The growth of online hate speech in Sri Lanka does not guarantee another pogrom. It does however pose a range of other challenges to government and governance around social, ethnic, cultural and religious co-existence, diversity and, ultimately, to the very core of debates around how we see and organise ourselves post-war.

Liking violence

A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka

Shilpa Samaratunge and Sanjana Hattotuwa
Centre for Policy Alternatives | September 2014
Introduction

“Hate speech” on the Internet is a global concern and with no kill-switch solution. Depending on the location online, language and media used, context and sometimes even the nature of the actors concerned, dealing with hate speech is a vexed challenge from parent to policymaker. This hasn’t stopped politicians, with little to no understanding of underlying technical challenges or repressive governments, who often seek a monopoly around the dissemination of defamatory propaganda seeking to control hate speech. Parochialism and expediency drive most efforts around hate speech related policy responses and legislation. In Sri Lanka, online social media and web based platforms, accessed increasingly over smartphones and tablets, provide an important, necessary vent for critical dissent, in a context where mainstream media does not and cannot afford the space for questioning or content that holds the government accountable for heinous crimes and outrageous corruption. The growth of content creation and consumption online, wider and deeper than any other media in the country and at an accelerated pace, has also resulted in low risk, low cost and high impact online spaces to spread hate, harm and hurt against specific communities, individuals or ideas. Conspiracy theorists, fringe lunatics and trolls have since the first days of the Internet inhabited online spaces and engaged with devoted followers, or sought to deny and decry those who question them. The growth of hate speech can be seen as a natural progression outward from these pockets of relative isolation, and is also pegged to the economics of broadband internet access and the double digit growth of smartphones – an underlying, coast to coast network infrastructure capable of rich media content production and interactive, real time engagement. This infrastructure has erased traditional geographies – hate and harm against a particular religion, identity group or community in one part of the world or country, can for example within seconds, translate into violent emulation or strident opposition in another part, communicated via online social media and mediated through platforms like Twitter, Facebook and also through instant messaging apps for mobiles like iMessage and WhatsApp, in addition to the older SMS technology.

A central challenge around addressing hate speech is that it is technically impossible – given the volume, variety and velocity of content production on the Internet today\(^1\) – to robustly assess and curtail, in as close to real time as possible, inflammatory, dangerous or hateful content just in English, leave aside other languages like Sinhala or Tamil. Once content is produced for the web and originally for a single platform, given user interactions and responses, it often replicates and mutates into other content over dozens of other websites and platforms, making it impossible to complete erase a record of its existence even if the original was taken down, deleted or redacted. This makes it extremely hard to address the harm arising out of hate speech, since there is so much of it around in digital form over so many media.

Another challenge is in defining hate speech. Overbroad legislation risks the law being used to curtail and stifle dissent. Loosely defined laws allow perpetrators of hate speech to get away by referencing the freedom of expression. Policymakers who have to respond to angry communities and individuals who are

\(^1\) [http://www.ibmbigdatahub.com/infographic/four-vs-big-data](http://www.ibmbigdatahub.com/infographic/four-vs-big-data)
the targets of hate speech, if they are important constituencies, often respond with promises to address a problem they in fact cannot. Internet Service Providers and large corporations like Google, Facebook and Twitter have developed robust guidelines around the content they will allow on their platforms, but these seem to only work best around output that is in English. For example, this brief study is testimony to the sheer volume of hate freely disseminated in Sinhalese on Facebook, even though the company has clear guidelines around such content which includes the banning and blocking of users.

Reflecting the lack of any universal definition of hate speech – content acceptable to or posted lawfully in one country or region can be deemed hateful and unlawful in others, even on the same platform or site - the term is, unsurprisingly, variously defined across leading web companies. Google’s YouTube defines it as²,

...content that promotes hatred against members of a protected group. For instance, racist or sexist content may be considered hate speech. Sometimes there is a fine line between what is and what is not considered hate speech. For instance, it is generally okay to criticise a nation, but not okay to make insulting generalisations about people of a particular nationality.

Facebook defines hate speech as³,

Content that attacks people based on their actual or perceived race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sex, gender, sexual orientation, disability or disease is not allowed. We do, however, allow clear attempts at humour or satire that might otherwise be considered a possible threat or attack. This includes content that many people may find to be in bad taste (ex: jokes, stand-up comedy, popular song lyrics, etc.).

Addressing that it hadn’t done enough in the past to address hate speech⁴, Twitter’s current rules and policies note that⁵,

Users may not make direct, specific threats of violence against others, including threats against a person or group on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, age, or disability.

Add to these varying definitions is that the challenge of defining hate speech – in contradistinction to for example content that is just mildly offensive, distasteful, satirical or acerbic – is deeply rooted in context and expression. What could be a generally accepted turn of phrase used in colloquial speech, when translated into English and out of context, can be seen as hate speech in line with the guidelines noted above. Similarly, hate speech can be easily disguised by resorting to non-English and non-textual expression – or a combination of both. This study has a number of examples where inflammatory and defamatory content against a specific community finds expression and openly resides on Facebook because

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² https://www.youtube.com/t/community_guidelines
³ https://www.facebook.com/help/135402139904490/
⁴ https://blog.twitter.com/en-gb/2013/our-commitment
⁵ https://support.twitter.com/articles/20169997
it is in Sinhala, a language that clearly lies outside existing language competencies of Facebook’s automated and human curated monitoring frameworks. This brings us to a key challenge around hate speech – it always requires context to understand and address, and increasingly, the intermediaries in both supporting and curtailing the spread of it are corporate entities, not governments. Machine level and algorithmic frameworks to identify and block hateful and harmful content often fail, simply because they flag too many false positives (content erroneously flagged as hate speech) or allow so much of hate speech to pass through (in, as noted earlier, languages other than English) that their core purpose rendered irrelevant. This puts the burden of addressing this content on users themselves, who through reporting mechanisms baked into all the major only social media platforms, can choose to report hate speech with relevant context. Only as effective as the numbers who report hate speech, these reporting mechanisms also take some time to kick-in from the time of submission to the actual deletion or blocking of the original content, page, account or user. At a time of heightened violence, this time lag is unhelpful. There is also no guarantee the (corporate) owner of an app, service, platform or website agrees with the reporting of hateful content. Studies show, for example, significant variance in dealing with hate speech even within Facebook.

This study aims to focus these challenges around the significant growth of hate speech in post-war Sri Lanka, primarily directly against the Muslim community and Islam. The rise of Islamophobia in Sri Lanka is well documented and shows no signs of abating. Studies on this score are often anchored to the statements by extremist groups in public rallies, and physical acts of violence and intimidation. Equally remarkable though less studied is the growth of hate speech in online social media. As I noted in 2013 after the study of just around four of the most active extremist groups on Facebook,

- Even the most offensive anti-Muslim sentiments and statements have a growing audience and following in web based social media
- That such content has a greater chance of going viral, and influencing real world action, when published in online fora as opposed to mainstream and traditional media
- Content is largely visual in nature, appealing to a demographic as young as 18 (who are still in school)
- Anti-Muslim hate speech is generally, qualitatively more vicious and venomous than anti-LTTE sentiments even at the height of war
- Numbers of those joining these groups is on the rise, and the government is either unaware or unable to address this through counter-narratives and content in support of liberal values, tolerance and religious cohesion.

The focus of this study is to expand on these points. Sadly, the content for the research is growing in abundance. When juxtaposed with the increasing violence against sexual, ethnic and religious minorities and the open celebration of hate speech by groups like the BBS with total impunity, content online risks fanning even greater violence in the future. Even if to date there is little evidence of content online leading to actual physical violence, what is particularly disturbing – given the tens of thousands who are actively

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7 http://newint.org/blog/2013/04/15/islamophobia-in-sri-lanka/
8 http://sanjanah.wordpress.com/2013/02/01/anti-muslim-hate-online-in-post-war-sri-lanka/
producing and engaging with hate speech – is the radicalisation of youth, as young as 18, to an alarming degree. Though discussions and content are respectively conducted and produced in public fora over platforms like Facebook, the scale and degree of this radicalisation remains ironically hidden to politicians, policymakers and even most parents because of a digital media literacy gap. As I warned in 2013⁹,

Given that the extremists are web savvy, and escape the usual checks on the spread of racist content by virtue of publishing material in Sinhala, it is to be expected that unless serious, meaningful and urgent measures are taken by government, hate will overcome more moderate voices online, and risk spilling over to real world violence on the lines of Black July 1983, against Muslims.

Obviously, the growth of hate speech online in Sri Lanka does not guarantee another pogrom. It does however pose a range of other challenges to government and governance around social, ethnic, cultural and religious co-existence, diversity and, ultimately, to the very core of debates around how we see and organise ourselves post-war. What this study lacks, by design, is a list of solutions to counter the growth of online hate speech. There is simply no panacea, no easy fix or solution in the short term that will effectively curtail the emergence of hate speech online in the future. Indeed, a government that protects instigators of hate is not one that can drive progressive policies around addressing a growing trend this same hate expressed online. Politicians who are digitally illiterate are equally ill-placed to bring about legislation that addresses hate speech even though it may appear to be expedient to do so in light of increasing violence. What this study aims to provide is evidence around what remains an under-appreciated driver of conflict and violence post-war. To acknowledge the scale and depth of the problem is a step beyond an ignorance that it even exists. Moving forward requires all levels of government, private corporations outside of Sri Lanka that host social media content, civil society within the country including the legal community, conscientious individuals and institutions in the diaspora and local ISPs, out of a duty of care for their customer base working in concert to address this explosion of hate speech online. Though it is unclear when and if a concerted, collective approach or a wider study around hate speech in Sri Lankan online fora will be undertaken, this report provides a starting point for informed discussions around how urgently this disturbing phenomenon needs to be studied and remedial measures, to the extent possible, taken.

My sincere thanks and appreciation to Shilpa Samaratunge, the lead author and researcher of this study. Despite being profoundly distressed by what she encountered, Shilpa's sharp eye and intelligence was simply invaluable in matching existing research on online hate with content found on Sri Lankan websites and social media. Without her, this report would simply not be.

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⁹ http://sanjanah.wordpress.com/2013/02/01/anti-muslim-hate-online-in-post-war-sri-lanka/
Executive Summary

A considerable amount of social media hate speech in Sri Lanka occurs on Facebook. The ability to like, share and comment on posts allows forums for supporters to engage, to plan rallies and other events and keep all similar posts in one place. It also allows admins of pages to remove and ban dissenting voices, allowing a greater degree of control than platforms such as Twitter. This phenomenon is not only relevant to Sri Lanka. According to the Umati Project in Kenya “only 3% of total hate speech comments collected by Umati originated on Twitter, while 90% were found on Facebook” (iHub Research & Ushahidi 2013: 5). Facebook also allows easier data collection on past events in comparison to Twitter. Twitter requires manual archiving in real time or sophisticated technical access to and analysis of its data streams, beyond the capacity and scope of this study (even though Twitter often acts in concert with content on Facebook to both flame violence and also dispel rumours)\(^{10}\). The degree to which hate speech exists on social media is often undetected by platform, domain or app owners (e.g. Facebook’s own hate speech monitoring mechanisms\(^{11}\)) due to the expression being predominantly in Sinhala (even the language used to annotate photos, illustrate videos or draw memes is predominantly if not exclusively Sinhala). This is why content in English that runs completely counter to Facebook’s policies around hate speech\(^{12}\) finds free expression in Sinhala, only subject to scrutiny and compliance when reported by conscientious users. In highlighting some of these pages this analysis hopes to bring attention to the need for monitoring, further research and action against online hate speech in Sri Lanka, recognising at the same time that this is not a challenge limited to the country.

Ultimately, there is no technical solution to what is a socio-political problem. Sri Lanka’s culture of impunity and the breakdown in the rule of law is what affords the space for fascist groups like the Bodu Bala Sena, Sinhala Ravaya and Ravana Balakaya to say what they do and get away with it. In July this year, the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA) compiled a short brief to create awareness on the Constitutional and legal framework and available legal remedies regarding religious freedom and related issues, in light of the violence in Aluthgama\(^{13}\). What is evident is that even without new legislation looking at online domains and content, there are a range of legal remedies and frameworks to hold perpetrators of hate speech accountable for their violence, whether verbal or physical. The issue is not the non-existence of relevant legal frameworks, but their non-application or selective application.

If the trend around hate speech online is to be truly stemmed, media literacy programmes aimed at students, teachers, parents, lecturers, government officials, civil society, media consumers and citizens, in Sinhala and Tamil, over mobile friendly, freely accessible and engaging ways is required over the long-term. Episodic violence such as Aluthgama and Beruwela this year will test the ability of civil society to produce and promote counter-messaging to strategically and in a timely manner address the core submissions of


\(^{12}\) [https://www.facebook.com/communitystandards](https://www.facebook.com/communitystandards)

hate speech online. This will also require civic media initiatives and citizen journalists to tie up with principled professional journalists working in mainstream media to fact check, debunk, engage and dispel rumours over social media in close to real time – vital skills that are aided by constantly improving digital media literacy (see for example resources from Amnesty International on social media content verification the Centre for Policy Alternatives has translated into Sinhala and Tamil, with a view to stemming rumours and misinformation online by those who are on social media platforms14).

Though there is no easy or prescribed solution, progressive thinking, proactive content production, strategic interventions and careful monitoring can identity and neutralise the wider harm online hate speech can, if unchecked and allowed to grow, sustain and strengthen.

Civility, tolerance and respect for diversity are as hard to find online as they are in Sri Lanka’s mainstream party political framework even post-war. It would be a tragedy if the country’s only remaining spaces to ideate, critical reflect and robustly debate – which are online - are taken over by hate-mongers, to the extent they are allowed to do so in the real world. So many in Sri Lanka, in various ways, resist violence, whether verbal or physical. The challenge is to strengthen their voices and efforts in light of what is a growing trend of hate speech production online, which though by no means easy, is also not an insurmountable one.

Overview

On Saturday, 10 August 2013 a Muslim prayer centre, the Masjid Deenul Islam on Swarna Chaithya road in Grandpass, Colombo, was attacked. Unable to contain the violence, police imposed curfew in the area. The attack on the masjid was carried out “during Maghrib or sunset prayers, by mobs reportedly led by Buddhist monks…the attacks prompted an angry response from mobs of Muslim youth who marched the streets to prevent further assault on their place of worship” (Bastians 2013). The most prominent anti-Muslim violence since this attack occurred on 15 June 2014 in Aluthgama, deep in the South of Sri Lanka. News reports indicate four people were killed and around 80 seriously injured15. Property of Muslim residents in the area, including businesses and homes, were completely or partially burnt down, looted or destroyed. The violence left hundreds of families and thousands of people displaced16. The government’s own damage assessment around the buildings in the area ran into the hundreds of millions of rupees17. The violence broke out after a hard-line Sinhala Buddhist group known as the ‘Bodu Bala Sena’ which loosely translates as ‘Buddhist Power Force’ held a rally which expressed strong anti-Muslim sentiment (BBC, 2014).

In August, the Secretary General of the United Nations Ban Ki-moon noted that he was “alarmed by the rising level of attacks in Sri Lanka against religious minorities. The Government and faith leaders must respond and ensure the safety and security of all communities. In [...] Sri Lanka, I am concerned that Buddhist communities are being swept up by a rising tide of extremist sentiment against other groups. [...] Calls to violence in the name of religions violate their true principles.”18

Whilst the Grandpass and Aluthgama incidents have been the most prominent incidents of violence against the Muslim community, many extremist, self-styled Sinhala-Buddhist groups have been staging and spreading anti-Muslim rhetoric both in online (social media) fora and in real world events, especially since 2012 (BBC, 2014). The use of social media on the web, especially Facebook, to disseminate what the Executive Director of the Centre for Policy Alternatives Dr. Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu calls “hate, hurt and harm” through a range of media is another key feature around the growth of Islamophobia in post-war Sri Lanka.

This brief study aims to observe the nature of hate speech generated on the web around the Grandpass incident being one of the first prominent cases of anti-Muslim violence in an urban locale, followed up with content produced just after the Aluthgama conflagration. Twenty extremist Buddhist Facebook pages, two weeks before and two weeks after the violence in Grandpass on 10th August 2013 are analysed, and in doing so, this short paper hopes to

- better understand the content produced online in support or defence of extremism,

18 http://goo.gl/fRdYWK
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- the patterns that form between extremist pages and voices therein,
- common characteristics of hate speech used to garner support for extremism,
- explore the identities of the groups or people behind the production of the content,
- how and if they relate to dangerous speech guidelines formulated by Professor Susan Benesch.

Benesch is one of the primary thinkers in countering online hate speech and is the founder of the Dangerous Speech Project which studies the spread of speech that incites people to violence – while protecting freedom of expression. She teaches International Human Rights at the American University and also serves as the Everett Fellow in Genocide Prevention at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Benesch is working to refine international law on dangerous speech, and to identify the best policy options for limiting the violent effects of such speech. Benesch developed a five-part framework to gauge dangerousness of hate speech (Berkman Center for Internet & Society, 2013) which will also be referenced in this paper.

A guiding study for this research is the Umati Project19, which monitored and reported on online hate speech in Kenya, during the 2013 Presidential Election in particular. The Umati Dangerous Speech project emerged from concern that mobile and digital technologies may have played a catalysing role in catastrophic and widespread Kenyan 2007/08 post-election violence. Seeking to understand the use of dangerous speech online including hate speech on social media, Umati also used the five-part framework around hate speech developed by Benesch (iHub Research & Ushahidi, 2013).

The first section of this research presents an overview of the Grandpass incident, frameworks that exist to protect the freedom of expression whilst attempting to police hate speech both in Sri Lanka and internationally, the scope and significance of this study and avenues for further research which could lead to an early warning system in order to prevent acts of violence incited by hate speech on social media. The second section introduces some definitions of hate speech. The various forms of media that hate speech can occur in are also briefly described in this section, of which one is web-based social media. The third section gives an impression of the demographic of the producers of hate speech, the primary targets of hate speech on select Facebook pages and their secondary targets.

According to Benesch hate speech has five defining variables. These five variables will be analysed in the fourth section in relation to posts from select Facebook pages. Section five looks at common characteristics of hate speech used to garner support and nudge sympathizers to be more active. The appendix contains a complete list of the 20 Facebook pages used in this research along with translations and screenshots of posts, comments and images.

This research aims to study the manner in which hate and violence in real life can pervade into social media and the manner in which social media in turn can nurture, add to and share that hate, hurt and harm, becoming a medium which incites more violence in the physical world.

19 http://www.ihub.co.ke/umati
Methodology

Data gathering and analysis was carried out predominantly on 20 Facebook pages. The pages were chosen based on their content, level of activity (at the time of writing this report) and popularity, gauged by number of likes. Whilst only some of these posts are used in the research paper a complete record of all related posts and their translations (where necessary) are included in the appendix.

All content containing hate speech in relation to building anti-Muslim sentiment was captured and saved. Words such as Hambaya, Marakkalaya, and Musalmanuwa which are derogatory words for Muslims are used frequently in both the posts and the comments. There are also other deeply offensive expressions and media in these posts. These are selectively reproduced in this report to raise awareness and strengthen informed debates around the qualitative nature of this content, and emphatically not with a view of promoting or endorsing, in any way, the ideas therein.

The first 10 comments of each post in the 20 pages selected for the study were also translated. Additionally a number of posts related to the Aluthgama incident, particularly page statistics and some posts calling for direct violence are also included in this research paper.

The content, context, tone and use of images were then compared against the definition of hate and dangerous speech formulated by Benesch.
Scope of Study

Public posts and related comments were examined on the selected Facebook pages two weeks prior to and two weeks following the Grandpass incident on 10 August 2013, as well as during and just after the Aluthgama riots.

A considerable amount of social media hate speech in Sri Lanka occurs on Facebook. The ability to like, share and comment on posts allows forums for supporters to engage, to plan rallies and other events and keep all similar posts in one place. It also allows admins of pages to remove and ban dissenting voices, allowing a greater degree of control than platforms such as Twitter. This phenomenon is not only relevant to Sri Lanka. According to the Umati Project in Kenya "only 3% of total hate speech comments collected by Umati originated on Twitter, while 90% were found on Facebook" (iHub Research & Ushahidi 2013: 5). Facebook also allows easier data collection on past events in comparison to Twitter. Twitter requires manual archiving in real time or sophisticated technical access to and analysis of its data streams, beyond the capacity and scope of this study (even though Twitter often acts in concert with content on Facebook to both flame violence and also dispel rumours)\(^{20}\). The degree to which hate speech exists on social media is often undetected by platform, domain or app owners (e.g. Facebook's own hate speech monitoring mechanisms\(^{21}\)) due to the expression being predominantly in Sinhala (even the language used to annotate photos, illustrate videos or draw memes is predominantly if not exclusively Sinhala). This is why content in English that runs completely counter to Facebook's policies around hate speech\(^{22}\) finds free expression in Sinhala, only subject to scrutiny and compliance when reported by conscientious users. In highlighting some of these pages this analysis hopes to bring attention to the need for monitoring, further research and action against online hate speech in Sri Lanka, recognising at the same time that this is not a challenge limited to the country.

The study distinguishes hate speech from dangerous speech, in line with the framework by Benesch (Benesch 2013: 2). However, other frameworks and guidelines exist that could also be used for more through and geographically relevant research in the future. These include but are not limited to the works of William Warner and Julia Hirschberg (2012) on Detecting Hate Speech on the World Wide Web where they propose the use of computer systems to classify various types of hate speech. Another study conducted by Frank la Rue recommends the use of a seven part set of elements in identifying and prohibiting hate speech (Bytes For All 2014, p. 6).

This is not a comprehensive study on the nature, trends and influences of various forms of social media in the real world. The study highlights two major incidents and focuses on only one social media platform - further study is needed to include more expansive timelines and also document occurrences of hate speech


\(^{22}\) [https://www.facebook.com/communitystandards](https://www.facebook.com/communitystandards)
on other web based social media platforms, and also through media such as photography, video and audio podcasts.

Some of the Facebook pages included in this research have been now been shut down and may have changed their names due to frequent bans, blocks and deletion. This does not lend itself for a more extensive analysis on these pages. The intermittent closure of some Facebook pages also makes it difficult to study this area. For example, admins of a Facebook page often open a new group with a new name to produce and promote the same substantive content and expression, with the loyal fan base or core group of followers migrating seamlessly from one group to another. Network dynamics and content shared amongst this core group – who may use the frequent closure and creation of fan pages as a strategy to avoid scrutiny or closure by Facebook itself – require further study, for it is evident from the level of sophistication, planning, content production and online virality of dissemination that these are far from ad hoc and ill-planned measures.
Significance of study

As Prof. Rajiv Weerasendera notes in an Editorial of the *Sri Lanka Journal of Psychiatry* published this year,23 a by-product of the internet, social media is a term loosely used to denote a variety of web-based tools that purportedly encourage communication. Social media is now ubiquitous and its growth in Sri Lanka has been exponential: the country, with a population of 21 million, has over 2.3 million users of social media, over 60% of them male. It is estimated that on average they spend about 34 minutes a day on social media. These statistics—and the predictable growth of the younger segment of the population—point to even more proliferation of social media in the foreseeable future; hence the importance of coming to terms with this technological invention and developing the capacity to minimise its adverse consequences.

The use of derogatory phrases aimed particularly at Muslims and Islam has dramatically increased over online social media fora in Sri Lanka, particularly post-war. This hateful expression more generally extends to those who are portrayed as not somehow being Sinhala or Buddhist enough, are seen as foreign or alien or who do not actively support what is portrayed as the Sinhala-Buddhist cause. Along with this increasing hate speech online, acts of physical violence against the Muslim community in particular, but also religious minorities in Sri Lanka have become more co-ordinated, widespread and frequent. Correlation however isn’t, as yet, causation—this study does not draw a direct link between the violence imagined upon Muslims and the real violence meted out to them, physically as well as through content published in sections of the mainstream media. It does however note that with the exponential increase of social media users in the country, the complex dynamics of the growth and spread of hate, hurt and harm in online fora contributes to both a deep and early radicalisation of opinion particularly amongst a younger demographic that at its most benign, is fertile ground for subsequent exploitation by extremist actors through a range of other media and means.

Prior to the Aluthgama violence the BBS explicitly states that “if any Sinhalese is touched by a Muslim (referred to as a "marakkalaya") that will be the end of everyone” (Pieris, 2014). Similar speech surrounds acts of physical violence as seen in Aluthgama and Grandpass. This expression mirrors the language used and sentiments expressed on a number of Facebook groups studied in this study. The groups also have an increasing following (i.e. fans) who sympathize with the cause of the hard-line Buddhist groups, most notably within the 18–24 age category.

“Some Facebook pages with thousands of ‘likes’ and hundreds of ‘shares’ insult and denigrate not only the minority communities and religions in this country, but also attack those of the majority community who speak up for racial and religious harmony.” (Peiris, 2014). This manner of dangerous and inflammatory

speech is characterized by certain hallmarks, from case to case. Since such speech precedes violence, it provides two distinct opportunities for violence prevention:

(1) Early Warning

(2) Limiting violence by restricting the dangerousness of the speech. It is important to note that this is not the same as limiting the speech itself. It is possible to limit the dissemination of speech (and therefore its impact), since there is no human right to broadcast or, for example, send a text message to 10,000 mobile phones. It may also be possible to limit the impact of inflammatory speech by supplying alternative sources of information (Benesch 2011: 2).

Whilst the impact of hate speech that aims to incite violence is complex and difficult to measure or prove “the idea that inflammatory speech is a catalyst for genocide is widely believed, likely correct and of no small importance” (Benesch 2011c, 255). Benesch goes on to note that though no one has been directly prosecuted for incitement to genocide to date, evidence that hate speech feeds into and off of incidents of violence is present. Judges in a number of genocide cases have stated – with no legal need for making such a statement – that incitement to genocide is a crime whether it leads to genocide or not.

Without sounding alarmist or purporting that digital content invariably and simplistically contributes to communal violence, this study explores how hate and dangerous speech in online social media fora, predominantly in Sinhala, serves to demonise specific identity groups and faiths in Sri Lanka. If more comprehensive and accurate methods were formulated to identify signs of hate speech that would cause violence, the loss of lives and property can be avoided or curtailed. This could bring about more preventative strategies for violence and even genocide prevention rather than the reactive and blinkered responses currently at play.

The danger of glossing over the (long-term) impact of online hate speech is that a process of radicalisation, particularly targeted at and occurring amongst the youth, risks undermining Sri Lanka’s already fragile post-war democratic fabric. As Media Smarts, Canada’s Centre for Digital and Media Literacy notes,

Radicalization refers to the process by which people come to believe that violence against others and even oneself is justified in defence of their own group. Not everyone who is involved in a group is necessarily radicalized to the same degree; in fact, even within a hate group only a small number of people may be radicalized to the point where they are ready to advocate and commit violence.

Media Smarts goes on to flag ‘Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation’, an article by Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko which identify twelve ways in which a person or group may become more radicalised. Five are noted to apply in particular to online hate speech. All five, separately and in concert, are in operation on Facebook in Sri Lanka, amongst fascist and extremist Sinhala-Buddhist groups.

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25 [http://mediasmarts.ca/online-hate/impact-online-hate](http://mediasmarts.ca/online-hate/impact-online-hate)
• **The Slippery Slope:** This effect is particularly powerful online, which leads from reading hateful content to creating it.

• **The Power of Love:** The social and emotional effects of being in a group can be just as powerful as whatever cause or ideology the group is committed to. Hate groups function as substitute families for these vulnerable, disenfranchised youth.

• **Radicalisation in Like-Minded Groups:** All groups are subject to a phenomenon in which the average group member's opinion will become more extreme over time. This may be because the more different your opinion is from that of the majority, the more pressure you feel to conform – so those who disagree with the majority are likely to change their opinion, while those who agree either maintain the same opinion or become more extreme in their views.

• **Radicalisation Under Isolation or Threat:** People will identify more closely with a group if the group appears to be isolated or under external threat.

• **Dehumanisation:** A final technique for fostering radicalization is to portray opposing groups as being inhuman. This explicitly draws the line between the in- and out-groups and makes it easier to justify any action against them.
Hate speech versus free speech: Some pertinent frameworks

When aiming to combat hate speech several problems arise. Any restriction of hate speech both through legal means or self-regulation may also interfere with freedom of expression. This section deals with both legal frameworks and codes of practice which concern themselves with hate speech internationally and in Sri Lanka in particular.

Both human rights law and international criminal law focuses on the link between speech and violence, but neither body of law defines these forms of incitement in enough detail to distinguish them reliably from other inflammatory speech (Benesch 2011: 1). Inflammatory speech is of special interest for atrocity prevention as it tends to rise dramatically before outbreaks of violence, signifying that it may serve as a basis for efforts to prevent forms of violence, including genocide. However such efforts should refrain from infringing upon freedom of expression, a fundamental right whose exercise can, itself, prevent violence (Benesch 2013: 1).

Two key challenges present themselves in relation to hate speech:

- To identify unlawful speech, and especially to distinguish it from political speech, which constitutes the exercise of a human right, and which is essential for democratic functioning at all times ...
- To find best practices for limiting the dangerousness of such speech, without curbing the exercise of freedom of expression (Benesch 2011: 2)

Below are a number of frameworks that could be implemented though it must be done carefully and following a reassessment. These include both International and Country Specific frameworks. Nearly all provisions of international law that prohibit or criminalise speech describe forms of incitement, that is, speech intended to cause direct physical harm. For example, international criminal law has codified incitement to genocide in the Genocide Convention. In International human rights law, Article 20(2) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights lists circumstances in which the right of freedom of expression shall be limited. It directs states to prohibit “any advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility, or violence”.

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the world’s largest security oriented intergovernmental organisation. Its mandate includes issues such as arms control and the promotion of human rights, freedom of the press and fair elections. The organisation is concerned with early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management, and post-conflict rehabilitation (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2014). The OSCE “while recognizing that speech that offends authorities is often mischaracterized as extremist or hate speech, the Representative fights deliberate and violent hate speech in the media through awareness-raising projects, education and regular meetings with media outlets, editors and journalists” (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2014).
Bytes for All, an advocacy organization in Pakistan, stated in their report on Pakistan Hate Speech Online (2014), laws defining hate speech and legislating against it are complex and vary from country to country and also sometimes from state to state within a country. Pakistan’s Penal Code addresses hate speech in Article 153 – A titled ‘promoting enmity between different groups’ prescribing punishment for enmity, hatred or ill-will between different religious, racial, language or regional groups or castes or communities. Article 295 criminalises the destruction, damaging or defiling any place of worship or any object held sacred by any class of persons with the intention of thereby insulting the religion of any class of persons or with the knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction damage or defilement as an insult to their religion. Article 298 provides for punishing uttering of words or making of gestures “with the deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person” (Bytes for All, 2014, p.4).

In Australia, hate speech laws vary by jurisdiction and in particular aim to prevent victimisation on account of race. The Racial Discrimination Act 1975 is a statute passed by the Australian Parliament which makes racial discrimination unlawful section 18B – F of the statute states that “Certain offensive behaviour will also be found discriminatory if it is likely to offend, insult, humiliate or intimidate people of a certain race, colour or national or ethnic origin.” (Commonwealth Consolidated Acts, 2014).

The Sedition Act in Malaysia prohibits discourse deemed as seditious, criminalising speech with tendency to bring into hatred or contempt or to excite disaffection against the government or engender feelings of ill will and hostility between different races (Commissioner of Law Revision, 2006).

Amongst a number of laws that prohibit speech that causes disharmony among religious groups includes Singapore’s Sedition Act and section 298, 298A (a) and 298A 9b) of the Penal Code. Deliberate promotion by someone of enmity, hatred or ill will between different racial and religious groups on ground or race or religion. It also makes it an offence for anyone to deliberately hurt religious or racial feelings of a person (Gopalan 2009, p. 12).

In Sri Lanka specifically the guarding of religious freedom and guidelines around hate speech have existed in various forms for many years. Of the Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka 1978 Article 9, 10 and 14[1] [e] relates to provisions on religious freedom. Of these Article 10 states that “every person is entitled to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including the freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice”. Article 14 [1] [e] states that “ Every citizen is entitled to the freedom, either by himself or in association with others, and either in public or in private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice or teaching”.

Additionally several provisions in the Penal Code state that acts done to insult religion, religious places of worship and to disturb religious assemblies and gatherings as criminal offences.

Section 291A – Uttering words with deliberate intent to wound religious feelings
Whoever, with deliberate intention of wounding the religious feelings of any person, utters any word or makes any sound in the hearing of that person, or makes any gesture in the sight of that person, or places any object in the sight of that person, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both (Centre for Policy Alternatives 2014: 6).

Section 291B – Deliberate and malicious acts intended to outrage religious feelings of any class, by insulting its religious or religious beliefs.

Whoever, with the deliberate and malicious intention of outraging the religious feelings of any class of persons, by words either spoken or written, or by visible representations, insults or attempts to insult the religion or the religious beliefs of that class, shall be punished with imprisonment…” (Centre for Policy Alternatives 2014: 7).

The Prevention of Terrorism Act No. 48 of 1979 notes in Section 2 [h]

Any person by words either spoken or intended to be read or by signs or by visible representations or otherwise causes or intended to cause commission of acts of violence or religious, racial or communal disharmony or feelings of ill-will or hostility between different communities or racial or religious groups; shall be guilty of an offence under this act” (Centre for Policy Alternatives 2014: 9).

In addition to official legal provisions, several codes of conduct also exist in Sri Lanka which relate to public hate speech although they do not explicitly state that they pertain to social media. Of these the Code of Practice of the Editors Guild of Sri Lanka state the following:

“The code protects both the right of the individual and upholds the public’s right to know.

Article 6.3 states “A journalist shall not knowingly or wilfully promote communal or religious discord or violence.

Article 6.4 states (i) the press must avoid prejudicial or pejorative reference to a person’s race, colour, religion, sex or any physical or mental illness or disability.

(ii) It must avoid publishing details of a person’s race, caste, religion, sexual orientation, physical or mental illness or disability unless these are directly relevant to the story” (Editors Guild of Sri Lanka 2008, 2).

The Colombo Declaration on Media Freedom and Social Responsibility of 2008 states in relation to online freedom and blogging in Section 10.3 that,

“One of the most significant developments in the last ten years has been the growth of the Internet, which has resulted in the democratization of media and encouraged the emergence of non-professional journalists in the form of bloggers etc. We acknowledge the contribution of bloggers
towards the promotion of free speech and democratic media. We also recognize that bloggers are as susceptible to controls by the state, misuse of their work as traditional print and broadcast media. We take this opportunity to commit our support to responsible bloggers and other new media practitioners, and hope to work with them in solidarity towards establishing a convergent media which is strong and independent.”

Section 10.4 states that,

“We specifically call on the government to recognize the internet as an important space for deliberative democracy, and extend to it, all such policies as would enhance the space of free speech on the Internet, and to avoid all policies of banning, blocking, or censoring websites without reasonable grounds. There is now a convergence between the traditional print media and the internet, with a number of newspapers being accessed through the internet, and we would strongly urge that all the privileges and protections sought in this declaration be extended to the web editions of newspapers.” (ICT for Peacebuilding, 2009).

In addition to the above, there are a number of provisions in the law to address cyber-crime, loosely defined as crimes committed or planned using computer equipment. The degree to which these laws, which are anchored to the e-commerce domain, are applicable to the promotion of hate speech that results in violence is unclear.

Problems in implementing these guidelines and legal provisions exist primarily in the dangers of pushing these unwelcome opinions underground and simultaneously abusing legal and censorship powers. These powers can be used by law enforcement, governments and powerful interested parties to persecute already marginalised groups which could include journalists and other media personnel including bloggers. For example pro-Rohingya articles were supressed in Burma’s press under hate speech laws and Roma in the Czech Republic have been persecuted under defamation laws. Additionally in India attempts to deal with hate speech on social media has led to politically motivated arrests and removal of anti-government material (Tom Clarke, 2013).

Definitions

Definitions of hate speech depend on country, region and sometimes even the organisation that works on it. All examples of hate speech were both selected and analysed using a methodology that relied on definitions formulated by Benesch. More commonly, ‘hate speech’ is understood as “speech that attacks a person or group on the basis of race, religion, gender, or sexual orientation” (Bytes for All 2014:5).

Hate speech & Dangerous Speech

Inflammatory speech has become a focus of attention and law-making in many countries and regions in recent years, especially in Europe and in Africa. It is often colloquially described as “hate speech”, but hate speech is a very broad category including (1) speech that is intended to harm directly, by insulting or offending the person or people it purports to describe; and (2) speech intended to cause direct harm, by inciting one person or group against another (Benesch 2011:2).

Benesch also introduces the term dangerous speech, which is defined as a subset of hate speech with the highest potential to catalyse violence (iHub Research & Ushahidi 2013: 6). When an act of speech has a probable chance of catalysing or amplifying violence by one group against another, given the circumstances in which it was made or disseminated, it is Dangerous Speech (Benesch 2013: 1).

Forms of online hate

Hate speech on the internet is disseminated using a number of different platforms.

**Hate sites** are dedicated to promoting and inciting hate against particular groups. These sites often form a hub of hate building communities, spreading specific ideologies, recruiting newcomers and sometime promoting hate crimes. Recently hate groups have become more aware of the need to propagate their ideologies in a covert manner which does not obviously come across as racist, these sites often use subtle language, messages hidden beneath multiple examples and narrow statistics that confirm negative stereotypes about particular groups in the absence of other information. These sites are becoming increasingly more difficult to identify and therefore more difficult to control or neutralise (British Institute of Human Rights 2012, 20).

**Blog and Online Forums** provide another platform for individuals to display racist and intolerant ideas. It is a popular form of hate speech dissemination as comments can be anonymous, new identities can be set up with ease, the impact on individuals can be immediate and a few negative comments on a website or a blog can convince others to join. If comments on forums are unmoderated or the moderation is done by those who have similar hateful beliefs the forum can also discourage counter-arguments, creating a closing down of the debate and leaving behind a mutually supportive community sharing only negative stereotypes (British Institute of Human Rights 2012, 21).

**Email and personal messages** (e.g. over instant messaging apps for smartphone and tablets), which are impossible to moderate, can be used to draw supporters, spread hateful ideas and plan events, rally's and even events that incite violence. Messages of a personal nature can
also be used to intimidate and target particular individuals, resulting in forcing individuals and dissenting opinions into self-censorship and removing themselves from public forms of opposition (British Institute of Human Rights 2012, 22).

**Gaming** allows users to inhabit a parallel world in which actions can be carried out that have no impact on real individuals. This has been known to result in being particularly effective in reinforcing stereotypes and presenting violence as solution to dealing with target groups and prejudices. Games increasingly propagate myths, build prejudice and create communities. Real groups can be used as enemies in games and helps blur the distinction between fantasy and reality as facts presented in games can be carried over to the real world (British Institute of Human Rights 2012, 23).

Whilst a number of flash games (games that can be played over the internet using a web browser), with little replay value such as the anti-Muslim game *Minaret Attack*, and the Hezbollah made *Special Force*, have been created they have not gone mainstream and do not have many players. Far more effective in the gaming world is the manner in which hate groups use Massive Multiplayer Online Role Playing Games (MMORPG) such as World of Warcraft. Hate groups are known to post, comment and take on responsibilities such as moderating others comments through which they are able to spread their messages to a large number of people. For example World of Warcraft created in 2004 has nearly seven million subscribers and holds the Guinness record for the most popular MMORPG. Over the games lifetime over a 100 million user accounts have been created (Sarkar 2014). The reach that hate speech commands over these gaming networks is vast when user numbers of popular MMORPG’s such as World of Warcraft are considered.

**Videos and Music** which spread hateful messages are also accessible through the internet to supporters, also often raising revenue for racist groups. Record companies set up by hate groups will also often contain links to games, forums, videos and other sites with similar hateful ideologies.

**Social Networking Sites** generally have terms of use which prohibit racism, incitement of violence and forms of abuse and discriminatory content. These pages however also allow pages and profiles to be set up with little difficulty for free and unless carefully monitored the terms of use are rendered relatively ineffective. Facebook and other social media sites have been formed which target particular groups directly and although in theory these pages can be removed they are not always easy to find, often accessible only to friends or friends of friends at most or set up in languages other than English. If removed the groups are also able to set up new pages with new names and the same content with relative ease.

According to Benesch one benefit of online speech environments is that it allows the examination of speech on people. In offline environments, measuring and recording reactions to dangerous speech is difficult,
online the possibility of tracking both responses and effects is vastly increased through the ability social media in particular allows in the forms of comments, tags, likes and shares.
Targets and producers of hate speech

Although definitions of hate speech list certain groups as targets of hate speech, it does no limit possible targets to these groups alone (British Institute of Human Rights 2012, 8). In the case of Sri Lanka whilst this research focuses on hate speech towards Muslims numerous examples of hate towards women, the gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer communities, Christians and even, tellingly, Buddhist priests who support religious harmony, exists.

For example Ven. Watareka Vijitha Thera, a noted critic of the BBS, has been attacked on several Facebook groups.

*Image translation:* Ramadan is a holy month - Watareka Vijitha is a traitor who has become dependent on Muslim money. Read this post which contains proof on the terrorism that is taught in the Quran. Quran - When the sacred months have passed, kill the polytheists on sight.
Following the Aluthgama attacks on 19 June 2014, news media reported that Ven. Watareka Vijitha Thero, member of the Mahiyanganaya Pradeshiya Sabha, was found unconscious on the side of a road in the Bandaragama area (Dalima 2014). The following post was spread on hate group pages following the attack.

**Image translation:** This is what we mean when we say don’t play around with our boys, they are very innocent but in the same manner they can be extremely punishing they get fired up suddenly. Do you see now? Learn a lesson from what happened to this traitor to the nation. Look at how Watareka Himi is lying on the ground.
Demographic of producers

Screenshots included in the appendix will attest to the fact that a large percentage of hate speech on the Facebook pages occur in Sinhalese often with a few comments or words in English. Often, the English alphabet is used to express words and phrases in Sinhala (transliteration). The following page was not included in the 20 Facebook pages analysed in this research as it was not on Facebook during the chosen timeframe. However, this screenshot, taken during the Aluthgama violence, gives a good indication of the age groups of followers and producers of hate speech in Sri Lanka today. It also shows the manner in which activity increases slightly on Thursday 12 June 2014 and then sharply by Saturday 14 June 2014 when the violence actually began, strengthening concerns over the role of inflammatory content posted online exacerbating physical violence.

Since the time of this screenshot, the page has been removed or is no longer on Facebook under the same title. A few of the Facebook sites observed are also owned by hard-line Buddhist monks or pro-Sinhalese Buddhist groups. For example the following page belongs to or is openly associated with a Buddhist monk (Facebook doesn’t allow accounts to be created under false identities27). In addition to the image of the account holder, the word ‘Thero’ attached to the name signifies that he is a Buddhist priest.

27 https://www.facebook.com/help/112146705538576
The following screenshots are of posts shared by this priest on his profile page.

**Image translation:** Dallas the garbage washerman. We are embarrassed at you sir for the greed of Muslim money which made you take a main role in building an extremist university for Hamba children in the East but you try to justify the death of a Sinhala child. Worms will eat your mouth for the things you say!
Image translation: As of today he will be known as Haniffa Mahinda Rakapaksa. Awarding the Says Governor of the Western province, Alavi Moulana at the Campbell grounds. As he has become the Muslims’ Honey Bunny we need a Sinhala King

Main targets of hate speech

According to the Top line survey results: Democracy in post-war Sri Lanka by the Centre for Policy Alternatives, Sri Lankans are divided on many topics including religious tolerance. The survey states that “Tolerance is a topic that has been debated frequently in 2013 in the light of the attacks and hate speech directed at the Muslim community. Majority of Sri Lankans (91.4%) say that their religion can be practiced without any restrictions – however, 21% from the Muslim community say that they can practice their religion but with some restriction while almost 10% say that they have no freedom. The varying degrees of tolerance of people are evident in the findings – almost 60% of Sri Lankans are agreeable to schools that are multi ethnic while 41% are not agreeable to a close family member marrying someone from a different ethnicity. 36% also are not agreeable to living in a residential neighbourhood where more than half the neighbours are from a different ethnic group” (Centre for Policy Alternatives 2013).

Furthermore, an online questionnaire conducted by Social Indicator and answered by 975 respondents between April 3 – April 11 2013 flagged a number of disturbing perceptions around the Muslim communities in Sri Lanka. Answered predominantly by those between 18 – 30, more than 75% of respondents believed it is realistic to think that, in light of the growing hate and harm against the Muslim

http://groundviews.org/2013/04/13/a-tolerant-sri-lanka-report-on-online-poll/
communities, Sri Lanka might see another Black July. Below are a few examples of hate speech towards Muslims and Islam on chosen Facebook groups.

Image translation: The government must sort out laws before the Islamic cancer grows in this country. Even toilets built for the majority will soon be converted into mosques in a few days. The Islamic extremists must be exterminated. If not conflict worse than this could occur in the future.
Image translation: A habit native to the Muslims in Sri Lanka. If they see a watering hole they try to urinate in it. ...They must think they are so big in size.

Image translation: Share this only if you are opposed to the Muslim Hambayas. Secret details of the Jihad Organization.
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014
Secondary targets

Whilst the Muslim communities have been the direct target of online hate speech other groups such as human rights activists, politicians, clergy who advocate religious harmony, law enforcement, international human rights organizations and individuals, women, homosexuals and citizens who do not identify with the hard-line Sinhalese Buddhist cause have also come under attack of hate speech.

Politicians and government officials

Image translation:
Licence plate of the car indicates that the driver/owner of vehicle works for the Department of Archaeology. Speech bubble – “We shut our mouths when you built a Mosque in the lands east of the Muhudu Maha Viharaya (Temple) so you must help us out as well boss...”
Image translation: Now you will sleep better... You murdered people who asked for water and allowed others to cut sacred trees and build mosques over them. This is embarrassing your highness.
Law enforcement

Post text: "Due to the inconvenience faced by people on the road the power of dissolution was used to disband the protest."

- Sri Lanka Police

The police looked on like obedient dogs while the Muslims blocked the road for no reason, when Sinhalese protested the drinking water problem unsolved for 3 years, when they protested for clean drinking water, which is a basic human right they were beaten like rabid dogs.

Image translation:
On left: Sinhala people asking for clean water
On Right: Muslims in Kollupitiya protesting an American movie which revealed the real life if the Prophet. Dancing the devil closing main junctions and streets.
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Image translation: Standing policemen “Sir, the Muslims are doing whatever they want... The villagers have complained again today. What do we do about this?”
Seated Policeman: “It’s Ramadan... let it go”
Fleeing Sri Lanka: Oh No! Save me from Sharia Law...

Whilst some effects of hate speech are spontaneous and general, some are specific to the point of providing addresses and images calling for direct violence towards specific individuals or groups. Some are not Muslims themselves but those that either actively or passively advocate for religious harmony.
“Ban all racist groups including Bodu Bala Sena!” Here is a traitor from hill country Kandy.
Image translation: This damn Muslim is dreaming of the day Sri Lanka turns into Arabia. We won’t give our country over to Muslims fuckers as easily as you think....
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

**Image translation:** Can you see how a Bangladeshi Muslim is beating a Buddhist monk; some faggots here still say that it is good to have all religions.
Five defining variables

Five criteria affect the force of hate speech and affects the level of dangerousness of a particular speech act in the time and place in which it was made or disseminated. The variables are the speaker, the audience, the speech itself, the social and historical context and the mode of dissemination (Benesch 2013: 2). Each description is followed by a number of questions used to clarify the force and justifications for each variable.

The speaker

A powerful speaker with a high degree of influence over the audience - A speaker is much more likely to commit successful incitement if s/he has some form of pre-existing influence or authority over an audience. Case studies suggest that this is a particularly powerful indicator. Authority need not derive from de jure political office: it may take any number of forms and may derive from different sources of status.

- Did the speaker have authority over the audience?
- Did the speaker have influence over the audience? If so what kind? (Influence need not be political: cultural and religious figures and entertainers may have even more influence)

In Sri Lanka the words of a religious leader particularly the endorsement of a Buddhist priest can be the catalyst and is vital in gaining a following and creating legitimacy of a cause. Groups such as Bodu Bala Sena, Sihala Ravaya are often led and highly endorsed by some Buddhist priests.

For example the Bodu Bala Sena was founded by monks Kirama Wimalajothi and Galagoda Gnanasara after they broke away from Jathika Hela Urumaya (JHU) claiming it was not militant enough in protecting Buddhism (Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium 2014). However other groups and individual monks such as those in the image displayed below also support the cause in various ways.
The audience

The audience has grievances and fear that the speaker can cultivate. Incitement is characterized by certain rhetorical devices. One of these is to tell the audience that it is in danger or attack by the putative victims.

- Who was the principle audience? How are they likely to react?
- Did the audience have the means or capacity commit violence against the target group?
- Is the audience fearful?
- Was the audience exposed to or have access to alternate views or sources of information?

**Image translation:** Come forward Parakum Dutugemunu (names of old Sinhalese kings) sons, to protect the Sinhalese in Grandpass. These two priests were a giant strength. When extremists Muslims in Grandpass were preparing to beat up the Sinhalese in, general secretary of Sinhala Ravaya Madille Pannaloka Thero and Magalkande Sudantha Thero, the Convenor of the Sinhala Ravaya are due salutations for the immense strength they provided the Sinhalese.
Fear has been cultivated in a number of different ways. For example there can be fear of racial violence.

*Image translation:* The government must sort out laws before the Islamic cancer grows in this country. Even toilets built for the majority will soon be converted into mosques in a few days. The Islamic extremists must be exterminated. If not conflict worse than this could occur in the future.

Or the fear of losing religion and dignity (an existentialist crisis):

*Image translation:* the Sacred Bo tree cut and removed to make space for the Grandpass Mosque. Is this the fate of the Sri Maha Bodhiya? Meanwhile a monk has been beaten up in Colombo. Can a Buddhist monk not go to Colombo in a Buddhist country?
There could also be misconceptions around and fears of foreign customs:

**Image translation:** These poor little girls don’t understand until they are taken to bed. This is only one of many marriage ceremonies created by the leaders of Islam for the benefit of all Muslim men. These Muslims like to get the most pleasure out of little girls.

This is one marriage ceremony that was held in the Gaza strip with the sponsorship of Hamas. These little girls who are 4 and 6 are holding hands with their husbands! They follow their leader ‘Prophet’ and for some of these men this is their second or third marriage.

You will live, eat and be merry till you die. In the future your granddaughter or their daughters will be subject to this kind of treatment in a Muslim Sri Lanka.

The other important thing is that Buddhists believe in rebirth, in your next life you might be born to your own bloodline and be subject to this. Don’t let it happen.
Content of the speech

Speech that is clearly understood as a call to violence:

- Was the speech understood by the audience as a call to violence?
- Did the speech describe the target group as other than human? E.g. animals? This is a rhetorical hallmark of incitement to genocide, and to violence, since it dehumanizes the victim or victims to be.
- Did the speech assert that the audience faced serious danger from the victim group?
- Did the speech contain phrases, words or coded language that has taken on a special loaded meaning, in the understanding of the speaker and the audience?
- Was the speaker echoing previous, similar messages? Repetition greatly increases the force of an inflammatory message.

Image translation:
The Muslims gather swords and batons to beat the Sinhalese. Sinhalese will we wait longer? The battle for the homeland has started.

Socio-historical context

A social or historical context that is encouraging of violence, for any of a variety of reasons, including competition between groups for resources, lack of efforts to solve grievances, or previous episodes of violence - An audience that is afraid – for any number of reasons is naturally more vulnerable to incitement.

- Were there underlying conflicts between the groups in question?
• Were there recent outbreaks of violence following other examples of hate speech? This would have put speaker and audience on notice that such speech can indeed lead to violence, providing evidence of the speaker’s intent and increasing the dangerousness of the speech.

• Was the audience suffering economic insecurity, e.g. lacking in finances, shelter, food?

Translation of comments:

Buddhika Kasun: Kill Some Muslim mother-fuckers we are in

Prabhash Ananda: Why don’t we Sinhalese get swords and batons? Bring it on you fucking Muslims...When you come begging and we let you be you come to wash your hands on our heads...you must be sliced and fed to the pigs. Even pigs won’t eat you filthy dogs...

Sanka Vidanagama: Don’t use only pieces of reports and fabricate this kind of thing...

Chaminda Perera: Whatever said and done we can’t stop the destruction of the Sinhala race. WE don’t have a proper leader to protect us. There’s plenty of leaders to protect them. We are alone. If they beat us, we can’t react. If we beat them up there are plenty of people to punish us. Try to understand what has happened to us.

Donations to ethnicities by government officials, granting Muslim’s money and infrastructure is seen both as an act of betrayal by the government as well as a losing out of resources that could potentially have been granted to the Sinhalese.
**Image translation:** Dallas the garbage washerman. We are embarrassed at you sir for the greed of Muslim money which made you take a main role in building an extremist university for Hamba children in the East but you try to justify the death of a Sinhala child.

*Worms will eat your mouth for the things you say*
The understanding is often that whilst the Tamil people have India and the Muslims have the Middle East, the Sinhalese have only Sri Lanka. Therefore all the money that communities other than the Sinhalese make go to foreign countries, which have ulterior motives around Sri Lanka.

**Image translation:** Etisalat fools customers and pull money for Arabia. They are the main sponsors for mosques built in all towns. Scraping money from the Sinhalese and building Muslims holes all over Sri Lanka. Sinhalese! Boycott Etisalat at least now.

**Mode of transmission**

The means of dissemination can be influential in itself, for example because it is the sole or primary source of news for the relevant audience. (Benesch 2013: 2). Social media in particular can be the only source of news young people consume, which automatically give any group that aims to incite violence a large and easily manipulated army.

- Was the speech transmitted in a way that would reinforce its capacity to persuade, e.g. via a media outlet with particular influence, or set to compelling music?

Social media allows a single message to be transmitted free to a wide number of audiences. Images can be liked and shared literally at the click of a button.

Some groups that overtly spread messages of hate have large followings as seen by the page statistics. Below are two such groups with examples of the posts by the group and screenshots of the comments that the posts encourage.
Image translation: Against the Muslim thugs who beat Sinhalese in Maggona. Sinhala Ravaya protests. Come to the Maggona temple tomorrow morning at 9. All those with Sinhala blood join.
Common characteristics of hate speech used to garner support

Some common characteristics of hate speech used to garner support include education,’denialism’, Pseudo-science, building group solidarity, hero narrative, nationalism, religion, scare tactics, hate symbols, and ‘othering’.

Education

One technique many hate groups use to build general support moving sympathizers to active members is to present their website content as being educational, professing to provide true facts and figures where other forms of media do not. Many overt hate sites also attack the mainstream educational system and call on supporters to educate their friends, families and communities about the "real" truth.

Post text: ආරේභගේ මනවරේ මලිවත්වයන් යනුවෙන් මුස්ලිේ පල්ලිය ඉදිකර අනවසර මුස්ලිේ පල්ලිය ඉදිකර අනතුරුව එය මික පොළකල්වා කර ආසනනට හැකිවීමකින් සමයය දක්වා කෙරේම්... සුවිශේෂව මුස්ලිේ පල්ලිය දෙම් තිබෙන්නාවන්...!

Translation: From the beginning, they tricked the Buddhists and built an illegal mosque, when it progressed to a religion conflict here’s the manner in which the mosque was made legal.

Read the true story of Grandpass...!
In Sri Lanka this also happens in the form of covering up or completely ignoring one story and highlighting another. For example several pages either compared the attack on the Grandpass masjid with attacks in other towns on Buddhist Temples. Attacks on Muslims are often reported in conjunction with past attacks on Buddhist monks.

**Denialism**

The best-known tactic for misinformation is ‘denialism,’ most often in the form of claims that certain events either did not happen or has been exaggerated. Several Facebook sites have ignored events of violence against Muslims or Christians and have instead only used examples of attacks on Buddhist temples. Information if unfavourable to the sites can be completely left out as though such an event never occurred.

*Image translation: The Sacred Bo tree cut and removed to make space for the Grandpass Mosque. Is this the fate of the Sri Maha Bodhiya? Meanwhile a monk has been beaten up in Colombo. Can a Buddhist monk not go to Colombo in this Buddhist country?*
Building Group Solidarity

Many of the techniques used by hate groups are intended to build group solidarity. Calls to protect the group, and in particular the most vulnerable within the group, women and children, are useful both for building support and for radicalising supporters. This is often done in Sri Lanka by portraying events such as honour killings, child marriages and the wearing of the hijab implying the terrible treatment women and children receive at the hands of the Muslim men.

**Image translation:** Sinhalese, if we sleep any longer. We will not be able to protect our lion cubs from succumbing to these savages.
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*Image translation:* God why did I have to marry a Muslim man? What kind of sin did I commit to be born a Muslim woman?
Hero Narrative

As well as building group solidarity, hate groups bolster members’ self-esteem by giving them opportunities to think of themselves as heroes in defence of their group. As well as encouraging supporters to become active members, this hero-villain narrative provides a positive identity and a structure that group members can use to give their lives meaning.

Particularly in the Grandpass attack youths were said to bravely fight against the Muslims who attacked savagely. It is unclear in all the posts who incited the violence or attacked first as the Sinhalese that were beaten were said to have been injured when defending themselves or others.

*Image translation:* The Muslim animals used sharp weapons on the neck and head of this Sinhala boy named Kannagara. He left hospital by force, to avoid any unfairness to Sinhalese. His mother whilst sharing her thoughts with us said that even if her son were killed she would protect Buddhism. Share this and show your opposition to the Muslim terrorists.
Nationalism

Similarly, hate groups take advantage of existing group loyalties by portraying themselves as defenders of their nation, and by positioning groups they consider to be outsiders as the enemy.

Image translation: The only country Sinhalese have is Sri Lanka. Buddhism is the lifeblood of the Sinhalese.
Anagarika Dharmapala
Scare Tactics

This occurs primarily through describing the situation Sinhala Buddhists are in portraying them as a very small group with only Sri Lanka to live in. According to these groups the Muslims are procreating at such a rate that they will no longer be a minority which threatens the status-quo and also implies that Sri Lanka will be forced to adopt Islamic laws and denounce Buddhism. A sense of urgency around a threat is essential for hate groups to radicalise members.
Othering

Finally, hate groups portray the Other in ways that emphasise difference - making them seem strange, even inhuman. This is often done through caricature or stereotype, name-calling, or ideology: in some cases hate groups will claim that others are literally not human.

*Image translation: The invasion of the Muslims. It could be your city...your village...next!"*
Image translation: A dog’s name to suit the times because of the destruction caused to our country by foreigners, we name our dogs foreign names...this suited those times. Now the most destruction caused to our country is by...Because of Hambayas, I changed our dogs name to Mohammad.

Name the dogs Ismail, Hammed, Mohammad etc. Then you can say “Mohammad ejah” (sound commonly used to call animals in Sri Lanka) when you call it
Addressing online hate speech in other countries and regions

Though this report deals with online hate speech in Sri Lanka, the phenomenon is unsurprisingly a global challenge. Wherever there is the web or Internet, there is the existence of or potential for hate speech. Different countries have adopted different ways to deal with this challenge. In 2012, UN Special Rapporteur on Racism, Mutuma Ruteere told the General Assembly that an increase of hate websites inciting racial violence necessitates action and called on governments, international bodies, private and public sector and local communities to cooperate in developing a comprehensive approach to combating Internet hate speech. Ruteere stressed that the comprehensive approach needed to incorporate a firm legal framework that does not infringe on free speech.

Dr. Tarlach McGonagle’s comprehensive paper, referenced earlier, deals with the ways through which the Council of Europe has sought to act against online hate speech.

As noted by Media Smarts, Canada’s Centre for Digital and Media Literacy, Canada rests somewhere in-between the United States and Europe when it comes to addressing hate speech online. There is Canadian legislation that specifically addresses hate speech in Canada, including Article 13 of the Canadian Human Rights Act, certain provisions in the Criminal Code, and a section of the forthcoming Investigative Powers for the 21st Century Act. However, the extent to which these laws can be democratically enforced, particularly in an online context, is the subject of debate. At the time of this writing Canada has begun to adopt a more American stance regarding censorship and monitoring, implementing fewer legislative restrictions on free speech and is gradually diverging from the European model in its approach to regulation.

In relation to Canada, Media Smarts goes on to note, that,

…the appropriateness of applying legislation meant for offline hatred to online hatred is debatable. The number of different laws which might be applied to online hate can lead to conflicting conclusions about the definition of hateful behaviour and freedom of expression; further, considerable debate exists over which types of speech should be subject to these laws at all.

In Australia, online hate speech is the subject of considerable public debate. Most recently, the Australian government took steps to address online hate against children (cyber-bullying), ‘Islamophobia on the Internet: The growth of online hate targeting Muslims’ , a report published in 2013 by the Online Hate Prevention Institute, based in Australia, has disturbing parallels with the nature of online hate speech in Sri Lanka, as explored in this study. As the report notes,
The presence of... Facebook pages, particularly those whose sole purpose is to promote hate speech against a religious group in violation of Facebook's terms of service, is deeply concerning. Theological debate and criticism of religion should be protected under freedom of expression principles, however, the vilification of a group of people on the basis of their religious belief or practise, or of individuals on the basis of membership of such a group, is a fundamental affront to human dignity.

In Rwanda, a country that has experienced with tragic consequences the results of hate speech spread over the mainstream media, there have been efforts to address hate speech, but these have been fraught with challenges. In Kenya, The National Cohesion and Integration Commission was created by The National Cohesion and Integration Act of 2008, in the aftermath of the 2007-2008 post-election violence. Its mission is “to facilitate and promote a Kenyan society whose values are harmonious and non-discriminatory for peaceful co-existence and integration.” The Commission has since its creation been centrally involved in fighting hate speech, including in the online sphere as can be seen below in the sub-sections on the Commission’s founding law and the one on incidents related to internet freedoms violations. Interestingly, as noted in OpenNet Africa’s report cited previously, in the run up to the March 2013 elections, authorities used these penal code provisions to fight hate speech via SMS and on the Internet. The application of the laws remains hotly contested in Kenya.

In India, citing a litany of Indian Penal Code (IPC) and the Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPc) sections, Shivam Vij writing in Caravan notes that “there is no reason to believe we need new regulations specifically tailored to the Internet—and many reasons to think our existing statutes can be applied to online content.” Anja Kovacs, who heads the New Delhi-based Internet Democracy Project, has also written extensively about hate speech online. In ‘Regulating social media or reforming section 66A? Our recommendations to the Law Commission of India’ she avers that laws around online hate speech, should include at the very minimum the real and present danger test: there should be a real possibility of danger or violence and such danger or violence should be imminent. The act of incitement has to be public. And the intention to commit an offence, to offend, harm or discriminate needs to be demonstrated and malice needs to be manifest. Only by establishing high thresholds in each of these areas can it be ensured that hate speech laws do not have a chilling effect on the free flow of information.”

Cautioning against a predominantly regulatory framework or legal approach to countering hate speech online, Kovacs goes on to say that,

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34 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3257748.stm
35 http://blog.wan-ifra.org/2014/04/18/turning-the-page-on-hate-speech-in-rwanda
37 http://caravanmagazine.in/perspectives/gag-reflex
38 http://internetdemocracy.in/reports/regulating-social-media-or-reforming-section-66a-our-recommendations-to-the-law-commission-of-india/
Fighting against hate speech, or for equality, and strengthening freedom of expression are, thus, not simply compatible with each other. Instead, they exist in an affirming, mutually reinforcing relationship as they make complementary yet essential contributions to the securing and safeguarding of human dignity.

In Pakistan, the government has vowed to clampdown on online hate speech\(^{39}\). The reality is that on platforms like Facebook in particular, hate speech is thriving. Cited earlier in this report, this disturbing growth of hate speech is studied in detail by Bytes for All, which notes that "nothing seems to deter the growing popularity of hate-filled social media shares"\(^{40}\).

The number of research papers, articles and initiatives in various countries to address hate speech is itself a sobering indication of just how prevalent the phenomenon is. The different means used to address hate speech, with varying levels of effectiveness, suggests that while the production of hateful content online is easy and often anonymous, measures to tackle hate speech often falter because of the fundamental nature of the Internet – there is no one entity in control of it and a plethora of ways to access it. Governments are also struggling, also because some of them seek to use expedient arguments to control and contain hate speech as a means to curtail and censor the freedom of expression. Though the targets of hate speech differ from time to time and between countries, the lasting socio-political impact of this content is similar – one reason why both government and civil society in Sri Lanka are encouraged to study more closely models from around the world that have tried in various ways to counter the harm brought about by hate speech.


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Recommendations

As Google’s Europe blog notes 41,

The internet can be a tool of radicalisation, so it is vital to seize it as a force of good. Though the removal of the really bad stuff, like violence, continues to be essential, too little focus so far has been placed on the importance of counter-messages.

**Counter-messaging** is the production of content to address hate speech, and disseminated using the same platforms, apps, services and sites as more harmful content. This can include, on a case by case basis, direct engagement with accounts that promote hate speech by debunking misinformation and disinformation campaigns, and calling their bluff on pseudo-science and myth-making. In the case of Sri Lanka, an example of such an engagement could be the Buddhists Questioning the Bodu Bala Sena Facebook page 42, described as “a place to discuss the Bodu Bala Sena’s actions, techniques, motives, and goals, and question whether they are in line with the Dhamma”. The Not In Our Name initiative in 2012 43 is another example of counter-messaging across a range of web fora, media and languages. Though short-lived, the Mixed Rice initiative 44 was another attempt at addressing hate speech through more positive, contemplative articles that addressed leitmotifs of content put out by extremist groups. The Rally for Unity page on Facebook 45 is one of the most successful in this regard, combing a multi-media, multi-platform and multi-lingual approach with real word activism and advocacy. Google’s blog itself gives a number of other examples.

There is also the example of the multilingual Hatebase, which “aims to provide NGOs and governments with the ability to use hate speech as a predictor for regional violence” 46. The Sentinel Project, which created Hatebase, calls it an “an authoritative, multilingual, usage-based repository of structured hate speech which data-driven NGOs can use to better contextualize conversations from known conflict zones” 47. Hatebase is interesting because it combines advanced machine learning and automated content gathering with crowdsourcing around the terms potentially flagged as examples of hate speech (e.g. ‘hambaya’ 48). Whereas the accuracy of translations, validity of selection and ultimately, directly influence over corrective, legal measures to address hate speech online is, at present, tenuous, Hatebase does provide an interesting model to more fully explore, if only to provide policymakers, civil society and researchers with timely digital smoke signals around a potential flashpoint 49 or issue, in order to produce and disseminate counter-messaging.

41 http://googlepolicyeurope.blogspot.com/2014/03/combating-online-hate-speech.html
42 https://www.facebook.com/BuddhistsQuestioningBoduBalaSena
43 http://notinournamesl.wordpress.com
44 http://groundviews.org/2013/05/25/interview-with-mixed-rice-standing-up-for-a-diverse-sri-lanka/
45 https://www.facebook.com/RallyForUnity
46 http://www.theregister.co.uk/2013/04/08/hatebase_launch/
47 http://thesentinelproject.org/2013/03/25/introducing-hatebase-the-worlds-largest-online-database-of-hate-speech/
48 http://www.hatebase.org/vocabulary/hambaya
49 http://ideas.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2013/04/01/mapping_hate_speech_to_predict_ethnic_violence

61
The challenge is to learn from these initiatives and help sustain them, as well as create others on similar lines. Of concern however, as noted by Hattotuwa in 2013, is that "groups which attempt to portray a more inclusive and tolerant country, by critiquing the positions of the extremists, often come under attack, are subject to hate speech and fail to attract as many followers as the Facebook pages and groups with inflammatory content". This is turn calls for sufficient human, financial and institutional resources to support more sustained monitoring of these hate speech trends, so as to create early warning mechanisms that alert relevant authorities and civil society stakeholders around heightened tensions online that could explode into, or exacerbate, real world violence. Importantly, this monitoring should cover Tamil and Sinhala in addition to English content, as well as span Facebook, Twitter, Google+, YouTube and key blogs, including commentary and feedback around the original content.

Along with more sustained, deeper monitoring of hate speech online, and digital media literacy campaigns around the critical appreciation of such content geared towards those between 18 – 30 in particular, recommendations to address hate speech online echo points made in the Bytes for All report on Pakistan’s hate speech in cyberspace, pegged to “a multi-pronged approach to work, a plan of action that has multiple stakeholders involved would be necessary to maintain checks and balances, particularly to ensure that the issue of hate speech in cyberspace is not manipulated and used to further political agendas, increase censorship and/or target and discriminate against vulnerable individuals/groups”. Bytes for All focuses on the role of government, mainstream media, online companies (e.g. Facebook) and organised civil society advocacy and activism as means through which online hate speech can be, to the extent possible, effectively contained and addressed.

However, in Sri Lanka, with sections of the government and state owned media also actively producing hate speech, including over Twitter, the challenge of engaging with government and informing progressive policymaking is even more acute if not downright impossible. Mainstream media in general is extremely risk averse and has neither the imagination nor independence to counter hate speech by extremist groups, especially when widely perceived to be protected by powerful sections of the government. Furthermore, little to no comment moderation guidelines across mainstream media website also result in trolls openly publishing comments full of hate, hurt and harm. In this light, comment moderation and content curation policies in line with what the World Editors Forum has published in 2013 can greatly contribute to the creation of official mainstream media websites and social media accounts that actively resist and combat hate speech, complementing editorial policies that also, on principle, disallow defamatory and inflammatory content from the institution’s articles, columns and broadcasts.

50 Anti-Muslim hate online in post-war Sri Lanka, [http://sanjanah.wordpress.com/2013/02/01/anti-muslim-hate-online-in-post-war-sri-lanka/](http://sanjanah.wordpress.com/2013/02/01/anti-muslim-hate-online-in-post-war-sri-lanka/)
51 [http://content.bytesforall.pk/node/133](http://content.bytesforall.pk/node/133)
There are also other possibilities, arising from Dr. Tarlach McGonagle’s work on addressing online hate speech in Europe. Key amongst her ideas and fully worth embracing is to develop and **effectively promote an ‘Anti-Hate Speech Pledge’ for politicians and political parties**. As noted by Dr. McGonagle,

> ... a certain minimum number of commitments [around combating hate speech] would have to be entered into, in return for which, a party could display the logo for the Pledge on all of its official materials. In order to ensure seriousness of purpose and meaningful uptake, participating party leaders would be obliged to attend annual meetings to explain and evaluate their parties’ actions to combat hate speech. A non-roll-back clause could be included in order to ensure that annual achievements would continuously be built on.

Though it is entirely unclear how and if Sri Lanka’s ruling regime will sign up to and meaningfully follow up such a pledge, it is clearly in the interests of opposition parties to explore ways through which their party leadership, officer bearers and supporters can counter hate speech in general and online hate speech in particular, by signing up to a pledge – with public and visible punitive measures taken against anyone who goes on to produce or disseminate hate and harm. A political culture of zero tolerance over hate speech can deeply influence the production and appraisal of hate speech online.

Ultimately, there is no technical solution to what is a socio-political problem. Sri Lanka’s culture of impunity and the breakdown in the rule of law is what affords the space for fascist groups like the **Bodu Bala Sena, Sinhala Ravaya and Ravana Balakaya** to say what they do and get away with it. In July this year, the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA) compiled a short brief to create awareness on the Constitutional and legal framework and available legal remedies regarding religious freedom and related issues, in light of the violence in Aluthgama. What is evident is that even without new legislation looking at online domains and content, there are a range of legal remedies and frameworks to hold perpetrators of hate speech accountable for their violence, whether verbal or physical. The issue is not the non-existence of relevant legal frameworks, but their non-application or selective application.

If the trend around hate speech online is to be truly stemmed, media literacy programmes aimed at students, teachers, parents, lecturers, government officials, civil society, media consumers and citizens, in Sinhala and Tamil, over mobile friendly, freely accessible and engaging ways is required over the long-term. Episodic violence such as Aluthgama and Beruwela this year will test the ability of civil society to produce and promote counter-messaging to strategically and in a timely manner address the core submissions of hate speech online. This will also require civic media initiatives and citizen journalists to tie up with principled professional journalists working in mainstream media to fact check, debunk, engage and dispel rumours over social media in close to real time – vital skills that are aided by constantly improving digital media literacy (see for example resources from Amnesty International on social media content verification).

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the Centre for Policy Alternatives has translated into Sinhala and Tamil, with a view to stemming rumours and misinformation online by those who are on social media platforms\(^{55}\).

Though there is no easy or prescribed solution, progressive thinking, proactive content production, strategic interventions and careful monitoring can identity and neutralise the wider harm online hate speech can, if unchecked and allowed to grow, sustain and strengthen.

Civility, tolerance and respect for diversity are as hard to find online as they are in Sri Lanka's mainstream party political framework even post-war. It would be a tragedy if the country's only remaining spaces to ideate, critical reflect and robustly debate – which are online - are taken over by hate-mongers, to the extent they are allowed to do so in the real world. So many in Sri Lanka, in various ways, resist violence, whether verbal or physical. The challenge is to strengthen their voices and efforts in light of what is a growing trend of hate speech production online, which though by no means easy, is also not an insurmountable one.

References

2. Editors Guild of Sri Lanka, 2008, Code of Practice


Annexure

Please note only posts and comments on Facebook relevant to the research topic are translated from Sinhala to English. However, any text translated has been translated in its entirety. Page likes and post likes accurate for all entries as of the Date Accessed mentioned at the beginning of each page.

The words *Hambaya, Marakkalaya* and *Musalanuwa* are all derogatory terms for Muslims.

Facebook Page 1

**Date Accessed:** 1 April 2014

**Group name:** Sinhala Buddhist

**Date created:** 16 September 2009

**Affiliated website:** N/A

**Link:** [https://www.facebook.com/sinhala.buddhist](https://www.facebook.com/sinhala.buddhist)

**Page likes:** 184,000

**Date of post:** 29 July 2013  
**Post Likes:** 2908  
**Post Shares:** 5002

**Post text:** කිරි ���ාමා වරුනි, ආදරයට මුළු ලිය විය පෙන් සමාජයේ නැටී සහා නිලධාරීන් දෙනට මුළු පොදුක්‍රියා මගේ පැයි. මෙම කටයුතුව භාවිතයේ පැරිවර්තනය ගණන්නේ කැස මහන්මත් වාදවම් විස්තර ක්‍රියා ලැබීමට මෙම පැවැතිලි බුදුන් පිළිබඳ දේශප්‍රදේශයක් භාවිතයට ගමනක් මත විය ඔබ පොළි විකුණ් අංක්‍රමණයක් මැටි පැළක් මිලියන්. මෙම කමුනිකාන්තාවය 2013 07 27 ආදා පැමිණ පුවත්පගත් නිලී ඉතා පිළිබඳයෙකුගේ වාදවම් කාරේ ඔබට පහතක් පදනම් පැවති.

- භූමි පිළිබඳ

ජාතනයේ පොදුක්‍රියාවේ බැංකු විස්තරය විස්තර සමාජයේ මෙම වාදවම් භාවිතයේ ප්‍රකාර පැයි. ඔබට මැටි අරන්න නිලී පැරිවර්තනය මෙම වාදවම් විස්තරයක් මැටි ආරම්භයක් පැවති.

නිලී පැරිවර්තනය මෙහෙයි භැංකුවේ භාවිතය මෙම වාදවම් භාවිතයේ ප්‍රකාර ඔබට මැටි අරන්න නිලී පැරිවර්තනය මැටි ආරම්භයක් පැවති.

Translation: Mothers who give us milk, we Sinhala Buddhists are prepared to repay you for the milk you loaned us. Sihala Ravaya was able to get 509 priests who are prepared to give their lives in the manner
Priest Bowatte Indrarathana Himi did. Below is a letter published on the Mawbima newspaper relating to this matter. Presidents advice on creating laws to forbid the slaughter of cows - Shalika Wimalasena

The President has ordered the Law Enforcement Department to draw up laws to forbid the slaughter of cattle. A senior official of the Law Enforcement Department has said that this will be completed in the next two months.

Prior to this the President had promised Chairman of Sihala Ravaya, Akmeeman Dayarathana Thero that cattle slaughter would be outlawed within two months. The President promised this when he met the leader of Sihala Ravaya in response to a protest march held by the organization against the slaughtering of cows.

Similarly internal government sources say that the Trade Ministry has already given orders to prepare for importing beef.

Post Image:

Image translation: Plans are being drawn to completely cease the killing of cows in Sri Lanka, by order of the President. Muslim businesses pay millions of rupees, use bastards to sling mud at the President, in a major attempt to disrupt these plans. Be aware...and spread awareness by sharing this.

Number of comments: 273
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
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Screenshot of comments:
Asad Sali, Secretary of the Jathika Samagi Peramuna (National Unity Alliance) states that although there are Sinhalese who say that Muslims slaughter cattle for meat and that a law has to be brought on to stop it, 70% of Sinhalese also eat beef. 

“If the numbers of cattle increase it could be detrimental to the country” he said.

“Ultimately the same people who are attempting to stop the slaughter of cows, are bringing in laws which could destroy the citizens of this country, but no one is speaking up about this” he also stated.

Translation: Asad Sali, Secretary of the Jathika Samagi Peramuna (National Unity Alliance) states that although there are Sinhalese who say that Muslims slaughter cattle for meat and that a law has to be brought on to stop it, 70% of Sinhalese also eat beef.

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“If the numbers of cattle increase it could be detrimental to the country” he said.

“Ultimately the same people who are attempting to stop the slaughter of cows, are bringing in laws which could destroy the citizens of this country, but no one is speaking up about this” he also stated.
Number of comments: 172

Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

Waruna Hasanga: Faggot Sali

Kavindu tharanga: Mooooooooo

Maynu Perera: We don’t eat meat you Cow! You’re trying to include us in that 70%

Asela Pradeep: You are the one who kills cows and eats them, Eat cow shit too...

Maha Dutugemunu: He must not know that there are more pigs in this country than cows. Then it would be right if we killed the pigs and fed it to them. In addition, the rate at which the Muslim population is increasing in the world is a big problem. Because they are having kids like pigs have piglets. Then what the others should do to control their population is to kill them.

Aruna Udaya Alwis: Get out you faggot

Malinda Gunarathne: Where is this carnivore getting these statistics? There is no mention of Sinhalese Buddhists here...according to this guy the increase in the percentage of cows should be controlled like animals in the jungle kill and eat...It would be good to remember that being Sinhalese doesn’t mean being Sinhala Buddhist.

Chanaka Perera: Asad has mad cow disease! Dumb Bovine!

Sasika Nilanga Jayasuriya: You are the biggest cow!
Translation:

It is reported that due to tension between Islamic and Buddhist groups caused by the newly built mosque on Swarnachetiya Road in Grandpass, Colombo; the Ministry of Buddhism and Religious Affairs has decided to revoke the permission papers that were initially granted.

It was during a discussion that was held yesterday with Muslim and Buddhist representatives, people living in the neighbourhood, and ministry representatives that this decision was made stated Secretary of the Ministry M. K. B Dissanayake.

"Politicians, Government and opposition representatives, municipal council representatives, Government officers and people living in the area who were present at this discussion decided to continue prayers according to the old system.

Should the old mosque not have sufficient space it was decided that those facilities would be developed. As tension had grown on the mosque premises it was also decided that the area be cleaned up.

All people present from all religious backgrounds also decided that these activities would be done together. These things would be carried out by everyone without any religious tensions. The secretary also stated.
Image translation: The Sacred Bo tree was cut down in Grandpass to extend the mosque. Thriyaya Saaya, Deegavapiya, Dambulla Viharaya, Moodu Maha Viharaya, Anurapura Mahamewuna, Kurugala, Devanagala will meet the same fate in the hands of the Muslim conquerors in a few decades. Sinhalese RISE!

Number of comments: 159
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Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

Anuradha Priyadharshana: May god help/bless the Buddhists for as long as multi-religion supporting faggots exist.

Anuradha Priyadharshana: If the fucking *thambis* (Muslims) are like this now when they become the majority there will be no Bo trees in Sri Lanka. Multi religion supporting faggots don't understand that.

Gihan Ranjith: Anu, Don't get angry. All this is because of the leaders in our country. Because of the things they do see how difficult it is now to change the company of a boy from our country working in Korea…

Chanaka Madushaka Perera: We can’t stop Sri Lanka also becoming a colony of the thambis (Muslims). We have sinned to be here to watch it happen.

Kawda Boy: Fuck Allahs mother fucking dog. His faggots are going to capture our country also… Even the king is kissing their arse.

Dilan Thivanka: “Whilst the sacred tree was removed having performed the appropriate religious rites…” Soon… “People are being killed having performed the appropriate religious rites”

Young Wiz: fucking arseholes you have only a few more days…
Translation: This is the way the Muslims responded to the innocent Buddhist who tried to speak up in defence of the sacred Buddhist Bo tree in Grandpass. Three more are dead.

This is the brotherliness of the Muslims... They dig their swords straight into the necks of the Sinhalese now... the moment their month of fasting is over they have begun to implement the Prophet verses in the Quran.

(Quran 9.5) And when the sacred months have passed, then kill the polytheists wherever you find them and capture them and besiege them and sit in wait for them at every place of ambush. Imprison them.
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(Quran: 8.12) I will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieved. You cut off their necks and their fingertips.

At the end of the months of fasting during a previous year Sargeant Navarathna was beaten to death with sticks. Soldiers were carried into a mosque and severely beaten. This year the youth who spoke up in defence of the sacred tree were beheaded...

Where are these great humanitarians who are always talking about democracy? Where are these socialists? Where are the human rights activists? Where are the NGO people? They are not making a sound are they? Not even any media reported the unfairness faced by the Buddhists did they? If these images had not been spread through Facebook, the fact that Muslims beheaded Buddhists would also go down as another lie.

Rubbish such as democracy, human rights, being humane are Western ideals and have been developed for the use of Westerners and their followers. They shed tears for Tamils, Catholics and Muslims only…When Muslims band together and behead Sinhala Buddhists they must be secretly happy.

Post Image:

Image translation: The Muslim animals used sharp weapons on the neck and head of this Sinhala boy named Kannagara. He left hospital by force, to avoid any unfairness to Sinhalese. His mother whilst sharing her thoughts with us said that even if her son were killed she would protect Buddhism. Share this and show your opposition to the Muslim terrorists.

Number of comments: 322
Dhanushka Pushpakumara: Wish you a long life little brother!

Chaminda Wickramasiri: Blessings of the srima Bo samindu to you. I wish you a speedy recovery. May the Triple Gem bless you.

Neil Costa: Aren’t there more Sinhala people in Grandpass? To cut these people into slices.
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Suneth Kumara Mathara Arachchi: There’s no point talking on Facebook. If you know what needs to be done tell us the place.

Nishan Ranagana: Kannangara is a Sinhalese... A lion with Sinhalese blood...I was there and I saw the way he handled things..

Asanka Gampola: What the hell only the Sinhala Buddhists get messed around every time. Let’s get together and change this. Hambayas (Muslims) and their motherfucking brotherliness.

Supun Udugama: Come try and slice up the Sinhalese. You must like to see your mosques broken to pieces.

Sinhala Buddhist: Some Muslims say that we must bear whatever is done to us because racism will occur. It was reported in all media that there was opposition to a mosque being built without permission, but no media reported the cutting of Sinhala Buddhists necks. Racism occurs only when Sinhalese speak up. No matter how many crimes the Muslims commit it’s not considered racist.

Date of post: 16 August 2013

Post Likes: 639

Post Shares: 415

Post text:

Translation:

Another mosque built illegally in Anuradhapura has been flattened using a bulldozer.

If this was not done the same destruction that happened to the Sacred Bo tree in Grandpass would have happened to the Sri Maha bodhiya in a few decades.

It is no longer a secret that there is a conspiracy by the Muslim population who plan to establish their populations in locations that are sacred to Buddhists in an attempt to create an Islamic nation.

Those of you who cling to multi-religious harmony with the idea that Muslims are your brothers what do you have to say now?

Let take similar steps to demolish all other illegally built mosques in the country. If there is an illegal Mosque in your area alert a national organization. Share and build awareness.
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Post Image:

Image translation: Article titled ‘Court Order Rid Anuradhapura Sacred Ground of Mosque’.

Number of comments: 75

Comments screen shots:
Translation of comments:

KM Dulshan: Great

Sumithra Jayathilaka: Sounds like the sound of the lions is finally awakening.

Sushan Bandara Dhanasekera: In Galioya there is a 2km sized roundabout in which there are 3 mosques. The entire Galioya has only one temple.

Janaka Bandara: Fantastic!

Anuradha Priyadarshana: The time has come to destroy the chanting sheds in other areas as well...

Lasantha Sanjaya: Not just the mosques the whole thambi (Muslim) race needs to be swept away...

Date of post: 22 August 2013

Post Likes: 403

Post Shares: 73

Post text: Ministers from the United National Party and two others procured special permission to watch the historic Randoli perahera held on the 4th from the main area of the Temple of the Tooth. They consumed alcohol on the premises and were taken into custody the police said.

S. Sivagnanam, a minister of the Kandy municipal council, Mohomad Shyam Majid and Fatima Shahera Majid were among those in custody.

They were taken into custody with a bottle of alcohol from the main area of the Temple based on secretive evidence provided by a honourable Deputy Inspector General of Police H. N B. Abanwela.

The Muslims were taken into custody without harm in the appropriate legal manner instead of them being stones to death for drinking alcohol in the temple premises only happened because of the mountainous patience of the Sinhala Buddhists. Respect to this Sinhala Buddhist speciality.  Share this and show your friend.
Image translation: Muslims consume alcohol whilst watching the Siri Dalanda Perehara from the Maha Maluwa. A Minister of the United National Party amongst those who insulted the sacred Sinhala Buddhist festival.

Number of comments: 68

Comments screen shots:
Translation of comments:

Usk Saluwadana: May bastardly people like this be cursed!

Prabhath Eranda: Usk these people will definitely be cursed. Hamba race are sinful fuckers... remember them watching our procession consuming alcohol. Bloody fuckers.

Roshan Tharindu: These creeps will be punished for this someday.

Ravindra Magedara: Politicians all of them. Not surprised.

Awishka de Zoysa: the Muslim sinners should be banished from this country.

Dilshan Dil: You asses are the Sinhalese babies who do not consume any alcohol then?

Sashi Chathuranga: Dilshan you hamba (Muslim) arse...this is not trying to say that they do not consume alcohol you whoreson...read this properly you hamba (Muslim) whore...You are pigs who get shit on your dicks when defecate...

Supun Malka Thiranjaya: Time wasting fucking whore...

Susanga Fernando: Are these the only ones on Kandy? Kandy is one of our most valuable places...but it is full of them...

Lasantha Sanjaya: the remaining three quarters of these should be cut off in the middle of the Kandy town like the punishments that were dealt out during the time of the kings.

Samadhi Achinthya: they should all be hanged around the lake

Mohamed Fairose: all those that go perform in the Perehara, the flamethrowers, the dancers they all drink and take part in the Perehara. A race born to animals.
Leen wicky: You pig how can you talk about our race? Do you even have a race to speak of you dog? Ungrateful arsehole.

Lasathan Sanjaya: fucking son of a whore you are the bastard. This is a Sinhala country. You are the one who has crept in you wild pig.
Date Accessed: 02 April 2014

Group name: International Ministry of Buddha Sasana & Religious Affairs Sri Lanka

Date created: 27 November 2012

Affiliated website: N/A

Link: https://www.facebook.com/InternationalBuddhistCouncil

Page likes: 36,823

Date of post: 10 August 2013

Post Likes: 35

Post Shares: 19

Post text: Army deployed to calm the tensions in Grandpass after the Swarna Chaithya Road masjid came under attack

Translation: N/A

Post Image:

Image translation: Army deployed to calm the tensions in Grandpass after the Swarna Chaithya Rd masjid came under attack

Number of comments: 3
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Comments screen shots:

Date of post: 10 August 2013 - Post 2
Post Likes: 137
Post Shares: 54
Post text: ගමොකද්ෙ ගරෑන්ඩ්පාස් වල දිගු \(........\)?
Translation: what has happened in Grandpass? Apparently curfew has been set?
Post Image:

Image translation: what has happened in Grandpass? Apparently curfew has been imposed?
Number of comments: 30
Translation of comments:

Dhanushka Bandara: This is only the beginning. Keep in mind that it is harder to take the Sinhalese country than it is to take other countries.

Devi Shyama Alankara: Empty buildings should be taken down even if it is done by throwing stones at it. There’s no point the outside being there if the inside is empty. If it was demolished and piglets raised there they would live very happily.

Nimesha Thiwankara: Bravo to the heroes!

Roshan Ziyard: Is throwing things and fleeing a heroic act or faggot-like behaviour?

Gayan Madushanka: Allah was breaking fast during this time.

Wasantha Perera: Who are our heroes?

Asanga Wijeratne: Mr Mahilal m. Seneviratne, See how decently our Sinhala Buddhists portray themselves to the world. When our innocent Sinhala boys are falling dead in Weliweriya these people’s mouths are full of soil. You didn’t shoot Muslims you shot our own people. You idiots swear a bit and
become try to be Facebook heroes, the moment there is some kind of trouble you are the first to hide. Are the dead bodies we had in the past 30 years not enough for you? While you comment on Facebook how many people, have dies and lost their limbs because of war? Instead of trying to show off to the world try and do something to save this beloved country...Try and develop your business and have 10-20 children like the Muslims do...If you want to protect the Sinhala race. You try to be heroes on Facebook and being jealous but you can't do a damned thing. Let us live peacefully in this country. That's all we ask for. Please use your brains... thanks...

Date of post: 10 August 2013 – Post 3

Post Likes: 17
Post Shares: 18

Post text:  We have come to know that a temple built in the Naavakkuliya village by Sinhala Ravaya in the Jaffna district has been bombed. As it is a high security zone we will provide information when and as we receive it.

We ask that you understand the plight of the Sinhala Buddhists at least now and band together as one, expressing our disgust at this attack.

Translation: We have come to know that a temple built in the Naavakkuliya village by Sinhala Ravaya in the Jaffna district has been bombed. As it is a high security zone we will provide information when and as we receive it.

The Naavakkuliya Sinhala village was established by Sinhala Ravaya. Since the end of the war this is the only village to which Sinhalese were relocated. It is well known that Muslims who had hoped to usurp the rights to this land are extremely unhappy. Due to various threats received by this village in the past it is suspected that, the attack was carried out by Muslims. This village needed to be heavily protected because of this. However, these adversaries have succeeded in bombing the temple in the Naavakkuliya village.

We ask that you understand the plight of the Sinhala Buddhists at least now and band together as one, expressing our disgust at this attack.
Post Image:

Image translation: The Muslims Ramadan way of life

The temple in the Naavakkuliya Sinhala village attacked by a bomb!

Number of comments: 4

Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

Ashan Medis: This is how they show their thanks for saving them from the tigers.

Asanka Sandun Kumara: Where is our Buddhist leader?
Date of post: 10 August 2014 – Post 4

Post Likes: 170

Post Shares: 173

Post text: කොළඹ ආමර්විදය ඉදික්නට ලැබේ ඉතිහාසික කැටයුතු ගේ…

Translation: It is being reported that another Sinhala Muslim skirmish is going on in Armour Street, Colombo.

Post Image:

Image translation: Another Sinhala Muslim skirmish near Armour Street, Colombo

Number of comments: 23

Comments screen shots:
Translation of comments:

Chandima Nisansala: There is no ‘Sinhala Muslim conflict’ yet...this is just trying to create conflict. It is a disadvantage for leaders when people live peacefully. Every government sold the war and gained from it. Now sell religion and gain from it...

Dharmapala Uragala: Chaminda is just a black foreigner. How can you say there is no conflict when a temple has been bombed in Jaffna you idiot?

Thilan Madusanka: Son of the nation with strong spines... come forward...not to ruin the country...to protect this country...otherwise this country will certainly become a grave...lets finish it now...

Samadhi Kalanatha Subasinghe: Destroy those that give to Allah

Senadhi Koshan Subasinghe: Kill the Muslims

Date of post: 11 August 2013

Post Likes: 309

Post Shares: 448

Translation: Islam that is spreading in Sri Lanka like a germ spreads, like a cancer grows, like a virus develops should be stopped through lawful means, not through violence. The manner in which developed countries such as Russia and France are trying to ban the hijab can be used as an example. The unnecessary construction of mosques should be legally removed, the building of new mosques should be limited (not through violent means) in a legally acceptable manner. The law is not only Roman and Dutch law; other forms of law exist in the world. Think about what the Sinhala Buddhist constitutions is. We must come up with a set of laws that protect our Sinhala heritage and Buddhist teachings. If we don’t within a few generations we will be under Sharia law.
The government must sort out laws before the Islamic cancer grows in this country. Even toilets built for the majority will soon be converted into mosques in a few days. The Islamic extremists must be exterminated. If not conflict worse than this could occur in the future.

**Image translation:** The government must sort out laws before the Islamic cancer grows in this country. Even toilets built for the majority will soon be converted into mosques in a few days. The Islamic extremists must be exterminated. If not conflict worse than this could occur in the future.

**Number of comments:** 21

**Comments screen shots:**
Translation of comments:

Chaminda Pradeep Dissanayake: Muslims have Muslim ministers who defend them. If they open their mouths all they talk about are the problems that Muslims face. Excluding that they also have Arabia. Mahinda, his wife and three babies are there for Catholics. They use their power to make the Catholics blameless in courts.

Hirantha Jayasinghe: This is what should happen. As humans we cannot keep killing each other every day. The consequences of our actions today will be borne by our children in the future.

Kasun Kaushalya: There no point talking about it... if we keep going this way Sinhalese will have to become suicide bombers...race and country... must be saved...the leaders who ruled till now using the foreign laws are completely to blame...

Susantha Sanjeewa: That's so true. Doesn't our future look bleak?

Nisala Udara: There are hamba (Muslim) accounts with Sinhalese names. Report them.

Mohamed Anas: Jihad coming soon Sri Lanka

Mahesh Pathiranage: Tell you mother to hoist her skirts up when jihad comes

Isuru Madushanka: know this son of a whore jihad will be folded in two, and stuffed up the anus and then put in your mother mouth.

Tissa Rodrigo: that's the truth.

Date of post: 11 August 2013 – Post 2

Post Likes: 499

Post Shares: 1253

Post text: ආපසේ අපා අපා
Translation: Venerable Chiran Jayathu

Post Image:

Image translation: Come forward Parakum Dutugemunu sons, to protect the Sinhalese in Grandpass. The two monks who were a giant strength. When extremists Muslims in Grandpass were getting ready to beat up the Sinhalese in Grandpass, general secretary of Sinhala Ravaya Madille Pannaloka Thero and Magalkande Sudantha Thero, the Convenor of the Sinhala Ravaya are due salutations for the giant strength they provided the Sinhalese.

Number of comments: 61

Comments screen shots:
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Translation of comments:

Asela Pradeep: May you have healthy long lives...lets save the country from the Muslims...We are with you

Usk Saluwadana: May the triple jem bless and protect you...!!!


Date of post: 13 August 2013

Post Likes: 193

Post Shares: 114

Post text: පදනම් ගැලෘජ සිලිවත් විට මුසල්මානුවන්ගම් දැවැනි මිති Tuesday, August 13, 2013

සෞළික විකාශභාව ප්‍රශ්නයන් යනුවෙන් අවසන්කිරීමට මුළු කොළඹ මකුණු කොටස් විශේෂිතව විශේෂිතව ආදිය කරන අතර මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය මුළු ආදිය
Translation: During the sacred month of Ramadan – This man Vijitha has become slave to the Muslims money.

Tuesday, August 13, 2013

We are well aware that from time to time an odd act is performed by those robes to cover the nakedness of the Quran and Muslims; this is done because money is received from the Muslims. A little while before this the monks in Bellanwila were bribed in a similar manner to save halal. In the same manner this time the nakedness of Ramadan is being covered by the Mahiyangana religious security organizations, Wataruka Vijitha. He is spewing nonsense under the spell of the Muslim money.

This coward called Vijitha is getting more money from the Muslims to say that Ramadan is a holy month and that Muslims behaves in a decent manner, whitewashing the world’s most extremist religion. By doing this he is betraying the Buddhist religion. Though he once spoke against Muslims, he is now helping them cover up their nakedness.

Post Image:

Image translation: Ramadan is a holy month- Wataruka Vijitha is a traitor who has become dependent on Muslim money. Read this post which contains proof on the terrorism that is taught in the Quran. Quran - When the sacred months have passed, kill the polytheists on sight

Number of comments: 28
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

Arabepola Rathasar Thero: This is what we call the meandering of senses when it is close to the end times.

Bogahawewa Rathana: It’s embarrassing how Wataraka Vijitha is behaving like an errand boy for the Muslims. The worm that lives in the fruit eats the fruit.

Mangala Kalawana: these animals become monks to ruin the Buddhist religion not to protect it. Don’t offer these people charity. The whole country is ruined.

Kotte Sinhalaya: Muslim fuckers. Extremists of another religion...monks...our spineless Buddhists, dollar crows.... There are so many types of people to ruin Buddhism. These are all the devils people, Buddhism will face all these and still continue another 2500 years... From the early days Buddhism is the only religion that even science has not been able to ridicule. All other religions have been proven a lie by science. Let’s protect our identity and go forward. All Sri Lankans should fight to protect Buddhism, they
should pledge themselves to it...pledge your live to the Triple Gem every morning. That’s what the Sinhalese were born to do; Buddhism will survive only if the Sinhalese survive. We cannot get away from this. The only Sinhalese that will distance themselves from this is fake Sinhalese. This is our responsibility. Only those with mixed blood of white people or Muslim blood will reject this. Know this! A true Sinhalese would never betray their own race. They are not barbarians who will fold for money.

Kusal Vidurage: Looks like some Muslim has given this guy a big stack of money

Shiran Topaz: This is a faggot who is ruining Buddhism. Looks like he's wearing the robe but bending over for the Muslims. Us Buddhists don’t bow down to fuckers like this.

**Date of post:** 14 August 2013

**Post Likes:** 350

**Post Shares:** 572

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Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Translation: You all know the area in Kotte where the swan boats are. When you go towards Rajagirya there are also the Muslim Hameedia and KFC. This post is about the Dinemore next to it. If anyone else has been there they must also know the fucked up things they do. You might think that it is a one off mistake but it has happened to me twice over.

I only figured out that it was one of their fucked up tricks when it happened to me the second time.

I only went there because of a party of a hamba (muslim) girl I know (Whatever nonsense there is I didn’t behave in a racist manner to that girl, because she is a good person). I only went a second time because of the party This place has some kind of food. KFC has nothing.

On the second day we bought 5 submariens. That’s why I can say this with certainty. We asked for 2 Chicken submarines, 1 Spicy chicken and 1 Tuna submarine. I’m judging by the submariens we bought and saying this. however their burgers are also this way they don’t have chicken. It’s all beef.

Even the Muslim girl asked for a chicken submarine and got beef.
Although the menu says there Chicken, spicy Chicken Tandoori they only put beef in all their food. There is no Chicken. Excluding SHRIMP, TUNA VEGETABLE submarines everything else is beef. Some other friends went as well and we took a good look the second time.

Sinhala Buddhist stores sell all types of meat, but Muslims don’t sell pork. They are not such babies that they don’t know that we don’t eat beef. They just wanted to make us eat beef.

The first time I only realized the problem on the second bite. The second time I went there I realized straight away.

Because of the way they mix it, it’s difficult to tell but the y must be doing the same in their stores as well.

What a disgusting thing to do to a Buddhist. What if we mistakenly fed a Muslim Pork in their country? There was nothing we could do at the time; we got a friend at the Consumer Affairs Authority to place a complaint, though we do not know how successful that will be.

It was my mistake to even go to that place. I didn’t drag my friends and go. They took me there. I’m saying this because you also go to places like this. I’m not saying don’t go, but what happened to me will definitely also happened to you. Then you will have to make a decision in the midst all the Muslims there if you are going to eat it or leave.

Finally all I have to say is this. Very soon, the Muslims will have to leave our country. Otherwise they are going to have to die here. The patience of Sinhalese has run out. Thought they use Sinhala boys in their marketing it is a Muslim den.

Also someone who knows tell me the appropriate action in a situation like this. Everyone surely understands how serious this is?

If we find an appropriate legal solution to this we can solve a lot of problems.
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

**Image translation:** Another Muslim trick

**Number of comments:** 78

**Comments screen shots:**

**Translation of comments:**

Amali Manik Kumari Mapa: What is the point of you people if you can’t stop crawling in to Muslim shops to begin with?

Udara Kaushalya: It would all be sorted if you didn’t eat meat

Amila Pathirana: What is the point of you people who can’t stop crawling under Muslim skirts?

Prabath Ksp: We are trying to ban Muslims here. You are saying that and going to Muslim shops. It’s because you go to these places that you have to eat their fucking meat. You are also double tongued
motherfuckers. That's why these things happen. If only you had got a stomach ache or an allergic reaction and had to go to hospital for a few months. What a shame... You talk about this stuff only on Facebook. You are also a Facebook hero....

Chaminda Shanthaweera: My Muslim friend said that is something they do to make it taste better. They spit into food given to Sinhalese people. That makes it very juicy when you eat it.

Arjuna S Premachandra: Don't get angry that I ask this but do you pluck chickens from trees? Is it only a sin to eat cows?

Arawinda Nawagamuwa: You stupid boys...You are all damn idiots but there is no need to display that to the world with proof please. You don't even know what to do when this kind of thing happens. It's because of donkeys like you that Sinhala Buddhism has fallen and Muslim Buddhism is rising. Didn't the dumb fool who put this post up have no brain at all to report this and post as soon as the incident happened. Consumer Affairs Authority, Municipal Council, Public Health Officers exist for this reason. You stupid donkey boys don't know these things. Though you are high and mighty about saving Buddhism you don't need to show the whole world that you are still a glutton for meat.
By now you must all also know that in the last few days there have been a number of incidents that compromise the law and logic in this country. The police behaved in a manner which none of us have predicted. In other instances they pretended not to see the problems that the Sinhalese faced. Muslims used the law in whatever they wanted. It was stated that the law could not be carried out as it was the month of Ramadan. That means that the police also work according to Sharia now. These are only a few of those incidents. Read it and learn. Why does this country not have functioning laws?
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Post Image:

Image translation: Standing policemen "Sir, the Muslims are doing whatever they want...The villagers have complained again today. What do we do about this?"

Seated Policeman: "It's Ramadan... let it go"

Fleeing Sri Lanka: Oh No! Save me from Sharia Law...

Number of comments: 0

Comments screen shots: N/A

Translation of comments: N/A

Date of post: 30 July 2013

Post Likes: 62

Post Shares: 391

Post text: Image only

Translation: Image only
Image translation: Image in English

Number of comments: 2
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Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments: N/A
Date of post: 31 July 2013

Post Likes: 01

Post Shares: 06

Post text: Image only

Translation: Image in English
Date of post: 31 July 2013 – post 2

Post Likes: 93

Post Shares: 501

Post text: Image text only

Translation: N/A

Post Image:

Image translation: These poor little girls don’t understand until they are taken to bed. This is only one of many marriage ceremonies created by the leaders of Islam for the benefit of all Muslim men. These Muslims like to get the most pleasure out of little girls.

This is one marriage ceremony that was held in the Gaza strip with the sponsorship of Hamas. These little girls who are 4 and 6 are holding hands with their husbands! They follow their leader ‘Prophet’ and for some of these men this is their second or third marriage.
You will live, eat and be merry till you die. In the future your granddaughter or their daughters will be subject to this kind of treatment in a Muslim Sri Lanka.

The other important thing is that Buddhists believe in rebirth, in your next life you might be born to your own bloodline and be subject to this. Don't let it happen.

**Number of comments:** 9

**Comments screen shots:**

![Comments screen shots](image_url)

**Translation of comments:**

Gihan Danushka Wijewardhana: Azzam! Tell us what this Prophet is? Keep kissing the Prophets arse Azzam!

Gihan Danushka Wijewardhana: Dog like this!

Indunil Ashen: Where is your Lebbe? Shame shame!

Riyaz Mohamed: Don’t worry this is a country where Buddhism prevails. They won’t get to play around.

Anil Bandara: You who call us racist for speaking up. Have a feel and check you sexless bitch.

**Date of post:** 31 July 2013 – Post 3

**Post Likes:** 21

**Post Shares:** 167

**Post text:** Image text only

**Translation:** N/A

**Post Image:**

Image translation: God why did I have to marry a Muslim man? What kind of sin did I commit to be born a Muslim woman?

**Number of comments:** 4
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Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

Anushka Chayani: Bad luck

Nero Hddz: This is definitely a sin

Chula Bandara: Muslims are barbarians

Dilini Tharanga: They are paying for their past sins... poor them
Date Accessed: 15 April 2014

Group name: Soora Saradiyel Balakaya

Date created: 23 December 2012

Affiliated website: http://sura-saradiyel.blogspot.com/

Link: https://www.facebook.com/surasaradiyalbalakaya

Page likes: 12,759

Date of post: 10 August 2013

Post Likes: 259

Post Shares: 701

Post text: ~~~The Muslims beat up Sinhalese who opposed the building of the illegal temple. ~~~

Unite with us: Soorya Saradiyel Balakaya http://www.facebook.com/surasaradiyalbalakaya

The mosque that was secretly and illegally being used using various tricks is no longer a secret. When brave Sinhalese sons opposed it and spoke against it weapons were brought by the Muslims and one Sinhalese youth was attacked in the neck with a sword. ..He received severe injuries and was hospitalised...The Muslims barbarically beat up 4 more Sinhala youth there...By now 5 Sinhala youths are in hospital...We are prepared to bring you information as and we receive it. ..Stay with us...
Post Image:

Image translation: Muslims beat Sinhalese who opposed illegal mosque with sharp weapons. Due to severe injuries 5 Sinhalese youth are in hospital. Fucking Muslims dance the devil in Colombo. You made a mistake hitting a serpent with a stick.

Number of comments: 108
Translation of comments:

Chalana Sachintha Perera: Lets rise together black Sinhalese!

Chalana Sachintha Perera: This is a Sinhala nation not a Muslim one

Isuru Bulegodha: Do Muslims like to be fucked in the arse?

Thilan Madusanka: Know this we will cut off what’s left of you; lift one to see the balls...
Isuru Jayasekera: Fucking Muslims you are faggots arses. Only your end have been cut... now you are trying to get your penis cut...Whore Muslims

Nanda Thero: The Muslims in Sri Lanka must think this is Pakistan to go around putting up mosques everywhere...If they hit us then there is no problem hitting them...

Sumudu Lakjaya: If you fuckers would like to stay in Colombo find 2.50k and stay quiet. Otherwise we will chop you up and throw you in the sea Muslim bitches. Know that this is a Sinhalese country!

Ag Diyadahara: Where are the ministers we will cut them! Unite Sinhala boys! Let's make them run...

Date of post: 11 August 2013

Post Likes: 127

Post Shares: 224

Post text: "බෝධියට නිවැඩෙ දි සංවිධානයක්
වහන්ගසේ මහ නව කටයුතු පිරිස්වන්
වන්න....!!
රහාරය දි කවුන්සිලගේ දි සිංහල කිසිදු පබැවැසේ කරති
ගකළක්

http://www.facebook.com/surasaradiyalbalakaya

සංවිධානයක් පරයින් පලසමානයක් රගද්ශගේ පාගර් පසම සංවිධානයක් පල්ලියකට පූජ් ඩියල්බලකාය යන්ත්රණයක් ලැබෙන වර්ග ආහාරින් නැතැයි පාමිගාන් ම්විජිතයේ ඖිමියන් ලිපියකට පිහිටි යන්ත්රණය මහ මහ ජාතික පුරාමත් ආඳින් කොටයුතු මහ මිකින් භාෂාවේ රහාරය

සේබන්ෙගයන්

Translation: With regards to the Mosque that was attacked in Swarnachethiya Road, Bodu Bala Sena, Raavana Balaya and Sihala Ravaya have stated that they have no connection with the incident. General Secretary of the Bodu Bala Sena organisation Ven.Galabodaththe Gnanasara thera said he was returning to Colombo from Jaffna when the incident occurred.

General Secretary of the Sihala Ravaya organization, Ven.Madille Pannaloka Thero said that they work closely with both Hindu and Muslims communities and they would like to express their condolences about the incident.

The Secretary General of Raavana Balaya Organization Ven. Itthakande Saddatissa Thero said that those affiliated to the organisation had nothing to do with the incident and that in the history of the organization no one had harassed people of other religions.

A person from the Muslim Council who shared their thoughts with us on the incident which occurred yesterday said that the people who attacked the mosque were opposing something else nearby and then moved on to attacking the mosque. He also stated that the new place had a Scared Bo tree and they had asked that it be removed several times though the request was not granted. Then they began work on the new place with the Bo tree in their backyard the same day that the place came under attack. He also mentioned that during the time of the attack 12 policemen were present in the area though none of them took any substantial action to stop the attack.

Other sources say that the mosque was built illegally and that request by officials to remove the mosque had gone unheeded. When the statements of the official were ignored by them and they began work on the mosque the conflict began. The same source also stated that the mosque may be built in-between two Buddhist temples.
Post Image:

Image translation: We are not involved in the Grandpass attack
In a special broadcast by -Sihala Ravaya – Bodu Bala Sena – Ravaya Balaya
However another source stated that the new mosque was illegally built and that even till yesterday officials had asked that it be removed from that location.

Number of comments: 29
Comments screen shots:

127 people like this.

224 shares

Methmal Shalitha who ever did this I respect them.

11 August 2013 at 11:28 · Like · 8

Kamal Gunasekara sinhala le thiyana nisawala nethi jathayak athi abimana avath kollanta maga pramaya......

11 August 2013 at 11:28 · Like · 4

De Sanjewwa wena eyamata dharmitha yathaye nisawala..............

11 August 2013 at 11:31 · Like · 5

Kamal Gunasekara kathawa hetiya ehi ana welana thiyenna kokomath asadaranayak...... namath kaisyam sarvithanayak ekata madhithi welo no...... oka ewaral...... yanape rawaya pansalata bomba gahapu eka gena mokuth nedda???? palli wakata gah apuwama eka loni......

11 August 2013 at 11:34 · Like · 1

Kosala Bandara Meka arambayaak vilharai

11 August 2013 at 11:44 · Like

Senarath Bandara yanape pansalata gehuwe kauda?

11 August 2013 at 12:40 · Like
Translation of comments:

Methmal Shalitha: Whoever did this I respect them

Kamal Gunasekera: The boys with Sinhalese blood who are not cowards who did this I respect you

Ds Sanjeewa: Whoever did this did a great job... Giant strength to those who did it

Kamal Gunasekera: By the way the story sounds some kind of injustice has occurred...but no organization has had anything to do with it...its over...is there nothing about the bomb attack in the Ravaya temple in Jaffna? Only attacks on mosques are publicised?

Kosala Bandara: This is only the beginning

Senarath Bandara: Who attacked the Temple in Jaffna?

Senerath Bandara: This is our country – there is not space for Sinhalese. The Sinhala people in Naavakkuliya village have been threatened. The Temple has been stoned and also subject to a bomb attack.

Dinesh Weerakkody: Whatever needed to be done at the time has been done. Doesn't matter if the bat hits from the front or the side, it's the points that are required...

Dulip Ishan: This is the time all Sinhalese must rise in defence of the Sinhala race
Amila Pathirana: Who will completely break this down and remove it?

Nilanka N Madushan: We are ready ...

Kasun Imesha: This is our country we are willing to even die for it your lordship

Shehan Asindya: Definitely
Date Accessed: 15 April 2013

Group name: We are Sinhala

Date created: 22 October 2011

Affiliated website: N/A

Link: https://www.facebook.com/pages/%E0%B6%85%E0%B6%B4%E0%B7%92-%E0%B7%93%E0%B7%92%E0%B6%82%E0%B7%84%E0%B6%BD-We-are-Sinhala/163806990380402

Page likes: 18,739

Date of post: 01 August 2013

Post Likes: 221

Post Shares: 371

Post text: යකා ප්‍රියා ක්‍ෂණයේ අවශ්‍ය විය යි, මෙම විශාල විශෙෂණ සාදනය කිසිදු විශේෂීන් ආදර්ශන

Translation: We Sinhalese have only this country, protecting our heritage is your responsibility
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Post Image:

Image translation: The only country Sinhalese have is Sri Lanka. Buddhism is the lifeblood of the Sinhalese. Anagarika Dharmapala

Number of comments: 2
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

Dne Dne: Son this is your race...when I am gone protect this race. That is your responsibility...

Mic Wije: When you are abroad you really understand the value of your own country

Date of post: 05 August 2013

Post Likes: 146

Post Shares: 131

Post text: කිරීමට, හරෝක්කේ ප්‍රකාශ කැරුණීමට ගැනීම අතර හරෝක් ප්‍රකාශකය කිරීමට, මරනු පැමිණින්, මරනු පැමිණින්, හරෝක් ප්‍රකාශකයට පැමිණින් කුරු පැමිණින්

Translation: Revoke all Muslim business contracts. Why? Because more than 10% of the income from Muslim businesses are given to mosques. These mosques use these funds to spread Islam in the country,
publicize the Arabic language, and build new mosques and other activities that destroy the Sinhala community. Therefore do not patronize Muslims businesses and cyclically support the spread of Islam in the country.

**Post Image:**

**Image translation:** When Muslims boycott products they become people who love their country. If Sinhalese boycott products they are racists. When patience exceeds its limits it becomes cowardice. Wake up the Sinhalese. Share this.

**Number of comments:** 4
Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

Asanka Nishan: They destroy the Sinhala community. Therefore do not patronize Muslims businesses and cyclically support the spread of Islam in the country.

Upul Sandun: true

Date of post: 07 August 2013

Post Likes: 86

Post Shares: 42

Post text: ඉස්ලාහේ ම මතු පිරිම්බන්ත වියේ හිටමුත්රි කරීමට මතනේය, මහතෙක මුදලි විශාල විශේෂී කරකම්...?
Translation: According to Islam it is forbidden for men to urinate standing up. Hambaya’s are we lying? Do your mothers have answers for this?

Post Image:

Image translation: A habit native to the Muslims in Sri Lanka. If they see a watering hole they try to urinate in it...They think must they are so big in size

Number of comments: 09
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Comments screen shots:
Translation of comments:

Sameera Ranawansa: What size?! Its only three-quarter

WM Shyamal: What fucker told them to piss in the water?

Pasindu Andradi: It’s not enough to cut their ends, all the Muslims must be cut completely

Sujith Niroshana: So true...

Chamara Fernando: Shame shame!

Date of post: 17 August 2013

Post Likes: 164

Post Shares: 151

Post text: එයගේ මත් කිරීමට අදහස් නොදේ මලි මෙහෙයි මෙහෙයි මෙහෙයි....

බූර්තල් මත් කිරීමට අදහස් නොදේ මලි මෙහෙයි මෙහෙයි මෙහෙයි....
Translation: This damn Muslim is dreaming of the day Sri Lanka turns into Arabia. Do you people understand at least now that what these people want is to see Sri Lanka turn into an Arab country...Boys! Beat this guy up on sight. Here's a link to this dirty Muslims' Facebook link. Share this post so everyone will recognize him.

Post Image:

Image translation: This damn Muslim is dreaming of the day Sri Lanka turns into Arabia. We won't give our country over to Muslims fuckers as easily as you think....

Number of comments: 74
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Comments screen shots:
Translation of comments:

Purnima Dinushani: They won't get to stay here long. They will be the cause of their own destruction...If this country becomes theirs Buddhism will become a lie...

Buddhika Jayalath: Get out you fucking meant eating Muslims

Nimal Jayasinghe: We don't beg anywhere, even in Arabic countries we eat and survive from the jobs we have. You send our people abroad and eat from that money. You Muslims you go to America, Japan Europe to kiss arse.

Samith Priyadharshana: He must be chased off to Arabia

Kithruwan De Silva: he he...He even looks like a faggot...but he thinks he can capture the country ...Say something you can do

Gehan Kavinda: Stop saying dumb things!

Kingsley Athapaththu: Not just the end we will cut the whole thing fucking Muslim! Know this is Sinhala
Facebook Page 6

**Date Accessed:** 15 April 2013

**Group name:** Sihala Rawaya Jathika Sunvidhanaya

**Date created:** 10 May 2012

**Affiliated website:** N/A

**Link:** [https://www.facebook.com/sinhalarawayapage](https://www.facebook.com/sinhalarawayapage)

**Page likes:** 6,900

**Date of post:** 12 August 2013

**Post Likes:** 118

**Post Shares:** 45

**Post text:** N/A

**Post Image:**

![Image with multiple photos]

**Image translation:** N/A

**Number of comments:** 7
Translation of comments:

Rushimi Madumesh Iddamalgoda: What kind of mosque can you have in a place where there is barely any space for a person to live? Now the tree that gave shade will also have to be cut to give more land from this sacred island for the enemy.

Amith Eresh: This could happen around the whole country soon

Chamindra Kumara Vithanage: is it right to cut a sacred bo tree in a Buddhist country to allow space for a mosque to be built for Muslims? What solutions do they have for this in their brains?

Nuwan Karunathilaka: This is what they call the Arab Spring. Building mosques... motherfucking Muslims. The moment their fasting is over they do this kind of low down thing every year. Whores!

Date of post: 12 August 2013- Post 2

Post Likes: 303

Post Shares: 595
Translation: During an altercation that occurred due to an illegally built mosque in Grandpass Muslim, ministers and Muslim extremists have gathered in large numbers to give Muslim thugs safety. The Sinhalese in the area had no similar defense and were left vulnerable to Muslim threats and beatings. Only the official units that arrived to sort out the problem were there in defence of the Sinhalese.

Upon hearing this General Secretary of the Sihala Ravaya organization, Ven. Madille Pannaloka Thero and Magalkande Sudantha Thero and other representatives of Sihala Ravaya went to the location. They then gave their utmost support to make peace.

The support provided by Sihala Ravaya was a great source of strength for those living in the area.

“There is no one to stand up for us...no one to speak up for us...please stay with us... don’t leave us in our time of need” requested the people in the area from the Sihala Ravaya monks.

Until the issue was resolved during a conversation at the Buddhist centre Sihala Ravaya continued to stay with the people. They only left after the matter was resolved, after the safety of the Sinhalese was ensured.

However there was news that during the course of the day there would be attacks on Sinhala people and places of worship in the area so Sihala Ravaya went back to the location. Even now they are there waiting till there is fairness for the Sinhalese. Despite differences in political allegiance, organizational differences Sihala Ravaya is the organization that will defend the Sinhalese. The time has come as a Sinhalese for you to fulfil your responsibility as well.
Post Image:

Image translation: Sinhala Ravaya who did not abandon the Sinhala community in Grandpass.

Number of comments: 26
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Comments screen shots:

Chathurika Thirimanna
Bo gaha kepanna ekaga una neda kohoma hari veradda musalmanuvage nemei jathiya agama gena hegimak nethi sinhala palakeyange . Rathupasvala den moko den no okolatavath chande
Like · Reply · 11 · 12 August 2013 at 19:31 · Edited

Maryawali Razoo Mhm
nice spesh.
Like · 15 August 2013 at 20:48

Venura Kasun Senanayake
Apih satane
Like · Reply · 1 · 12 August 2013 at 22:17

Endika Mirihagalla
sinhala rawaye wisaduma bogaha kepana akada okata wena wisadumak tibbema nadda
Like · Reply · 2 · 12 August 2013 at 20:52

Eranda Rajapaksha
maru. gahanawanap ath anawa,
Like · Reply · 2 · 12 August 2013 at 16:30

Real Tharu FX
Mchnla ape loku aunta kiysala wadak na un blamne unge bada gana witharai . Api kelina atack
... See More
Like · Reply · 1 · 13 August 2013 at 07:07

Maryawali Razoo Mhm
ado porra sara obata sudu kodiyak gedara yawanna da .
Like · 15 August 2013 at 01:46
Translation of comments:

Chathurika Thirimanne: had to agree to cut the Bo tree...the fault is not the Muslims but the Sinhala leaders who have no feelings for the religion. After Rathupaswala then this no one will get a vote.

Venura Kasun Senanayake: we are also in the battle

Endika mirihagalle: Is the Sinhala Ravaya solution the cutting of the Bo tree? Was there no other solution?

Eranda Rajapaksha: fantastic... if you're beating them up I'm also in

Real Tharu FX: Friends there is no point telling the higher ups. They only care about their stomachs. Let's attack directly!

Shalika Perera: If Ravaya had not been there, we would have to bring new bottoms for the Sinhalese in the area.

Sampath Kumara Kumara: They must be erased. Pig fucking Muslims! Die!

Suchira Laknath: why were the people in Weliweriya abandoned then?
Magalkande Sudantha Himi: Ravaya only went there to support the Sinhala boys

**Date of post:** 19 August 2013

**Post Likes:** 119

**Post Shares:** 306

**Post text:** Brothers with Sinhala blood,

Another part of our heritage is being destroyed by the tribal animals. If you have any feelings towards the cause help the Sinhala Rawaya organization. Blessing upon you.

**Translation:** Brothers with Sinhala blood,

Another part of our heritage is being destroyed by the tribal animals. If you have any feelings towards the cause help the Sinhala Rawaya organization. Blessing upon you.

**Post Image:**

![Image of Sinhala text]
Image translation:

The Devanagala Temple is in the hands of the Muslims. The statues have been broken, rude messages have been graffitied on, the monks have been threatened and chased away, the property on which the temple sits has been fenced off and the Muslims have constructed their own building.

Number of comments: 4

Translation of comments:

Prabhash Ananda: Sinhalese let's unite to save our heritage

Amila Pathirana: These Muslims are not only a problem to Sri Lanka they are a cancer to the whole world. If we don't hurry we will lose our country.

Jane R Prasanna: Why do we remain silent?

Kavi Danu: People only look for the faults of others. Everyone must look for these things. They must look at this first.
Thushara Ranasinghe: I saw with my own eyes the way the statues have been broken...the Department of Archaeology would not open one eye and take notice...they say it is difficult for them to climb the rock...
Translation: It's impossible to watch whilst the race gets more vulnerable. You with Sinhala blood join our walk at 9 am tomorrow. Chara Purusha has reported that two days ago Muslims beat a group of Sinhala youth. No legal action has been taken against them. Therefore, Sinhala Ravaya has decided to represent the Sinhala race. There will be a walk in protest of this starting at the Maggona temple tomorrow morning at 9.30. We can’t watch whilst the race becomes more vulnerable. We ask that those with Sinhala blood join us tomorrow.
Image translation:

Against the Muslim thugs who beat Sinhalese in Maggona. Sinhala Ravaya protests. Come to the Maggona temple tomorrow morning at 9. All those with Sinhala blood join.

Number of comments: 6
Translation of comments:

Eshan Ravishka: Hurray! I hate Muslims... Some bastard, heathens who betray their religion are against the blossoming of Buddhism.

Achintha Rangana: Victory will be yours. Let’s all get together and protect the country

Ayesh Lakshitha: not just their ends the whole thing should be completely cut off
Date of post: 10 August 2013

Post Likes: 06

Post Shares: 01

Post text: එරෙණිය දැට පැටක් කොටසකට මුස්ලිම් පාලක කරයි

Translation: The Mosque in Grandpass razed to the ground. More information...

Post Image:

Image translation: Razed to the ground. Attacked while they prayed to Allah. It is also reported that Allah did not arrive to save them.

Number of comments: 0

Comments screen shots: N/A

Translation of comments: N/A

Date of post: 10 August 2013 – Post 2
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Post Likes: 217
Post Shares: 331

Post text: අල්ලා ආ ආක්බර් කියම් උබ කඩු මහ නෝ කෝලු කාතිව ලින් මෙන් පංකී මිලා විවිධ මාතාවන්නේ පියාවන්නේ...රමු නියදි මාතු පාවු? අල්ලා ආ ආක්බර් කියම් උබ නෝ කෝලු කාතිව ලින් මෙන් පංකී මීලා විවිධ මාතාවන්නේ පියාවන්නේ
රමු නියදි කාතු නියදි? උබපා උබ උබපා උබපා උබපා?

Translation: Exclaiming Allah Hu Akbar Muslims are getting ready with swords in hand to kill Sinhalese...Sinhalese; will you watch this as if you are sleeping? Exclaiming Allah Hu Akbar Muslims are getting ready with swords in hand to kill Sinhalese...Sinhalese, will you watch this as if you are sleeping? ? New freedom fight of the Sinhalese is beginning!

Post Image:

Timeline Photos

Image translation:
The Muslims gather swords and batons to beat the Sinhalese. Sinhalese will we wait longer? The battle for the homeland has started.

Number of comments: 28
Comments screen shots:
Translation of comments:

Buddhika Kasun: Kill Some Muslim mother-fuckers we are in

Prabhash Ananda: Why don’t we Sinhalese get swords and batons? Bring it on you fucking Muslims...When you come begging and we let you be you come to wash your hands on our heads...you must be sliced and fed to the pigs. Even pigs won't eat you filthy dogs...

Sanka Vidanagama: Don't use only pieces of reports and fabricate this kind of thing...

Chaminda Perera: Whatever said and done we can’t stop the destruction of the Sinhala race. WE don’t have a proper leader to protect us. There's plenty of leaders to protect them. We are alone. If they beat us, we can’t react. If we beat them up there are plenty of people to punish us. Try to understand what has happened to us.
Thilan Madusanka: Strong sons of the land...come forward...not to destroy the country...to protect this country...wake up from your deep slumber...let's oust the Muslims from this country...IF not this country will also become a grave...let finish it this now...

Gayeshaa Senadeera: Tell them to come with swords and batons! We Sinhalese are not afraid of the Muslim sword and batons...We won't just let it happen

Johan Wazer: Will you pretend to sleep any longer? A new Sinhala freedom fight is beginning! The country will go back another 100 years...

Harshani Kumari: The motherfuckers end every place they go to...cowards are still asleep

Thilan Madusanka: They must think we are going to wait until they do it...let a hand and see what will happen...we'll cut the Muslims where ever they stand...

Date of post: 11 August 2013

Post Likes: 102

Post Shares: 68

Post text: Bastards who stand against the revoking of Muslim business licences, but swear when a Buddhist monk so much as sneezes have this image in yellow.
According to them building mosques without permission is a right owed to the Muslims. After a few months of maintaining the mosque, it becomes a historic mosque. In the same manner, opposing the mushrooming of mosques even in Sinhala villages is considered Buddhist racism.

According to the Quran verse 9:5 after the months of fasting, which ended yesterday the Muslims, got together, attacked the necks of Sinhala boys with swords, and bombed the temple but there is no mention of this. It is only a problem when the Buddhist people living in the area protested the illegal mosque.

These bastards try anything to downplay what is clearly Muslim extremism and say protecting the holy place that has been a part of the Buddhist heritage for decades is Buddhist racism.

Therefore, they use this image in yellow saying they are against Buddhist racism.

Because Sri Lanka is a majority Sinhala Buddhist country the Muslim extremists have the freedom to dance whatever dance they want to still. In a few, decades when this becomes a Muslims majority country the bastards will taste real racism.

Let us use the Muslim colour, which is green to show opposition to real racism, which is Muslim racism.

Post Image:

Image translation: Stand Against racism Lets oppose Muslims Racism

Number of comments: 08
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

Helaya: Let us use the Muslim colour, which is green to show opposition to real racism, which is Muslim racism.

Anushka Nanayakkarage: Let us show opposition to real racism, which is Muslim racism.

Roshan Hewavitharana: We know that it is fatal to follow another religion in a Muslim country. Muslims in Sri Lanka do not have the camaraderie to see this; they only oppose racism when it becomes a problem to them.

Usk Saluwadana: Our utmost support

Madanayaka Thusitha: Here’s the truth

Kasun Kumara: Everyone's the same kill the animals leave the people.
Date of post: 18 August 2013

Post Likes: 15

Post Shares: 17

Post text: From the beginning, they tricked the Buddhists and built an illegal mosque, when it progressed to a religion conflict here's the manner in which the mosque was made legal.

Read the true story of Grandpass...!

Translation of comments: N/A

Number of comments: 0

Comments screen shots: N/A

Translation of comments: N/A
Facebook Page 8

Date Accessed: 11 April 2014

Group name: සුර්යවංශයේ උද්ග ෝෂණය Sinhalaya

Date created: 2012

Affiliated website: N/A

Link: https://www.facebook.com/official.sinhalaya?ref=stream

Page likes: 2,400

Date of post: 03 August 2013

Post Likes: 108

Post Shares: 503

Post text: "පාර පාරවාසයේ අපහසුතාවයට උද්ග ෝෂණය විසුරුවාහැරීමට පාවිච්චිකලාව"
- නාවරමන මැතිවරහන්සේ

Translation:
"Due to the inconvenience faced by people on the road the power of dissolution was used to disband the protest."

-Sri Lanka Police-

The police looked on like obedient dogs while the Muslims blocked the road for no reason, when Sinhalese protested the drinking water problem unsolved for 3 years, when they protested for clean drinking water, which is a basic human right they were beaten like rabid dogs.
Post Image:

Image translation:

On left: Sinhala people asking for clean water

On Right: Muslims in Colpetty protesting American movie which revealed the real life if the Prophet. Dancing the devil closing main junctions and streets.

Number of comments: 24
Comments screen shots:
Translation of comments:

Jayalal Ranjana: No now, there is no problem. Gnanasara Thero has stated that he sent the army... look at the Ceylon Today Newspaper

Rusiru Gayan Hangarangoda: When we talk about these things, we are called racists

Ravishka Eranda: shall we gather in one corner and beat the Muslims and the police?

Raja Abey gunawardena: Whom do we say this to!

Rushira Bro: Oh you fuckers! Were we the ones who voted?

Najith Nishantha Tennakoon: The country has gone to the dogs

Ruwan Chaminda: The faggots in government, when you pick up a gun everyone becomes a big brother if not they are just monkeys

Sachithra Vidurinda: Maybe the leaders end is cut as well... (Circumcised)
Lahiru Sandun: Our poor people...

Subashana Bandara Pussalle: Our own people are treating us differently

**Date of post:** 23 August 2013

**Post Likes:** 19

**Post Shares:** 63


Translation: The Islamists have begun training within their villages for a war against the Sinhalese in 2014. In 1914, the Islamists together with white foreigners beat Sinhalese in the Gampola village barbarically. In order to celebrate 100 years since that attack there is a plan to do the beat the Sinhalese in the same way in 2014. I have not seen a kind as disgusting as the Islamists. This training is happening in every Muslim village. Everyone stay alert about this. Do not get tricked by them. Those that arrived in Grandpass were also people who went through this training. It’s a wonder of wonders that the government does not see this. Stay alert.
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Post Image:

Timeline Photos

Image translation: N/A

Number of comments: 0

Comments screen shots: N/A

Translation of comments: N/A
facebook page 9

date accessed: 09 april 2013

group name: සිහල ගබොදු ආලෝක - Sihala Bodhu Balakaya

date created: 2012

affiliated website: N/A

link: https://www.facebook.com/AnangManangLanka

page likes: 386

date of post: 12 august 2013

post likes: 29

post shares: 204

post text: එවි රත්න ගබොදු ආලෝකයේ වියළි වියේ නවම්බර් මසයේ මැටිය සිටවීමට විශේෂය. කොළඹ නවම්බර් මසයේ ස්වරීජ අතර අනුව සේසුටුවන් අභාංගවත් ආරක්ෂාවක් අයිතියේ අනුව ආරක්ෂාවක් අයිතියේ මන්නි පොකු. කොළඹ නවම්බර් මසයේ මැටිය සිටවීමට විශේෂය දෙවිය සැතියන්නෙන්නේ මන්නි පොකු?

සිදුකරන්ගන් අනුව මිහිඳු මහා කාලාගේ සුසල් පැලිලා අපවත් චවයි. කොළඹ නවම්බර් මසයේ මැටිය සිටවීමට විශේෂය දෙවිය සැතියන්නෙන්නේ මන්නි පොකු?

සිදුකරන්ගන් අනුව මිහිඳු මහා ඉප්පුරාගේ හා ඉන් දිවිපුො ආරක්ෂාවකදී පොකු. මිහිඳු මහා ඉප්පුරාගේ හා ඉන් දිවිපුො ආරක්ෂාවකදී පොකු.

translation:

This is an astonishing country in which you cut down a sacred Buddhist tree to build a mosque. If Mihindu Maha Rahathan were here, his heart would burst and he would die. Did our ancestors who sacrificed themselves in hundreds and thousands to save Buddhism in this country die for this? In Arabic countries you Buddhists suffer just for the word Buddhism. A blessed bracelet or an image of the Buddha is a paving
the road to death. However even now the Buddhists are losing Sri Lanka. This is happening through the multi-religious Buddhist Association, the multi-religious idiots who call themselves the community of bhikkus and the Politian's who say they defend Sinhala Buddhists.

Even now, a group claiming to be Buddhist monks, Muslims and some ministers (fuckers) had a conversation yesterday during which it was decided that the sacred tree on Swarnachethiya road would be cut down. This scared tree is older than the hamba (Muslim) mosque. The Muslims should have thought about the tree before building their mosque...

The media reports that the sacred tree was cut down after performing the necessary rituals and that the old mosque will now be expanded...

Can we still trust that the Ministry of Buddha Sasana & Religious Affairs who defends the Muslims is also defending Buddhism? The Buddhist heritage is being lost. If the country is not being protected at a national level then do not expect that it will be protected internationally...

We have to find solutions, not anyone else...

**Post Image:**

*Image translation:* the Ministry of Buddha Sasana & Religious Affairs is no longer Buddhist

*Number of comments:* 12
Translation of comments:

Kapila Dreshappriya Bandara: Although they say they represent Sinhala Buddhists, when the Muslims asked that the Sacred Bo tree be cut down no one opposed it. If they ask that the temple also be removed, just like our politicians who say they attend to Buddhist affairs but create space and help build mosques, these organizations will just hold conferences and look on.

Suneth Sankalpa: This can’t keep working like this. We should get organised at least through Facebook, plan a procession or protest...this is our country...why don’t people feel this? It pisses me off man

Senarath Ekanayake: Buddhism has no use for derelict meat savages

Padeepa Wickramasinghe: Leaders now do the opposite of what kings used to do. Fucking dogs. This is a Sinhala country you bastards, do you understand? A Sinhala country...Sinhala...
Thusitha Krish: It is our monks that went there shouting and chanted prayers to cut the tree. The Muslims were unhappy to cut the tree which is why the built the mosque in a different place initially. You people don’t like that either. Why is it wrong that they follow their religion? In that area, there are three temples close together. The Muslims didn’t shout about having only one temple per village. This may be a Buddhist country but don’t say this kind of vile stupid thing!

Tharindu Dushyantha Perera: You may be a stupid cow but you don’t need to bellow
**Facebook Page 10**

**Date Accessed:** 12 April 2014

**Group name:** ආරක් විශ්වකාලීන විශේෂ කටයුතු. The Sinhala battle to Destroy Hambayo

**Date created:** 29 December 2012

**Affiliated website:** N/A

**Link:** [https://www.facebook.com/anti.hamba](https://www.facebook.com/anti.hamba)

**Page likes:** 327

**Date of post:** No posts during relevant period

**Profile image:**

![Profile image of Facebook Page 10](https://www.facebook.com/anti.hamba)
Facebook Page 11

Date Accessed: 05 April 2014

Profile name: Dimbulagala Dhammarathana Thero (Personal Profile)

Date created: N/A

Affiliated website: N/A

Link: https://www.facebook.com/dimbulagala.therro

Page likes: N/A

Profile Image:

Date of post: 06 August 2013

Post Likes: 67

Post Shares: 81

Post text: Image only
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Translation: N/A

Post Image:

Timeline Photos

Licence plate of the car indicates that the driver/owner of vehicle works for the Department of Archaeology.

Speech bubble —“We shut our mouths when you built a Mosque in the lands east of the Muhudu Maha Viharaya (Temple) so you must help us out as well boss....”

Number of comments: 0

Comments screen shots: N/A

Translation of comments: N/A
Date of post: 06 August 2013 – Post 2

Post Likes: 23

Post Shares: 57

Post text: Image only

Translation: N/A

Post Image:

Image translation: Dallus the garbage washerman. We are embarrassed at you sir for the greed of Muslim money which made you take a main role in building an extremist university for Hamba children in the East but you try to justify the death of a Sinhala child.

Worms will eat your mouth for the things you say

Number of comments: 0

Comments screen shots: N/A

Translation of comments: N/A
Image translation: the Sacred Bo tree cut and removed to make space for the Grandpass Mosque. Is this the fate of the Sri Maha Bodhiya? Meanwhile a monk has been beaten up in Colombo. Can a Buddhist monk not go to Colombo in this Buddhist country?
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Comments screen shots:
Translation of comments:

Athula Deshappriya: We’re not afraid of the Muslims sir!

Piyumi Wadinabiarachchi: Lighting will strike the Muslim

Sampath Sampth: Where are those multi-religious fuckers?

Bhagya Sandaruwan: is this the wonder of Asia? Disgusting Muslim bastard fuckers. There are too many different kinds in our country. The two bastard races are Tamils and Muslims. Both those have to be ousted from this country. They are the ones who create issues about racism. The people who have trouble then are the Sinhalese.

Chamara Indunil: May the Muslims be cursed! Fucking dogs, fucking bastards.

Dasun Tharindu: There are many ideas here. If we are doing this, we have to band together and attack. The ones in South Galle are ready. What do you say?
Facebook Page 12

**Date Accessed:** 10 April 2014

**Profile name:** Kudaligama Sudheera Thero

**Date created:** N/A

**Affiliated website:** N/A

**Link:** [https://www.facebook.com/kudaligama.sudheerathero](https://www.facebook.com/kudaligama.sudheerathero)

**Page likes:** N/A

**Date of post:** 12 August 2013

**Post Likes:** 105

**Post Shares:** 1448

**Post text:** මුසල්මානු පැමණක් පරිදි පූර්ව විශේෂ ආධාරයක් share කරන්න

**Translation:** Share this only if you are opposed to the Muslim Hambayas.

**Post Image:**

Image translation: Share this only if you are opposed to the Muslim Hambayas. Secret details of the Jihad Organization.
Number of comments: 4

Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

Colompure Sinhalaya: All Sinhalese must be racist

Sameera Madusanka: Definitely

Stel En: Inhuman Muslim monsters must be chased!
Image translation: Here is the Muslims fucking way of life

Because a Muslim woman loved a Sinhala youth, the woman was taken to the mosque beaten up and her hair cut off.

Share this so the idiots that still say we are racist see this
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Number of comments: 0
Comments screen shots: N/A
Translation of comments: N/A

Date of post: 02 August 2013 – Post 2
Post Likes: 173
Post Shares: 885

Post text: The men of Kuwait should be allowed to have Sex slaves. They can use their female slaves as sex slaves – Requests a member of the Kuwait parliament.

A female parliament representative in Kuwait asks that sexual slavery be made legal. She further suggested that the non-muslim female prisoners and female refugees could be used for this.

The woman named Salwa al-Mutairi says that this would be a good solution to help protect decent Kuwaiti men from adultery and protect family life.

She suggested that non-Muslim prisoners from war-torn countries could be bought and would make suitable sex slaves. She even suggested that it would be a better life for women in warring countries as the might die of starvation. Mutairi claimed: 'there was no shame in it and it is not haram' (forbidden) under Islamic Sharia law.

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Post Image:

**Image translation:** Legalize Sex slavery – A request by a female representative of the Kuwait parliament.

Non-Muslim prisoners from and refugees from warring countries could be purchased for sex slavery.

**Number of comments:** 86
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Comments screen shots:
Translation of comments:

Akash Thenuwara: Even there they choose women of other religions. This is their way of life? Whatever it is they want to do they should just do it with their own women...they are slowly going into the Stone Age. First, the men who couldn’t control their urged covered the women in sacks, now to stop the vulgar men from doing astray innocent women have to be sacrificed. Is this a woman?

Amila Pathirana: Yes, our fucking women also don’t have any peace until they go. They are embarrassed to go to a garment factory in their own country. However, they can go overseas and work for a beggar’s salary and become prostitutes free at the same time. Our neutered men will also just send the women.

Sanjeewa Pawantha: Can someone find me two Kuwaiti women to work in my house? I swear I will have queues outside right until the end of their contracts.

Asiri Jayanath: take a Muslim prostitute you arsehole... instead of taking other women. Whatever fucking thing they do is haram.

Rajapaksha Illangakoon Rajapaksha: Why? Don’t Muslim women have cunts?

Thush Ruwan: Can’t they send the person who said this here for a little while? Dog race...
Thirasara Dayantha: Similar words for Muslims- Brainless monsters, Metal buggers, Idiots, barbarians. This expression shows all about Islam. Sharia Law, Quran and Muslim women’s visions. These brainless monsters should know this world is not only for Muslims and should learn how to respect others. Sad to hear such a thing in 21th century. America/Israel please kills those barbarians for us we always stand with you for it.

Thilan Madusanka: First, they should sell this bitch… then it would all be over.

**Date of post:** 07 August 2013

**Post Likes:** 77

**Post Shares:** 1,831

**Post text:** බ්රිනල්ස්ස්ඩ මිරිස් පිරිම් පල්ලා

**Translation:** At least now boycott Etisalat

**Image translation:** Etisalat fools customers and pull money for Arabia. They are the main sponsors for mosques built in all towns. Scrapping money from the Sinhalese and building Muslims holes all over Sri Lanka. Sinhalese! Boycott Etisalat at least now,

**Number of comments:** 0

**Comments screen shots:** N/A

**Translation of comments:** N/A
Date of post: 09 August 2013

Post Likes: 0

Post Shares: 1,084

Post text: Image only

Translation: N/A

Post Image:

Timeline Photos

Image translation: Can you see how a Bangladeshi Muslim is beating a Buddhist monk; some faggots here still say that it is good to have all religions.

Number of comments: 0

Comments screen shots: N/A

Translation of comments: N/A

Date of post: 19 August 2013

Post Likes: 167

Post Shares: 395

Post text: Can you see how a Bangladeshi Muslim is beating a Buddhist monk; some faggots here still say that it is good to have all religions.

Translation: එක්ක යනුමක් කරන අබුම් රෝයිල් කැටයුතු කරන අශ්‍රීකාන්තියේ යනු අදාන යනායි. සොයා සොයා යුගී අධිරාජයි ඉංගී (LTTE) ක්‍රියාත්මකතාව, දේශපාලන අධිරාජයි
The Indian Times newspaper reports that three terrorist groups are working together. This coalition includes the LTTE, Lakshar-e-Taiba of Pakistan and Tehrik-i-Taliban. According to these new findings, it is said that there is a major threat to India. It was also revealed that the Pakistani organizations that are against India would carry out their terrorist activities through Sri Lanka. It is no secret that the goal of the Pakistani groups is an attack on India and the goal of the LTTE is to attack Sri Lanka. What else did these three groups form a coalition for other than to strengthen and support each other?

Until now the government has remained silent when they were told that Islamic terrorist organizations has bases in Sri Lanka, at least now upon reading this eye will finally open.

The government that has so far praised Islam and been silent will be flattened by that same Islamic terrorism.

If the authorities don’t open their eye at least now soon we will have a wonder more amazing than the 30-year history we have already had.

Translation: The Indian Times newspaper reports that three terrorist groups are working together. This coalition includes the LTTE, Lakshar-e-Taiba of Pakistan and Tehrik-i-Taliban. According to these new findings, it is said that there is a major threat to India. It was also revealed that the Pakistani organizations that are against India would carry out their terrorist activities through Sri Lanka. It is no secret that the goal of the Pakistani groups is an attack on India and the goal of the LTTE is to attack Sri Lanka. What else did these three groups form a coalition for other than to strengthen and support each other?

Until now the government has remained silent when they were told that Islamic terrorist organizations has bases in Sri Lanka, at least now upon reading this eye will finally open.

The government that has so far praised Islam and been silent will be flattened by that same Islamic terrorism.

If the authorities don’t open their eye at least now soon we will have a wonder more amazing than the 30-year history we have already had.
Image translation: The LTTE and two Islamic terrorist groups join. Will the eyes of the Government open at least now? A more amazing wonder that the 30-year war coming soon.

Number of comments: 14
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Comments screen shots:
Translation of comments:

Native Roshan: What a fool, can't they see that this is a lie?

Thushara Pushpakumara: If you love this country, Buddhism or at the very least, your children don’t vote for the Muslims. Don’t don’t don’t.

Amila Pathirana: Hambayas are collecting weapons for this reason. A truck full of weapons was found not because it fell from the sky. This terrorism that is struggling to appear must be completely stopped.

Sanjeeewani Namasinghe: Kill Muslims!!

Sinhala Kolla: Look how bent towards crime Muslims are. They are only 9.6% of the Sri Lankan population but they are 25% of the prison populations. The Hambayas who are not in prison living all around the country are also criminals.

Sanjeeewani Namasinghe: Go back to Saudi Arabia

Awishka de Zoysa: Look at FB there are lots of Muslims. Sinhalese look and make sure of them. Beat and chase them the Muslims.
Aruna Kannangara: What madness! The citizen’s eyes will open when we become the minority. Let’s see what our politicians who have been waiting like cows will say to us then

Pramod Kalinga: may lighting strike the sons of pig whom who’s ends have been cut

Pramod Kalinga: Know this! This is our country! We are not ready to bend over for you...we’d rather die killing...pig whom son! Mortgage Allah’s balls and build temples fucking dog... fuck off Islam!

Pramod Kalinga: Hamba fuckers know this... we won’t do whatever you want us to...This world has been struck so badly because of your Allahs extremist fucking faggot religion. There are wars wherever you go...fuckers who follow a stupid religion
Facebook Page 14

Date Accessed: 10 April 2014

Group name: Tharaperiye Gunarathana Thero

Link: https://www.facebook.com/tharaperiye.gunarathanathero

Page likes: N/A (personal profile)

Date of post: 12 August 2013

Post Likes: 22

Post Shares: 44

Post text: Image only

Translation: N/A
When Asad Sali was arrested, how much his daughter prayed for him to be saved? Because that didn’t work, you must remember how she was also praying in front of the Buddha. That’s why Asad Sali was released. The Buddha is the only relief when you are in trouble. Every Muslim woman must realize this.

Number of comments: 0

Comments screen shots: N/A

Translation of comments: N/A
Date Accessed: 04 April 2014

Group name: Ape Sinhala Kama - Page - අපේ සිංහලකම - පිටුව

Date created: 15 February 2013

Affiliated website: N/A

Link: N/A

Page likes: 2,176

Date of post: 01 August 2013

Post Likes: 25

Post Shares: 403

Post text: Image only

Translation: N/A
Post Image:

**Image translation:** Hambayin (Derogatory term for Muslims) Keep this in mind If we can’t build Buddhist Temples in Arabia then your Mosques aren’t allowed in Sri Lanka

**Number of comments:** 4
Translation of comments:

Hasitha Rathnayaka: Like this

Thilina Jayanidu: That's how we must be

Chamika Viranga: Definitely. Great comment.

Tarindu Kasun: Definitely...watch we'll smash it all.

**Date of post:** 08 August 2013

**Post Likes:** 32

**Post Shares:** 100

**Post text:** Image only

**Translation:** N/A
Post Image:

Image translation: Sinhalese, if we sleep any longer. We will not be able to protect our lion cubs from succumbing to these savages.

Number of comments: 4
Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

R.m.dinesh: Give into us. Know this we will not let you upset the blood of the motherland bastard...If you try to climb over us we are even ready to take your lives while losing our own.

Pamoda Anjana: Fuck Allah!

Nilam Malaka: Dog Hambaya!

Chamara Hewage: Sinhalese of this Sinhala country... open your eyes. We can't knowingly get into trouble. WE can't let it fall. We should chase the Hambayas from this country
Date of post: 08 August 2013 – Post 2

Post Likes: 25

Post Shares: 174

Post text: Image only

Translation: N/A

Image translation: Let's build a society in which Bahlahs (dogs) followers who the world considers a cancer are commonly acknowledged as disgusting

Number of comments: 0

Comments screen shots: N/A

Translation of comments: N/A
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Date of post: 13 August 2013
Post Likes: 18
Post Shares: 44
Post text: Image only
Translation: N/A

Post Image:

Image translation: Now you will sleep better... You murdered people who asked for water and allowed others to cut sacred trees and build mosques over them. This is embarrassing your highness.

Number of comments: 0
Comments screen shots: N/A
Translation of comments: N/A
Extraordinary! In Iran the president who holds the majority power and his ministers have banned all other religions instead of behaving like cowards, in order to safeguard their country, race and religion. We value this kind of behaviour. Sadly in this Buddhist nation mosques are mushrooming everywhere in an attempt better the grandeur of the Temple of the Sacred tooth...This will continue into the future and as Buddhists we will have to watch it and weep. Sinhalese please print and circulate this as much as possible.

Number of comments: 0

Comments screen shots: N/A

Translation of comments: N/A
Facebook Page 15

Date Accessed: 15 April 2013

Group name: Apith Sinhalayo අපිත් සිංහගයෝ - පිටුව

Date created: 01 March 2013

Affiliated website: N/A

Link: https://www.facebook.com/pages/%E0%B6%B4%E0%B7%92%E0%B6%AD%E0%B7%8A-%E0%B7%83%E0%B7%92%E0%B6%82%E0%B7%84%E0%B6%BA%E0%B7%9D-%E0%B6%B4%E0%B7%92%E0%B6%A7%E0%B7%94%E0%B7%80/131978586980588

Page likes: 1,794

Date of post: 05 August 2013

Post Likes: 105

Post Shares: 1,447

Post text: Image only

Translation: N/A

Post Image:
**Image translation:** Share this only if you are against Muslim Hambayas (Derogatory term for Muslims)

**Number of comments:** 4

**Comments screen shots:**

Translation of comments:

Colompure Sinhalaya: All Sinhalese should be racist

Sameera Madusanka: Definitely
Facebook Page 17

Date Accessed: 09 April 2014  
Group name: බර්මා - Chara Purusha  
Date created: 18 February 2013  
Affiliated website: N/A  
Link: https://www.facebook.com/CharaPurusha?ref=stream  
Page likes: 17,080  
Date of post: 07 August 2013  
Post Likes: 101  
Post Shares: 565  
Post text:  
ෙකුණු ආසියාවේ ඉස්ලාමීය විශාලතම  විද්‍යාලයයි. එක පිළිතුර පැහැති මෙම පසු වසරී 2001 වසරේදී ඉන්දියාව, පාකිස්ථානය, ඇමරිකාව, ඇක්සත් රාජධානිය, රුසියාව, ඒස්ට් ගර්ලියාව වැනි පැතිරුණුවන් ඉහත සම්බන්ධ කිරීමට ඇති අතිවිශාල ඇතිමත් මාල්දිවයින්, ආරක්ෂකත්ව සහ මෙන්හෝම්, මරා ඇති දකුණුවත්න් පිළිතුර ඇන්දීය ටානාපති ගෝබර්ට් විසින් යෝහකියා ගන්නාය. 2010 මාර්තු 27 මාසිනිම, ඉන්දියානුවද නැම්ඟි ද්වය එක්ක රාජකොටුරාජවංස කිරීමට ඇතිමත් දෙසේර්තිස්ටලියෝ පශ්‍රශ්කත්වය පහසුක්කා පරමාර්ථතාව, අරාමා, බැණිවීමයි, කාලය ලකු පවයු යෝහකියා ගන්නායට ලෙස සමාක්ෂේප කර ඇති අතිවිශාල පිළිබඳ දෝෂ ඉවත්තාන්ත ආරක්ෂකත්ව විසින් යෝහකියා ගන්නාය. සමාක්ෂේප කරීමට ඉදායිනිය නැගීමේදියේ 08 මාසයක් පිටියෙන් ඉවත්තාන්ත ආරක්ෂකත්ව විද්‍යාලයේදී ඉතිහාසික මෙම පිළිබඳ ප්‍රහාර උපකරණයේ කෙමවන් පරමාර්ථතාව ඇති අතිවිශාල පිළිබඳ වලින් ඉතිහාසික පිළිබඳ ආරක්ෂක කොටසේ පිළිබඳ. 2010 මාර්තු 27 මාසිනිම ඉතිහාසික පිළිබඳ ආරක්ෂක විද්‍යාලයේදී ඉවත්තාන්ත ආරක්ෂකත්ව ඇති අතිවිශාල පිළිබඳ වලින් ඉතිහාසික පිළිබඳ.
Translation: Lakshar-e-Toiba is South Asia’s largest active Islamic terrorist group. Is primarily supported by Pakistan. The group that is widely spread and militarily strong have killed large numbers of armies and civilians.

The group was responsible for the 2001 attack on the Indian parliament and 2008 attack in Mumbai. Those are only two examples.

Countries such as India, Pakistan, America, The United Kingdom, The European Union, Russia, and Australia deem Lakshar-e-Taiba a terrorist organization and have banned it.


The report was rejected by the Sri Lankan government on the basis that there was no proof of this terrorist activity in the country.

Similarly on the 8th of December Robert Blake an American Ambassador had warned Gotabhaya Rajapaksa about the impact this terrorist group could have on Sri Lanka. The reply then was that the necessary measures have been taken to find information on the matter.

The Indian intelligence unit has revealed a few days ago that Lakshar-e-Toiba has set up a base in Jaffna.

So will those responsible remain silent?

Instead of running after an unarmed patriots the security unit should be alerted of this to protect the country, it’s the best you can do.
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Post Image:

Image translation: South Asia’s largest terrorist organization now in Sri Lanka. Why are authorities silent?

Number of comments: 11
Translation of comments:

Rasika Rathnayaka: It’s ok if you kept your mouth shut about Weliweriya, but our monks need to speak up about this. I can’t understand why there is a delay

Prasanna Kumara: No problem they give money...even if the country is struck by lightning Rajapaksa just wants money

Gayan Wickramasinghe: Nobody is silent. This is just the silence before it starts.

Amila Pathirana: Faggot Prophets fucking followers there will be no relief until they are eradicated from the world

Nanayakkara Duminda Malsiri: @rasika Fool, the monks speak every time a Buddhist dies. How would you who never go to a funeral know that? When you die, they will wrap you up in a straw mat and send you for burial within 24 hours.
Facebook Page 18

**Date Accessed:** 12 April 2014

**Group name:** Lions Blood

**Date created:** 01 August 2013

**Affiliated website:** N/A

**Link:** [https://www.facebook.com/newlionsblood.lk](https://www.facebook.com/newlionsblood.lk)

**Page likes:** 84

**Date of post:** 01 August 2013

**Post Likes:** 42

**Post Shares:** 254

**Post text:** Image only

**Translation:** N/A

**Post Image:**

*Image translation:* The invasion of the Muslims. It could be your city...your village...next!
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Number of comments: 7

Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

Pamodaya Anjana: Come our way...we'll skin the Hamba fuckers

Viraj Jayananda: Not another village, or town. Don’t let it happen boys!

Chamara Hewage: Mother fucking Sinhala Sri Lanka then and now. Just like Black July, obliterate them. Where’s the Sinhala roar

Pamodya Anjana: Fuck Allah in the arse

Pamodya Anjana: we've been idle long enough man...It’s time to get our swords and batons and get out on the street

Asela Nuwan Kumara Nuwan: Tell the Hamba fuckers to come to Ambilipitiya, we’ll line up Allah and his mother and fuck them

Pamodya Anjana: Don’t man. Don’t know what will happen to us if we fuck them...We should just chop their heads off
Date Accessed: 10 April 2014

Group name: අපියවනුයවන් අපි - Api Wenuwen Api

Date created: N/A

Affiliated website: N/A

Link: https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100006220023674

Page likes: N/A

Date of post: 21 August 2013

Post Likes: 107

Post Shares: 76

Post text: නොවාරු ඉතිහාසික පිරිවිස්තමාව අභිඳුම කිරීමක් ගනොවන් මතකරන් මේම!

Translation: Kindly take note that this is not an attempt to offend dogs

Post Image:
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

Image translation:

Because of the destruction caused to our country by foreigners, we name our dog's foreign names...this suited those times.

Now the most destruction caused to our country is by ...

Because of Hambayas, I changed our dog's name to Mohomad.

Name the dogs Ismail, Hammed, Mohomad etc.
Then you can call say Mohomad ejah (sound commonly used to call animals in Sri Lanka) when you call it

A dog's name to suit the times

Number of comments: 15

Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

Our dogs name is Farooq. He spends all his times going after little bitches. He howls every evening and if that's not enough you can never find him on a Friday afternoon. Therefore, I gave him the more appropriate name.

Pradeep Perera: It's not dogs we should name but pigs...

Scooby Doo: It's an insult to dogs

Ukku Banda: great great

Sadeep Lakranga: Sin man. Don't give innocent dogs these faggot names. It's a shame to name dog's savage hamba names.

Tharindu Dushyantha Perera: Fucking Hambayas are nothing like foreigners... Giving dogs hamba names is an insult to dogs...
Date Accessed: 05 April 2013

Group name: Helabodu Balakaya

Date created: N/A

Affiliated website: N/A

Link: https://www.facebook.com/sinahalabodu.balakaya

Page likes: N/A

Date of post: 13 August 2013

Post Likes: 29

Post Shares: 562

Post text: දෙළෙන් කොහොමද මෙහෙයි මෙහෙයි විශේෂීම් දෙවි.
නිවාසයේ මෙහෙයි මෙහෙයි මෙහෙයි මෙහෙයි.

Translation: Now you see the bloody hamba way. Stop going to Hamba shops. Buying Hamba products.

Post Image:
Image translation:

- Avoid buying Halal products
- Avoid buying thing from Muslim shops
- Avoid selling land to Muslims
- Avoid renting shops out to Muslims
- Commit yourself on behalf of the Sinhala race

Number of comments: 74

Comments screen shots:

Translation of comments:

Senadhi Koshan Subasinghe: We are committed

Vikum darshana: Great talk man

Amila Pathirana: Bloody Mahinda’s Muslim ministers have no feeling towards this country. We must unite for this country. If there are Muslims in this country, they must respect the Sinhala race and Buddhism. Otherwise, they must be ousted.

Mohammadh Ali: In your dreams?

Amila Pathirana: No Mohomad these days there are no dreams. Because your mother will not let me sleep until daybreak.

Mohammadh Ali: Is that also a dream?

Ahamad Musthafa: This is what it is like when you get a taste of a Muslim woman, you do not get any sleep. That is Allah’s will.
Liking violence: A study of hate speech on Facebook in Sri Lanka
September 2014

The Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA) is an independent, non-partisan organization that focuses primarily on issues of governance and conflict resolution. Formed in 1996 in the firm belief that the vital contribution of civil society to the public policy debate is in need of strengthening, CPA is committed to programmes of research and advocacy through which public policy is critiqued, alternatives identified and disseminated.

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