

DEWEYAN DEMOCRACY  
AND GLOBAL SOCIETY  
DURING THE PANDEMIC

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*Volume 6 · Number 1 · 2022 · Pages 452 - 479*

The concept of democracy plays a very complex role in our contemporary cultural debates. In this paper my aim is to analyze this concept, examining some focal meanings in Dewey's reflections on democracy in his three important works: *Democracy and Education* (1916), *The Public and Its Problems* (1927), and *Liberalism and Social Action* (1935) connected to the three different periods in which these texts were written. After having reviewed some fundamental aspects of these books, I will endeavor to analyze the influence of Dewey's political theory on our global society during the coronavirus pandemic.

There are two theoretical presuppositions in this paper. First, to properly understand Dewey, it is not possible to separate in Dewey's thought his philosophy from his concept of education and democracy. In fact, as I suggested in my book,<sup>1</sup> we cannot analyze Dewey's political ideas without intertwining philosophy, education, and

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<sup>1</sup> Giuseppe Spadafora, *L'educazione per la democrazia, Studi su John Dewey* (Rome: Anicia, 2015).

democracy. Probably democracy in Dewey's theory is a mixture of these three categories, which are very consequential in its logical and historical realization.

Another presupposition is the importance of certain secondary literature in the shaping of Dewey's intellectual development, that is his *Entwicklungsgeschichte* (critical historical development). But these three chosen books can be used to present some important points of reference needed in order to understand the meaning of Dewey's theory of democracy, because in these books are concentrated his secondary literature, which is fundamental for understanding his political approach to society.

### **Democracy as a “Way of Life”**

It is not clear why Dewey chose to explore the world of education, after he had written on the fundamental source of his philosophy in *The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology* (1896). In fact, by the time he was a professor at the University of Chicago (1894-1904), he had already developed his future philosophy and, at the same time, he carried out scientific inquiry through the connection

between the educational research field with the experimentation of his laboratory school (1896-1903). Originally *The School and Society* was a report on the first three years of the laboratory school. It represents his first organic theory on education and schooling that was spread across the world.

In a completely different period of his life, when he was professor at New York's Columbia University (1905-1929), he wrote *Democracy and Education* (1916), which presents as its central point his theory of democracy. This book was published after the second edition of *The School and Society* (1915) and after the publication of the first edition of *How We Think* (1910), but before publishing *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (1920).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> John Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, in *The Middle Works of John Dewey, 1899 - 1924: Essays, Miscellany, and Reconstruction in Philosophy Published during 1920*, The Collected Works of John Dewey, vol. 12, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), 77-202 [Italian translation edited by Teodora Pezzano (Rome: Armando, 2011)]. For more, see: Robert Brett Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 150-194.; Leonard J. Waks and Andrea R. English, eds., *John Dewey's Democracy and Education: A Centennial Handbook* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 2017).

This work, published during the presidency of Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921, awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1919), represents one of the most important books in the cultural history of the United States, before its intervention in the First World War (1917). Dewey supported this war because he believed it was necessary in order to spread the idea of democracy throughout the world.<sup>3</sup> This view was contrary to the view of his disciple Randolph Bourne, who was against the war. It is likely that the important debate between them gave birth to the American political concept of a “Just War”, used to defend democracy across the world. Dewey states that democracy cannot be established without education. Education is “a necessity of life”, “a social function”, “a direction”, “a growth”, and above all “a reconstruction.” Education for Dewey represents the natural behavior of the individual, just like eating, drinking, and biological reproduction. Education is necessary for the development of humankind, but at the same time is a “social function” of the individual, because the individual

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<sup>3</sup> For more, see: Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, Chapter 8: The Politics of Peace, 195-212.

constantly adapts himself/herself to the continuous changes of the social environment, as the philosopher theorized in *The Reflex Arc Concept* (1896).<sup>4</sup>

Education, therefore, must have a direction, which means that it is necessary to understand the universal values that guide the education of the individual. Education can be understood also as biological and intentional growth. The synthesis of these theoretical efforts is the concept of “reconstruction.” Education must reconstruct the relation between the individual and the environment.<sup>5</sup>

For Dewey, democracy is sometimes understood as an institutional procedure of free elections and public deliberation. However, above all, democracy is “a way of

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<sup>4</sup> For more, see: John Dewey, “The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology,” in *The Early Works of John Dewey, 1882 - 1898: Early Essays, 1895-1898*, The Collected Works of John Dewey, vol. 5, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press: 1972), 96-110; Teodora Pezzano., *L'organismo sociale nel giovane Dewey* (Consenza, Italy: Periferia, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> For more, see: John Dewey, *The Middle Works of John Dewey, 1899-1924: Democracy and Education, 1916*, The Collected Works of John Dewey, vol. 9, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), 4-86 [Italian new edition translated by Giuseppe Spadafora, Teodora Pezzano, Marcoantonio D’Arcangeli (Rome, Italy: Anicia, 2018)].

life”. This means that democracy is a natural expression of the role that the individual plays in society. Education is fundamental to building democracy. In particular, it must reconstruct the sense of democracy from a double perspective. On the one hand, a political system can be considered democratic if each individual is able to express his/her “embedded powers”. This idea, developed in the American Constitutional tradition, is based on the concept of “the pursuit of happiness”. On the other hand, democracy is based on the construction of human intercourse. Dewey’s revolutionary idea is that it would be easier to live in a free community rather than in a society in which it is necessary to “struggle for life”.

In the ninth chapter of *Democracy and Education*, entitled *Natural Development and Social Efficiency as Aim*, Dewey theorizes the concept of “social efficiency”. Criticizing the idea of the natural development in Rousseau’s *Émile ou de l’éducation* (1762), Dewey affirms that the most original contribution of Rousseau is not the centrality of spontaneous natural education, which is easily corrupted by civilization, but that every individual differs

from each other.<sup>6</sup> The individual is unique with different needs and with different educational developments. To support this educational theory, Dewey refers to an important scientist of that period: Henry Herbert Donaldson.<sup>7</sup> If the individual is unique, he/she can be efficient not only pursuing his/her particular interest, but in developing that interest in a social perspective.

The concept of “social efficiency” is very important because Dewey affirms that in democracy the social control of rules can be determined not only by the control of the State, but especially by the social development of the different goals of individuals. This is an important theme in Dewey’s democratic theory that he pursued after the Great Crisis of 1929 in his book *Individualism Old and New* (1930). However, the real meaning of “social efficiency” is based on the idea that without culture and education it is impossible to build a democratic society, in which “social efficiency”

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 122.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 123. For more, see: Henry Herbert Donaldson, *The Growth of the Brain: a Study of the Nervous System in Relation to Education* (London: Walter Scott Ltd, 1895).



must be the constant aptitude of the individual and of the citizen.

In the following chapters of *Democracy and Education*, Dewey theorizes a school model, in which he highlights the importance of subjects such as: history, geography, and science, considered important points of reference in order to better understand the environment, past, present, and future, and the relevance of science and technology.<sup>8</sup> Without education it is not possible to guide the individual towards “the pursuit of happiness”. Dewey, with this approach, considers education as the correct equilibrium between inner aspects of the personality and the environment.

After the First World War, Dewey travelled all around the world (in Europe, the Soviet Union, Turkey, Japan, and China) to better understand whether the Western idea of democracy could serve other cultural and religious contexts.<sup>9</sup> The most important result of his

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<sup>8</sup> Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 215-239.

<sup>9</sup> For more, see: Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, 240-252; Larry A. Hickman, *Pragmatism as Post-*

“travelling theory” was the awareness of a new paradigm of “associated living”, which constitutes the meaning of his political and social activity, based on the idea of a constant inquiry into a new model of democracy. “The chief obstacle to the development of associated living, Dewey argued, were systems of class and caste which isolated different segments of society from one another and established exploitative relationships between social groups.”<sup>10</sup>

### **The Great Community: The Crisis of Democracy**

Another fundamental aspect of John Dewey’s theory of democracy is the concept of the “public”. This concept is developed in his book *The Public and Its Problems* published just before the Great Depression of 1929, which seemed at the time to be the collapse of capitalism theorized by Karl Marx. This work represents a theoretical development of ideas in *Democracy and Education*. If in *Democracy and Education* democracy is represented as “a way of life” of the

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*Postmodernism: Lessons from John Dewey* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007).

<sup>10</sup> Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, 247.

individual, in this book the sense of democracy is as the bottom-up development of the local community to construct a “Great Society”. I see this theory as heavily influenced by the account of human nature theorized in an organic way in the book *Human Nature and Conduct* (1922), which is the outgrowth of a series of lectures Dewey gave at Stanford University in 1918. The final idea of this book is a reflection on the concept of freedom which is considered an expression of social morality: “Every act may carry within itself a consoling and supporting consciousness of the whole to which it belongs and which in some sense belongs to it.”<sup>11</sup>

Concerning *The Public and Its Problems*, the introductory chapter entitled *Search for the Public* is significant.<sup>12</sup> In fact Dewey affirms that there is a gap

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<sup>11</sup> John Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct*, in *The Middle Works of John Dewey: 1899-1924: 1924, Human Nature and Conduct*, The Collected Works of John Dewey, vol. 14, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), 227.

<sup>12</sup> John Dewey, *The Public and its Problems*, in *The Later Works of John Dewey, 1925 - 1953: 1925-1927, Essays, Reviews, Miscellany, and The Public and Its Problems*, The Collected Works of John Dewey, vol. 2, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), 238-258.

between “facts and doctrine”; in particular there is a significant difference between political theory and concrete human action. The *Search for the Public* means that every form of government is determined by the difference between the rulers and the subordinated classes. From this perspective it is fundamental to understand the meaning of the “public”. Society is not only represented by the state and institutions, but (overall) by the relation between institutions, civil society, and public opinion, which is the concrete expression of society and not “phantom” public opinion, as Walter Lippman theorized in 1925.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, Dewey asserts that we must discover a new form of the state determined by a link between institutions and human intercourse. The transactions between individuals and groups are different in relation to particular situations: economically, emotionally, socially, etc. Private management and institutional actions must be discovered experimentally. They represent the concept of the “public”, because society must be considered to be an

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<sup>13</sup> For more, see: Ibid, 255; Walter Lippmann, *The Phantom Public* (New Brunswick, Canada: Transaction Publisher, 1993).

overlapping of different kinds of people: “gangs, criminal bands, clubs for sport, sociability and eating; scientific and professional organizations.”<sup>14</sup>

From this point of view Dewey states that democracy must be considered in a different way from the past. The “public” has demonstrated that the same associations that determine democracy “halt the social and humane ideals that demand utilization of government as the genuine instrumentality of an inclusive and fraternally associated public... The democratic public is still largely inchoate and unorganized.”<sup>15</sup>

However, the “public” is disintegrating because civil society is determined by many conflicts. Dewey in the last two chapters of the book again argues that the real problem of democracy is to improve its democratic efficiency. Democracy must be guided by the method of intelligence in an experimental way, so that it can adapt itself continuously to the new needs of civil society.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Dewey, *The Public and its Problems*, 278-279.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 301-303.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 328.

Dewey affirms that local communities can develop public deliberation, in order to construct a democratic paradigm which can limit possible abuses. *For this reason the Great Society must be transformed into a Great Community.* This means that democracy should be a flexible system, which should constantly change and adapt to different historical situations. All this could be achieved through the method of intelligence. For instance, it is not possible to separate the activity of the individual from the economic activity of a society. Human experience is composed of personal aspects (instincts, desires, habits, impulses) linked to the other economic activities within the social community.

The method of intelligence could be a utopian idea to coordinate. Through scientific planning, it could be the bottom-up development of the local community. “The essential need, in other words, is the improvement of the method and conditions of debate, discussion and persuasion. This is *the* problem of the public. We have asserted that this improvement depends essentially upon freeing and

perfecting the processes of inquiry and of dissemination of their conclusions.”<sup>17</sup>

It is certain for Dewey that local communities play a great role in improving democratic life. In the second edition of the book in 1946, after the establishment of the United Nations (October 24, 1945), Dewey reaffirmed the importance of local communities and his wishes for the overcoming of every form of isolationism, as well as the possibility already attempted by the League of Nations after the First World War to construct a social community.<sup>18</sup>

Two aspects are very important in this book, considered in a general perspective in this context: First the relationship between individuals and society is very flexible and it is based on different concrete relationships, including with institutions; second, the only way to construct a democracy is to apply the method of intelligence, the value of science and technology to organize a society with proposals which derive from the deepest needs of civil

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 365.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 375-281.

society through institutions. In this sense, Dewey constructs a new model of liberalism.

## **Liberalism and Social Action: Organizing the Social**

### **Planning of Democracy**

From this perspective, the third concept of democracy is analyzed in Dewey's book *Liberalism and Social Action* (1935). This book, published during the presidency of Frank Delano Roosevelt who supported the politics of the New Deal, is very important because it adapts the concept of Anglo-Saxon liberalism to democracy. Dewey analyzes the different forms of liberalism and the possibility to define a new form of liberalism adapted to the global, industrialized world. Liberalism has been determined in the past as the "old individualism", "the rugged individualism", in which there is no possibility of solidarity, as the philosopher wrote in *Individualism Old and New* (1930).<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> John Dewey, *Individualism, Old and New*, in *John Dewey: The Later Works of John Dewey: 1925-1953: 1929-1930, Essays, The Sources of a Science of Education, Individualism, Old and New, and Construction and Criticism*, The Collected Works of John Dewey, vol. 5, ed. Jo Ann Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988).



In the first chapter entitled *The History of Liberalism*, Dewey focuses in on the history of liberalism, in a broad sense, from the theories of John Locke to Jeremy Bentham. In particular, he analyzes “natural rights” as mentioned in *The American Declaration of Independence*: the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Along with these rights there is the right of property. In particular, he highlights the theory of Bentham, who affirms that “every restriction upon liberty is *ipso facto* a source of pain and a limitation of a pleasure that might otherwise be enjoyed.”<sup>20</sup> For Bentham the sense of economy is based on “the sum happiness enjoyed by the greatest possible number” (*maxima plurimorum felicitas*).

From this perspective the root of liberalism depends on the economic effort of every individual to achieve his/her utilitarian goal. From this idea derives the *laissez faire* individualism of the earlier model of liberalism. In other words, the individualism of the earlier model of

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<sup>20</sup> John Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action in The Later Works of John Dewey, 1925-1953, 1935-1937, Essays, Liberalism and Social Action*, The Collected Works of John Dewey, vol. 11, ed. Jo Ann Boydston, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), 12.

liberalism is based on an atomistic conception of the individual without solidarity and relationship with others. Based on this concept, Dewey highlights the importance of the organic idealism of Thomas Hill Green, who affirms that “men are held together by relations”. The earlier liberalism of the 1900s had a deep crisis and a great influence on democracy. The crisis, for Dewey, could have been eliminated through education: “Such an organization demands much more of education than general schooling, which without a renewal of the springs of purpose and desire becomes a new mode of mechanization and formalization.”<sup>21</sup>

Therefore, it is very important to plan for the economic development of democracy that goes beyond *laissez faire* liberalism. The only possibility to adapt liberalism to democracy is through social planning that could give direction to economic and social development. “Organized social planning, put into effect for the creation of an order in which industry and finance are socially directed on behalf of institutions that provide the material

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 35.

basis for the cultural liberation and growth of individuals, is now the sole method of social action by which liberalism can realize its professional aims.”<sup>22</sup>

Dewey thus affirms that it is possible to enhance a renascent liberalism based on continuous planning of social organizations, in order to achieve a commonwealth. The real problem is to construct a social end which depends on the method of intelligence linked to advanced technology. Although this could destroy humanity, at the same time constructing such a social end could help the different potentialities and inequalities of individuals find a correct equilibrium. Quoting Louis Brandeis, who cooperated with President Wilson and who was the first Jewish Associate Justice on the Supreme Court of the United States from 1916 to 1939, Dewey asserts that a new “radical” liberalism must not establish itself on a different aspect of freedom. Liberalism has to assume the responsibility to consider intelligence as a social asset in order to fix social ends to improve society.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 48.

Dewey's idea is to overcome the concept of the Marxist class struggle (we cannot forget that John Dewey was the President of the trial in Mexico which judged Leon Trotsky "not guilty" of the accusations by Stalinists). Dewey's real purpose is the construction of a new radical liberalism, which can link institutions to adapt to the individual needs of each citizen. The experimental method means that the change of society must not be violent, but constructed on social ends. The fundamental condition of democracy is to adapt flexibly to the institutions to change civil society, according to the different needs of individuals. The philosopher does not ignore the obstacles that limit the way, but his/her theory is supported by the possibility of education to change the world and to be a "social frontier", to better understand the meaning of liberalism and its connection with equality and civil liberties.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> For more, see: Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, 480-482.

## **Possible Uses of Dewey's Theory of Democracy for Responding to the Pandemic**

The basic principles of Dewey's theory of democracy can be summarized in three important points: the liberty of the individual, the bottom-up action of the local community, and the social planning of democracy through science and technology. Within these three principles education is essential for democracy, because the democratic system, first of all, must be considered a cultural problem, which can give life to the political structure of democracy. From these presuppositions, how could Dewey's democratic theory influence our contemporary global society during the coronavirus pandemic?

An introductory question can be the following: in our contemporary global society during the coronavirus pandemic, what could be the meaning of democracy, since the form of government of many nation-states in the world is not democratic, and often practice oppressive forms of dictatorship? It is also difficult to address the meaning and purpose of modern democracy, during this time of

globalization, linked to the western model of the American and French Revolutions. For instance, as Amartya Sen has theorized, democracy is not only an “invention” of Western society. Its history and development are related to the historical, religious, and cultural traditions of different civilizations.<sup>25</sup> The new question could be: how can a global society, based on economic and digital networks, be considered a new form of social organization, in which democracy can find its purpose? Another important question could be: during, and possibly after the pandemic must we organize globalized society in a very different way? Can democracy, according to the western model, be the only possible form of a modern society? Is democracy the political form of “the end of history,”<sup>26</sup> or is it the new form of global society, determined by the “clash of civilizations”?<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> For more, see: Amartya K. Sen, *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture, and Identity* (New York: Farrar, 2005).

<sup>26</sup> See: Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992).

<sup>27</sup> Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of a New Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

Our global society is dominated by global financial capitalism, by a difficult equilibrium between powerful international organizations (IMF, UN, ECB etc.) and the politics of nation states. Global society is dominated by “risk” and “liquidity.”<sup>28</sup> In this difficult geopolitical organization, dominated above all by the military-industrial complex of the United States, Russia, China and, at a different level, even Europe, emerges once again the problem of nuclear energy and possible ecological catastrophe. According to these theoretical presuppositions, the pandemic probably could shape a new idea of globalization.

In fact, this pandemic has demonstrated that it is fundamentally important to have more cooperation between rich and low-income states on behalf of more “sustainable development.” Indeed, the pandemic has severely limited individual liberty in favor of the dominant classes even more than in the past. But the fact remains that

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<sup>28</sup> For more, see: Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, and Singapore: Sage Publications, 1992); Zigmunt Baumann, *Liquid Surveillance. A Conversation with David Lyon* (Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2013).

the virus represents the common enemy for humankind beyond economic, ideological, and political differences.

From this survey, a new vision for globalization and democracy could be developed, based on Dewey's three key-ideas of democracy:

1. *the Individual*: The importance of the individual in his/her uniqueness is fundamental for democracy. The individual must develop his/her freedom and the pursuit to happiness. Every individual must be in the condition to develop "embedded powers" and at the same time learn competence, which can be useful to understand his/her project of life. A democratic school should be based on these principles. Education must help each student to discover his/her interior callings and promote their attitudes. Society in poor and developed countries should be organized to educate the individual to solidarity, according to the concept of a "new individualism", as Dewey theorized in many works.



2. *The Community*: In our global world the development of the idea and practice of community, and in particular of the local community, is essential for democracy. The world is economically ruled by international elites, as well as by national and local elites. Communities in a bottom-up way should be able to influence local institutions, in order to improve their sense of democracy, adapting the institutions to the needs of every individual (not in every country is there the concept of citizenship). Only by developing educational ends is it possible to construct local democracy. “Glocal development,”<sup>29</sup> the connection between local government and national and international institutions, is fundamental for democracy in a global society. The concept of “glocal”, in fact, is present in *The Public and its Problems*.

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<sup>29</sup> Erik Swyngedouw, *Liquid Power: Contested Hydro-Modernities in Twentieth-Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, Cambridge, 2015).

3. *The Social and Continuous Planning of Democracy:*

Every political action of institutions must focus on social ends through scientific-experimental method, as Dewey affirmed in *Liberalism and Social Action*. Every institutional aspect of society, overcoming liberal and socialist ideologies, could be ruled by the common construction of social ends.

Dewey's global concept of democracy is very clear. Democracy is "a way of life" and a continuous construction of social values adapting to different historical situations, in which, in a synergistic manner, the individual, the community, and political institutions are involved.<sup>30</sup> Only education can give a real meaning to the life of individuals, and can build democracy in our global world. Only education can face the challenges of our century — poverty,

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<sup>30</sup> For more, see: Larry A. Hickman, Larry and Giuseppe Spadafora, eds., *John Dewey's Educational Philosophy in International Perspective: A New Democracy for the Twenty-First Century* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009); Elisa Fraenfelder, Maura Striano, and Stefano Oliverio, eds., *Il pensiero di John Dewey tra psicologia, filosofia, pedagogia: Prospettive interdisciplinari*, (Naples, Italy: Fridericiana Editrice Universitaria, 2013).

social and economic inequality, nuclear risk, ecological crisis, religious fundamentalism, and terrorism — during the pandemic. But above all it must promote the right of each individual to live with dignity. The pandemic has demonstrated that our global, economic, and digital society must be revised.

Globalization is dominated by the technology of the “datacracy”, which can influence the meaning of democracy and can organize the power of a new world elite. But the pandemic has demonstrated the importance of social and human intercourse and the three essential ideas of Dewey’s democratic theory that can enhance a new possible global democracy, and which can limit the economic and social inequalities in the world. The coronavirus crisis represents an economic situation similar to the Great Depression of 1929 and is more of a threat than the great global economic crisis of 2008. But it also represents a new possibility to evaluate the dignity of every individual linked to the possibility of solidarity.

In this perspective, Dewey’s democratic vision goes beyond the idea of socialistic democracy, and represents a

meaningful possibility of democratic development. A possible utopia, after a hopeful resolution to the pandemic, is to construct a new model of democracy which could be cultivated, bottom-up, all over the world. We are living in suspended time, waiting for a new mysterious paradigm. A new paradigm of social democracy can be established, keeping in consideration Dewey's democratic roots. Overcoming our difficult situation can be for international culture "the task before us", to build a new creative democracy.