INTISARI


Dari hasil analisis, diketahui bahwa sikap Whitman, yang mengiutasi baik ide kerjasama Franklin maupun ide individualisme Emerson, menunjukkan sikapnya yang khas. Dengan caraanya sendiri, ia mewakili kedua pengaruh tersebut untuk memperkaya pandangannya tanpa mengabaikan kepadahdensinya sendiri. Penerimaan Whitman terhadap ide individualisme Emerson tidak terlalu ekstrim karena ia juga pergi kepada ide kerjasama yang ditawarkan oleh Franklin. Akhirnya iad mengunjurkan suatu perspektif atau penggabungan kedua ide tersebut pada setiap sisi individu untuk menciptakan suatu masyarakat yang aman dan bahagia.

Kata-kata kunci: kerjasama-individualisme-pengaruh-ide.
INTRODUCTION

Background

Benjamin Franklin’s “Autobiography” (1791) and Ralph Waldo Emerson’s “Self-Reliance” (1841) will be discussed here for several reasons. Both Franklin’s “Autobiography” and Emerson’s “Self-Reliance” are central works of American literature and American culture as well. Franklin’s “Autobiography” contains the idea of cooperation, while Emerson’s “Self-Reliance” portrays the idea of individualism and the relation of these two ideas is important in the writings produced later by American writers.

The main objective of this study is to reveal the ideas of cooperation portrayed by Franklin and individualism by Emerson. These two ideas will then be used as a basic standard for analyzing Walt Whitman’s epic “Song of Myself,” and his prose work Democratic Vistas. One may assume that some ideas presented in Whitman’s works are influenced by Franklin’s idea of cooperation, and others are influenced by Emerson’s idea of individualism. In addition, some of Whitman’s way of thinking may advocate the two ideas in order to reconcile them.

Franklin’s life nearly spanned the eighteenth century. The history of his life and thinking are imaginatively recorded in his famous work, “Autobiography” which was completed in 1791. His idea of cooperation stems from the belief that the well being of the individual is inextricably tied to the well being of his society. In his “Autobiography,” he addresses certain figures—tradesman or businessmen, scientists, statesmen, and also laborers—and advocates a kind of collective action. This kind of collective action is a necessary condition for democracy in the eighteenth-century, and especially for American democracy which was beginning an uncertain career in a world in which there were no other democracies.

On the other hand, since democracy replaces the rule of the few with the rule of the many, there is the danger that the tyranny of a king is going to be replaced by the tyranny of public opinion. Emerson’s life spans the nineteenth century, and by the time he flourished, he perceives the chief threat to his culture: the superficial leveling influence of conformity and thus calls upon the individual to follow his own nature rather than to suppress it. In his “Divinity School Address” (1836), Emerson says that whenever a man comes there comes a revolution, because he fully recognizes the social disruption his doctrine may cause. But his ultimate argument would be that no cooperation is worthwhile unless it is the cooperation of individuals, and society in his time concerns against the individuality of each person—against their manhood—so that what passes for cooperation is mere conformity. Cooperation will only come when there are true individuals.

In his “Self-Reliance,” Emerson courageously exhorts the readers to act on their best impulses and to make no compromise with their duty to themselves. “To believe that which is true for you in your private heart is true for all men...
genius" (Haight, 1941: 120). It is natural for a man to behave with a certain nonchalance and disdain, he says. "Self-Reliance" according to him is the aversion of conformity: "whose would be a man must be a non-conformist" (Haight, 1941: 123).

These ideas of individualism and cooperation which are presented in opposition by Emerson and Franklin will be used in analyzing Walt Whitman's epic "Song of Myself" and his prose work Democratic Vistas. Whitman is a contemporary, somewhat younger but still a contemporary, of Emerson's and he is committed to being the poet of democracy. Edward M. Wheat in Walt Whitman's Political Poetry, The Therapeutic Function of "Children of Adam" and "Calmars" stated that Whitman's Leaves of Grass, his lifelong poetic creation, was written as a therapeutic "epic for democracy," and the book has as well a profound political purpose: "the building up of the masses, by building up grand individuals" (1990: 236). Therefore, he sought to reconcile the tension within democracy between the need for condition men to act in solidarity with one another in order to preserve their liberty, and the need for the individual to be independent if he is to preserve his identity.

Theoretical Approach

The theoretical approach used in this study is American Studies approach, an approach which emphasizes the interdisciplinary study. Jay Curnian in "American Studies and the Creative Present" (1969: 79) says, "the unique and important attributes of American Studies is demonstrating that ideas have consequences which can best be understood through their interconnections." This means that this study can only be conducted and understood well with the help of more than one discipline. By using this interdisciplinary study, the interrelationship between past, present and future will be indicated. Mc Dowell in "The Minnesota Program" (1948: 4) states that, "Today American Studies are using the resources of the many learning to bridge past and future, in term which both the historian and the scientist can accept."

It is believed that since Franklin's "Autobiography" and Emerson's "Self-Reliance," as well as some of Whitman's works are seen as personal expressions or creations, first they could be analyzed through a literary approach, an element of American Studies approach. One of the elements of the literary approach used here is the "expressive approach" which stresses the inner point of view of the authors because it believes that art is the result of the imagination, thoughts and feelings of the poet or literary writer. The artist is the major element generating both the artistic product and the criteria by which it is to be judged (Abrams, 1971: 22).

In order to study the historical development of the writers' point of view at the time when their works were created, one must set the authors' achievement against the background of their lives and time. Historical and biographical approaches, another elements of the American Studies approach, are also required.
METHOD OF RESEARCH

The method of research that is used in this study is library research, focused on bibliographical sources that contain the topic discussed. This is done by gathering and collecting data from books, journals, periodicals, magazines, and newspapers, as well as non-print materials such as films and microfiches.

Then the data are gathered together, analyzed and finally written into a thesis. In doing so, the descriptive method is used with the intent of describing phenomena in great detail.

ANALYSIS

Cooperation in Franklin’s “Autobiography”

In a general sense, cooperation means the act of working together for a shared purpose, or the willingness to work together. It seems that Franklin absolutely believed in it. He believed in the need for those in a society to get something from each other. His vision of cooperation stems from his belief that the well being of the individual is inextricably tied to the well being of the society. In the method of argument Franklin used for example, he never used the word certainly or undoubtedly in giving an opinion. Instead, he said, I imagine it is so, or It is so if I am not mistaken (Lemisch, 1961: 31). Franklin believed that by using such expressions, he was able to make others agree with his opinion in some matters; and the chief purpose of such utterances, according to him, are “to inform or to be informed, to please or to persuade” (Lemisch, 1961: 31).

Franklin also believed that when someone expressed something that he thought was an error, he did not have to dispute him directly. Instead, he tried to enter into negotiation in order to let someone agree with what he said. As Franklin wrote, “I denied myself the pleasure of contradicting him abruptly, and of showing immediately some absurdity in his proposition,” and also, in answering him, “I began by observing that in certain cases or circumstances his opinion would be right.” Then Franklin added, but “that in the present case there appeared or seemed to me some difference” (Lemisch, 1961: 104).

Another portrayal of Franklin’s idea of cooperation in his “Autobiography” may be seen in his teaching that society should consist of members free from debt as well as vice, and that its members should help each other through promoting one another’s interests and business (Lemisch, 1961: 106-107). What Franklin advocates here was successfully brought into reality. Through the “Autobiography” we learn that after his return from England, Franklin had organized his ten most intelligent friends into a “club for mutual improvement” called the “Junto.” Each member in turn was required to lead a discussion on morals, politics, or natural philosophy, and to write an essay every three months.

The club had firm rules against members abrasively contradicting each
other, and against anything which might create personal antagonisms. One benefit of Franklin's club was that each member helped the new printer to find business.

To sustain his idea of cooperation in society that he recommended, Franklin did some public projects in collaboration with other society members. These public projects included Philadelphia's first public library, fire company, public academy, electrical experiment, philosophical society, militia, defense system, and hospital. Besides these projects, he helped to improve the city's police system and its streets (for he advocated paving), and devised a more equitable tax system.

Last but not least, Franklin believed that the most important thing in one's life was to deal with others honestly: "Truth, Sincerity, and Integrity in dealing between man and man," he said, "were the utmost importance to the felicity of life" (Lemisch, 1961: 70). It seems that this passage is a part of Franklin's account of his experience with Deism. We recall that, that experience taught him the overriding importance of "Truth, Sincerity and Integrity in Dealing Between Man and Man." It is with reference to this idea that religion, as well as virtue, are recommended as useful by Franklin in his "Autobiography." In addition to its richness, his ideal fully connects the individual and the social good.

Based on the explanations above, I may say that Franklin believes in the need of social relationship or cooperation in order to advance self and society. It seems Franklin has an awareness that each individual has his own limitations and therefore needs other individuals, or needs cooperation in order to satisfy his life, since no one can live by himself.

Franklin's idea of cooperation in his "Autobiography" is characteristic of the Enlightenment thought of Franklin's period of time. In general, the Enlightenment was a philosophical movement of the eighteenth-century in America. It celebrated reason, the scientific method, and human beings' ability to perfect themselves and their society. The major champions of its beliefs were philosophers, who made a critical examination of previously accepted institutions and beliefs from the viewpoint of reason, and with a confidence in natural laws and universal order. The philosophers agreed on faith in human rationality and the existence of discoverable and universally valid principles governing human beings nature and society. They opposed intolerance, restraint, spiritual authority, and revealed religion. They were Deists and political theorists who considered the state a proper instrument of progress (Holman, 1983: 159).

The eighteenth-century, which Franklin's life nearly spanned, was known as the age of reason or Enlightenment and it changed profoundly earlier Puritan views. With the emphasis upon reason rather than authority, this period was marked by a shift from authoritarianism to personal freedom. People thus began to think differently about the existence of God. Franklin, who was regarded as one of the American Founding Fathers, showed some aspects of the Enlightenment spirit of the eighteenth-century in his "Autobiography." The essay he began to write in 1771 was introduced by a letter addressed to his son, with the expect
tation that the ingenuity would inform others about how he achieved his affluence, reputation and happiness. In religion, he believed in the existence of God and in virtue as a source of happiness. Franklin was really a product of the Enlightenment and he has been regarded as a truly representative American. He was a living example of a prominent person who, by hard work, honesty, and public spiritedness, speculative about the nature of the universe, but in matters of religion content to observe the actual conduct of man rather than to denounce supernatural matters which are unpublishable.

Individualism in Emerson’s “Self-Reliance”

In my opinion, “Self-Reliance” itself has a meaning very identical to the idea of individualism. What Emerson means when he says “whoso would be a man must be a nonconformist” in his essay “Self-Reliance” is his main characterization of individualism. In the beginning of the essay Emerson states that our soul always bears something which is original, not conventional, whatever the subject is. Therefore, we have to speak of what we, not what other people think. “To believe your own thought,” Emerson says, “to believe that what is true for you in your private heart is true for all men is genius” (Haight, 1941: 120). In each of us there is an ever burning light which shines with the splendor of poets and thinkers. If we ignore this fine gift and never speak it out, “we shall be forced to take with shame our own opinion from another” (Haight, 1941: 120).

Emerson also courageously points out that in every man, there is a unique power which enables him to face his destiny. Man has to be on his own path or else this power will lose its strength and he will have no peace nor can he achieve any success. A man is a being to whom God has given ability or inherent strength to trust himself. “Trust thyself,” Emerson urges, “every heart vibrates to that iron string” (Haight, 1941: 121). If a man realizes this and develops self-trust, he will have a new power. On the other hand, if a man is always governed by society in his every action, becomes weak, turns into a depending person, as well, and will never be satisfied with himself. A man can keep his genuine thought as long as he’s in solitude, but it slips away as soon as he enters society. To become a real man one must be a nonconformist, “whoso would be a man must be a nonconformist” (Haight, 1941: 123).

Besides that, Emerson believes that conformity makes us false in every way, as he says, “your conformity explains nothing” (Haight, 1941: 128). No human being should break away from his nature. All his actions should derive from the way he is made. Therefore, he has just got to be what he is and act genuinely true to his character. “Let a man then know his worth,” Emerson says, “and keep things under his feet” (Haight, 1941: 129). A person should have a greater trust in his nature and in God, than in the laws made by men or the opinion of society.

Furthermore, Emerson argues for not imitating what other people
do. "Insist on yourself," he suggests, "and never imitate" (Hailpern, 1941: 142). We can do what we like to do with our own gift since we have got the whole possession of it, whereas of other's adopted talents we only get a partial and temporal possession. He takes as an example traveling abroad in order to adopt and imitate what we see and find and says, it is actually the result of a lack of our self-reliance. Some educated Americans think that American culture is poor compared with that of ancient countries, so that they travel abroad to search for culture, and then imitate what they have found without realizing that their own country has a culture no less than such ancient countries have. Such an action, according to Emerson, really shows a lack of self-reliance or individualism.

Having pointed out Emerson's main idea in his "Self-Reliance," it concludes that he believes in individualism or non-conformity absolutely. He has a strong belief that a man has to trust himself, since he has his own power, mind, and originality of thought. Society, in which to cooperate is to conform in a waste and only weakens men, so that it should be rejected.

The way to understand the historical development of Emerson's point of view in "Self-Reliance," one must study the historical background of the period when the essay was produced. When the Romantic Movement flourished in America in the nineteenth-century, some people became increasingly dissatisfied with the idea of rationalism which dominated intellectual life in the eighteenth-century. Emerson, whose life spanned the period of the romantic movement was one of the most outstanding of those writers who represented the characteristics of the transcendentalist aesthetic in America. Transcendentalism encouraged individualism or self-reliance but rejected any highly intellectual approach to life. The transcendentalists believed that knowledge is acquired through the senses or through intuition, but in order to attain perfection in knowledge one must use the intuitive reason.

As a moral philosophy, transcendentalism supported the spirit of Romanticism in America. Generally speaking, romanticism is defined as a literary attitude in which imagination is considered more important than sensory knowledge. Some critics define romanticism as a dominant strain that emphasizes individualism, emotionalism, and a return to nature (Crowford et al., 1953: 49). Moreover, romanticism reacts against the neoclassical spirit and prefers freedom to formalism. In fact, romanticism is a literary and philosophical theory which tends to place individualism at the center of life and experience, and represents a shift from objectivity to subjectivity.

From the above discussion, it is seen that Emerson's individualism in his "Self-Reliance" was influenced by the romantic individualism which proclaimed that feeling and imagination were central. Individualism or self-reliance was connected with the idea that the dignity of man requires that a man has to insist on himself and never imitate other men.
Cooperation Versus Individualism in Whitman's Works

Although some critics might regard Emerson and Whitman as representative of distinctive characters in nineteenth-century America, they had proposed a very important common idea, namely, an "alteration of individual consciousness" (Anderson, 1992: 533). By these words, they meant that everybody was trying to be the one, to become capable of trusting his own self. Since Emerson himself had pointed out such idea of individualism in his "Self-Reliance," Whitman's way of thinking here might have been inspired by Emerson's. In his more candid moments, Whitman confessed, "I was simmering, simmering, and Emerson brought me to a boil" (Kazin and Aaron, 1958: 17).

Meanwhile, the influence of Franklin's idea of cooperation on Whitman's works is at very least, based on the assumption that Franklin's "Autobiography," which expressed this idea, became an embryo for the creation of Whitman's works produced a century later. When, "Song of Myself," one of the poems collections in Whitman's Leaves of Grass, and his prose work, Democratic Vistas, are further studied, it will be found how he expresses his ideas of cooperation and individualism, as well as the way he reconciles the two.

The analysis begins by looking at Whitman's vision of cooperation in the two works cited. The opening lines of "Song of Myself" stress an important principle of the idea of individualism in wider meaning. An individual does not stand alone, since he is a member of society having both rights and duties. In order to fulfill such rights and duties, one needs a cooperative action or a principle of equality among others, as the opening verses say:

I celebrate myself,
And what I assume you shall assume.
For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you. (Section i, lines 1-3).

These lines explain that the principle of cooperation is quite important as in order to preserve the equality of the "poet-self" and other "selves." Since the poet has the same needs as other people have, they need such cooperative action in their daily lives within society.

In Section 16 of "Song of Myself," Whitman identifies several citizens who are living in many districts and states of the country with the intention of showing that they together, have to create comradery or cooperation in their existence as Americans. It is unwise indeed for Southerners to argue with Northerners. And also, it is wrong to desegregate slaves, or others, since they are also comrades. Citizens such as Kentuckians, Louisianians, Georgians, Californians, North-Westerners, people who live along the coast, Hoosiers, Badgers, and Buckeyes are all unified in a single brotherhood as Americans. As Whitman expresses in the following lines:

One of the Nation of many nations, the smallest the same and the largest the same,
A southerner soon as a Northerner, apologist nonchalant and hospitable down
by the Occoee line.
A Yankee bound my own way ready for trade, my joints the timberlost joints
on earth and the sternest joints of earth.
A Kentuckian walking the vale of the Elkborn in my leer-skin leggings, a
Louisianian or Georgian,
A boatman over lakes or bays along coasts, c. Hossier, Badger, Buckeye,
At home on Canadian snow-shoes or up in the bush, or with fishermen off
Newfoundland,
At home in the fleet of ice-boats, sailing with the rest and tacking,
At home on the hills of Vermont or in the woods of Maine, or the Texas
ranch.
Comrade of Californians, comrade of free North-Westerners, (loving their
big proportions.)
Comrade of refuge and coolmen, comrade of all who shake hands and wel-
come to drink and meat... (lines 334-336).

By presenting such belief, Whitman aims at eliminating the dis-
crimination in America in particular, and throughout the world in gen-
eral. As he says in Democratic Vistas, "let no tongue ever speak in dis-
paraging one another, just like what Franklin advocated in a certain
part of his "Autobiography." To develop this belief into a broad sense.
Whitman recommends a universal brotherhood among the members
of society. He has a confidence that all people must find a way to get on
in the world, since they all were born just as brothers to the others.

And I know that the spirit of the God is the brother of my own,
And that all the men ever born are also my brothers, and the women my
sisters and lovers,
(Song of Myself, Section 5, lines 53-94).

On the other hand, through the transcendental method of self-re-
liance, Whitman realizes himself as an individual who has to have an
identity. In another part of his Democratic Vistas, Whitman says that
after the valuable and well-settled statement of our duties and rela-
tions in society is thoroughly swindled and exhausted, "it remains to
bring forward and modify everything else with the idea of that Some-
thing a man is standing apart from all else, divine in his own right... sole
and untouched by any canons of authority or any rule derived from
precedent...." (Doran, 1973: 348). In order to make ourselves differ-
ent from others, we have to show our individuality, as he says "What is
a man anyhow? What am I? What are you?" (Song of Myself, line 391).
Whitman would release that an individual, whoever he is, has to be-
come the unlimited Emersonian individual, all soul and body. Let every
individual be complete in himself, let the average man become divine.

Whitman shares Emerson's enthusiasm for self-reliance or individ-
ualism. For Whitman, intellect's greatest function is not to build up re-
relationship between mankind and the Transcendent. Knowledge of God through intellect, which is then uttered in words or sentences, will disappear. Someone will easily forget it. The best knowledge of God comes through nature, which transcendentally represents God. The willingness to give up to nature all the way without any conformity to anyone else is the best way to gain knowledge of God. Thus, Whitman says:

I will go to the bank by wood and become undigested and asked.
(Song of Myself, Section 1, lines 19).

In order to apply another of Emerson’s doctrines of individualism, Whitman insists that no one is allowed just to imitate or take anything from someone else’s hand. Instead, someone has to trust himself and never surrender to do something with his own gift.

Stop this day and night with me and you shall possess the origin of all poems.
You shall possess the good of the earth and sun (there are millions of suns left).
You shall no longer take things at second or third hand, nor look through the eyes of the dead, nor feel on the spectra in books,
You shall not look through my eyes either, nor take things from me,
You shall listen to all sides and filter them from your self.
(Song of Myself, Section 2, lines 35-37).

These lines indicate that Whitman is straightforward about his goal of liberating the people into heroic selfhood or individualism. He says in Democratic Vistas that “the people, of their own choice, fighting, dying for their own idea” (Doren, 1978: 332). Therefore, the people have to present all the best they could, as Whitman himself says “I trust do the best I can, leaving it to those who come after me to do much better” (ibid, 348). Again, by uttering such statement, he really means to ask someone else to do all the best he can, just like what he himself suggests in the other lines of Democratic Vistas, “always inform yourself, always do the best you can” (ibid, 356). Besides that Whitman recommends that every individual has to be a leader for his own self. Someone must develop a self-trust in order to have a great power to lead himself. He thinks that when a person has a sufficient self-trust, he will be able to face trouble more serenely than if he does not have any self-trust at all. In Section 46 of “Song of Myself” Whitman points out a kind of “public road” where people can go. To do something, including to build up the country, for instance, each individual has to “trust himself” in order to participate in his own way, since no anyone else could do that for him. Whitman says:

Not I, not any one else can travel that road for you,
You must travel it for yourself.
(lines 110-111).

It is the best thing indeed, according to Whitman, when the citizens of society possess self-reliance or the idea of individualism. By having this vision, someone can find everything that concerns himself including God, in nature, as well as in everybody else, without asking for help from everyone else, as Whitman declares.
You are also asking me questions and I hear you,
I answer that I cannot answer, you must find out for yourself.
(Song of Myself, Section 46, lines 125-126).

From the above discussion, it is understood that neither Franklin’s vision of cooperation nor Emerson’s doctrine of individualism are absolutely proposed just like that by Whitman. He follows them in order just to show that both of the two ideas are very important. Apparently, he presents them in order to remind us that the important thing is not the fact of being an extreme individualist, but how to be a good individual among other individuals in the society and why such individuality and cooperation are worthwhile struggling for. This derives from the fact that Whitman has his own unique way of looking at things as having two opposite natures. If we just hold firmly on to one of the two ideas, e.g. to individualism, it will just bring something not more than “the pride and centripetal isolation of a human being in himself” (Doren, 1973: 346). Meanwhile, if we absolutely believe to the idea of cooperation, it will be harmful to our own personalities.

Because of the fact mentioned, the best thing for an individual in society to do is to create a harmony of life and establish a good balance between his own needs and the interest of the society, without making one prominent over the other, or in Whitman’s words, we have to “reconcile them.” By this reconciliation according to Whitman, “a true personality, developed, exercised proportionately in body, mind, and spirit” will be brought into reality.

CONCLUSION

Having studied Walt Whitman’s Democratic Vistas and the epic “Song of Myself” in the light of Emerson’s doctrine of individualism in “Self-Reliance” and Franklin’s idea of cooperation in his “Autobiography,” this chapter will go into the merits of Whitman and his contribution to these two visions.

Based on the foregoing analysis, it is understood that the way Whitman allows himself to be subject to both Franklin’s idea of cooperation and Emerson’s individualism shows his own sophistication. In his own way, he manages to make the influence of Emerson’s individualism and Franklin’s cooperation enrich his imagination and perception without blurring his own personality. His acceptance of Emerson’s individualism does not go to the extreme, since he also believes in Franklin’s cooperation. He admits that the individual and the social are always getting something out of each other. By occasional cooperation with other members of society, one’s individuality can be well-established.

Whitman then advocates the necessity to reconcile the ideas of cooperation and individualism to be practiced by all individuals in the society. By this reconciliation, it is not meant that someone’s self-reliance or individualism will be harmed, rather, it aims to let every individual demonstrate his personality among other individuals forming
his society. Whitman views society and individual as two antagonistic elements. He insists that every individual has his own limitations; therefore he has to be a member of a society in order to have other individuals with whom he can work. This membership involves both duties and rights which accompany freedom. Whitman identifies the principle of equality among others, by saying that equality may be found in every individual self. In addition, he believes that when every individual comes to appreciate equality, it will be possible for him to have harmonious relations with others. Society will not be seen as a weak compromise but an integral part of the effort for everyone to become more of an individual.

Whitman presents a final argument by saying that by reconciling the ideas of cooperation and individualism in everyone's mind, and then bringing it into real practice, it will create a peaceful and very well-established life of community, where "true personality has been developed proportionately in body, mind and spirit."

From the whole discussion of this thesis, we may understand that the ideas of cooperation and individualism become very important values in American society. They always frame any discussions of American society and culture. They are sometimes seen as in conflict, and sometimes as complementary. Each of these ideas has had its defenders in the course of American history. Some critics have emphasized first one, and then the other, as the most marked characteristic of the new society and policy that arose in America.

Learning about other's history and culture through comparative study is very important for Indonesians in this age of global information. In this case American culture and history, which are sometimes assumed to be some sort of standard in developing countries, become very important for Indonesians to study comparatively. Indonesia at the very beginning was an agrarian country, where its citizens strongly exemplified the norm of "gotong-royong" (mutual cooperation). With the changing of its social and economic conditions effected by the development of science and technology, Indonesia is now becoming industrialized. In the process of becoming an industrialized country, there is a danger that some Indonesians may begin to ignore their "gotong-royong" spirits, especially those who live in urban centers. It is hoped this study may serve as a starting point for a cross-cultural study of the meaning of individualism, and cooperation in American and Indonesian societies.

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