Religious Fundamentalism: Threats to the Life of the Nation and Religion in Indonesia

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Abstract

This study discusses religious fundamentalism movements that can threaten the life of the nation and State. This research is located in West Sumatra, North Sumatra, and Riau. This research is qualitative. This study collected data using observation, in-depth interviews, and literature studies. Data is analyzed by reducing, displaying, analyzing, processing, making conclusions, and verifying data. The results of this study indicate that the emergence of religious fundamentalism is caused by understanding textually the verses, rejecting Western modernism, and political power is disadvantaged. The proposal from this research in counteracting religious fundamentalism is using deradicalization of the State, optimizing the role of religious leaders, and deradicalization of educational institutions. This research still needs to be continued by other researchers related to deradicalization and moderation in religion.

Keywords: Religious Fundamentalism, Radicalism, Deradicalism, Sumatera

INTRODUCTION

In the history of religions, various wars are often found in spreading and defending religion, like the crusade involving Islam-Christianity in the Middle Ages.
Religious groups use various tricks and intrigue to attack their enemies. The vortex of violence in the modern era of religion also has its place; when violence becomes a way of life, whether as an individual, community, or State, the political process, along with the economy, culture, and society, changes. Politics as a fighting force is pervaded by negative influence and fear. There is anxiety at the prospect that violence can and may disrupt dialogue in the political arena and undermine its values.¹

The growth of religious radicalism groups with a recruitment system for establishing an Islamic state has also spread to Indonesia, especially the Sumatra region. Many Sumatran radical Islamic groups are influenced by the ideology of movements carried out by growing religious fundamentalist groups such as FPI, MMI, FUI, HTI, Manhaj Tarbijah, and others. This can be seen from the many Muslim community groups in Sumatra that have joined movements in the name of religion. For example, when the Ahok case became frenzied with accusations of blasphemy, thousands of Sumatran people came to Jakarta to press charges against Ahok. People are willing and willing to do anything in the name of religion, ideology, and religious symbols.

Movements of fundamentalism, radicalism, and religious terrorism that have become global have become a severe threat to the existence of the State and the diversity of the people of Sumatra. This is because fundamentalism, radicalism, and religious terrorism are no longer talking about matters of faith but have entered the realm of political power. Actions of radicalism and terrorism in the name of religion become the political authority for these radical groups.²

The issue of religious fundamentalism in Sumatra has recently been under the spotlight of the Indonesian government. The fundamentalism that turns into radical then transforms into terrorism. Cases of violence in the name of religion have recently become an extraordinary problem in Sumatra. Such as the attack on the Solok police headquarters, the ban on the construction of the Siloam hospital in Padang, the arrest of suspected terrorists in Payakumbuh, the development of the case of the arrest of a husband and wife at the State Palace who planned to carry out a bombing, the attack on the Riau Police Chief and the arrest of suspected terrorists in Medan, North Sumatra, from the Solo terrorism network.

The emergence of fundamentalist groups in Sumatra recently can also be seen from the many mass organizations with radical views appearing whenever there are sensitive issues related to religious issues. Such as, the issue of religious blasphemy committed by Ahok became one of the reasons for the growth of radical groups in Sumatra. This can be seen from the many active participants who came to Jakarta from Sumatra.³

This article was written to look at the threat of religious fundamentalism to national and religious life in Sumatra-Indonesia. Hopefully, this study will contribute ideas related to the threat of religious fundamentalism to the integrity of the nation and religion.

B. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is qualitative, and the method used will be descriptive-analytic. This research is socio-religious research that focuses on the issues of fundamentalism and terrorism. The focus of the study in this research is to find out Islamic fundamentalist power politics and terrorism in Sumatra, starting from the emergence and development of the movement, the history of the movement, the ideology of the movement, the recruitment of members, and the goals of the movement, how the impact of power politics has on the Indonesian State, then seeing what the Indonesian State carries out the strategic steps in preventing the growth and development of fundamentalism and terrorism in power politics. Researchers choose informants who are experts or considered to know or understand to explain fundamentalism and terrorism movements, which are the object of this research. The way to select informants is through a purposive sampling technique, namely informants who control information related to issues of fundamentalism and terrorism, namely the government represented by the police (Polri), TNI, national figures, religious leaders, community leaders, and people who have direct contact with groups and networks of fundamentalism and terrorism. Then from hardline Islamic movement groups consisting of MMI and FPI. In addition, the research also uses literature related to the problem to assist this study so that an understanding of the problem under study is more thorough and detailed.

Data was collected by observation (observation). Observations were conducted on activities conducted by fundamentalist Islamic movement groups during cadre formation and, if possible, during movement actions. Researchers carried out The data collection process in the field consisted of two kinds. The first was through direct interviews with research informants, including FPI, MMI, and FUI mass organizations. Then the second is by way of Focus Group Discussion (FGD). In conducting the FGD, the researcher invited Islamic mass organizations such as FPI, MMI, FUI, and MUI religious and community leaders. The FGDs the researchers conducted at three research locations (West Sumatra, North Sumatra, and Riau) experienced no significant problems. The results of the FGDs obtained from the three locations related to issues related to the development of religious fundamentalism in Sumatra, forms of radical movements, movement ideology, and movement motives to transform radical movements into terrorism (jihadis).

In line with what Lexy Moleong expressed, observation is observing the people she studies daily, seeing what they do, when, with whom, and under what circumstances, and asking them about their actions. Observations were made secretly on fundamentalist Islamic movement groups' individual and group activities. In addition to observation, data collection is carried out by in-depth interviews, what is meant is a form of communication between two or more people and involves someone who wants to obtain information (researcher) and another person or group of people (informants) by asking questions according to the purpose which has been specified. The informants included: members of fundamentalist movement groups, teachers (murobiti), participants from fundamentalist Islamic movement groups, TNI/Polri, religious leaders, and academics.

Document or literature studies include data collection, program documents, vision, and mission. Both short, medium, and long-term programs are usually

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implied. Furthermore, the data obtained from informants of various levels were matched with data from other informants, including those from document studies or literature studies, so that data could be extracted accurately and in detail. This study uses a qualitative method to produce descriptive data from written or spoken and observable behavior. This descriptive-analytic research is intended to describe and explain the fundamental Islamic movement groups in organizing their movements. In other words, analyzing them will not test hypotheses or analyze statistics.

Research Design

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Historical Roots of Religious Fundamentalism Groups

a. Textual Understanding of Religion

As a holy book, Al-Qur'an contains rules for various dimensions of human life—among them governing the system of government and statehood, which is the basis of political theology in understanding the Qur'an. The concept and characteristics of religious (Islamic) fundamentalism can be seen in the understanding of certain verses that form the basis for the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism. As in understanding the verse:

"Today, I have perfected your religion for you and fulfilled you. My ni'mat and I am pleased with Islam to be your religion." "We have not forgotten anything in the Bible." "We have sent down to you the Qur'an to clarify things." Starting from understanding the texts, concepts in life are also developed. The concept of ideology must follow Islam kaffah.

Through a scriptualist belief, namely a belief in literacy in the scriptures as the word of God which is without error, a basic idea is developed which is framed within a methodological framework that contains principles: oppositional, resistance to hermeneutics, resistance to pluralism, and relativism, and resistance to historical and sociological developments.

In the concepts and characteristics of religious fundamentalism (Islam) mentioned above, it can be said that the essential attitude of Islamic fundamentalism originates from the text of the Qur'an but only takes and understands its verses in bits and pieces. Do not understand other verses that deal with the same issues and

5 QS. al-An'am [6]: 38.
topics holistically and comprehensively. Besides that, they also often do not consider the historical background of the verses that are read and used as a reference.

b. Reject Modernism (Western)

The revival of Islam, especially in Asian countries, manifested by the acceptance of globalization and modern technology, resulted in a clash of civilizations between Islam and the West. The West, which has lost its "enemy" since the end of the cold war, has begun to shift its concentration to Islamic forces, which are considered to have new powers that can threaten its existence. The effects of globalization that almost all people experience allow this clash to occur. The position of the Islamic world is the only civilization that has the most potential to resist Western (American) globalization.

Islamic fundamentalism is generally identified with the Islamic political movement, even though it is only one component of a broader Islamic revival in which the revival includes ideas, practices, rhetoric, and a return to Islamic teachings (to its primary sources, the Koran and Al-Sunnah) carried out by Muslims. As long as Western arrogance and Islamic intolerance constantly collide globally, radical movements will develop in Islamic countries. Supporters of religious radicalism do not seem to have the capital to offer peace and prosperity in facing the challenges of a wave of democracy wrapped in globalization. Shortness of breath due to the multiple blows of history that have repeatedly placed some Muslims in a tragic but helpless position. Therefore they take shortcuts in the form of self-defeating (destroying themselves) in the name of religion, which is understood in a very vulnerable and depressed mood. Radicalists view the historical fact that Muslims are not benefited from global civilization, causing resistance to dominating forces.

The movement of religious radicalism carried out by adherents of Islamic fundamentalism is a defensive reaction against the fear of uprooting traditional lifestyles employing violence. On a psychological level, this defensive reaction draws strength from spiritual sources that activate a potential power to support it. Psychologically, religion provides the most convincing justification and can mobilize the struggle against forces considered a threat.

Huntington also said that, in practice, the religious community is a community that has the broadest domain where local groups involved in the conflict will provide their support. If a conflict occurs between two groups, they quickly identify themselves as Muslims and Christians, as was the case with the Serbian and Croatian wars in the former Yugoslav colony and the war between Armenia and Azerbaijan in the Caucasus.

This is with the intention that groups that identify themselves as Islamic groups receive funding and weapons support from Islamic countries, and groups that identify themselves as Christians hope to receive financial assistance from the West. Once again, it has been proven that existing radicalism movements use religion as a shield of justification to achieve their goals.

By bringing religious language, symbols, and slogans, radicals try to touch religious emotions and gather strength to achieve the "noble" goals of their politics. Of course, such things cannot always be called religious manipulation because some of their behavior is rooted in religious interpretations of viewing historical phenomena.

Purification of religion, in this case, Islam in the Islamic world, means replacing what is based on Islamic principles to apply purely in Islamic countries to avoid Western globalization's influence. They (radical adherents) have the same problem with what they see as increasing Western influence, where they feel threatened by the effects of Westernization, especially technology and democracy.10 Adherents of radicalism want Islamic society in Islamic countries to maintain pure Islamic values. They consider that Western values are seen as a dangerous foreign threat that clashes with traditional Islamic values. Logically, violence or radicalism is a method to protect Islamic values.11

c. Politically Power is Not Beneficial

The contestation of political Islam in the political arena in Indonesia will never subside. Religion, on the one hand, seems to only regulate the spiritual life of humans and their God without anything to do with social, political, and State life in Indonesia, just as it is far from the fire. The dynamics of the relationship between religion and the State will always color the Indonesian political arena in the future. Many things can explain this problem, starting from sociological, historical, ideological, and political factors.12

Suharto’s fall was momentum in establishing associations for Islamic political groups. No less than 200 mass organizations and political parties were founded in the first six months of the political transition. They represent various groups and classes, from conservatives, Puritans, moderates, liberals, and secularists. In addition, mass organizations based on religious activism or other purposes are also sporadically established.13

Political Islam in question is used to refer to activities or organizations that drive signs and symbols from the Islamic tradition. Islam, since its inception, has been regarded as a political religion. Some people believe that political Islam cannot separate religion and politics. The term also refers to political activism involving informal groups that reshape the Islamic tradition's repertoire and frames of reference.14

Political openness and the shift of authoritarian regimes towards democratic regimes seem to be a red carpet for strengthening the aggregation of Islamic political contestation in the public sphere. "Public space" allows everyone to contest freely

11 Hilaly Basya dan David Alka, Amerika Perangi Teroris Bukan Islam. (Jakarta: Center For Moderate Moslem (CMM), 2019). p. 121.
and reasonably regardless of religion, ethnicity, race, or class. Public space is the similarity and equality of the relationship patterns of each party involved in the contestation.

Thus, in a political context, public space can be understood as a space for citizens, individuals not as members of race, religion, or ethnicity but as members of politics or the people (demos). The public sphere is neither an institution nor an organization, but more, to quote Habermas’ terminology, it is a very complex network for communicating ideas, opinions, and aspirations. Every community in which public norms are discussed will automatically produce public space. Therefore, in a democratic country, there are many public spaces.

In this context, the meaning of public space can be vague, full of competition, and even unruly, but that does not mean it is without rules. Thus, the term "public" necessitates the separation of themes and rational reasons in society. Since the abolishment of the single principle of Pancasila contestation, political Islam has increasingly emphasized its existence both through formal mechanisms by establishing Islamic-based political parties, as well as non-formal movement groups by establishing Islamic mass organizations.\(^{15}\)

Post-reform political Islam contestation moves in the form of formal-legal mechanisms by establishing Islamic political parties. On the other hand, their movement is outside the framework of the mainstream political process and the discourse within the dominant Islamic movement. Interested groups as contestants, in the contestation of public political space, among others, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Indonesian Mujahidin Council, Islamic Defenders Front, Lasykar Jihad, and Salafi represent the new generation of Islamic movements in Indonesia. These new organizations have ideological bases, thoughts, and movement strategies that differ from the previous Islamic mass organizations. They are suspected of being puritanical, having a more militant, scripturalist, conservative, and exclusive character.\(^{16}\)

This political Islam contestation is solid and has the most comprehensive (international) network among the new movements that are keen to strive to uphold Islamic law, aspiring to uphold Islamic law but also to establish an Islamic caliphate. The contestation of Islamic political movements has a mass base in their respective groups. Only recently, in spreading their ideas, they were manipulated by the Islamic da’wah movement amar ma’ruf nahi munkar, as was done by Muhammadiyah and NU.\(^{17}\)

**Religious Radicalism as a Threat**

a. Dangers and Threats to the State

The threat of terrorism against the State is a real threat. As expressed by Francis Fukuyama in his book "The End of History," to name the new era after the Cold War. A new world era where democracy and economic liberalization will become its fundamental values. A new era that will make the world more peaceful and prosperous under the auspices of capitalism is predicted when the United States

\(^{15}\) Fata, Badrus Syamsa (ed.), *Agama dan Kontestasi Ruang* Publik. (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2017), p. 76.


is the only superpower. In both the political and economic fields, there will be no more obstacles to spreading democracy and liberalization. The US is obsessed with turning all countries into democracies because "democracies don't fight each other."\(^{18}\)

Francis Fukuyama imagined the post-Cold War situation as the final era of history, namely the endpoint of the ideological evolution of humankind and the increasing universality of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government. Here Fukuyama also speculates that the end of history will make war obsolete because democracy can prevent countries from going to war with each other. It turns out that what Francis Fukuyama once predicted about world stability through democracy has yet to materialize or at least still requires time and process.

To make this happen, perhaps Francis Fukuyama may have forgotten that when the ideological polarization in the world ends in victory for the US when the hegemony of American power begins to spread to other parts of the world, from that moment onwards, conflicts with enemies and new scenarios will arise.

Radical group's track record of violence in Indonesia needs attention, especially the wishful thinking to continue to modify the technological developments of murderous weapons and mass killings that have always been in the minds of terrorists from time to time, including the use of the mass media as a mouthpiece to convey and spread Fundamentalism to foster radicalism. In a supportive society, the concept of struggle is also necessary to distinguish terrorism from crimes included in Transnational Crimes. However, in general definition, Terrorism is also classified as a Transnational crime.\(^{19}\)

b. Dangers and Threats Against Religion

Religion should not cause violence. But the facts show that religion can lead to violence related to other factors, such as group/national interests or political oppression. Religion can be misused and misdirected both externally and internally. From the external side, prophetic (prophetic) religions such as Islam and Christianity tend to commit violence when their identity is threatened.

Internally, prophetic religion tends to commit violence because it believes its actions are based on God's will. Therefore, the understanding of religion or how religion is interpreted is one of the reasons underlying religious-political violence.\(^{20}\)

The politics of religion that occurred a lot in the newly independent country, which struggled to determine its national identity, and the existence of minority groups that asserted their rights, resulted in religion playing a more prominent role. Lithuania, Armenia, and Azerbaijan are some examples. The authorities regard violence, terror, and absolute authority as prerogatives that cannot be separated from power. Religion has been manipulated for political purposes to free itself from moral obligations if it feels its existence is threatened. Violence has been framed by “religion” as an expression of the desire to neutralize sin.

The State legitimizes violence to maintain power. The outbreak of violence during the New Order era with the emergence of radical Islamic groups, the Tanjung


Priok massacre, and the destruction of places of worship was government engineering to marginalize Islamic groups and to maintain power. Thus, the emergence of radical Islamic groups is caused more by the interests of specific groups by using religion as a tool of legitimacy.

Violence is also often identified with terrorism, which means to scare. The word comes from the Latin terrace (“to cause fear”) and is used in a general political sense as an attack on civil order during the Terror regime of the French Revolution at the end of the XVIII century. In this case, the public response to violence due to terrorism is part of the term’s meaning.

**Counteracting Religious Fundamentalism**

a. State Deradicalization Efforts

As the findings of this study show, that intolerance is the starting point of terrorism, so deradicalization work is not sufficiently only directed at those who become terrorists but also towards radical organizational groups and intolerant groups, including the general public so that they do not follow radical views and experience transformation. Become a terrorist. The deradicalization program must be focused on three groups.

First, the general public, especially Muslims. Deradicalization in this context aims to protect society from following exclusive and puritanical religious views and from being involved in radical and intolerant actions. In BNPT language, this kind of activity falls into the category of counter-radicalization.

Deradicalization in the form of prevention can be carried out by strengthening several national discourses among the wider community, especially from an Islamic perspective, until people understand that the existing national discourse does not conflict with religious teachings. Islam is an inclusive religion, open to values, culture, and civilization as long as it does not conflict with Islamic teachings. In the view of Islam, maintaining the existence of Islam does not mean closing oneself from interacting with other civilizations. Islamic civilization is dynamic and active, not exclusive and closed off from other cultures and civilizations.

Second, radical groups. Deradicalization in this context is intended to tame several radical ideologies they believe by using a counter-narrative approach. Until they are free from the radical ideology surrounding them, they don’t develop into a terrorist group. One of the radical ideologies that must be tamed is the teaching of martyrdom which terrorists misunderstand. Martyrdom is none other than the highest gift from God for all of His servants who died on the path of struggle to uphold noble teachings nobly.

Likewise, the doctrine of jihad is often used as justification by radical groups in carrying out their actions. Jihad is mental training and ethos for a person not to give up, no matter how bitter and complicated. Linguistically, jihad means being severe and mobilizing all available energy, material in nature, such as wealth, or non-material such as spirit, soul, etc.

In the sizeable Arabic dictionary, *Lisanul Arabic*, it is stated that the word jihad comes from the primary word *al-jahdu* or *al-jubdu*, which means ability. Jihad means exerting all abilities. Jihad, with the above meaning, is the most fundamental Islamic teaching because jihad means inviting Muslims to always carry out this religious teaching wholeheartedly and sincerely for God.
What was conveyed by three Egyptian JI scholars, Sheikh Hamdi Abdurrahman Abdul Azim, Najih Ibrahim Abdullah, and Ali Muhammad Ali Syarif, is interesting to note. In a book entitled *Tasliythul Adhwa ‘Ala ma Waqa’a fi Al-Jihad min Akhta*` (Exposing Errors in Understanding Jihad), the three scholars emphasized that jihad is only a means, not a goal. Meanwhile, the Islamic struggle's primary goal is to uphold Allah's teachings and, at the same time, bring humankind to His path.

Next is the matter of the ideology of the Islamic State, which radical groups believe. The Islamic State is the highest and final goal for terrorists. This is ironic because the issue of the ideology of an Islamic state versus a Pancasila state surfaced in the early days of independence. But this issue has never been thoroughly resolved until today. The ideology of the Islamic State continues to survive by hiding behind the tendencies of Salafism among adherents of the religion. That is a tendency to imagine the past as holy, ideal, perfect, and without flaws.

b. The Role of Religious Figures

The definition of jihad, as *qital*, is the war against Islam's enemies, which can provide a solid impetus to commit violence in the name of religion. In other words, if there is a reality that, according to them, Muslims are being attacked, wronged, and mistreated, they are defending the Muslim community by waging jihad. They view that non-Muslims are always hostile to Islam in non-Muslim majority areas. The perception that non-Muslims are always against Muslims provides a potential for them to accuse non-Muslims as enemies that threaten the existence of Muslims, so Muslims must be prepared to wage jihad against them.

In social, political, and religious relations, Islam has given rules, especially concerning non-Muslims. In addressing this issue of radicalism and terrorism, religious leaders must synergize and cooperate across religions. All layers must take part in capturing religious radicalism and terrorism. Returning the true meaning of Islam to eating is tough homework for religious leaders to do. However, the problem of religious radicalism and terrorism will never go away as long as religious figures do not take part in this issue.

Religious leaders can instill awareness in the community regarding the understanding of religion. That is Islam, that is, humanist and anti-violence. Apart from that, how to form an interfaith *rahmatan lil’alamin* gathering forum can also provide understanding to radical groups in understanding that we are all creatures of God.

c. Deradicalization of Educational Institutions

Curriculum development as a process occurs in educational units or schools. This development must be preceded by socialization so that the developer (teacher) can develop a curriculum through lesson plans/units, classroom learning processes, and evaluations by the principles of multicultural curriculum. What must be considered in the development of a multicultural curriculum is the lack of uniformity. The curriculum must explicitly address that students are not learning for the subject's sake, but the subject is a medium for developing student personality. In

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developing this personality, the curriculum approach requires a curriculum that can become a medium for developing national culture.

Curriculum development as a document concerns the development of various curriculum components such as; purpose, content, learning experience, and evaluation. Objectives are the qualities expected of students who learn based on the curriculum. The sources of quality stated in the curriculum are not limited to the quality determined solely by scientific disciplines. The human qualities in question are creativity, discipline, hard work, cooperative ability, tolerance, critical thinking, religious people, and so on, which must be highlighted as curriculum objectives. The multicultural curriculum must be able to emphasize the same or more critical educational function than the teaching function.

Society as a source of learning must be utilized as a source of curriculum content. Therefore, values, morals, habits, customs/traditions, and cultural traits must be accommodated as curriculum content. Curriculum content is society and cultural-based and open to problems that live in society. Curriculum content must cause students to feel that schools are not institutions unrelated to society. Still, schools are social institutions that live and develop in society and can develop the human qualities of students. Included in curriculum content that can support the human development of students are religion, literature, language, sports, and the arts.

Curriculum development as a document places students as subjects in learning, so students learn and interact with learning resources (including the community), and teachers act as providers of convenience for students in learning. The teacher determines curriculum development as a process in the context of centralization and autonomy. The teacher's role is as a curriculum developer at a practical level directly related to students. Therefore if the curriculum that is developed does not match what is determined by the curriculum as an idea and the curriculum as a document, then the curriculum is a process and not a continuation of both.

Teachers' knowledge, understanding and attitudes, and willingness toward the multicultural curriculum will be very successful for the curriculum as a process. The teacher considers four things in curriculum development as a process, namely: (a) the position of students as subjects in learning; (b) their cultural background determines the way students learn; (c) the cultural environment of the majority of the community and students' personalities is the student's cultural entry behavior; (d) the cultural environment of students is a source of learning.22

D. CONCLUSION

The emergence of fundamentalism and religious radicalism began with a textual understanding of religious texts. Religious texts that are sources of Islamic knowledge in practicing religion are understood by whole groups textually and as is, without wanting to interpret these texts in a broader sense. Then there is an anti-Western ideology, and Islamic groups do not benefit from power. These three things led to the emergence of the religious fundamentalism movement, which ended in violence in the name of religion.

The impact of religious fundamentalism and radicalism is the emergence of violence against other religious groups that are considered not in line with

fundamentalist groups. Radical groups will carry out acts of violence and even bombings against other religious groups that do not share the ideology they adhere to. This will threaten the integrity of the religious community, nation, and State. This radicalism will undermine the order of the religious community and the State.

The government must take a strategic step in counteracting religious fundamentalism and radicalism by trying to deradicalize these radical groups. This can be done by optimizing the role of religious leaders in providing knowledge about religion to the broader community. In addition, the understanding of jihad verses must be straightened out by religious leaders so that they can be understood textually and lead to acts of terrorism.

E. REFERENCES


QS. al-An’am [6]: 38.


