouting in the wilderness and Lake House is still echoing him a little faintly). Dudley Senanayake was also once the hot favourite of Lake House after this powerful newspaper combine had succeeded in keeping Sir John Kotelawela out of the PM's office (on D. S. Senanayake's death). For a little over a year, it was Dudley Senanayake in all Lake House papers. He too ended his political career in an abrupt sort of way.

The really classic instance was that of Sir John. When Dudley quit, Lake House chieftains made a deal with Sir John and backed him as Premier with J. R. as heir to the throne (patching up a family and personal feud between Sir John and J. R. of many years standing). From October 1953 to April 1956, it was Sir John, morning, noon and night, in all Lake House papers. Lake House made him the greatest stateman of the world, ghosted an autobiography known the *Asian Premier's Story*, and hailed him as the saviour of the world from the menace of communism. In that period one could not open any Lake House publication without pictures of Sir John (in various degrees of

dress and undress) staring one in the face. Lake House maintained a host a female correspondents to dog the footsteps of the Premier to get the news and probably make news. At the topmost point in this crescendo of vulgar ostentatious newspaper adulation, Sir John fell.

Dahanayake Next ?

With the MEP in power, Lake House endeavoured to pick on new heroes. Mettananda, Jayasuriya and Rajaratne were the first personalities in the MEP Lake House picked on. In less than 10 weeks they faded from the scene. The Lake House hoodoo continues, said my superstitious friend, into the era of the MEP.

And now, the most popular figure according to Lake House, is Dahanayake. He is always on the front page. If he is dissatisfied with the *pol sambol* at Sravasti, it earns a banner headline. He distributes buns, he takes classes at a central school, he unearths rackets,—in short Dahanayake is doing everything Lake House thinks the "rabble" (MEP) would want a person to do. Photographers are there to take pictures of Dahanayake doing everything, short of sleeping (in Sir John's case, it had come to that with pictures in night dress—sarong—meeting his early morning visitors). Will the hoodoo work on Dahanayake? Will he be the next victim?

And the Forward Bloc? Lake House is giving undue prominence to this group of sensation seeking politicians. Will the hoodoo destroy the Forward Bloc?

But the question that I ask is why the Lake House, which in many aspects has changed, is yet unable to give up this sensational brand of news reportingDAHANAYAKE WILL QUIT SRAVASTI DAHANAYAKE WILL STAY.....even after its policies on national and international questions have undergone radical transformation ever since the *Student of Politics* articles appeared in the *Daily News* in July.

WEEK by WEEK

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were anxious to co-operate in administrative matters (meaning getting some tit bits for their constituencies). Other groups and sections welcomed Jayasuriya with garlands. The mixed reception in Jaffna seemed to indicate the state of uncertain unbalance in the present politics of Jaffna.

After it had become apparent that there would be no attempt to change the medium of instruction for Tamil children, there seems to be a concerted move among certain influential sections (which had earlier called for a boycott of the teaching of the Sinhalese language) to arrange for the teaching of Sinhalese once again in big Jaffna schools. It would seem that Jaffna does not want to forgo its main industry — employment under Government — even if there were a switch of official languages.

It would be interesting to watch the final outcome of the Jayasuriya visit to Jaffna.
Transport

Acting Minister of Transport, Henry Abeywickreme, endeavoured to hit the headlines during the short time he held Ministerial office. When the news that the Permanent Minister, Maithrapala Senanayake, was on his way back after a trip to Europe, acting Minister Abeywickreme seems to have bestirred himself even more vigorously. The results of this endeavour to capture the public mind (he had

evidently acquired some experience when he was dramatically acquitted in the *cause celebre*, the JAYAMENIKA case) reflected itself in the *Ceylon Daily News* of Friday September 28. On page three of this worthy journal was a picture with acting Minister Abeywickreme in centre surrounded by members of the so-called Forward Bloc of the MEP, including the indefatigable Dahanayake. (One other picture on this page was an advertisement for a mechanical powder duster to spray odium to eradicate a rubber pest).

The news item had a heading **BUS NATIONALISATION IN 6 MONTHS**. Readers who avidly read this report realised that this sensational story was only a chat which the acting Minister had with members of the Forward Bloc (and the picture too only commemorated this great event). Those who were willing to survive this preliminary shock and read the full report had an even greater shock awaiting them (or a series of shocks).

Expert

First, Henry Abeywickreme proclaimed that it was possible to nationalise bus transport within six months. Nothing is impossible, and it was encouraging that out of the present chaos, a wonderful service could emerge through the magic of *nationalisation* in six months. *It must be remembered that the word nationalisation has been equated with a good, efficient, economical and profitable service*

Next, the great Henry Abeywickreme "revealed that he had submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister how he would nationalise bus transport services." This report should be made public immediately so that it would be possible for the country to know what the Henry Abeywickreme Scheme really is. It is the first time that the public has been made aware of the vast potentialities of this man Henry Abeywickreme as a transport expert and it would be wrong to hide his light under the bushel.

Certain cynics seem to think that the purpose of this memorandum (they even wondered whether it was not a FORWARD BLOC memorandum) was to serve notice on the Prime Minister that he should take



note that Henry Abeywickreme could do a better job than Maithrapala Senanayake. Apart from the propriety of acting Ministers shooting off memoranda on vital matters during the temporary absence of the permanent Minister, the fact that Henry Abeywickreme is capable of turning out a report on how the transport mess in Ceylon can be put right in six months through nationalisation should be brought to the notice of such agencies like the UNO, ILO and the WHO. A person capable of drawing a master plan for transport in a few weeks deserves world recognition. Other countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America will undoubtedly want to avail themselves of Henry Abeywickreme's services, and the MEP (including the Forward Bloc) should not stand in the way of his furnishing such a service. He should be sent to any country that seeks his advice.

It is unnecessary to comment on the other matters Henry Abeywickreme touches on in the *Daily News* report, because the Master Plan to nationalise in six months dominates the whole entire scene. The public await this memorandum, and if the PM does not realise this, the Forward Bloc should make this document available to the public.

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THE HIERARCHY

Mr. Chairman, I wish to make a few observations on the University. Fourteen years have gone since the inauguration of this University. Having seen it work I am very sorry that I can find no more appropriate way of describing it than to call it a 'Paradise for Parasites'.

I was looking through the earlier Debates in Parliament on this question and was surprised to find that at no time did the earlier Parliaments discuss the question of the University. I was not surprised at the U.N.P. not wanting to discuss the University. It was the policy of the U.N.P. to restrict the growth and progress of the University as they were advised to do by its first Vice-Chancellor Jennings, whose services they hired at a high price. But I was really surprised to find that other hon. Members of the earlier Parliaments did not care to raise this question on the various occasions on which queries were made on the University. The answer has been mad even as recently as last year that the University is autonomous and therefore cannot be the subject of discussion in this House.

Last year the then Minister for Education was asked the question as to whether it was feasible for external degree examinations to be held by this University and he said that we could not discuss that question because the University is an autonomous body.

The real question is not whether there is autonomy or not in the University. The question is whether under the system of autonomy granted to the University that institution is serving the function that it was meant to serve? If that function is not being served, the provisions of autonomy have to be altered and that is why I expressed regret that under the pretext of autonomy all discussions of this subject had been kept out of Parliament.

This is a serious omission. The University is too important a matter to be left in the hands of a few ageing individuals who control the destinies of the University by vir-

tue of, shall I say, the divine right of the University Ordinance of 1942.

Secrecy

The University is an essential public service. It is also a very vital service; so much of the future depends on its proper functioning, that we dare not, I submit, put off any discussion on its role and development. I have been connected with this University during the first ten years of its life both as an employed and as a member of the Court to which I was elected by the registered graduates of the University. I have therefore actively participated fully in the life of the University.

I feel it is my duty to place before the Hon. Minister of Education and hon. Members of this House some general observations about some relevant and important features of the University. I do so more willingly because as you are aware, Mr. Chairman, the Proceedings of the University are a veiled secret.

There is a screen of silence around the University, and members of the

From the Hansard of August 24, 1956 we reprint a speech made by the Member for Point Pedro, P. Kandiah during the Committee stage of the Budget Debate when the vote of Rs. 7,100,00 to the University was taken up. The speech is a lengthy and comprehensive and will be published in three parts. This week's instalment deals with the administrative and policy making machinery which operates in the University.

public, Members of Parliament and the Hon. Minister of Education himself does not know what is happening. As a member of the Court, I did raise the question on more than one occasion that the proceedings of the University Court be opened to the press. That request was refused. I remember reading through the minutes of the last meeting. Mr. A. B. Perera who filled my place in the Court also raised the same question again but the request was disallowed. So that, there has been no opportunity granted to members of the public, to Members of Parliament and to the Hon. Minister of Education to know what is actually happening in this University.

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UNIVERSITY

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Two questions arise immediately for discussion. Firstly, who determines the policy of this University and secondly, who controls and directs its administration. They are two separate questions; they are not two aspects of the same question. There is, first, the question of the University policy and secondly there is the question of the University administration. I shall answer these questions in a minute. But first of all I wish to say that the Government of this country, or the Hon. Minister of Education, have nothing to do with either the determination of the policy of this University or with the administration of the University. *It is a position where the autonomy given is unlimited; it is an autonomy which no known University in the democratic world enjoys.*

Small Coterie

The University Ordinance places full power in the hands of an autonomous body consisting of a Chancellor, a Pro-Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor and three bodies called the Court, the Council and the Senate. Although all these bodies and persons are supposed to control this autonomous entity, the University, in actual fact, they do not do so.

The Chancellor, and Pro-Chancellor who is the Hon. Minister of Education himself, have no function according to this Ordinance except to preside at the meetings of the Court and over University Conventions — they are mere ornamental figures.

Dr. Perera: Ceremonial head!

Mr. P. Kandiah: The actual power is concentrated in the hands of a body called the University Council which is the chief executive body. It is assisted in its work by a body called the University Senate, in its academic work, which has certain set functions. Both bodies are formally controlled by another body called the University Court.

I will first deal with the functions and powers of these three bodies and thereafter with their composition. The Court is a legislative body, as Jennings calls it; it is not a legislature; it is a body which has very little power, consisting of power to

modify, amend or return to the Council for its further consideration any rules, regulations, estimates and reports which the Council may place before the Court. The Court has no power to initiate any act in a matter affecting policy, or to question and elicit answers in regard to University matters.

In fact, members of the Court did make some positive suggestions by way of resolutions. Some years ago the Court did pass a resolution that a Faculty of Economics be established. For six years nothing was done. The Council kept quiet. You can pass resolutions which the Council can completely ignore. The Court, therefore which meets once a year, has the only function of adopting the report for the year of the University and of passing the estimates. If it does not accept the estimates, it can only refer them back to the Council. It cannot delete items and it cannot modify them. The Council is the chief executive body which has full powers for organization, for administration, for deciding policy, for appointing and dismissing teachers and for fixing their salaries, and conditions of service and so on—

The Senate, which consists largely of University teachers, deals only with academic matters, with what examinations are to be held, what subjects to be taught and what textbooks should be recommended. So much in regard to the powers of these three bodies.

Employees

As I have said already the Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor have no powers at all. The Vice-Chancellor, who is the executive head of the University, is a Member of the Council. Let us now look into the composition of these three bodies.

The Court is elected from various organizations and bodies but the main point I want to impress on the Hon-Minister and hon. Members of this House is that 65 percent of this members of this court are employees of the University. In any matter which concerns the University these employees take decisions according to the instructions of the higher members of the hierarchy. Then the other 35 percent consists of people representing various institutions; they are busy people and they do not know what is happening in the Court and in any case they are a minority.

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UNIVERSITY

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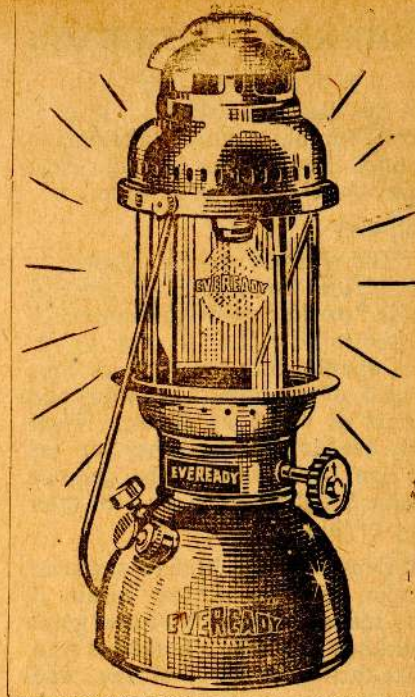
The Senate is an exclusively academic body. The Council consists today of 19 members of whom one is the Vice-Chancellor; there are six Deans—all Professors of the University—two members elected by the Senate who are also teachers of the University and one Professor who is a Warden of one of the Hostels of the University; that makes it 9 Professors plus the Vice-Chancellor—10 members.

In a total membership of 19, 10 are employees of the University. Then 5 people who are men of eminence in the country are appointed to the Council by the Chancellor; they are very busy people distinguished in their own walks of life and who do not have the time to look into questions relating to the University. In actual practice, they are nominated by the Chancellor on the recommendations of the Vice-Chancellor. They will come, silently listen to the discussions of various members of the Council and, unless some serious catastrophe like a revolution takes place in the University, unless there is something

exceptionally out of the way, they will not normally interfere; their argument is simple; they say that the University people know best in regard to what they want, and so it is best to leave everything to them. These nominated members are usually silent onlookers.

My submission is that the Vice-Chancellor and the 9 Professors virtually control, administer and decide the policy and administration of the University as members of the Council. These Professors and Deans also happen to be leading members of the Senate; they also happen to be leading members of other official bodies of the University like Faculty Council, Boards of Research and Discipline and Staffing Committee. They are an extremely powerful group whom it is dangerous to annoy or offend, especially if the offender happens to be a junior member of the staff.

They decide the salary; they decide whether a man is to go abroad or not, or whether a man should be stepped up to a higher point in the salary scale even when he has not



reached that point. They are in a position to distribute a vast amount of patronage. These Deans and Professors run the entire administration and decide the policy of the University.

To be continued next week

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Bhikkhu Peramuna

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in the Buddha-dhamma. If it is wrong for bhikkhus to take part in politics now, it was wrong then, when the U.N.P. was in power.

Politics

"The political monks, apparently having lost completely all sense of those "world-protecting dhammas," shame to do evil, and fear to do evil, openly boast of the part they played, of the power they wield and intend to wield in future. Their only headache is that they yet see no sign of converting the genuine Maha Sangha of Lanka to their way of thinking.

"Long may the Maha Sangha of Lanka continue to have within it fold the vast majority of the good bhikkhus of Lanka, bhikkhus who prize their virtues of shame, and

fear to do any evil, however small it may seem, bhikkhus who yet are virtuously observe the Pattimokka, guard the sense-doors, bhikkhus who are moderate in food, who live watchful against evil thoughts, who try to be mindful and discriminating in all things.

"The Maha Sangha should scrupulously avoid politics, and its bhikkhus should never even cast votes, political or municipal etc., under any circumstance.

"The government should note that the E.B.P. is only a few hundred Vinaya-scorning monks, led by a handful of arrogant, highly vocal, dominating personalities who, at the moment, are popular with the dregs of Lanka's riff raff classes

"The intelligent majority of Sri Lanka's people should cease to permit domination of the scene

by political monks and their thugs.

Sasana

"Laymen should again strenuously insist that bhikkhus should be true bhikkhus, study the Dhamma and follow its teaching. For they only can follow this Niyyanika Dhamma and also teach it to laymen. That is the true bhikkhu's sole business.

Laymen should insist, emphasise and resolve that they are not prepared to be dictated to and imposed upon by false monks. They should insist on minding their own layman's business, their politics, their government, their municipal matters, their trade, their agriculture, their rural development, their co-op. concerns and so forth by themselves. These are lay matters exclusively, with lay experts; and bhikkhus have nothing to do with all this and no experience.

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Minister's Ban

continued from first page

frame his charges openly. Either the newspaper should be brought before the courts, or at least, the bar of public opinion.

But to attack the liberties and right of press in this hole and corner manner is the method Hitler and Mussolini adopted before assuming full dictatorial powers. Such tactics, as have been resorted to by the particular Minister in these circulars, will only pave the way to fascism where only servile newspapers, which will not dare to criticise the politician in power, will be permitted to survive.

Very serious constitutional questions arise from these circulars. Are the circulars based on Cabinet decisions? If so, why have other Ministers not sent out such circulars? If these are not Cabinet decisions, has the Minister the right to embark on such onslaughts against the freedom of the press?

The Prime Minister and the Cabinet must seriously consider the implications of these two circulars. The press in the country, daily newspapers and all other periodical journals must also protest against this violation of the elementary rights of a free press. The public should make it clear to the Minister concerned that fascist methods will not be tolerated in this country.

Bhikkhu Peramuna

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Let the bhikkhus mind bhikkusila and Samadhi and panna. Let the bhikkhus stand by their Pabbajja pledge that they renounced the world" to get release from all suffering and to win deliverance. In Lanka, the lower classes are ignorant of dhamma. Crime, vice, gambling corruption are on the increase and cry for our urgent attention.

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