

The *Khalsa* and the Non-*Khalsa* within the Sikh Community in Malaysia

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Abstract

In the pluralistic society of Malaysia, the Sikh community are categorised as an ethnic minority. They are considered as a community that share the same religion, culture and language. Despite of these similarities, they have differences in terms of their obedience to the Sikh practices. The differences could be recognized based on their division into two distinctive groups namely *Khalsa* and non-*Khalsa*. The *Khalsa* is distinguished by baptism ceremony called as *amrit sanskar*, a ceremony that makes the *Khalsa* members bound to the strict codes of five *karkas* (5K), adherence to four religious prohibitions and other Sikh practices. On the other hand, the non-*Khalsa* individuals have flexibility to comply with these regulations, although the Sikhism requires them to undergo the *amrit sanskar* ceremony and become a member of *Khalsa*. However the existence of these two groups does not prevent them from working and living together in their religious and social spheres. This article aims to reveal the conditions of the Sikh community as a minority living in the pluralistic society in Malaysia. The method used is document analysis and interviews for collecting data needed.

Keywords: Sikhism; *Khalsa*; *amrit sanskar*, Guru Gobind Singh

Introduction

In Malaysia as a multi ethnicity society, the Sikh community is categorised as an ethnic minority. Their history, culture, language and religion are distinct from the Tamil community despite coming from the same subcontinent, which is India (Azharudin, 2002). The Sikhs' migration to Malaysia as a minority, however, has not deterred them from living harmoniously alongside the three main racial groups in Malaysia, which are the Malays, Chinese and Indians. Furthermore, the Sikh community has contributed greatly to the socio-economic prosperity of Malaysia (Darshan S. Gill, 2009; Kuldip K., 2002).

As a minority community with its own culture and religion, the Sikh community is a subject of interest among few academic researchers, especially in the fields of social sciences and comparative religions. However, there is little recognition towards such studies (Azharudin, 2002). According to Sarjit S. Gill (2002), the reason for this is their minority status. Another

possible reason, according to Sarjit S. Gill, is that the community is not represented in any Malaysian university department as compared to other racial groups who are being studied under the Academy of Malay Studies, the Department of Indian Studies and the Department of Chinese Studies at the University of Malaya. In addition, the weak leadership within the Sikh community could also be a contributing factor to the limited study.

The aforementioned factors have thus made it difficult for other communities to understand their unique circumstances in Malaysia. Even worse still is that the public also confuses the Sikhs with the Bengalis because they had, in the past, migrated to Malaysia (formerly Malaya) on a ship from a port in Bangla, India. This was why the Sikhs from there were called the Bengalis (Azrul, 2012). The limited studies on the community have also resulted in their being known only through their turbans and long beards. In fact, wearing the turban and keeping the long beards are only for the religiously committed members of a group known as the *Khalsa*. The *Khalsa* members are devoted to other aspects of the Sikh practices such as wearing the 5K symbols, baptism, and adherence to the four Sikh religious prohibitions, among other practices.

In such matters, questions can be raised about the Sikhs who do not wear the 5K, have not undergone baptism, and who break the four prohibitions: are they are part of the *Khalsa*? Are they given flexibility to practice their religion? What is the relationship between the two groups in the Sikh community in Malaysia? This article attempts to divulge the history of the Sikhs' migration to Malaysia, the history of the establishment of the *Khalsa*, the *Khalsa's* status in the Sikh religion, and the relationship between *Khalsa* and non-*Khalsa* within the Sikh community in Malaysia.

Methodology

This study employed qualitative methods which are textual and content analysis based on primary, secondary and tertiary sources including academic writings from some relevant books, journals, theses and paper work. In addition, as a research paper, the researchers went to fieldwork to collect data using interviews with two key informants namely Pritam Singh, the former president of the Sikh Naujawan Sabha Malaysia at Tititwangsa, Pahang and Dr. Taran Singh, a Sikh scholar at Gurdwara Singh at Kota Bharu in Kelantan. It was very significant to ensure the findings more reliable while analyzing the current context of phenomenon based on the primer data from the authentic sources.

Results and Discussion

The Migration of Sikhs to Malaysia

The migration of the Sikhs, from the Punjab in the Southeast Asia region, begun during the British colonial period, which was between 1880s to 1920s. Malaysia and Singapore were among two of the Southeast Asia countries for the early Sikh settlers during the British colonial rule in Malaya (Sarjit S. Gill, 2005). In Malaysia, a majority of the Sikhs were of Punjabi descent, a community from the Punjab region of northern India. Punjab is now split into two regions: one in Pakistan and the other in India. In the Punjab region, a majority of the Sikhs came from five locations: Mahja, Malwa, Main Doabia, Doabia dan Pothohar Sikh (Azrul, 2012).

The history of the Sikhs' migration from India to other countries, including to Malaya, occurred during the British colonialism period in the nineteenth century. Their migration was an outcome of several events in India that included the British employment and liberal immigration policies that attracted them to migrate to Malaya and other Southeast Asian countries in search of opportunities. Furthermore, the state of affairs in India, which included the shortage of land, population density and the frequent natural disasters, impelled the Sikhs to migrate to other countries (Wan Ramli 2010; Harpreet K, 2011).

Two migration phases of the Sikhs to Malaya are apparent: in the first phase, the migration was a result of the displacement of two political prisoners from India, Bhai Maharaj Singh and his follower Karak Singh, in July 1850. This migration was then followed by several exiled Sikh political leaders who were also sent to Malaya. In the second phase, the migration of Sikhs to Malaya was a result of their involvement in the British security force where many were assigned as police officers to protect the region under the British rule (Azrul, 2012).

The first migration centre for the earliest Sikh community was the police barracks and the tin mines. It was there that the Sikhs built a synagogue, known as the gurdwara, which also became the centre for their religious activities. The first gurdwara in Malaya was built according to the working class' needs. The first gurdwara in Malaya, built by the Sikh police officers in 1890, was located nearby the police barracks in the state of Selangor, followed by another built in 1898 in Klang. Then another was constructed in the Police Headquarter on the High Street in 1904. Several other police gurdwara followed suit, which included the Police Gurdwara in Penang, Ipoh, and the Gurdwara Police Depot and the Gurdwara Police Sahib Parliament in Kuala Lumpur (Sarjit S. Gill, 2005).

At the end of the First World War, the number of Sikh immigrants to Malaya increased. Many Sikh people were employed in the security forces, became police officers, moneylenders, cattle breeders, and others. For the security officers whose services in the country expired, they were given two alternatives: either to return to Punjab, or make a living in another country (Harpreet K, 2011). According to Manickam (2009), however, many chose to continue living in Malaya. Thus, their number of Sikhs migration grew onwards beginning from the 1930s until they made Malaya their permanent residence. In the beginning, they formed a community on the West Coast of Malaya in Selangor, Penang, Perak and Wilayah Persekutuan, where they settled in the cities of Ipoh, Taiping, Kuala Lumpur and Seremban (Wan Ramli, 2010). Although their migration to Malaya began in Penang, most of their resettlement happened in Taiping Perak and later in Ipoh. Ipoh became the centre of the Sikhs' growing population in Malaysia, especially after the establishment of the oldest Sikh organisation called the *Khalsa Diwan* (Azrul, 2012).

Today, the Sikh community has become part of the Malaysian plural society. However, because of their minority status, the exact number of Sikhs in Malaysia are not recorded. According to the 2010 census issued by the Department of Statistics Malaysia, the exact statistics on the Sikh population is unavailable. They are grouped together with the other minority communities, or are categorised in groups as 'other' religion (www.statistics.gov.my). Nevertheless, a few data was found such as the official data from the Government of India that stated that 50,000 Sikhs are in Malaysia (Harjinder, 2010). Another data from the Malaysian

Gurdwara Council (MGC) reported that approximately 170,000 Sikhs are in Malaysia. Meanwhile, according to Pritam Singh (personal communication, November 13, 2014) the former president of the Sikh Naujawan Sabha Malaysia, there are approximately 100,000 Sikhs in Malaysia. Although there are discrepancies among the data, the numbers point to the fact that the Sikh community in Malaysia is a minority group.

The History of *Khalsa*

According to the history of the Sikhs, the establishment of *Khalsa* is an important event especially during the time of the final guru, Guru Gobind Singh (1675-1708). According to historical records, this occasion occurred on March 29, 1699, in a fortress named Bhaini located in the Anandpur town in the foothills of the Himalayan Mountains (Banerjee, 1983). It is here that the baptism ceremony, performed by Guru Gobind Singh, took place (Sherrat & Hawkins, 1972). At the ceremony, Sikhs from all over India were invited to attend. At the gathering, Guru Gobind Singh requested the lives of five individuals from among his followers as proof of their loyalty to the Sikh religion (Bailey, 1992). The offer was taken up by five individuals until finally Guru Gobind Singh came out of his tent with a bloodstained sword. The blood was not the blood of his five followers but it was the blood of a goat made to test their loyalty to the Sikh religion (Hari Ram Gupta, 1996).

Afterwards, Guru Gobind Singh began the *amrit sanskar* ceremony by drinking water, mixed with honey, in an iron cup. This concoction is called *amrit* (Aman Daima, 2001). The honey added to the water is a symbol of love that Guru Gobind Singh wanted to impart to his followers (Fields 1976). Drinking the honey water (the '*amrit shakna*') is a requirement for a person to be accepted into the *Khalsa* (Banerjee, 1962). Sharing the drink from the same container is a symbolic reminder of absolving any caste and status differences among them (Sherrat & Hawkins, 1972; Dhavan, 2010).

When they finished their honey drink (*amrit*), they were given the 5K or five symbols. The K stood for each symbol which began with the letter K: *Kesh* (hair), *Kangha* (comb), *Kirpan* (sword), *Kachera* (pants) and *Kara* (steel bangle) (Jain, 1985). This practice is an important requirement for Sikhs as it symbolises their genuine faith in Sikhism (Sarjit S. Gill, 2008). Then, five persons were given the title '*Panj Piare*' which means 'five beloved ones' (Banerjee, 1983). They were later named by Guru Gobind Singh with the name 'Singh', which means 'lion' for males, and 'Kaur', which means 'princess' for women, as their surnames (Fields, 1976).

After the *amrit sanskar* ceremony ended, Guru Gobind Singh permitted the five individuals to perform the same ritual on him. This was followed by performing the same ritual by other followers. Within a few days, 80,000 people were baptised. This was achieved in a short time because the five *Panj Piare* came from different regions in India therefore they were able to perform the ritual quickly (Gopal S, 1971; Jain, 1985). However, according to Bailey (1992) all 80,000 Sikhs who went to *Keshgarh* were baptised by Guru Gobind Singh himself. The overwhelming responses indicated that the *amrit sanskar* ceremony was enthusiastically accepted and the people were eager to fulfil Guru Gobind Singh's request to make *Khalsa* as their identity.

The Origin of *Khalsa*

There are two opinions concerning the origin of the word *Khalsa*. The first opinion is that the word is derived from an Arabic word that is *Khalis* which means clean, pure, genuine and authentic. The emphasis is on the concept of honesty, sincerity and security in religion. In terms of writing, the word *Khalsa* consists of five Arabic letters, which are Kha, Alif, Lam, Sad and Alif or (خَالِصًا) (Archer, 1971; Avtar S. Dhaliwal, 2001 & Nikky-Sarinder K. Singh, 2005).

Nevertheless, this first opinion can be disputed for several reasons. The first is the use of the Arabic language itself. However, this might be true because of the set of meanings it carries (holy, clean and pure) as asserted by Archer (1971) who also said that Guru Gobind Singh had learned Arabic language. From the aspect of writing, however, it does not match the Arabic written system. If the word *Khalsa* was derived from the word 'Khalis' (خَالِص) then 'Khalis' should be derived from the original word. The original word is presented in the past tense (*fi'il madhi*) because it is the fundamental root for the construction of an Arabic word. According to Madkur (1980), the origin of the word 'Khalis' is '*khalasa*' (خَلَصَ) which means pure or clean. From this word, other nouns or verbs are derived (*masdar*), namely *khulus* (خُلُوص), *khilas* (خِلَاص) and *khalas* (خَلَاص). Thus, it is clear that the word *Khalsa* (خَالِصًا) is not derived from the word '*khalasa*' therefore proving that it is not derived from Arabic as claimed. Secondly, based on the method of reading the Arabic word, the word (خَالِصًا) should be read with *khalisan* (خَالِصًا) not *Khalsa* (خَالِصًا). Perhaps this reading is intentionally made to conform to the number five enclosed within the word *Khalsa* i.e. Kha, Alif, Lam, Sad and Alif.

The second opinion regarding the origin of the word *Khalsa* is that it comes from the Persian language. It also consists of five letters of KH (خ), A (ا), L (ل), S (ص) and A (ا) (Hari Ram Gupta 1997). From this, the Persian word *Khalsa* is also (خَالِصًا), which is also similar to Arabic as claimed in the first opinion.

From these two opinions, it is convinced that the second opinion is true based on arguments put forth by Mathew (2008) and Harpreet K. (2011) who stated that the word Punjab, which is also the birthplace of the Sikh religion, is derived from the Persian language. Furthermore, Guru Gobind Singh has a reverence for the Persian language and has extensive knowledge of Persian poems. In addition, the written and reading aspect convinces the writer that the word *Khalsa* comes from Persian and not Arabic.

Based on the aforementioned opinions, an interesting matter to be highlighted is the relationship between *Khalsa* to number five. It appears to be symbolically significant in the Sikh religion. The actual number five carries a particular meaning and significance in the Sikh religion for its relationship with the Punjab state. In terms of the original word, the word Punjab is derived from the Persian language. It consists of two syllables, namely 'Punj' meaning five and 'ab' meaning water. Thus, the word Punjab means the land with five rivers; the rivers of Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej (Sewa, 2005; Satwant K. Rait, 2005 & Mathew, 2008). Based on the number five, many other specific elements in the Sikh religion are associated with it. Among them are the 5K's or five symbols (*panj kekaar*), *panj piare* (the five beloved), the five sprinkling of water in the *amrit sanskar* ceremony and the use of five types of weapons (*panj hathiar*) used by the Sikhs in the battle of swords, arrows, disk, trap and pistol (Pashaura S, 2010).

Objectives of *Khalsa* Establishment

The establishment of *Khalsa* in the Sikh religion fulfils several objectives. From the historical perspective of the Sikh religion and politics, the aim was to resist the tyranny of the Moghul Empire who forced the Sikh and Hindu to convert to Islam. They fought for the rights to religious freedom (Hari Ram Gupta, 1996), and they wanted evoke the spirit of heroism and courage to defend the adherents of the Sikh religion (Buck, 1917).

The first objective is more relevant the post-Guru Arjan era (1581-1606), which was during the time of Guru Gobind Singh. However, the purpose is no longer relevant to the current times especially since the Moghul Empire no longer exists.

The second objective is to reject the caste system in Hinduism and to defend the concept of equality. Within the caste system, the Hindus are divided by ethnicity. The Brahmans are at the highest level of the hierarchy and possess power over the social life and structure. They were neither just nor sympathetic towards other castes. It is a life system that is contradicted to the Guru Nanak's teachings (1469-1539), and it was what Guru Gobind Singh wanted to eradicate through the establishment of the *Khalsa* sect (Bailey, 1992 & Griffin, 1901). By studying the first and second objectives of the *Khalsa* establishment, it is clear that Guru Gobind Singh was a man who was devoted to protecting the Sikh followers from other religious influences like Hinduism and Islam at the time (Sarjit S. Gill, 2005).

The third objective is to establish a genuine brotherhood among the Sikhs (Sarjit S. Gill, 2008) where being a *Khalsa* gave them equality (Hari Ram Gupta, 1996). In other words, members of the *Khalsa* were given equal rights to practice the religion regardless of birth, occupation and gender. The fourth objective is to get closer to their god that is called as *Waheguru* (Sarjit S. Gill, 2008). Both these objectives seem to be more suited to the current times, especially post-Guru Gobind Singh era where the Sikhs are no longer facing the Moghul Empire threats and attacks. Furthermore, the Sikhs are now spreading across the globe, including in Malaysia, to form their own communities. The establishment of *Khalsa* promotes the Sikhs to get closer to their god and strengthen their identity.

Thus, the establishment of *Khalsa* by Guru Gobind Singh can be viewed from two aspects. The first is, he describes his efforts to liberate the Sikhism from being associated with Islam and Hinduism, even though history showed that there was indeed the influence of both religions on Sikhism such as the monotheism doctrine and the Karmic Law. The second aspect is that it reveals his determination to create a Sikh community that was distinct from other faiths and communities, with its own characteristics like brotherhood and equality as a form of drawing them closer to god.

The Status of *Khalsa* within Sikhism

Generally, the public regards the Sikhs as one community who shares the same religion, culture, language and identity. The titles 'Singh' for males and 'Kaur' for women in their names also reveal the bond shared among them. However, history shows that within them, they have several different groups, which includes the *Khalsa*, *Udasis*, *Namdhari*, *Nirankari* and *Akalis*. These groups have differences in beliefs and practices, even though they belong to the same

Sikh community called the '*Panth*' (Mahayudin, 1989; Pritam S, 1975; Leohlin, 1964; Opinderjit, 2005).

Among these groups, the *Khalsa* is regarded as 'a true Sikh' and a representative of the Sikh identity. This view is based on the definition of Sikh in 'Who is a Sikh' by the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC)¹ namely:

Any human being who faithfully believes in One Immortal Being, ten Gurus from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh, the Guru Granth Sahib, the utterances and teachings of the ten Gurus and the baptism bequeathed by the tenth Guru and who does not owe allegiance to any other religion is a Sikh.

(Opinderjit, 2005; Devinder, 2008)

In the Sikh community, the definition above refers to a group of people who underwent the *Khalsa* baptism ceremony called the *amrit sanskar*. The *amrit sanskar* is similar to the Christian baptism² (Opinderjit, 2005; Sarjit S. Gill, 2005). It is the concept of self-preparation made by Sikhs without coercion (Seth, 2005). Any Sikhs who undergo the *amrit sanskar* automatically becomes members of the *Khalsa* where they are required to wear the 5K symbols. The symbols comprise five symbols that start with the letter K for *Kesh* (long hair), *Kara* (steel bangle), *Kirpan* (small sword), *Kachera* (pants) and *Kangha* (comb) that represents the official external identity of a Sikh. Among the five symbols, the *Kesh* is considered to be the most important symbol especially in its care and maintenance. This is expressed by wearing the turban to cover their long hair (*Kesh*) (Aman Daima, 2001).

The *amrit sanskar* ceremony is therefore a manifestation of a Sikh's willingness to sacrifice his life to uphold the religion. This also means that Sikhs who is the member of the *Khalsa* brotherhood have bound himself to the strict *Khalsa* code of conduct (Kuldip K, 2002). This also means that for the Sikhs who have underwent the *amrit sanskar*, becoming a member of the *Khalsa* brotherhood demonstrates their readiness to observe all teachings and practices of Sikhism.

Among the teachings is the adherence to the four prohibitions called *Char Kurahit*: which are cutting hair, eating *halal* meat (Muslim method of slaughtering), smoking and committing adultery or having sexual misconduct with a woman who is not his wife (Opinderjit, 2005). Those who violate any four prohibitions are considered as '*patit*', which means 'apostate' or 'deviant'. If the *patit* wants to become a *Khalsa* again and want to wear the 5K as his official identity, he must undergo the *amrit sanskar* ceremony again (Devinder, 2008). Furthermore, the *Khalsa* members must ensure that their income is earned through hard work. Their earnings are then shared with the needy and less fortunate. Therefore, the *Khalsa*

¹ Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) is the supreme body of the Sikhism which is located in Punjab, India. SGPC is responsible for managing the gurdwara, security, finances and maintains the Sikh holy artifacts such as weapons, clothing, books and writings of the Sikh Gurus. SGPC also sponsors and manages various educational institutions, hospitals and charitable organisations for Sikhs in Punjab and elsewhere in India. Thus, SGPC is a reference for the whole world because the Punjab gurdwara is a major source of identity formation in Sikhism.

² The use of the word baptism to translate *amrit sanskar* as found in some books translated in English is inaccurate because baptism is associated to Christianity while *amrit sanskar* is used only in Sikhism.

members are responsible in contributing *daswandh*, which is ten per cent of their income should be given to any gurdwara institution, association or Sikh organisation in order to help the poor and the needy (Sarjit S. Gill, 2005; Daljeet S, 1992; Singha HS, 2005).

Khalsa and non-Khalsa within the Sikh Community in Malaysia

Punjab, India is the birthplace of the Sikh religion. Approximately 70% of the overall Sikhs population reside in Punjab. The rest are spread around the world and have formed their own diaspora, including in Malaysia (Harjinder, 2010). Generally, the Sikh community in Malaysia can be divided into two groups: the *Khalsa* and non-*Khalsa*. Between the two groups, the majority are non-*Khalsa*. The *Khalsa* is a minority with lesser members within the Sikh community. The Sikhs associations like the Sikh Naujawan Sabha and the Malaysian Gurdwara Council (MGC) have no record of the number of Sikhs who have become members of *Khalsa* (Pritam S., personal communication, November 13, 2014).

The distinguishing factor between the two groups is the *amrit sanskar* ceremony. In the Sikh religion, the *amrit sanskar* is an obligation for all Sikhs. Nevertheless, this depends on the willingness of the individual to undergo the process. There are no limits when it comes to time or age, which was why some chose to become a *Khalsa* in their adolescences, adulthood or in their old age. For some youths, they typically undergo the *amrit sanskar* during the annual Samelan programme (youth camp). The programme is organised by the association called the Sikh Naujawan Sabha in order that the younger generation can engage in the various activities to enhance their understanding of the religion. Normally at the end of the programme, the *amrit sanskar* ceremony is held for them to become members of the *Khalsa* (Sarjit S. Gill, 2007). However, some Sikhs choose to become members of *Khalsa* and undergo the *amrit sanskar* at their old age because they were facing challenges during their adolescence period (Taran S., personal communication, September 12, 2014).

Becoming a true member of *Khalsa* in the Malaysian plural society is not an easy matter. Many obstacles and challenges need to be overcome to maintain their pure *Khalsa* identity. In this case, factors like religious patterns, the local culture and the western culture that brings with it different lifestyles, values and philosophies become a challenge. This is especially apparent for the past 40 years. The clash of cultures leads to less adherence to the basic teachings of Sikhism (Khoo Kay Kim, 2002).

Within the Sikh community in Malaysia, there are no apparent differences between the *Khalsa* and the non-*Khalsa*. This is because the *Khalsa* and non-*Khalsa* are equal in status. This is based on the teachings of the Sikhism that states that all human beings are equal regardless of religion, ethnicity and gender. Thus, they eat the same food and pray in the same way (Pritam S., personal communication, November 13, 2014). Furthermore, in terms of the preparation of becoming a *Khalsa*, the physical and mental preparations are more important than the pursuit of the *Khalsa* status itself that binds them to their religious teachings, prohibitions (*char kurahit*) and the strict code of conduct. This is why many are neither prepared to become a *Khalsa* nor to undergo the *amrit sanskar*, despite already wearing the complete 5K symbols and the adherence to *char kurahit*. In one family, the parents who are *Khalsa* do not force their

children to become a *Khalsa*. The children have right and freedom of choice, and this depends on how the parents have brought up their children (Taran S., personal communication, September 12, 2014)

In addition to their upbringing, the weakness of the gurdwara institute and the *Granthi Sahib* (priest) in strengthening the Sikhs identity have also contributed to the lack of interest among the youths to become members of *Khalsa* (Sarjit S. Gill, 2005).

It is found that the Sikh community in Malaysia do not make the existence of the *Khalsa* and the non-*Khalsa* as a hindrance to live together as one community. Creating a division between the two groups can actually break the unity among them, especially since they are a minority community. Even the position of *Khalsa* as true Sikhs who are obedient to the teachings of the Guru has not caused the non-*Khalsa* Sikh community to feel alienated. This is also because there is more non-*Khalsa* than *Khalsa* members. During the celebration of the Vaisakhi Day, which is the birth of *Khalsa*, the Sikhs celebrated it together at the gurdwara regardless of members or not. In this matter, the outside world regards them as a unified community without any distinctions among them.

Conclusion

In a pluralistic society like Malaysia, the understanding and unity among the races and different faiths are keys to fostering a harmonious country. For minority communities, like the Sikh community, their internal cooperation is crucial for their survival whereby they do not have any other alternatives but to become united within their own community. On the other hand, for the majority communities, their understanding of other religious communities may indirectly pave the way to more dialogues among other faiths and ethnics. Therefore, the government's rigorous efforts in fostering respect and tolerance among the races should be supported by all individuals who are living in Malaysia. This is for the sake of promoting racial and religious harmony in this country.

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