East-West: Interactions between the United States and Japan and Their Effect on Utopian Realism

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This article sheds light on the creative interaction between East and West in the emergence of a counterhegemonic globalism and a new planning paradigm. Arguably this imminent, global counterculture represents a dynamic synthesis of Eastern and Western versions of an image of utopia as the ideal decentralized community, based on cooperation and in harmony with nature. The formation of this syncretic set of Eastern and Western social-aesthetic ideals coincides with the participatory line of planning thought. It examines these ideas by tracing their origins, transmission, and transformation along lines that become increasingly interconnected with the rise of a global system leading to the emergence of modernism in the West by World War I and the formation of a global consensus on the concept of sustainable development in the 1970s and 1980s. The formation, transmission, and transformation processes involved leading Western and Eastern intellectuals whose ideas on community planning evidenced strong influences from Asia (and Japan in particular).

Keywords: utopian planning; modernism; transnational social movements

The interaction between the civilizations of the East and West represents a significant creative force in world history, widely acknowledged as generative in the Renaissance and the emergence of modernism in the West. The encounter between East and West triggered such waves of cultural creativity in part by stimulating the utopian imagination—inspiring new visions of reality, new ways of thinking about the future, in short, new images of the ideal community and how to achieve it. This article explores the creative interaction between Eastern and Western culture in the emergence of a counterhegemonic globalism: a holistic, ecological worldview that emphasizes the potential of the individual, the importance of a spiritual connection to the built world, and the need for cooperation among people.[1] Arguably this global perspective represents a dynamic merger of Eastern and Western images of the ideal decentralized community. This vision, if grounded in the actuality of a particular place, is not "merely" utopian but realistic and can inspire transformative action. Patrick Geddes (1915/1968, xxvi-xxvii) put it this way: "Eutopia, then, lies in the city around us; and it must be planned and realized, here or nowhere, by

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us as its citizens—each a citizen of both the actual and the ideal city seen increasingly as one."

By painting a picture of the historical continuity and ongoing development of utopian realist visions inspired by creative East-West interaction, the article opens a broader perspective on planning history. The first part of this article traces this set of ideas from their origin in the West and Asia to their transmission and transformation along separate lines that become increasingly interconnected with the rise of a global system, leading to the fusion of Eastern and Western social-aesthetic ideals in modernist artistic and social movements by World War I. The second part examines the further development of utopian realism with the rise of planning as a professional and intellectual movement worldwide. This occurred in the participatory line of planning that runs through the work of Frank Lloyd Wright in the 1920s and 1930s, John Turner's experiments with self-help housing in the 1960s, and the intellectual development of Christopher Alexander in the 1960s and 1970s.[2] In terms of East-West interactions, this article brings to light the special role of Japanese influence on utopian realism, an ongoing process that culminates today in the concept of sustainable development and the international "healthy cities" movement.[3]

Origins: Athena and Zen

Encounters between East and West have inspired visions of utopia as the ideal decentralized community ever since it first came to life as an archetype in the West in fifth-century-BC Athens (herein referred to metaphorically as the Athena concept). The Persians' threatening presence led Herodotus to define what made the Greeks distinctive: citizens of the polis. The new civic ideal appeared realizable in Athens, a sacred place that embodied the spirit of the goddess Athena Polias, the "sponsor to the breaking of boundaries and limits" (Scully 1962, 156). There the new freedom for individual action triggered a liberation of the imagination and a "belief that men could shape their world in accordance with their vision of it," says Pollitt (1972, 65, 68), who adds that the catalyst for this mood of "humanistic optimism" was the visionary leadership of the "Great Believer . . . Pericles, and the artists that helped make the Periclean vision real by giving it witnessable form." The Parthenon epitomizes the classical Greek social aesthetic ideal, characterized by wholeness, balance, self-discipline, simplicity, and "beautiful-goodness." Thus, "in a great succession of citizens the new urban order, the ideal city, became visible" Mumford (1961, 160) observes, adding, "It is by its capacity too formulate that idea—not by its failure to achieve it—that we still properly measure the Greek polis."

At around the same time, a similar humanistic ideal crystallized in China, based on a mix of Buddhist, Confucian, and Taoist thought. This blend gave rise to Zen Buddhism, a new sect that bloomed during the Song

dynasty (960-1279), a cultural florescence as significant as the Golden Age of Greece (Hymes 1997). In the thirteenth century, Buddhist priests introduced Zen along with other aspects of Song culture to Japan, during a major turning point in Japanese civilization: the rise of the warrior class (samurai) as a new ruling elite. Zen provided the basis for the samurai to invent a new culture (Bushido) during the Kamakura era (1185-1333). The Zen value of "simplicity, austerity and self-discipline" and the doctrine "that all of nature expresses the fundamental truths" suited warriors seeking inner strength and intellectual directness, as well as intellectuals and artists striving to see things as they really are (Hall and Beardsley 1965, 327).

Renaissance

With the rise of Christianity in the West, the Athena concept lay dormant until the twelfth century, when renewed contacts with Asia and an expansion of trade fueled the growth of cities. This began in Italy, where contact had continued with Byzantine (Hellenized Asian) civilization (Pirenne 1937). By the late thirteenth century, the diffusion of Asian ideas and products along Italian trade networks gave rise to a groundswell of innovation in the northern city states, including a new form self-government, communal republicanism, based on ancient local traditions (Putnam 1993). Creative energy in the arts first flourished in the work of the painters in Sienna, where the vision of the ideal decentralized community gained concrete form in the organic system of order of the townscape (Norberg-Schulz 1980, 107-8).

The diffusion of East Asian discoveries by Marco Polo and others began to have an impact on the European utopian imagination in the fourteenth century. For the first time in more than a thousand years, the nature of the ideal community became a cultural artifact to be represented and debated. This debate was particularly vigorous in Italy, where the arrival of refugee Greek scholars bearing ancient texts (preserved by Islamic rulers) sparked a revival of classical learning. Their students, the humanists, used the classics as a tool to construct a new view of history as made through human achievement. The translation of the classics from Arabic, however, produced an "unprecedented interfusion of Asian and Western cultures" says Saliba (1997, 50-51). Thus, the early Renaissance Athena is "cloaked in Arab garb."

Meanwhile in Japan, the arrival of Zen priests exiled after the collapse of the Song dynasty in 1279 spurred a resurgence of interest in Zen and Song culture. Demand for implements for the Zen lifestyle led artists and artisans to give "witnessable form" to the Zen social-aesthetic ideal. The resulting outpouring of creativity (1338-1573) produced new, uniquely Japanese cultural forms—*sumie* painting, *noh* drama, the tea ceremony, garden design, and domestic architecture (Hall and Beardsley 1965, 282, 158). The flourishing of Zen culture during this period of political decentralization

continued the process begun in the Kamakura era "by which the elements of political power and cultural advantage became the property of an increasingly large portion of the population as time goes on" (p. 158). This persisted in the Monomoya period (1573-1603) with the rise of a new class of urban commoners and a "democratization of Buddhism" with the rise of millennial sects—which Bellah (1957) associates with the form of Calvinism that developed in England, New England, and the Netherlands.

Enlightenment

The maritime expeditions of the fifteenth century fed the further development of humanist utopianism in England and Holland, the dominant mercantile powers, notably in the thinking of Erasmus and Thomas More. Radical English Puritans envisioned a similar ideal, the covenanted community grounded in what they knew of early Christian communes (Seligman 1989, 38). The Puritans carried this civic ideal, a Calvinist Athena, to the New World, where it appeared realizable and became deeply rooted in New England, embedded in the village and township settlement pattern, and embodied by the image of Boston as the City on the Hill.

In the meantime in Japan, the slow but steady popularization of elite cultural forms embodying the Zen ideal continued during the long peace and prosperity of the Tokugawa era (1603-1858), eventually giving rise to an urban popular culture. In the eighteenth century, urban popular cultural centered on Edo (Tokyo) and reached a high level of achievement in two forms: *ukiyo-e* art, "pictures of the floating world," portraying life in the entertainment district; and the *sukiya* style of domestic architecture (Hall and Beardsley 1965, 282). In parallel to the new freedom of popular expression, by the mid-Tokugawa era, a measure of self-government had become established in both villages and urban wards.[4] "The entire national system . . . was . . . an intricately balanced network of power," leaving most local administration to autonomous units (Smith 1997, 516). This balance derived from the Song neo-Confucianism—which some scholars view "as a further development of Zen" (Ames 1962, 58)—that the Tokugawa rulers imported to legitimize their regime. Japanese Confucian scholars, many of them Zen priests, had to reformulate the Chinese principle of government to suit Japan's "centralized feudalism." Awareness of alternatives encouraged policy debates and with mounting pressure for reforms to maintain order. Gluck (1997, 731) suggests that we can see mid-Tokugawa-era scholars as in "aggressive pursuit of change within a framework of alleged continuity."

Jesuit missionaries conveyed neo-Confucianism to Europe "in time to influence Voltaire and other philosophers of the Enlightenment," Ames (1962, 59) reports. In the eighteenth century, Confucianism "gained wide admiration among Europeans . . . [and subsequently] helped shape the Jeffersonian vision of an educated citizenry" adds Murphey (1997, 2), just as

Chinese aesthetics shaped the English landscape garden (dubbed *jardin anglo-chinois* in Europe)—the ideal setting for Jefferson's Greek Revival villa (Lancaster 1983). Clearly, neo-Confucianism infused the bundle of radical ideas that inspired the revival of the moribund Puritan Athena as a neoclassical goddess of liberty, a renewed force for social change.

So we can see that by 1800, the Eastern and Western traditions of utopian realism, Athena and Zen, were engrained in New England and Japan as foundational ideals. In the mid-nineteenth century, intensified interactions between the United States and Japan inspired the utopian imagination in both East and West as well as the creative dialogue between them, resulting in a new synthesis of social-aesthetic ideals. This happened first in the world of art and later in planning.

Dialogue between East and West

When Commodore Perry sailed into Tokyo Bay in the mid-1850s to pry open Japan's markets, the West discovered Japan's traditional arts and popular culture for the first time. The vital exchange that ensued between East and West, broadly referred to by me as Japanism, profoundly influenced Western arts at a time of transformation in art and politics (1880-1930) when progressives sought to use design as a lever to reform society. These efforts, referred to here as the design reform movement, led to the emergence of modernism—a common language shared by the political and artistic avant-garde to break with the past and invent new forms of expression. Thus, as Lancaster (1983) said, Japanese influence served as the "midwife" of modernism in the West. Less well understood is Japanese influence on the planning arm of the modern movement. The key to this understanding lies in the networks that came to connect the United States and Japan directly, as well as indirectly, through England and the Continent.

Design Reform Networks

Interactions between architects, artists, scholars, social reformers, and others grew to be particularly intensive along networks between the Boston and Tokyo-Yokohama city regions as commercial links laid the foundation for creating a shared world of ideas. The circulation of Asian goods and intellectual currents along the China trade routes that flowed into and out of Boston, one of the most active ports in the nation, had already stirred the transcendentalists in the 1840s. Regardless of specific influences, transcendentalism is "very close to Zen—an attitude of trying to find the profound spring of truth within man" says Ando (1970, iv).[5] The Emersonian idea of the essential role of art in the life of a democracy provided the philosophic basis for the Aesthetic movement in America, along with those of British critic John Ruskin (Nute 1993, 11). Thanks to Charles Eliot Norton,

the first professor of fine arts at Harvard, the Anglo-American aesthetic movement was particularly strong in Boston.

By the 1870s, the aesthetic movement in England had become “virtually synonymous” with the craze for “all things Japanese” (Kaplan 1987a, 70). Leaders of the movement idealized Japanese decorative arts as models to be emulated. Through their followers, such as William Morris, C. R. Ashbee, and Charles Rennie Mackintosh, Japanese art remained an important influence on the arts and crafts movement. Morris moreover inspired many young people to see design as a means to reform society at large. Under his influence, design and architecture came to be seen as a career for the socially committed. The prestige of British design magnified the impact of Japanism on progressive design reformers, particularly in anglophile Boston. As a result, Japanism was a persistent undercurrent during two generations (1875-1920) of significant design reform activity in Boston, which later spread across the nation (Naylor 1971).[6]

Americans followed the British in calling for manual arts programs in which “drawing was a utilitarian skill deemed necessary for good design (and social reform)” (Meech 2001, 39). The new institutions to reform public art education in Boston, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (BMFA) and its school, also served as important sites for public access to collections of Japanese art (Kaplan 1987b). One of the first to enroll there in 1877 was Ernest Fenollosa, a young man from Salem and recent graduate of Harvard, where Norton inspired him to learn to make art as well as appreciate the philosophy of aesthetics.

Education Reform Networks

By this time, education had become an export industry in Boston. The arrival of Japanese students in Boston in the 1870s, part of “one of the world’s first great student migrations” (Jansen 1988, 29) was counterbalanced by the dispatch of scholars from Boston to Japan to help set up and teach in the institutions of higher education created to “modernize” Japan during the Meiji era (1868-1912). In 1878, on Norton’s recommendation, Edward S. Morse, appointed as the first professor of zoology at the new Tokyo Imperial University, recruited Fenollosa to teach philosophy there. When Morse and Fenollosa, who were both from Salem, Massachusetts, arrived in Tokyo they must have been struck by the “overblown Colonial New England flavor” of the campus, a resemblance Stewart (1987, 31) attributes to a “popular process of transmission.” This is because early Meiji educational reformers, in collaboration with Christian missionaries, adopted New England colleges as their model. The leaders of the Meiji Christian movement were all from New England and tried to re-create Puritan culture in Japan via education (Howes 1965).[7]

Many of the early graduates of these schools, young men from samurai families, found a linkage between Western social ideas and their own tradi-

tions. Notably, Nitobe Inazo, an educator and diplomat who dedicated his life to bridging Japan and the West, converted to Christianity when he attended Sapporo Agricultural College, modeled on what is now the University of Massachusetts, where he also gained a deep respect for and identification with Puritan New England. In the 1880s, as a student at John Hopkins University, Nitobe became attracted to Quakerism, which he saw as a Christian form of Zen (Howes 1965).

The admiration was mutual and mutually transformative. As Benfey (2003, xi) reports, "No region of the United States was more enamored of Japan than New England." Romantic New Englanders like Fenollosa and Morse "fell in love with a Japan that seemed . . . perfect in its dimensions and somehow Grecian in its purity and proportions . . . in contrast to materialism and modernization" says Jansen (1988, 29). New Englanders especially "discerned in the traditions of Old Japan an alternative social order," Benfy (2003, xiv) explains. "In the self-sacrifice of the samurai, they detected the stern ethos of their own Puritan forbears. . . . And in Zen austerity . . . they found confirmation of their own recoil from Victorian excess."

Transnational Scholarly Communities

The global context for the formation of these overlapping networks emerged between 1879 and 1930 with the rise of the modern research university and the professions as the institutional setting for the production of new social knowledge.[9] Increasingly, intellectual elites generated and used new social knowledge across national boundaries in complex webs of interrelationships. These networks, organized as scholarly communities, built the bridge for persistent cultural interaction between Boston, the regional center with the highest concentration of higher academic institutions in the United States, and Tokyo, its counterpart in Japan. The core of this transnational community formed around Morse, Fenollosa, and two younger colleagues, Arthur W. Dow and Kakuzo Okakura, based at Tokyo Imperial University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. This group of friends, known as "the Boston Orientalists," became the preeminent scholars on Japanese art in America at the turn of the twentieth century (Nute 1993). They pioneered modern utopian realism by searching "the cultures of East and West for the outlines of an emerging world civilization . . . whose prelude was visible in the evolution of art" (Chisolm 1963, vii).

Social Movement Networks

Along with Christianity, liberal American clergy introduced socialism and the social gospel to Japan, where, by the early twentieth century, Christianity became closely associated with progressive ideas and social activism. The international network of Unitarian Churches reinforced the bond

between progressives in Japan and New England. Japan's first socialist party met in the Unitarian Church in Tokyo in 1901. The Unitarian First Church, in the Jamaica Plain section of Boston, turned into a hub for social gospel outreach under the leadership of Reverend Charles Dole from 1881 to 1916. Dole encouraged parishioners to form "social action organizations" in such fields as international justice and peace and social justice and progress. His protégé, Emily Balch, exemplifies how this encouraged women especially to link neighborhood redevelopment to the broader issue of world peace. In 1946, Balch won the Nobel Peace Prize for her work with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which she cofounded with her friend Jane Addams.[8]

One can imagine Balch as a Radical Yankee Athena, clothed in the new kimono-inspired "reform style" dress, which afforded women more freedom of movement. A member of the first graduating class of Bryn Mawr, Balch set up the first settlement house in Boston in 1889, organized women factory workers, and taught economics at Wellesley. Balch crossed paths with Nitobe when both studied with Adolf Wagner and Gustav Schmoller at the University of Berlin. They became colleagues in Geneva in the 1920s when Nitobe served as the first undersecretary of the League of Nations, where Balch represented the WILPF.

Japanism, Internationalism, and the New Style

In the 1890s, the arts and crafts movement design reformers in various countries converged with the rising nationalist sentiment and longing for a national style. In Europe, this international trend produced a revolutionary new style (Kaplan 1987a, 58). Japanese art provided the most significant of the sources that contributed to the new style, as it represented "a completely new esthetic expression in which each Western artist could find inspiration" (Selz 1959a, 16, 7). More than simply an aesthetic, the movement signified "a way of designing" integrating artists and artisans, "each thinking individually yet working hand in hand for the larger whole." Japanese influence on this approach was implicit in the movement to organize communal arts and crafts workshops. Two prominent Japanophiles, Ashbee and Mackintosh, established the most significant of these workshops. University of Chicago Sociology Professor Oscar Lovell Triggs, a cofounder of the Chicago Society for Arts and Crafts, coined the phrase "voluntary cooperative individualism" to promote this ideal in progressive American terms (Boris 1987, 214).

At this time, creative leadership in design reform shifted from the English to the Germans, centered in Berlin from 1898 to 1900 (Selz 1959b, 70). The design reform spirit attracted philosopher and social activist Martin Buber, then a student at the University of Berlin. Buber met Gustav Landauer, the anarchist socialist who became his closest friend and mentor at the Neue

Gemeinschaft, an arts and crafts commune near Berlin (Mendes-Flohr 1989, 54). Buber's evolving religious utopian socialism illuminates how the East-West dialogue in Central Europe stimulated the emergence of modernism there in a form inextricably linked with Jewish cultural creativity.

The East-West Encounter and Cultural Zionism

The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire exacerbated a virulent anti-Semitism that drove many Eastern European Jews to flee to the West. Their arrival, with their communal culture steeped in mysticism, unsettled the assimilated, prospering, Western European Jews. This encounter between East and West struck at issues at the heart of Jewish identity and inspired an outpouring of utopian social movements such as Zionism as well as other utopian ideologies. Zionism originated in response to the ostracism of Jews as Orientals (Semites) from European life. In 1897, journalist Theodore Herzl called for a geopolitical solution, creation of a Jewish state. Buber was among the first at those early congresses to suggest an alternative: Cultural Zionism.

Buber urged Jews to nourish "a Jewish culture in Germany based on their Eastern spirituality" (Schmidt 1995, 120). Just as the Japanese had learned they could gain Western respect through their artistic accomplishments, he encouraged Jews to focus on artistic production to earn European respect. Cultural Zionism could spark this creativity by awakening a yearning "for a new free independent life which will bind West [individualist/empirical] and East [communal/spiritual] and produce a specifically Jewish fruitfulness."[10] When Buber and his circle led the Jewish Renaissance in Berlin and Vienna (1900-1904), this fusion of Eastern and Western Jewish culture resonated with and intensified the creative ferment that marked those centers of cosmopolitan Jewish life as the cradle of modernity.

Emergence of Modernism

Members of the Weiner Werkstätte (Vienna Workshop)—who earlier had helped introduce Japanese art to the Viennese public—"made the most radical advances towards modernism" from 1904 to 1906 when they engaged in a conscious "reimagining of the lessons of plainness in Japanese design," says Varnedoe (1986, 83). Their achievement involved working out a new, geometric form language, thereby distilling the ideal known as *Sachlichkeit*. Stewart (1987, 46) argues that in its austerity, Sachlichkeit echoes Japanese aesthetics, "notably, but not exclusively, in the art of tea." As Pevsner (1936, 39) reports, "This untranslatable word . . . meaning pertinent, matter of fact, and objective, became the catchword of the growing modern movement." Frank Lloyd Wright made a similar move toward abstraction at this time, learning from ukiyo-e prints the importance of

"stringent simplification by elimination of the insignificant."[11] Wright, now a collector and connoisseur of Japanese art, relied heavily on the perceptions of the Boston Orientalists in learning this lesson (Nute 1993).

The publication of Kazuko Okakura's *The Book of Tea* (1906/1956, 3-5, 7-38, 49) introduced the Western public to both Zen and the concept of Teaism as "Taoism in disguise. . . . the art of being in the world." Okakura wrote *The Book of Tea* in Boston after a trip through Asia (when he found a kindred spirit in the poet Rabindranath Tagore) convinced him to interpret the East as a cultural and philosophical antidote to Western materialism (Grilli 1956). The book, a popular success, presents Teaism in American terms as "the true spirit of Eastern Democracy," with Zen, "the legitimate successor" of Taoism, representing "the individualistic trend . . . in contradistinction to the communism . . . in Confucianism." Okakura suggests one basis for the attraction of Zen to modern Westerners: "Zennism, like Taoism, is the worship of Relativity. . . . Truth can be reached only through the comprehension of opposites . . . [and] direct communion with the inner nature of things." We can see Teaism—"a tender attempt to accomplish something in this impossible thing we know as life"—as utopian realism: "Taoism furnished the basis for aesthetic ideals. Zennism made them practical."

The *sukiya* style of architecture, which derived from the ceremonial teahouse, epitomizes "the quintessence of Taoist social aesthetic ideal" for Okakura. Thus, he offered an architectural image to illustrate Lao-Tzu's metaphor of the Vacuum—"the reality of a room . . . was to be found in the vacant space enclosed by the roof and walls, not in the roof and walls themselves." Wright later famously misinterprets this metaphor as an expression of his own "organic architecture," suggesting the complicated process of creative misreading of different national traditions that were then well under way (see Nute 1993; Stewart 1987).

Translations of Lao-Tzu's *Tao Te Ching* were just becoming available, and Zen began to enrich the social thought as well as aesthetics. Buber introduced these ideas to German intellectual discourse in 1914 when he published the most extensive German translation of Chuang Tzu of its time *(Reden und Gleichnesse des Tschuang-tse)*. In his commentary "The Teaching of the Tao," Buber (1949, 181) offers an interpretation of "the way"—"the unified man is the creating man" and "the knowledge of the perfected man is not in his thinking but in his action"—that resonated with Landauer's *Call to Socialism* (1911/1978), which urged people to begin transforming society here and now.[12] Biologist, sociologist, and pioneer city planner Patrick Geddes (1915/1968, xxvi) made a similar appeal in *Cities in Evolution*, written in 1911, an introduction to the "new social art" of town planning, stating "Idealism and matter of fact are . . . inseparable." This was the contemporaneous context in which the modern movement in Germany consolidated around the Sachlichkeit ideal by World War I (Clark and Kaplan 1987), under the leadership of Hermann Muthesius—the con-

necting link between Japan, the English arts and crafts, and design reform in Germany—and architect Peter Behrens, whose principal patron was the Zionist industrialist Emil Rathenau.[13]

The dialogue between Eastern and Western ideals reverberated in the socialist and Zionist networks linking Germany and Boston, where liberal Jews like legal scholar Louis Brandeis and retailer Lincoln Kirstein often worked with Radical Yankees like Emily Balch in overlapping reform coalitions. Boston was an early Zionist stronghold, largely due to a group of liberal scholars at Harvard, notably Howard Kallen, whose philosophy of cultural pluralism mirrored Buber's Cultural Zionism (Sarna 1995). In this way, the progressive Athena gained a patina of Jewish utopianism.

Modern Utopian Realism and the Rise of Planning

The interaction of Eastern and Western culture continued as a vital current in the tide of democratic and religious socialism that surged worldwide following World War I. The war itself accelerated the process of globalization, precipitating cross-cultural encounters. Balch and Addams sailed to Europe as leaders of the American peace movement, serving as role models for "the incipient civic and town planning movement" said Geddes (1915/1968, 50, 83) as planning and cooperation are essential to the "world-struggle for existence." He declared, "Through City and Region, and in the course of their revivance and development, lies the peaceful yet strenuous way of survival and evolution." Geddes, however, sailed to the East, spending the war years in India with Tagore among others and in Palestine with the Zionists.

International Communities of Learning Based on Cooperation

Tagore's new celebrity as the first Asian to win the Nobel Prize for poetry (in 1913) not only signaled the empowerment of Asian intellectual elites on the world stage but also called international attention to his educational experiments, notably, Santiniketan, the school he founded in 1901 near Calcutta, which combined Indian and Western educational methods (Sinha 1962, 55-6, 86). With the help of an English disciple, agricultural economist Leonard Elmhirst, he established Sriniketan, an Institute of Rural Reconstruction, promoting the cooperative spirit. In 1916, Geddes and his son Arthur helped Tagore plan an institution that later became an international university (Visva-Bharati) with the motto "Where the world will live in a single nest."

That same year Tagore traveled to Japan, where he stayed at Okakura's home in Tokyo. Tagore had a special interest in Japan. He admired the Japanese readiness to experiment with ideas, a trait he believed derived from their distillation of Buddhism in aesthetics and constituted "the real source

of Japan's strength."[14] But he made this trip to lecture on the "menace" of nationalism. Tagore's warning proved to be in vain. Nationalism even consumed the poet Yone Noguchi, who had visited Santiniketan and translated Tagore's poems. In 1917, hostility toward the West in Japan convinced Noguchi's estranged wife, Leonie Gilmour, to send their son Isamu, then thirteen, back to the United States.[15] However, Tagore's call for international cooperation did galvanize a small group of liberals, notably Shigenobu Okuma, prime minister from 1914 to 1916. In 1918 Okuma, who was the founder of Waseda University (where Noguchi taught) helped establish the first women's college in Japan. Nitobe served as its first president.

The educational experiments of Tagore, Okuma, and Nitobe corresponded to the ideas of John Dewey, who supported educational reform in Japan and China through lecture tours from 1919 through 1921. Dewey still focused on the central role of the school in democratic life, in which social change comes through individual learning, through dialogue. As he explained in *Democracy and Education* (1916), "A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience." While some progressive Japanese in the 1920s found in Dewey a way of being individualist, there is a correlation between his ideas and the contribution of the Japanese philosophers known as Kyoto School at the same time: "the distinctly Zen Buddhist emphasis on the experiential components of philosophical practice, and its subsequent moral consequence."[16]

Dewey, who had studied at Johns Hopkins a few years after Nitobe, lived in his home for three months when he lectured at Tokyo University in 1919. He then reportedly convinced Nitobe to support the League of Nations movement, which was slow to form in Japan (Burkman 1995, 180). Nitobe traveled to Paris to position himself for an appointment at the League when it was established in 1920, where he becomes a colleague of Dewey's friend Emily Balch. Despite its shortcomings, Nitobe shared Balch's view of the League as an instrument to secure peace "by organized cooperation of all peoples to further their common interest" rather than politics and power.[17] Balch strengthened their bond when she joined the Quaker meeting Nitobe organized in Geneva—and discovered Zen as "an Eastern door" to faith. We can see that their shared beliefs and vision of a cooperative world community took shape along corresponding lines within their ancestors' Puritan and samurai cultural traditions within the networks forged by nineteenth-century missionaries and Meiji educational reformers.

Among his activities at the League, Nitobe was particularly proud of his role in forming the International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC), the forerunner of UNESCO. The formation of the ICIC reflected a broad movement to build cooperative learning communities in many parts of the developing world. Through his friend Henri Bergson, Geddes tried to interest the ICIC in his ideas on the role of the university in regional recon-

struction, which he was working on in India and Palestine (Stalley 1972, 105). Geddes visited Geneva in 1923 on his way back to India from New York, where he traveled at the invitation of Lewis Mumford (1922, 268), who had begun to popularize Geddes's ideas as a model for a "new social order." Yet Geddes touted "as a working model of civic reconstruction" the Zionists collective settlements *(kibbutzim)* in Palestine, which he viewed as "the modern eutopia" (Meller 1990, 281).

Geddes traveled to Palestine in August 1919 as a member of the British Zionist Commission that formed to plan a new university in Jerusalem. Geddes's plan was not realized, in part because of the dissolution of this commission in favor of the World Zionist Organization, led by Americans, including Brandeis, Magnes, and Felix Warburg. They favored Buber, who along with Chaim Weizmann, chemist and Zionist leader, first proposed the idea for a Jewish university in 1901. Buber had adopted a utopian socialist Zionism and envisioned an institution of popular education that would "infuse a new spirit [binding East and West] and lead to the building of a new life."[18] But by 1919, he was busy writing *I and Thou* (1924/1970).

A New Emerging Faith

Buber's faith in the utopian socialist vision survived his disillusion with Zionist politics in 1921, when his call for cooperation with the Arabs was rejected. Tagore, in Europe to promote his international university, met with Buber to "express his fear that a return of the Jewish people to national independence would . . . weaken its finest characteristic . . . which he described as reverence for the spirit and universalism" Buber (1967, 183-5) recalled. He acknowledged the danger but accepted the risk, in terms that echo the Taoist concept of *wu-wei* ("action in accordance with the character of the moment"): "As in the life of individuals so in that of peoples, there exists in a certain stage of their way threatening dangers . . . which one must attack directly in order to eventually overcome them."

Buber came to this new "spiritual realism" in the course of writing *I and Thou* (Ich and Du) (1924/1970), considered the classic statement of his philosophy of dialogue—which we can read as a continuation of the interpretive process he began in "The Teaching of the Tao."[19] As Kaufmann (1970, 38) explains, *I and Thou* "speaks to those whose primary concern is . . . with social change." Buber (1924/1970, 56-7, 94) places responsibility for social change on each person's need for reciprocal relationships, or "meetings" with others. Like Dewey, Buber says we enter into such meetings through language. But he endows the social with a spiritual dimension. "True community . . . comes into being" not as a concept but "an event," in the space in between I and thou. To illustrate this, Buber evokes Lao-tzu's metaphor of the vacuum: "A community is built upon a living, reciprocal relation, but the builder is the living, active center."

Frank Lloyd Wright (who spent a third of his time in Japan from 1916 to 1922) cited this same metaphor at roughly the same time, underscoring the complex coevolution of this synthesis of Eastern and Western ideals. Wright acknowledged having discovered Lao-Tzu in the 1920s, via *The Book of Tea* (Okakura 1906/1956).[20] Okakura's political interpretation of Taoism clearly influenced Wright's Broadacres City Plan, which he began in 1925. Nute (1993, 131) notes this plan, which residents were to complete by building their own homes, "came close to the Taoists social ideal of 'an undifferentiated agrarian collectivism,' and . . . Wright . . . was clearly conscious of this parallel."

The New Realism

In this way, the dialogue between East and West produced a deeper level of mutual understanding and creative misinterpretation that lifted the modern movement to a higher level in the 1920s. This happened most profoundly in the Weimar Republic (1918-1933), where "the easing of international relations . . . allowed an active cultural and intellectual traffic with both East and West, such as was experienced in no other country" Willett (1984, 14, 12) explains. The exciting climate encouraged "exuberant creativity and experimentation . . . and a hope for a new start," albeit mixed with anxiety and fear (Gay 1969, 12). The Weimar Renaissance absorbed rather than replaced the modernist forms invented before the war, producing a new approach, characterized by "concern with the collectivity" and a "technologically conscious approach to the arts and their relation to society," known as *Neue Sachlichkeit*.

The Bauhaus school founded by Walter Gropius and Bruno Taut in Berlin in 1919 formed the center of gravity for Weimar creativity. Gropius followed in the design reform tradition of his mentor Peter Behrens, basing his philosophy on collaboration, "the common citizenship of all forms of creative work and their logical interdependence on one another in the modern world."[21] This "new unity" would create "the new building of the future, . . . as a crystal symbol of a new emerging faith." The need for postwar reconstruction and to house a growing urban population provided the vehicle for architects to shape their world in accordance with this vision, creating the great housing complexes in Frankfurt and Berlin, the *Siedelung*.[22] Buber, then living in Frankfurt, became a great believer and spokesman for this vision in *I and Thou* (1924/1970).

International Modern Movement Networks

Bauhaus utopian realism was only one of many currents that flowed through the European modern architecture movement and provided a vehicle for innovative thinkers and artists to develop and discuss their visions. Notably, the Swiss architect Le Corbusier envisioned an ideal,

highly engineered community. Others were purely interested in the aesthetics of modernity. The internationalization of the language of modernism preserved this principle of harmony arising from creative tension rather than conformity as the political world order began to disintegrate, thus paving the way for the further development of the synthesis of Eastern and Western ideals in modern utopian realism after World War II. A case in point is Japanese architect Kunio Maekawa, a Corbusien disciple, who in 1928 attended the first meeting of Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM), the international association formed to support "freedom of architectural conception." Maekawa and other artists who spent a formative period of their development in Europe serve as a vital link between Japan and the Western avant-garde.

The Japanese-American sculptor Isamu Noguchi embodied this linkage. He first returned to Japan in 1931 with a grant to interpret the East to the West through sculpture as civic art, as his father had done through poetry. In retracing his father's steps, Noguchi followed a path that led him, via Ezra Pound, to Fenollosa and Okakura. The 1921 edition of Okakura's *The Ideals of the East* (1903/1921) was popular in Bohemian circles in New York. In 1929, Noguchi and inventor Buckminster Fuller met through these circles, and began a lifelong friendship. "The one world theme that Fuller elaborated from the late 1920s until his death was important for Noguchi" says Ashton (1992, 189) as an alternative "to the more classical visions of world harmony," whereas Fuller considered Noguchi "the unselfconscious prototype artist of the new cosmos."[23] Their friendships mirrors Fenollosa and Okakura's and extends the bonds established by their Radical Yankee and samurai forbears through space and time.[24]

Fuller introduced Noguchi to his world through some influential outsiders, three Harvard sophomores, Lincoln Kirstein (Louis's son), Edward Warburg (Felix's son), and John Walker III. In 1928, they had formed the Harvard Society for Contemporary Art to exhibit the art they had seen in Europe and in the collections of family and friends but that seemed virtually banned in Boston. Weber (1992, 39) observes that as Jews, Kirstein and Warburg "embraced modernism in part because . . . they elected to foster rather than mitigate their sense of being different" Through this group, known as the Harvard Modernists, Noguchi and Fuller connect to the interlinked networks that introduced Zionism and modernism to the United States—underscoring the liminal role of both the Japanese and Jews as mediators of East West exchange. The Harvard Modernists staged a show of Fuller's ideas on affordable housing in 1929 and opened the second season with Noguchi's sculptures. In December 1931, they put on the first Bauhaus show in America, two months before the one at the Museum of Modern Art in New York The two events were connected, as the same small circle of Harvard faculty and alumni produced both.

Arguably, by legitimating European modernism at Harvard, the Harvard Modernists paved the way for the hiring of former Bauhaus teachers fleeing

from the Nazis, thus importing Bauhaus utopian realism along with the international style. Moreover, the Warburgs and their prosperous friends assisted thousands of Jewish refugees, along with numerous exiled Gentile artists and intellectuals, to escape from the Nazis—an influx that transformed American intellectual and artistic life. "In architecture and design the German émigrés who most profoundly influenced American developments were former teachers at the Bauhaus" reports Jordy (1969, 485, 509), who notes that as a result of Harvard's hiring of Gropius in 1937, Cambridge became "the world center . . . for the exchange of ideas on modern architecture."

On their way to the United States, émigré Bauhaus students and teachers left their mark on England. The arrival of Gropius and Breuer in 1934, followed by colleagues Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Serge Chermayeff, and Sigfried Giedeon (the secretary for CIAM), among others, imbued the British section of CIAM, known as the Modern Architectural Research (MARS) group with Bauhaus utopian urbanism. The publication of *I and Thou* in London in 1936 and Wright's lectures there in 1939 reinforced the Eastern tone of the modernist influence on the MARS group.

Geddes and Planning for Reconstruction

Although Geddes died in 1932, his ideas remained a vital ingredient in English planning and design circles in the thirties "because of the personal dedication of some individuals who had responded to him," reports Meller (1990, 284, 323), who notes that E. A. A. Rowse adopted Geddes's dictum "that the study of planning as a social science needed to explore the relationship between the historical evolution of a place and its geographical location" in establishing the School of Planning and Research for Regional Development in 1935. Mumford acknowledged that Geddes's ideas provided the basis for his influential *The Culture of Cities* (1938), which, significantly, includes photographs of traditional Japanese houses and the Frankfurt *seidelung* to illustrate "forms prophetic of a new civilization," the "neotechnic" age. Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, one of the first graduates of Rowse's planning school, is less well known but was perhaps even more effective than Mumford in promoting the Geddesian gospel. When Rowse enlisted in the army in 1939, she stepped in as the interim director of the school and ensured the training of the next generation of planners in Geddesian techniques in preparation for postwar reconstruction.

Postwar Utopian Realism

The connection between Geddes's utopian realist vision and Buber's (1949, vii, 133-7) became clear in *Paths in Utopia*, which Buber wrote, at the dawn of the cold war, to revive interest in Utopian Socialism "with particular reference to its postulate of a renewal of society through a renewal of

its cell tissue . . . an essentially autonomous consociation of human beings, shaping and reshaping itself from within." Buber argued that efforts to realize the ideal decentralized community based on cooperation had not failed, and offered the Kibbutz movement as a "working model." The problem was how to join local cooperatives into an "organic commonwealth" he acknowledged: "The relationship between centralism and decentralization is a problem which . . . cannot be approached in principle, but [only] . . . with the constant and tireless weighing and measuring of the right proportion between them."

Complementing Buber's "genetic account" of utopian socialism, Paul and Percival Goodman (1947/1960, 120, 105) offered their version in *Communitas*: a graphic "bibliography" portraying Geddes in a banner over the body of thought incorporating, among others, Morris, Ruskin, and Dewey, with Wright and Okakura fitted over the foundational phrase "emphasis Japanese architecture, reliance on natural beauty, Neo-Functional Bauhaus aesthetic of industrial design." The Goodmans also praise the kibbutz as "the most perfect viable intentional community of modern times" and cite the Boston Orientalists in describing the traditional Japanese house as an exemplar of their "neo-functionalist" social-aesthetic ideal.

Balch added her voice to this chorus of utopian realists in her Nobel lecture in 1948: "We are not asked to subscribe to any utopia or to believe in a perfect world just around the corner. We are asked to be patient with necessarily slow and groping advance on the road forward, and to be ready for each step ahead as it becomes practicable."[25] However, in the United Nations (UN) Balch said, "We seem to see the time-spirit weaving a web of the peoples and creating, we hope, an unbreakable fabric binding all together by the habit of common work for common ends." She was even more encouraged by what was beginning on the cultural level in UNESCO. "Here what is wanted is not so much administration as contact, consultation, co-operation"—a good recipe for participatory, community-based planning.

This naturally happened first in those parts of the world where the UN assumed leadership in the postwar reconstruction effort. In one of its first tasks, the UN formed a commission to investigate the reconstruction of Japanese cities. Commission members included Martin Meyerson, then at Harvard and one of the leaders of the "progressive wing" of planners concerned with social action, and Eichii Isomura, representing the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and later one of Japan's leading sociologists and rector of Tokyo University.

Zen and the New Humanism

Just as the chain of events set off by the Nazis spurred the transatlantic intellectual and artistic migration from Europe, Japan's attack on Pearl Har-

bor intensified interchange between the United States and Japan and renewed American interest in things Japanese, particularly Zen Buddhism. At midcentury, the Zen viewpoint appealed to Americans because it "lies so close to the 'growing edge' of Western culture . . . in psychology and psychotherapy, in logic and the philosophy of science, in semantics and communications theory," Alan Watts (1957, ix) explains. Zen also offered a prescription for the malaise that permeated much of the West: the cure was not the absence of illness but the presence of well-being. Zen provided an inspiration for the "Dharma Bums" of the late forties and "the Beat way of life" in the fifties. Watts (1997, xiii) recalled, "Many American 'beatniks' and poets made pilgrimages to Japan at this time to study Zen."

Noguchi joined those pilgrims traveling on fellowship to study sacred sites that expressed mankind's "communal, emotional and mystic aspirations."[26] While many Japanese were now wary of cultural traditions that had been used to inspire support of the war, young architects and artists, like Maekawa's disciple Kenzo Tange, who understood the continuity between those traditions and modernist principles, welcomed Noguchi's arrived in 1950. Tange had won an international competition to design the Hiroshima Peace Center and Park and admired Noguchi's model for a bell tower for those who died in Hiroshima. Through Tange, the first professor of urbanism at Tokyo University, Noguchi became influential among his students, rising young architects who used the language of modernism to reexamine elements of Japan's architectural tradition and invent modern Japanese architecture and urban design (Stewart 1987).

The Need for the Core

Maekawa introduced Tange to the world architectural community when he invited him to his Hiroshima Peace Center at the eighth CIAM conference in 1951. The MARS group organized this conference on the theme "the need for the core. . . . the elements that makes a community a community and not merely an aggregate of individuals."[27] In his foreword to *Community and Environment* (1953) by A. E. Gutkind, a German émigré architect then living in England, Buber explicitly addressed planners and architects interested in forms that might sustain the public realm: "The architects must be given the task to build for human contact, to build an environment which invites human meetings and centres which give these meetings meaning and render them productive." Again he uses the metaphor of the vacuum: "When we come to perceive that the essential human reality is neither one of individual nor of collective existence, but lies in the relation of man to man . . . then it becomes clear that. . . . the house of man for which he really cares stands now . . . between the houses of his neighbors."[28]

CIAM President Jose Luis Sert introduced discussion of "the need for the core" into Harvard's architecture and planning program when he suc-

ceeded Gropius as dean of the Graduate School of Design in 1954. He hired Tyrwhitt, then part of the inner circle of CIAM leadership, to help him set up the program. Before assuming this post, Tyrwhitt went to New Delhi to direct a UN Seminar on Housing and Community Planning. There she met the Greek planner Constantinos Doxiadis and soon agreed to produce a newsletter for his staff as well as for UN planning experts in developing countries. This birthed the journal on the new science of human settlements Doxiadis later christened “ekistics.” [29] The journal *EKISTICS*, which was associated with Tyrwhitt throughout her life, provided a channel not only for the dissemination of Western planning ideas to the East but also from the East at a time when the chaotic growth of Asian cities created significant room for urban innovation and during a period of intense theorization in the field marked by a central dialogue between East and West.

By the midfifties, many architects understood “the relevance of Japan’s architectural tradition to contemporary Western building” (Drexler 1955, 6). Gropius’s trip there, and pilgrimage to the Katsura Palace, further inspires young architects to go to Japan on “study tours.” Gropius (1968, 107-38) found in traditional Japanese architecture “perfect examples” of the “balance achieved between individual initiative and subordination under a common principle.”[30] He, like Taut, ascribed this to the teachings of Zen and declared, “My own trend of thought, as exemplified in the Bauhaus, was here startlingly confirmed.”

What remained to be discovered was the relevance of Japan’s architectural tradition for planning and community design. Buber’s writings will point the way to this understanding, which will be pieced together in the new field of urban design. In preparing for what would be the last CIAM conference in Dubrovnik in 1956, Giedeon (1958, 148) used Buber’s dialogic language to appeal for the development of the modern movement beyond functionalism to a “new humanism,” saying, “The demand for the re-establishment of the relation between ‘you’ and ‘me’ leads to radical changes in the structure of the city.” Giedeon, Sert, and Tyrhwitt carried this message back to Harvard, where that fall they launched the lecture series “Ten Discussions on the Shape of Our Cities,” later known as the Urban Design Conferences. These conferences formed a consensus on “the concept of ‘urban design’ . . . and Harvard was able to launch the first Urban Design Program in the country in the fall of 1959,” William Doebele recalled.[31]

The summer before the launching of the new program, at a meeting in Otterlo organized by Team Ten, a new group formed to pick up where CIAM left off. Aldo Van Eyck reiterated Buber’s Taoist imagery (and his phrase *das Gestalt Gewordene Zwischen*) in urging architects to design “defined in-between places” and provide “the common ground” so that “planning on whatever scale should provide a framework . . . [for] the individual and the collective.”[32] Tyrwhitt introduced Buber’s language into the urban design curriculum; as she recalled, “A sense of well being,—of optimistic purposefulness . . . is one aspect—and one aim—of urban design, but there is

another. . . . related to social responsibility, to a feeling of mutual responsiveness and mutual interest in the environment. . . . For such a feeling of social responsibility to arise there must be a very clear distinction between privacy and communality; between *meum* and *tuum*."[33]

Buber's ideas resonated with second-generation émigré Europeans who came to Cambridge to study tech architecture and planning, notably Christopher Alexander, who in 1958 was a doctoral candidate in architecture at Harvard. Alexander adopted Buber's idea of "organic" commonwealth as part of his own theorizing (Grabow 1983, 163). In 1959, Alexander worked at the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies, newly established by Meyerson and Lloyd Rodwin (another second generation émigré). Tyrwhitt had her office at the center, as did Eichii Isomura, there as a visiting professor from the University of Tokyo. This gathering points out how the transnational scholarly community that had crystallized around the Boston Orientalists at the turn of the twentieth century converged at Harvard and MIT after World War II.

Cross-Currents

In May 1960, Tange returned to Japan after teaching at MIT for a semester to chair the Tokyo World Design Conference. His news of the demise of CIAM and formation of Team Ten inspired a group of young Japanese architects and designers to clarify their own ideas, which they presented at the conference in their manifesto *Metabolism 1960: Proposals for a New Urbanism*. Japan entered an era of double-digit growth; the majority of Japanese accepted uncontrolled urban development as a necessary sacrifice. In contrast, the Metabolist group's visions for megastructures "expressed a deep urge for a new kind of collective form. . . . a new holistic image . . . for the city" says Krieger, (1997, 253). While futuristic, the Metabolists grounded their vision in the concrete realities of the postwar city (Stewart 1987, 184). We can see them as utopian realists, who explored what a decentralized Japanese community based on cooperation and in harmony with nature might be in a chaotic, high-density, megalopolis.

Fumhiko Maki, one of the group's founders and a former student of Tange's who also studied architecture at Harvard, continued his investigation of the collective form in the urban design studio he taught with Tyrwhitt at Harvard from 1962 to 1965. At this time, Tyrwhitt was beginning to devote more time in Athens helping Doxiadis establish the new discipline of human settlements, ekistics. Arguably, Maki and Tyrwhitt's studio provided the core around which a body of knowledge developed, nurtured by this fresh encounter between Athena and the Zen ideal in the context of the global urban transformation underway. As Spenser Havlick recalled, "Professor Tyrwhitt took the threads of architectural, governmental, social and ecological thought from Singapore, India, Africa, Japan, the UK and Greece and wove them into a fabric of new ekistical thinking which

acknowledges and honors the past but which also challenges us to invent, design or create a future for others better than we dreamed possible."[34]

Ekistics and the Tao of Planning

The ekistics movement grew in 1963 after Doxiadis received a grant that allowed him to publish *EKISTICS* as a journal sold on subscription to establish the Athens Center of Ekistics and to host the Delos Symposium, a gathering of distinguished thinkers from various fields interested in the "urban challenge."[35] Delos reconvened annually over the next decade. Fuller attended all ten, the only one to do so besides Doxiadis, his wife, and Tyrwhitt, who provided the organizational genius for these meetings. Isomura founded the Japan Society for Ekistics in 1964 and served as its president until 1985. He also served as president of the World Society of Ekistics, which Meyerson proposed forming at Delos 2. Thus, the ekistics movement extended the networks for East-West exchange, sustaining the evolving utopian realist vision within the modern movement.

Participants in Delos 1 declared, "We are citizens of a worldwide city," the Delians' decade of discussions clarified this global perspective, and the journal *EKISTICS* circulated this conversation worldwide. As Marshall McLuhan explained at Delos 3 (in *EKISTICS* in February 1966), "We are now surrounded by a new environment . . . and it demands pattern recognition." In August 1966, *EKISTICS* began to focus on patterns emerging in Japan, with an article by Shigeru Itoh that contrasted the Western tendency to categorize phenomena and "find a special treatment and solution for each" with the Japanese tendency "to admit one solution for a number of heterogeneous phenomena." Richard L. Meier reported in *EKISTICS* in May 1967 that he discovered the "Foundation for a New Urbanism" in the dynamic chaos of Japanese cities, particularly Tokyo, a pattern that expedited the interaction of "institutions, public, private, cooperative, and hybrid." Architect and urban designer Christopher Alexander provided the theoretical underpinning for this observation in his influential essay "A City Is Not a Tree," first published in 1965 and reprinted in *EKISTICS* in June 1967, arguing that urban structure is more like a "a semi-lattice" that contains "overlap, ambiguity, multiplicity of aspect" than a simple, hierarchical "tree" that "is comparable to the compulsive desire for neatness and order." Alexander found an exemplar of the "organic structure" of built form in traditional Japanese architecture, as he made clear in his classic *A Pattern Language* (1977). Thanks to *EKISTICS*, many others made this connection.[36]

In the August 1969 *EKISTICS*, J. M. Richards suggests that Western architects and planners could learn a lesson from "the dynamic quality that has been a by-product of the anarchical growth and pop-art vitality of cities like Japan's" on "how to endow our cities with the same sense of popular

participation without plunging . . into functional chaos." Richards echoed Geddes, Wright, Buber, and the Metabolists in advising, "A town plan isn't the end of the process but the beginning, and it only comes alive as it is modified in execution by the demands of the people who use it. . . . They must feel encouraged to fill in the detail themselves, while the planner does no more than organize the framework." In the February 1968 *EKISTICS*, John Turner made a similar case, based on his Geddes-inspired work in Peru: "The existential value of the [shanty town] is the product of . . . the freedom of community self-selection, the freedom to budget one's own resources and the freedom to shape one's own environment." John Friedmann makes the connection between such existential freedom and Zen thought in the December 1969 *EKISTICS*, beginning with Lao Tzu, "All things will go through their own transformations" and concluding, "Innovative planners must learn to practice . . . the Tao of Planning."

Conclusion: Think Globally Act Locally

Delian Rene Dubos, who coined the phrase "think globally act locally," articulated a vision of utopian realism in the November 1972 *EKISTICS* (pp. 9-12) that wove together the futuristic visions of the Metabolists with Friedmann's notion of the Tao of Planning and Geddes's ecological perspective (then being promoted by Ian McHarg):

> In all living systems, whether they are embryos, landscapes, or cultures, organization limits the possibilities of reorganization. Normal development is thus a self-directing process . . . to a large extent along patterns derived from the past. Since the system as a whole tends to shape itself, its arrangement can rarely be imposed from the outside. Instead of imposing our will on nature for the sake of exploitation, we should attempt to discover the qualities inherent in each particular place so as to foster their development.

The last Delos Symposium took place in 1973 but by then had helped build the support and interest the UN needed to move forward with its Environment program (Bromley 2002). By this time, Japan's Economic Miracle had triggered a fresh new wave of Japanism, which inspired the humanistic optimism of eminent philosophers (Huston Smith), economists (E. F. Schumacher), systems theorists (Kenneth Boulding) sociology, social movements, and the UN conferences that led to a consensus on the concept of sustainable/alternative development.

In conclusion, we can see that utopian realism is an enduring and regenerative humanistic vision, sustained and nourished against all odds by East-West exchange. Ever since Athena, utopian realist visions may have seemed "the impossible dream" but have constantly found believers, people willing to propose alternative ways of organizing society and test them locally.[37] This article has not told the full story—there are many gaps—but

hopefully, the revelation of Japanese influence on this particular image of the ideal community and how to achieve it opens a broader perspective on the history of planning ideas.

Notes

1. See, for example, A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Oxford, UK: Polity, 1990); and F. Falk, *Explorations at the Edge of Time* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1992).

2. On the anarchist roots of this line of planning thought, see P. Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow* (Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell, 1988), esp. chap. 8: "The Autonomous City."

3. This argument is more fully developed in my dissertation. See E. Shoshkes, *East-West* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, 2000).

4. As one reviewer astutely pointed out, the idea of the Japanese village community as a self-governing unit is a highly contested construct, based in part on compulsion, and used by the prewar government in the twentieth century to reinforce an authoritarian regime. However, the relative autonomy and strength of community solidarity in the Tokugawa-era village is indisputable.

5. See Ames (1962) on parallels between Emerson's thought and Zen. The Boston Zen Community hails Thoreau as their forerunner. See http://www.zcboston.net.

6. Japanism was also a current in the conservative reactionary and purely decorative streams within the arts and crafts movement, but that is beyond the scope of this article.

7. They did not win many converts but did establish an enduring relationship. Today, Hokkaido and Massachusetts are sister-states and Boston and Kyoto sister-cities.

8. All biographical information on Balch is from Randall (1964).

9. See T. Skocpol and D. Rueschemeyer, *States, Social Knowledge and the Origins of Modern Social Policies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).

10. As cited in Friedman (1981, 46).

11. In "The Japanese Print: An Interpretation" (1912) as cited in Meech (2001, 70).

12. On concurrent trends among Japanese socialists, see R. W. Tsunoda, T. de Bary, and D. Keene, eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 2 (New York, Columbia University Press, 1958).

13. Scions of Jewish industrial fortunes in Europe became patrons of the new art because traditional avenues of culture were closed to them (Willett 1984, 12).

14. As cited in Sinha (1962, 167).

15. All biographical information on the Noguchis in this paper is from Ashton (1992).

16. See Diana L. Pasulka, "Review of Philosophers of Nothingness: An Essay on the Kyoto School, by James W. Heisig," *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* 10 (2003), http://www.jbe.gold.ac.uk/10/pasulka01. html/ (accessed April 24, 2004).

17. Balch as cited in Randall (1972, 163).

18. Buber in 1919 as cited Schaeder (1991, 37).

19. Buber said in a letter that "Teaching of the Tao" represented a stage he had to pass through (Friedman 1983, 239).

20. Talk on "Japanese Culture," 1956, as cited in Nute (1993, 123).

21. As cited in Gay (1969, 72, 70).

22. Count Harry Kessler said of the *Siedelung*, "This German architecture cannot be understood unless it is visualized as part of an entirely new *Weltanschauung*." (Willett 1984, 15).

23. See Fuller's foreword in Noguchi, I., *A Sculptor's World* (New York, Harper & Row, 1968), 7-8.

24. Fuller's great aunt Margaret was the only female member of the Transcendentalist Club. See R. Snyder, ed., *R. Buckminster Fuller* (New York: St. Martin's, 1980).

25. She acknowledged that "these ideas and feelings. . . . have roots in India and in other Eastern societies and in Russia, as well as in Christianity" (cited in Randall 1972, 231-8, 177-81).

26. Proposal to the Bollinger Foundation 1949 at http://www.noguchi.org/proposals.html.

27. See J. Tyrwhitt, J. L. Sert, and E. N. Rogers, *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life* (New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1952).

28. See Foreword (pp. viii-ix) in E. A. Gutkind, *Community and Environment* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953).

29. See *EKISTICS* 52, no. 314-315 (1985), in memoriam to Tyrwhitt.

30. When the Bauhaus closed, Taut traveled to Japan, where he lived for three years (1933-1936). See B. Taut, *Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture* (Tokyo: Society for International Cultural Relations, 1936).

31. As cited in *EKISTICS* 52, no. 314-315 (1985): 437.

32. As cited in “Team Ten Primer,” *Architectural Design* 32, no. 12 (1962): 598.

33. As cited in “From an Interview with Milos Perovic,” *EKISTICS* 52, no. 314-315 (1985): 470-1.

34. As cited in *EKISTICS* 52, no. 314-315 (1985): 498.

35. For the history of the ekistics movement, see http://www.ekistics.org.

36. Tyrwhitt, who also edited the fifth edition of Giedeon’s classic *Space Time and Architecture* (1941/1962) reinforced this message by including a special section on architecture in the 1960s that features one of Maki’s megastructural proposals and asserts, “The civilization in the making [in Japan] may lead to a cross-fertilization of West and East.”

37. I would like to thank one of the anonymous reviewers of this article for this summary insight.

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