



Declaration Of Malaysia As An Islamic State In The Era Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad's Governance: Implications Towards Political Economics In Islamic Ways

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ABSTRACT: During Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's tenure as the Prime Minister of Malaysia, he once declared that Malaysia is an Islamic state. This declaration is the apex of TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad's resolution to establish an Islamic political economy. However, there are others who believed that this declaration is done in order to get the political support of Malay Muslims. From the above statement, is it true that this declaration have an impact on political economies towards Islam? This article is written to examine and analyze the implications of the proclamation of the Islamic State by Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad towards the development of Islamic political economies in Malaysia. The data is gathered through literature and content analysis methods. Literature method is used to gather the secondary data, while content analysis method is done to analyze the data. The result of the analysis is made after Malaysia is declared as an Islamic state and it affected the political economic in this nation in Islamic ways. In terms of economic implications towards Islam, he managed to further reassure people to choose Islamic banks such as Bank Islam Malaysia Berhad. In terms of political implication in Islamic ways, Institut Kefahaman Islam Malaysia (IKIM) was established by TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad to provide an understanding towards the socio-political of Islamic to the public. In addition, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) and Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia (USIM) were also established to provide better understanding of the essential of Islamic education from basic level to students in order to lead the Muslim community and develop the development of Islam in Malaysia.

Keywords: Declaration of Islamic state, The Development of Islam in Malaysia, Implication, Islamic Political Economy

INTRODUCTION:

Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad¹ had declared Malaysia an Islamic state on 29th September 2001 in his speech during the 'Majlis Perasmian Persidangan Perwakilan Ke-30 Parti Gerakan Malaysia' (Kamarudin Salleh, 2006:79).

"UMNO would like to state outright that Malaysia is an Islamic state. This opinion is based on the opinions of many ulama' in the past who have explained what is Islamic state. For our general knowledge, a scholar had written a book titled "Malaysia is an Islamic state" (Kamarudin Salleh, 2006:80).

This declaration has caused a lot of confusion, especially to those who still don't understand the definition of Islamic

state. Some of the questions asked during the confusion is does this declaration is a way to get the votes of ethnic Malay Muslims only? What's the effect of this declaration towards the development of Islam in Malaysia? Is the declaration of an Islamic state by TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad is one of his resolution to develop the Islamic political economy (IPE) in Malaysia?

To answer these three questions, this article is written to examine and analyze the implications of the proclamation of the Islamic state by TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad on the development of EPI in Malaysia. This article is divided into two parts. Firstly, Malaysia as an Islamic state; and secondly, the implications of the declaration of the Islamic state by Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad to the EPI in Malaysia.

MALAYSIA AS AN ISLAMIC STATE

Before Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad declared Malaysia an Islamic state, he have efforts to implement various Islamic aspects in the development of the nation. These efforts strengthened the perception that Malaysia will be declared as an Islamic state. It started from the development of Islamic politics and economics in Malaysia. In terms of Islamic politics, to expand the development of Islam, Tun

¹ TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad was the Fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia Malaysia and hold the record for the longest governance tenure, which is 22 years. He was sworn in as Prime Minister in the presence of His Majesty Yang Dipertuan Agong Ke-VII after Tun Hussein Onn resigned because of health reasons in 1981 (S. Hashim Ahmad, 2003:14-15).



Dr. Mahathir Mohamad accepted Anwar Ibrahim's² entry into Umno on March 29th, 1982. At that time, Anwar Ibrahim received strong supports from AngkatanBelia Islam Malaysia (ABIM)³ (Hassan Hamzah, 1990:63; Mahathir Mohamad, 2012:469). TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad himself acknowledged that Anwar Ibrahim's entry will benefit UMNO. Many believed that Anwar Ibrahim can contribute greatly to the party even though his opinion clashed with TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad (Mahathir Mohamad, 2012:467-470).

There are other reasons why Anwar Ibrahim was accepted into UMNO; he was a young leader and had a large number of followers (Mahathir Mohamad, 2012: 468). Moreover, even though Anwar Ibrahim is clearly fighting for Islam, he is also ready to accept opinions from the non-Muslims. In fact, he is also referred to as a major leader of Islam among non-Muslim leaders (Mahathir Mohamad, 2012). Even so, there are those who believed that the inclusion of Anwar Ibrahim into UMNO is because of certain agendas. Zainuddin Maidin (2002) believed that the reason Anwar Ibrahim was put into UMNO is because of political strategy. The strategy is to trim from beginning the Islamic intellectual community's potential to be an extreme coalition in Malaysia. Mahathir Mohamad (2012: 468) also argued that the inclusion of Anwar Ibrahim into UMNO can at least soften a bit ABIM's stand against the government at that time. At least he can affect a bit of ABIM's movement. In addition, diplomatic relations between Malaysia and other Muslim countries in the Middle East is also seen prominently during TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad's tenure as the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia. Malaysia's diplomatic relationship with Yasser Arafat, the President of Palestine, become very close during the reign of TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad (S. Hashim Ahmad, 2003: 92).

Other than that, from the economical aspect, TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad introduced Bank Islam Malaysia Berhad in 1983 as a way to develop Islamic economic in Malaysia. At its inception, Lembaga Tabung Haji Malaysia holds shares of Bank Islam Malaysia Berhad by 12.5 per cent,

2 Anwar Ibrahim was the former Deputy Minister of Malaysia, during TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad tenure as prime minister, from 1993 and 1998 before he was put in jail on charges of corruption and sodomy. He also served as Finance Minister from 1991 to 1998. In 2004, he founded the Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR) and planned the reformation movement among Malaysians (Allers, 2013).

3 AngkatanBelia Islam Malaysia (ABIM) was established in 1972 and supports the revival of Islam and the establishment of Malaysia as an Islamic state (Mahathir Mohamad, 2012: 467).

which equated to RM80 million, to enable the community to use syariah-based banking system (Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, 2005: x). Later, other syariah-based banking systems started to exist such as Bank Muamalat Malaysia Berhad. Even though Iran, Sudan and Pakistan are among the earliest countries to introduce Islamic banking system in the 1980s, but the Islamic banking system in Malaysia is recognized as more advanced compared to these countries (AsyrafWajdiDusuki, 2014:170).

In line with these developments, on 29th September 2001, TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad finally declared Malaysia an Islamic state. (KamarudinSalleh, 2006:89). This declaration is supported by the country's leaders, scholars, some communities, the ulama'and members of the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO)⁴ (M. Shukeri, Mohamad Azrien and MohdAlwee, 2005: 2). With this declaration, the development of Islam in the country is growing at a rapid pace. (MohdRumaizuddinGhazali, 2012). The support for this declaration is done in various ways; television broadcasts, seminars and Friday sermons throughout the country. Because of these strong supports, TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad once again strengthened his efforts to once again declare Malaysia an Islamic state on 29th November 2001.

After Malaysia is declared as an Islamic state, four matters began to emerge regarding the declaration. First, the controversy that arose after the declaration of Malaysia as an Islamic state; second, the polemic of political parties in Malaysia; third, sensitivity on non-Muslims in Malaysia; and lastly, the declaration brings the attention of various scholars regarding the true definition of Islamic state. On the first matter, the declaration is considered as controversial because most Malaysians still do not know and understand the true meaning of Islamic state. It is also because the declaration was made by Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad at 'Majlis Perasmian Persidangan Perwakilan Ke-30 PartiGerakan Malaysia' in 2001.

Utusan Online (2002) also reported that, according to Mohammad Abu Bakar, the declaration made by Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad is a bold move. It is because at that time, United States is trying to shift the blame to Islamic states regarding the tragedy in September 11th, 2001. (M. Shukeri, Mohamad Azriendan Mohd Alwee, 2005:3). Is the declaration made by Tun is his way to respond to the attack that occurred at the World Trade Center, United States on 11 September 2001?

All the questions that arose caused the declaration to become such a sensitive issue among the dominant parties in

4 'PertubuhanKebangsaanMelayuBersatu' or United Malays National Organization, most commonly known as UMNO, was established in 11th May 1946 and the first party president was Dato' OnnJaafar (ZainalAbidin Abdul Wahid, 1978).



Malaysia (Utusan Online, 2002). Among them are Barisan Nasional (BN), PAS, Democratic Action Party (DAP) dan Parti Keadilan Rakyat (PKR). In line with the report by Utusan Online (2002), Kamarudin Salleh (2006) also raised the question on whether the statement is really to make Malaysia as an Islamic state or is it merely the polemic⁵ of political party?

Furthermore, Kamarudin Salleh (2006) said that the thinking patterns by modern scholars are more easily accepted by UMNO leaders and members at that time. The affiliation also becomes a source of encouragement to the leaders to declare Malaysia an Islamic state based on several the characteristics. For example, the majority of the population are Muslims, the state government is led by Muslims the Islamic and the freedom of religion. However, for Jamaluddin Kafie (1983: 34), a true Islamic state needs to have more than that. An Islamic state must adopt the Islamic policies and ideologies that were taught and practiced by the Prophet Rasulullah SAW in the prior eras and it should be practiced in this present time.

Other than that, Kamarudin Salleh (2006:81) further argued that the declaration made of TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad at that time has further complicated the way of thinking of the people, where most of them were made confused by the political polemic of the government and opposition parties. The declaration of Malaysia as an Islamic state began after seeing the agenda of the Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS)⁶, which also outlined Islamic state in their constitutions in 2001 (M. Shukeri, Mohamad Azriendan Mohd Alwee, 2005:2). With the declaration of Malaysia as an Islamic state and the existence of the constitution drafted by PAS at that time, addressing the nation as an Islamic state in 2001 became such a big issue in national politics. The use of the phrase 'Islamic state' was viewed as desperate and it became a challenge to UMNO. In addition, there is also the question of why the notion of an Islamic state suddenly appears at that exact time? Logically, the conditions and requirements needed to make Malaysia as an Islamic state has already been fulfilled for a long time already (Kamarudin Salleh, 2006:79). Through that statement, the dispute arises regarding the declaration of Malaysia as an Islamic state, which also involved political polemic at the time.

Regarding the third matter, the declaration of an Islamic state has increased the sensitivity of the non-Muslims community in Malaysia. Mohamad Abu Bakar (2002:2) is of

the opinion that the issue of the declaration of Malaysia as an Islamic state is sensitive to non-Muslims in Malaysia. The same question also arises on why should Malaysia be declared as an Islamic state at that time? This refers to Malaysia imaged as a secular nation by the non-Muslims. Other than that, Mohamad Abu Bakar (2002) also gives his opinion from different perspective. He also believes that the trend towards the construction of an Islamic state has taken root since 1980s. When TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad became Deputy Prime Minister in 1980, he had expressed about the possibility of all races in Malaysia to accept Islam as their way of life on the condition that all the Muslims in Malaysia are united and tolerant of other races (Mohamad Abu Bakar, 2002: 3). During the elections in 1982, TunDr. Mahathir Mohamad as the Prime Minister of Malaysia had once give a speech at the Committee Meeting: Musabaqah Reciting al-Qur'an. He stressed that there is no reason why non-Muslims cannot follow Islamic laws. It is because Islam stressed equality to all (Mohamad Abu Bakar, 2002: 3).

Furthermore, in the fourth matter, the declaration of Malaysia as an Islamic state has caused reaction from ulama' and scholars to redefine the meaning of an Islamic state. The Declaration has opened a new medium for ulama', scholars and artists to come forward and clarify the status of Malaysia as an Islamic state. Naziree Md. Yusoff (2006: 37) explained that Malaysia is obviously an Islamic state based on evidences from the bygone eras. According to him, Islamic laws have been practiced since the Malacca Sultanate Era. He added that Abdul Halim el-Muhammady also said that Islam has existed since time immemorial, as history has proven the practice and implementation of the Laws of Melaka, Pahang and Kota Setar. For Abdul Samat Musa (2002), his study of the principles of Islam in the Constitution of Malaysia is enough evidence that Malaysia is an Islamic state. Among them is Islamic clause as the federal religion. The Constitution of Malaysia gives primacy to Islam compared to other religions, but at the same time, the state guarantees the people in practicing their respective religions (Abdul Samat Musa, 2002:39).

According to him, the implementation of the Constitution of Malaysia is to guarantee the continuity of the position of Islam and religious tolerance is inherent in the constitution of the Malay states, especially the written constitution of the State of Johor in 1895 and the state of Terengganu in 1911 before the country achieved independence. He added that Kevib and Thio (1997) had said that according to the former Lord President of Malaysia, Datuk Hashim Yeop A. Sani, the constitution only declared Malaysia as public nation. However, Malaysia can be defined as an Muslim country because although not all the laws in Malaysia are syariah-based, the requirements to allow Malaysia to be declared as an Islamic state is already existed.

5 Intellectual argument, debate, written protest in newspapers, magazines and others

6 Parti Islam SeMalaysia, also known as PAS, is established in 1951. At its inception, it has three major figures, which are Tun Haji Ahmad Fuad Hassan, Dr. Abbas Alias dan Dr. Burhanuddin Al-Helmi (Ismail Said, 2008).



Mahathir Mohamad (2005:7-10) further affirm that there should be no dispute on the status of Malaysia as an Islamic state. According to him, all the Muslims in Malaysia abide by the teaching of ahlunnahwa al-jama'ah and sunnah of The Prophet. If there is dispute regarding the implementation of Islamic laws, Mahathir Mohamad (2005) said that Islamic laws enforced in Malaysia has already taken into consideration the multiracial society in Malaysia.

For Wan Zahidi Wan Teh (2005:95-98), he accepted the definitions by the ulama' regarding Islamic state. Among them is the arguments put forward by Abu Zuhrah where he stated that Islamic state is a country under the rule of Islam and its defense forces are in the hands of the Muslims. Moreover, Wan Zahidi Wan Teh (2005) also referred to the argument made by Imam Shafi'iy, who stated that any countries that was once a Muslim country will not lose its Muslim status according to Islamic laws, even though that country was later surpassed by other countries. This means that any Islamic states that are colonized by communist and other major forces may also be regarded as a Muslim country and it become responsibility of other Muslims to free these colonized nations when they have the means to do that. Based on these arguments, Wan Zahidi Wan Teh (2005:97) believed that the Malaysia is not threatened in its status as an Islamic state even though there are members of the modern laws that claimed that Malaysia is a secular nation.

The Implications of the Declaration of the Islamic State towards the Implementation of Islamic Political Economy in Malaysia

Discussion on the implication of the declaration of Malaysia as an Islamic state can be divided into three matters. First, Islamic politics affected the economies; second, Islamic economies affected the politics; and third, the IPE affected the society. On the first matter, which is how Islamic politics affected the economies, it can be seen that the declaration has opened opportunities for the Islamic development in Malaysia. The main implication of the declaration is there's tendency towards the Islamic leadership. From this tendency, an execution can be carried out because there's now power to do things (Mohamad Abu Bakar, 2002). With the existence of such jurisdiction at that time, the implementation of Islamic economics in Malaysia can be done and developed for the sake of the nation and society. In addition, the development of the Islamic banking system in Malaysia has gained public attention. In fact, the Islamic banking system do not only attracted the attention of the locals, but it also attracted other nations' attention. The foreign community saw Malaysia as a major hub in the development of Islamic financial system (Abdullah Ahmad Badawi, 2005; Rumaizuddin Mohd Ghazali, 2012).

Next, in context of strengthening the Islamic economics in this country, under Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's leadership, he approached the Saudi Arabia to get some information and experience from them because considering they already have the experience in the implementation of economic policies based on shariah (New Straits Times, December 8, 1980). In 1982, when tabling Rang Undang-undang Bank Islam at the Dewan Rakyat, Finance Minister Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah explained that the position of non-Muslims in Malaysia will not be affected with implementation of Islamic institutions development. In fact, the implementation will allows non-Muslims in Malaysia to get the benefits for more because Islam is a universal religion that give advantages for all (Utusan Malaysia, 1983). Following the same, Mohamad Abu Bakar (2002: 4) also examined that the declaration of the Islamic state provides the comfort and the pleasure of Islamic institutions development such as Bank Islam Malaysia Berhad itself and also in the judicial system in this country at the Syariah Courts.

Besides that, the Islamic approach taken by Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad also can be seen from every UMNO General Assembly speeches. Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad usually will talk on the Muslims matters and the issues related to the religion of UMNO's leaders and members to ensure they will understand about the issues and problems regarding Islam (Mahathir Mohamad, 1992).

According to Mahathir Mohamad (1992), Dasar Penerapan Nilai-nilai Islam or Islamization policies were also introduced to the government policies to ensure that administrators can dominate the matters about Islam because of Islamic revival since the 1970's was affected political and economy in Malaysia. He added that the efforts towards implementing the Islamic values in the administrative system is based on rationale that state will not be able to achieve and ensure the happiness except in presence of these high values. National leadership also continuously encouraged to accept the idea of the country's development based on sharia. Hence, the explanation by Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia in 1983, Dato 'Musa Hitam although Malaysia is gradually implementing the Islamic development, however Malaysia will not follow Iran, Libya or Saudi Arabia to disclose the country into an Islamic State (Utusan Malaysia, 1983). The consequences of execution of those policies, the issue about policies implementation is to scare off some Muslims and non-Muslims are not true. For Mahathir Mohamad (2012), the introduction of this policy is to ensure that the morality in communities in this country is high and it is not a compulsion to non-Muslims because Islam does not shows coercion.

In addition, the urge to change the landscape of the Islamic economic system in the country is seen starting with the one who has the power in the government. However, in equal



with the declaration, IPE cannot be separated to ensure a progress of development in this country. Ashraf Wajdi Dusuki (2014: 72-75) noticed that the declaration has shows Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's openness towards the internationally leadership of Islamic movement towards Malaysia. According to him, Sheikh Rachid Ghannouchi, the leader of the Islamic movement An-Nahdah, Tunisia came to Malaysia from the invitation of ABIM by obtaining Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad 's consent in 2002. This appeared openness of Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad for received the arrival of Sheikh Rachid Ghannouchi because he is an influential leader of the Islamic movement among the leaders of the Islamic movement in the world. Out of these things too, Ashraf Wajdi Dusuki (2014) argues that the Islamic development in Malaysia become even more active in presence of the government's efforts to educate the people about implementation of Islam in this country.

For the second matter, implications of the declaration Malaysia as an Islamic state shown that there's an impact between Islamic economy and political in the country. In this case, it shows the increases in Islamic economics in Malaysia. This increases gives a positive image to Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad's politics who had previously been highlighting with his bad image towards Islam. For instance, the declaration is eroding the negative image about the Islamic state propaganda associating it with negative images about Islam that is conservatism, backwardness and injustice as proclaimed by the West (Utusan Online, 2001).

Furthermore, according to Yong (2003), Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad is strive to improve the institutional capacity to support the implementation of Islamic development by taking steps to establish the Yayasan Ekonomi Islam and Bank Islam Malaysia Berhad in 1983 and thereafter to complete the Islamic development and established of other institutions. The conversion of the existing economic system has made by Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad certainly caused unease among non-Muslims. However, according to Yong (2003: 63), it is seen as an efforts to implement an Islamic agenda under a secular constitution. In addition, the establishment of Bank Islam Malaysia Berhad is seen as a way to strengthen the economy and the resilience between Muslim community in the country (Rumaizuddin Mohd Ghazali, 2012: 94). For Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, the Islamic financial system is also seen as a way out from the existing financial system that been used at this time and thus, it will make Muslim's economy becomes stable and strong.

In fact, Mahathir Mohamad (2012) also stated that Muslim's economy in Malaysia should be strengthened to ensure that Muslim community become stronger from economic aspect and so it will lead to the political stability in the country since the majority of people in this country are Muslim. For Ashraf Wajdi Dusuki (2014), he also confirmed that

Malaysia is today known as the pioneer of Islamic financial system which is comprehensive in the world. In fact, according to him, Malaysia has flourished economically and Islamic finance with the 30 units of banking institutions based on Islamic principles to provide a way out in choosing a system that is guided by shariah.

In the third matter, the declaration Malaysia as an Islamic State made by Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad also gave an impact to IPE in terms of social in Malaysia. The changes in Islamic economic landscape and Islamic political landscape also give the impacts for establishment of educational institutions is also seen as a result from the declaration. The development of the education center such as the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia (USIM) and the Institut Kefahaman Islam Malaysia (IKIM) makes all these mega-projects led to change the IPE in Malaysia (Rumaizuddin Mohd Ghazali, 2012).

Rumaizuddin Mohd Ghazali (2012) added, the establishment of institutions also will provided a place for Malaysian's students to learn and understand Islam in their own country. Moreover, an introduction to the subject Tamadun Islam in all local universities is to ensure that the young people can gained knowledge about Islam civilization through their learning process. In the same time, they also can remove a gap between the races in Malaysia. This is also refers to the golden age earlier of Islam that separation of knowledge is never happen. All the Islam scholars are not only experts in their respective fields but they are also learn and deepen their knowledge about Islam. With that reason, the knowledge of the period can be attributed to religion and thus can provide a strong believe to the divine (Mahathir Mohamad, 1995: 5).

This matter has the relevance when Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad said the establishment of IIUM has its own goals in developing Islamic thought in the country (Utusan Online, 2005). Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad said that the idea of the establishment of this institution is due to Islamic university abroad that only emphasizes the purely religious aspects of Islam while Islam telling its people to master the other disciplines too. For Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, to reach the fullness of life and happiness, Muslims need to master all fields of knowledge. Therefore, IIUM was established to generate the knowledge of modern sciences in accordance with the principles and objectives driven by Islam itself.

Besides that, Ismail Ibrahim (2002) also said that the advanced from the Islamic development in Malaysia, IKIM has been developed to ensure that Muslims can learn and understand Islam in the proper ways to ensure the people of Malaysia can be as a competitive society and comparable with the international community. This is coincided with the



four main objectives of IKIM's establishment. First, to fix the image of Islam that is often described as a religion of violence and tends to do destruction; Second, understand and introduce Islam as a religion of tolerance, the truth religion and rich with the moral values; third, to remove a gap between the Muslims and non-Muslims communities in the country; and fourth, to be a revival of the glory days of Islam through research on the history and civilization of Islam (IKIM, 2003). It's also shows that the seminars organized by IKIM also can be as an exposure to the administrators and corporate groups in the country. When this group are understand about Islam, it becomes easy to process and to give an understanding to the community. So, the approach to develop the Islamic country is not a new agenda, but this has been brought to the communities before this to identify and make them understand about Islam also at the same time the country also be developed.

CONCLUSION

Overall, the position Malaysia as an Islamic state now can be accepted by the community although the implementation is still not completely Islamic. The declaration Malaysia as an Islamic state has opened up a vast opportunities for the Islamic development in Malaysia. Even if there are issues, polemic and the debate about the declaration, indirectly it shows that there are willingness to discuss about the declaration Malaysia as an Islamic state. Through this declaration, there are three implications for IPE during the era of Tun Dr. Mahathir Mohamad ruled the country. Specifically, after the declaration of an Islamic state. First, Islamic politics affected the economies; second, Islamic economies affected the politics; and third, the IPE affected the society. The major one it shows the willingness of the government tends to have the Islamic political. With this willingness, the landscape of existing political economy slowly will change to the IPE. At the same time, there is a change in community thought on the implementation of the Islamic development in Malaysia. Although, there are many of the issue that arise from the declaration of the Islamic State, it is undeniable that the development of IPE in Malaysia is increasingly and becomes prominent after the declaration.

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