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School and social exclusion in the critical regressive continuum of public policies

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Abstract: The essay discusses the lessons that emerged from the historical moment known as "The pandemic due to the effects of COVID-19" and in the time after it. Although it reflexively focuses on public policies in education and their expression in educational and school praxis, it contextualizes and discusses within the main issues that signify an aspirational time, of attempts to reconstruct "hope," more as a speculative exercise than a real one. In times of chiaroscuro glimpses of "monsters" and "demons", to paraphrase Gramsci. This framework serves to reflect on the impacts on "social rights", including education, in times of evident social and economic setbacks of historically excluded sectors. And even this theoretical-documentary recreation proposes a critical perspective on the enunciation and concretization in the exercise of fundamental rights and conquests in a country like Venezuela, subjected to a systematic siege for more than a decade.

Keywords: social rights; public policies; pandemic; school praxis; unilateral coercion.

1 Introduction

The debate about school inclusion and the role of public policies as facilitators of this process reports more than five decades the tension between the public and the progress of the privatizing action. Under the doctrine of deregulation and the consequent insecurity, fundamental conquests and social rights are eroded, with specific effects on education. These actions weaken the inclusive possibilities through the broad spectrum of social policies.

The maturity of neoliberal policies has attributed the resurgence of these tensions to the detriment of social public policies; Proof of this has been the deepening of the gap between rich and poor, the increase in social inequalities, and the growing precarization of life. The pandemic product of the propagation of the SARS-COV-2 Virus COVID-19 has meant a break point that has exposed this adverse panorama, in the amplitude of its miseries. Therefore, critically running around the realities that contextualize the time prior to the pandemic, the moment of development of this phenomenon, and the still latent consequences of an exceptional



historical time, at least in the particularities of a country such as Venezuela, constitutes the central task of this article.

It is a documentary, analytical and critical effort that has repaired historical - contextual aspects to address some dimensions of a reality, such as the Venezuelan, whose complexity can be explained from trying to unravel the intentional opacity imposed by the media - academic mainstream, with its occasions of occasion, through the installation of uniquely and presumptuously uncontrollable explanations, which hides aspects of a historical conflict The dialectic of a political process that has as its background the dispute over the strategic resources of the country, which represents 17.7 % (BP, 2016) of the total proven reserves of hydrocarbons on a global scale and 24.4 % of the reserves of the member countries of the organization of oil export countries (OPEC, 2023). Today the aggression against Venezuela acquires validity for the renewed policies of the administrations of the United States aimed at hindering the governance of the country and thereby sharpening the social and humanitarian crisis that occurred from the imposition of the blockage - Sabotage, through the application of 1,039 unilateral coercive measures (UCM).

The work on its purpose of critically problematizing the defining axes of this article, makes a general tour that included the context before, during and after the pandemic, whose objective was to demonstrate the continuum of the predatory process of neoliberal capitalism in a geopolitical scenario that exposes the cracks of the hegemony of the United States (US regions, the deepening of the impact of the capitalist system during the pandemic; And, "overcome" the pandemic period, the resurgence of the social crisis as an expression of the civilizational crisis is shown with all its magnitude. The second section places education in the complexities of the pandemic plot, the general repercussions of its specific praxis. And the realities to which it must attend, adapting practical forms and deployments to fulfill its purposes. Then, contextual aspects of our America during the pandemic are addressed, which reveal the economic, political, labor, and social impacts, characterizing a complex panorama of deepening social inequalities in a context governed by informality and precariousness in all orders. This scenario connects with the ravages of the pandemic and its repercussions in all areas of community life. The fourth matter focuses attention on the pandemic experience in Venezuela, its impacts on

education, mediated this time for the imposition of coercion against the country, which aggravated the situation due to the impossibility of accessing medicines and supplies to address urgency.

Finally, a section is included that, by way of conclusion, proposes a critical review of the main dimensions and themes treated in the brief, drawing a complex panoramic, little encouraging that is intended to be explained from the political fragmentation of the “progressive” forces, which consequently have had an impact on the abandonment of integration policies underpinned in the first decade of this century and the emergency, consolidation and political progress of the forces. Of the right and ultra-right that promote ultraliberal policies that pursue, among other purposes, further weakening the fragile fabric of social policies that are still maintained, including public policies in education.

2 Starting point to reflect on the pre, pandemic context and post-pandemic

Life is full of times. Times that are narrated, times that are hidden, times of yearnings and hopelessness. Times that we cry because we know them gone, times that we wait and will not come. We have to learn to live with these times, without these times, among these times. Life could not be lived if it is not for these times. And the times could not be such if they could not narrate. (Madriz Ramírez, 2018, p. 15)

Pandemia looks like a distant point in time. As a ship that progressively moves away from the port, entering the vast expanse of the ocean, until it becomes a small point in the distance. For the common, the Covid-19 pandemic, linked to the spread of the SARS-CoV-2 virus, is past; An issue resulted in oblivion. For many, perhaps as a defense mechanism, it has not happened or is simply in an inaccessible place of memory. In this process, the dynamics of presentism meets a key role, as a period lifestyle that quickly converts such significant events as pandemic into something ephemeral. Or combined with this, the urgent human need to overcome such an adverse moment for the majority, that they still drag psycho -social sequelae, and/or have not exceeded the difficulties derived from a time that had a deep impact on the economy, which significantly affected the most vulnerable social sectors, mostly dependent on labor activities in the informal sector and/or linked to the sector of the “entrepreneurs”. Or as in the Venezuelan case, a material conditions depouted, criticism, mainly product of the interference of blocking and sabotage of economic,

financial, material and spiritual activity, with a devastating impact on Venezuelan society, to which the United States and its "allies" have submitted the country for more than a decade, by imposition of 1,039 unilateral coercive measures (UCM).

It should be remembered that, in full development of this historical event, voices arose that let their wishes drain in which they predicted the emergence of a "better world", more supportive, cohesive and inclusive. Žižek (2020) predicted a "global communism", because we will have to overcome the "market rules." Specifically stated that:

As the world epidemic evolves, we must be aware that market mechanisms will not be enough to avoid chaos and hunger. They will have to be considered globally measures that today seem to us almost all seem "communists": the coordination of production and distribution will have to be carried out outside the coordinates of the market. (Žižek, 2020, p. 11)

That, in the exercise of this solidarity, for example, it should be put as a condition to rethink transnational interactions to generate a climate of confidence in a world marked by greater international cooperation (Morillas, 2021). The author avizo a world characterized "[...] by the restoration and reinforcement of old dynamics or by the generation of new global cooperation opportunities." (Morillas, 2021, p. 1)

Despite this legitimate aspiration of good omen at the moment that humanity would live once the pandemic, nuanced by the desire to emerge from the health crisis with a greater collective awareness about the enormous risks that threaten human survival, as well as by a society endowed with better tools to face such challenges, the facts, both precedents and what happened for two years of almost total closure of the vital activities of the vital activities of the vital activities of the vital closure of the vital closure, They were responsible for blurring that future dream or projected by hegemonic media and cultural sectors for a better, more human and supportive world.

The phenomenon of pandemic constitutes an exceptional event in the recent history of humanity. Different sources (IMF, 2020; BM, 2022; Oxfam, 2024) agree that the pandemic for the effects of the Covid - 19 virus constitutes a turning point in several aspects of contemporary society, whose deep repercussions on institutional and social behavior, still continue in full evolution.

The memory about the event that represented the pandemic remains in repositories, books, publications and diverse articles, which were insistently taxed in the collection of data and information, which now remains there, as chroniclers of a time that, as it is attached, has marked forever the course of humanity. It is a fundamental heritage that will account for a historical milestone that, as a testimony, will allow the understanding of posterity.

Madriz Ramírez (2018) argues that "life is full of time", expressed in the space -time relationship as the measure and dimensions of experience, of what has been experienced. Pandemia marked time and continues to reference the present behavior of society; It can even be affirmed that this sanitary and social phenomenon shook the foundations of society, generating and/or contributing to deepening transformations in all areas of human existence, in its political, economic and cultural expressions.

Others are adding that these mutations occurred vertiginously during the pandemic have impacted decisively in such complex practices as, for example, that of education, understood as a historical - social, multidimensionally located and affected construction. In general, these impacts have meant important setbacks in indicators such as, for example, the educational prosecution of hundreds of thousands of children and young people. But, also, in emerging ways of addressing the educational process, the development of teaching and the promotion of learning. The technological irruption that came from the hand of pandemic period has been fundamental in this process.

The background to the pandemic crisis is crowded with the hegemony of neoliberal capitalism, with precursors in the political praxis of the caliber of dictator Augusto Pinochet, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and President Ronald Reagan. Almost five decades after the development of neoliberalism, the imprint has been the deepening of political and social fragmentation, the destruction of the "welfare state," and the imposition of the dogmas of the "free market" as a teleological and practical framework of human relations.

Sousa Santos (2021) recalls that for decades it has been reiterating as a hegemonic story that there is no alternative to today's society; that is, according to the author:

[...] to the way in which it is organized and in which it organizes our lives, our work and the lack of this, our consumption and the desire of this, our time and our lack of time, our social life and the hangover and loneliness that causes us so many times, the insecurity of employment and unemployment, the withdrawal of fighting for a better life in the face of the possibility, always imminent, that life worsens (Sousa Santos, 2021, p. 20).

Sousa Santos (2021) adds that, while it was argued that this was the only expected and possible society, which the author defines as "a blockade of alternatives", it was exposed that, in addition, it was the only idea of progress possible. At the same time that this story was imposed in society, a disassembly of the state of rights, fundamentally social. Similarly, a sustained social reflux, product, among other factors, of social demobilization linked to the organs of union representation and/or parties located in the spectrum of the "traditional left".

Pandemia occurs in a time of growing multipolar conflict, in which one of the edges of the collision with the metropolitan concentrated capital is evident, which translates into a kind of consensus from the global south in the challenge to the hegemonic logic imposed by neoliberal globalization. After decades of imposition of the thesis of the free market, openings of commercial, tariff and financial borders, it operates a bias that favors the accumulation and/or metropolitan capitalist concentration, while in the "peripheral" countries the structural adjustments related to the pressure of the debt were increased, with deep impacts in all areas of life and in the enjoyment and exercise of the rights and exercise of the rights and social conquests.

This process that had its flags general deregulation in international trade, in the transit of financial flows, which sponsored the so -called free trade, which was based on an unequal commercial exchange between nations, exacerbating the bonds of dependence and delay concerning the referents of the "Global Center countries", led by the US, the European Union (EU) and Japan. Favored by such policies, he currently runs along a mutant path with the emergence of new and innovative development poles, with actors such as China, India or Brazil that require greater prominence; also, for the reappearance of protectionist policies, among other aspects.

Despite the aspirations about a more peaceful and harmonious world, after the decline of the "communist bloc", with the disintegration of the Union of Soviet

Socialist Republics (USSR) and the strengthening of unipolarity as an expression of the unique global leadership of the US. Generate localized tensions in different parts of the world. This war logic had as one of its axes the so-called "fight against terrorism", after the events of September 11, 2001.

The increase in these war conflicts at the regional scale has devastating effects on the economies of affected countries; One of the consequences of this phenomenon was the growth of migratory flows to the countries of the so-called "global center". Capitalism, in its expansive and accumulation dynamics, has in the war one of its most effective and devastating instruments.

The writer Susan George (2003), to define globalization, cited the definition of Percy Barnevik former President General Director of the transnational ASEA - Brown Boveri (ABB), who claimed that: "Globalization, for the companies of my group, is the freedom to invest whenever they want and wherever they want, to buy and sell wherever they want, to suffer the minimum possible restrictions in terms of labor legislation" (George, 2003, p. 15).

The above is a synthesized and colloquial expression constituting the so-called "Washington Consensus", which, with the open market thesis and "macroeconomic discipline", the displacement of the State conceived as an obstacle to economic growth and the emerging prominence of the private sector, become the key guiding guidelines of neoliberal policies in the region, of the deployment of globalization in our Globalization in ours.

The pre-pandemic imprint is marked by decades of neoliberal policies that, as a fine scalp Well, well-being, which were unstructured during this time of catastrophe capitalism.

The logic of austerity to "rationalize" the "public spending", settled as a mantra of a language that made sense in society. Following this political line for decades, multilateral organizations (International Monetary Fund - IMF, World Bank - BM, Inter-American Development Bank - IDB, among others) prefigured societies with helpless institutions to address the scourges of poverty and exclusion, with a determining impact on working conditions.

In this neoliberal deployment, the issue of labor relations and working conditions is crucial. The sign of the time was the precariousness as the basis of the

employment relationship that capitalism proposed to the workers. Here, language is key because neoliberalism floods the territory of communication with euphemisms.

In this case, the keyword was "flexibility", which, as a specific fact, resulted in the deregulation of the existing labor framework to favor precariousness in all senses, with emphasis on informality, thus avoiding any contractual co-responsibility in the "social protection" of workers by capital. This practice materialized in precarious hiring characterized by low wages, the extension of working days, and casualties or no guarantee of social protection.

This scenario constitutes, together with the disassembly of state structures aimed at social protection, determining factors so that, given the unexpected crisis produced by the pandemic, both the State itself and society in general will be limited in dealing with the huge challenge that this global sanitary phenomenon means. Years before the pandemic, specifically in 2018, Alston (2018), "Special Rapporteur on the extreme poverty and human rights before the Human Rights Council" of the United Nations Organization (UN), presented a balance on the effects of neoliberalism and the impacts of the policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in "Social Protection Systems". This report suggests that, among other aspects, the IMF implements policies aimed at undermining democracy in its liberal version, because by limiting the functioning of institutions that obey the democratic mandate due to the imposition of restrictive measures in the budgetary order, this mandate has direct repercussions in the exercise of civil and social rights. After this requirement of the IMF operates one of its dogmas: the control of the fiscal deficit.

In a similar tempo-space correlation, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) in the report on the social landscape of Latin America (2019) highlights the growing inequality that continues to prevail in the region. As a sample of this situation, he affirms that the richest 1% of the population continues to accumulate wealth against the vast majority whose income is at the limits of poverty (2019, p. 13).

The report recognizes the failure of the countries of the region in the struggle to eradicate poverty. In this sense, he argues that:

The increase in poverty and extreme poverty is a great challenge for the design and implementation of public policies in the vast majority of countries

in the region, and the projected rise for 2019 does nothing but confirm that poverty and extreme poverty should be maintained in the center of the debate and government efforts. (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, 2019, p. 95)

ECLAC (2019, p. 96) stands out, complementarily, that, in the years before the pandemic, that is, between 2014 and 2018, "Extreme poverty grew 2.9 percentage points and approximately 20 million people [...]".

In another report, in this case of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), referring to the "Latin American Economic Perspectives" (2019), it argues that, despite the progress in the fight against poverty that allowed the emergence of a middle class that represented 40% of the population, this is equally a highly vulnerable sector caught in "[...] volatile income that puts them at risk of falling again in poverty "(OECD, 2019, p. 22).

Schwab (2020), director of the World Economic Forum, said in October 2020 that:

One of the main ones is neoliberal ideology. Free market fundamentalism has eroded the rights of workers and economic security, has unleashed a deregulatory career towards the fund and a ruinous tax competence, and has allowed the emergence of new gigantic global monopolies (Schwab, 2020, N.P.).

This panorama is an expression of a dogma that left instruments to societies to face the demands derived from the pandemic. Just when social majorities set their gaze to the State, looking for answers, aid to face the then unknown, this was in worse situation after decades of preaching and praxis aimed at dismantling their political, forecasting and operational abilities.

The deepening of social inequalities is the direct and inevitable consequence of capitalism in its version of the prevailing neoliberal globalism. The predatory logic of the capitalist system accelerates that condition under neoliberal dogma. Proof of this and complementary to these chronic social imbalances is the acceleration of the process of accumulation by transfer of resources of society and, fundamentally, of those most vulnerable sectors, to an increasingly powerful, richer elite.

The evidence of this reality is provided by the non -governmental organization (NGOs) Oxfam, indicating that: "since 2020, and during the first years of this decade, the joint wealth of the five richest men in the world has duplicated with more than" (Oxfam, 2024, p. 9). The report states that: "During the same period, the

accumulated wealth of about 5,000 million people globally has been reduced" (Oxfam, 2024, p. 9).

That is, the panorama before the pandemic describes a context in which the exacerbation of the contradictions between capital and labor becomes more visible, in which it clearly shows a decisive advance of capitalism in all the interstices of society with a consolidation of its control over work and its practices. At the same time that it constitutes a propitious scenario that favors an even greater impact of the pandemic on society.

Oxfam in an informative note of May 23, 2023, describes the pandemic situation in a taxative way. States that:

The COVID-19 pandemic hit a world that was already marked by inequality. Decades of neoliberal economic policies have disassembled public services that in many cases have been privatized, and have given wings to the mass concentration of business power and large-scale fiscal elusion. These policies have deliberately undermined the rights of working people and reduced tax rates for large companies and the richest. In addition, they have exposed the environment to exploitation levels that far exceed what our planet can support (Oxfam, 2023, p. 4).

Sousa Santos (2021) refers to a "world of disfigured possibilities." The author points out the processes and institutions constituting an era in whose operation rested part of the hopes of citizens for progress and well-being, but that its realization was disrupted and aligned according to the interests of capital.

In this sense, it emphasizes that democracy, conceived as the government of all and the legal system, as an instrument for the exercise of the rule of law, was reduced to an elitist and instrumental model in favor of the interests of minorities. Likewise, the struggle for human rights for decades, conceived as a tool to safeguard human life, the basis of many international treaties, is now perceived as an "impertinent obstacle," and even many of its defenders are persecuted.

It also installed an idea of development that generated high expectations of progress within society that, on the contrary, influenced the deepening of social inequalities. Finally, Sousa Santos (2021) points out that the emergence of the Internet and social networks, which in principle were perceived as instruments that would contribute to improving the quality of democracy, social and political life, showed their true purpose as mechanisms for control and surveillance.

It should be added that, in a socio-political context such as the one described, the unique readings emerge that are proposed as a politically accepted form and background by liberalism and its political and ideological adjacencies. This trend took greater impetus within the framework of the transformations that occurred from the disintegration of the communist bloc, when the globalizing ideology traveled in Yunta with the dogmas of liberal democracy. It is in this historical situation that Venezuelan experience takes shape as a proposal and political praxis of participatory and leading democracy, contained in the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (CRBV, 1999, 2009) as a road map for the radical transformation of Venezuelan society.

The liberal and conservative elites empowered after the sunset of the USSR and imbricated in the hegemonic transnational corporate tissue, were not going to allow any alternative to the established dogmas of the metropolitan liberal democracies; Even less, in a nation located in the western hemisphere, in a strategic geographical position and with undoubted potential in strategic energy and mineral reserves. That, in addition, it embodies an endogenous economic-social development project that marches against the hegemonic thesis of global capitalism and its dogmas based on neoclassical economic theses.

It should be remembered then that:

[...] The political project that emerges with the Bolivarian Revolution, aimed at addressing the situation of generalized social precariousness present in Venezuelan society, after the devastated land left by neoliberalism, as well as the actions derived from it, then represented and now a challenge to imperial hegemony (Carvajal Ruiz; Villasmil Socorro, 2020, p. 6).

3 Our America, a catastrophic scenario

Pandemia constitutes a key historical moment to explain the present and becoming, which highlights not only how far the destruction of social policies has come due to decades of imposition of global neoliberal capitalism, but also meant a point of rupture, breakdown, in all orders, with special emphasis on the collective emotional level, with deep political repercussions. A period of uncertainty and generalized, paralyzing disappointment, which generated panic, anguish, resentments, and discomforts in society, which are still taking shape and manifest

themselves in the political, social, and cultural behaviors of the present, as an expression of an emerging subjectivity.

The "alternative blockade" or that "world of disfigured possibilities" referred to by Sousa Santos constitutes the embryo of new or renewed political expressions characterized by the discourse of antipolitics, loaded with social tiredness, apathy, and meaning of the other that spreads the culture of precariousness. It is the neoliberal cultural model that produces a subject focused on itself, individualistic, politically castrated, and eager for personal success. The ballast of precariousness in the broadest sense of the term comes to life in all the interstices of the social and affective life of society.

Pandemia brought with it a series of measures, some of them extreme, before the unknown. Among these measures was the "social distancing" and the confinement of society.

Confinement, together with the economic and social conditions characterized by the precariousness preceding the pandemic, were key factors to understand collective behavior. Lam Peña (2021) reports the impacts of the pandemic projected by multilateral organizations, caused in different areas of economic and social life in the region, namely:

The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean forecasts an economic contraction for the region of less than 5.3%. The Observatory of the International Labor Organization has stated that 400 million jobs were lost in the second quarter of 2020. The International Labor Organization has estimated, for Latin America and the Caribbean as a whole, a loss of 10.3% of the hours of work for the second quarter of the year which corresponds to 25 million equivalent full-time jobs (40 hours per week) (Lam Peña, 2021, p. 462).

If to the above, the fact of the difficulties of the states to agree on sovereign health policies to address the phenomenon is added; It was the multilateral organizations, fundamentally, the World Health Organization (WHO), which, perhaps on behalf of similar organisms, established the framework policies to act on the pandemic stage.

Among these policies highlighted the general confinement, the "social distancing" and the accelerated search for effective treatment against the Sars-CoV-2 virus (COVID generator-19). The direct consequence was the paralysis of economic

activity at a global scale, with this slowdown affecting national and international trade, and a strong impact on workers, mostly in informality.

Some data that allowed an comprehensive approach to the impacts of the pandemic in Latin America, can be synthesized by the article “Pandemia increases inequality and poverty in Latin America” by Sánchez Díez and García de la Cruz (2021), in this they reported the fall of 8.1 % of the gross internal product (GDP), this was reflected in the closure of more than 2 million 700 thousand companies of diverse size, mainly medium and small ventures, which represented 19 % of the total; Most of these companies were linked to the sectors of commerce, tourism, transport, culture, among others.

Likewise, the authors continue to inform, the effects on export registered a 10.1 % drop, while imports retreated 13.4 %. Likewise, it was reported that there was a significant drop in foreign investment, until reaching 50 %. In this abrupt decrease that generated the pandemic with the closure of the economy, the mostly affected social sectors were the women and the young people who saw their employment possibilities reduced. Finally, the report concludes, the briefly presented panorama reports that economic and social conditions directly had the increase in the poverty and destitution index in the countries of the region.

To the data exposed here, some clues should be noted to understand the dynamics in the family economy from the growth of informality at work, which ranged between the average historical index of 50 % and 75 % (Acevedo; Castellani; Lotti; Székely, 2021). Even recognizing the high pre-dxyr informality rate by 2020 in Latin America, the closure of economic activities, the difficulty of displacement, and the meeting of broad sectors had a decisive impact on the living conditions of the population.

However, this phenomenon had a different impact on the formal employment sector, fundamentally, because this exercise was legally protected, and even the generality of the states, together with the private business sector, implemented subsidy policies aimed at protecting the employed worker, which facilitated the compliance with the actions aimed at anti-COVID protocols.

In this sense, the aforementioned Acevedo, Castellani, Lotti and Székely (2021, p. 34) explain that:

The preliminary data of 2020 show a substantial contraction in employment and informal employment, while the formal sector seems to have worked as a protection network for workers with access to contributory social security. The stability of formal jobs may be related to the obligation to pay compensation for dismissal, which introduces an inflexibility element. This is combined with the fact that since the beginning of the pandemic its duration has been uncertain, which complicates the determination of the cost-benefit ratio of hiring or dismissing workers.

4 Notes on Venezuelan education during the pandemic period

Pandemia constituted a disruptive experience in all areas of life in society. Its unexpected and abrupt emergency motivated the introduction of measures aimed at the individual and collective protection of communities. The ignorance of medical science about the treatment of a disease produced by the influence of the SARS-COV-2 virus, whose propagation occurred rapidly, imposed radical measures aimed at the containment of its expansion. This phenomenon had deep adverse repercussions for a country like Venezuela, subject to imperial aggression; Consequently, the impacts on Venezuelan education are still being studied.

At first, given the expansion of COVID-19, the World Health Organization (WHO) suggested to the States the total confinement; that is, practically the closure of borders, regions, cities, communities, and with it the almost paralysis of all activities.

Each sovereign nation, based on its forecasts and particularities, assumed the most appropriate protection protocol for the country, generally adjusted to WHO recommendations. However, the Venezuelan case together with that of Cuba and Nicaragua, constituted special situations that had a common denominator: the three nations are subject to unilateral coercive mechanisms, therefore, illegal, which translate into blockages and/or sanctions that affected and affect the normal dynamics of the economy, trade and other life activities in society of those countries.

Regarding the case of Venezuela, by March 2020 when the confinement process begins, following the orientations of the WHO, the US government then led by Donald Trump, the European Union (EU) and the coalition of countries around the ill - Government and private, to the sectors of mining and oil, economy and finance, transport, health, food, among others, with a clear impact on essential public

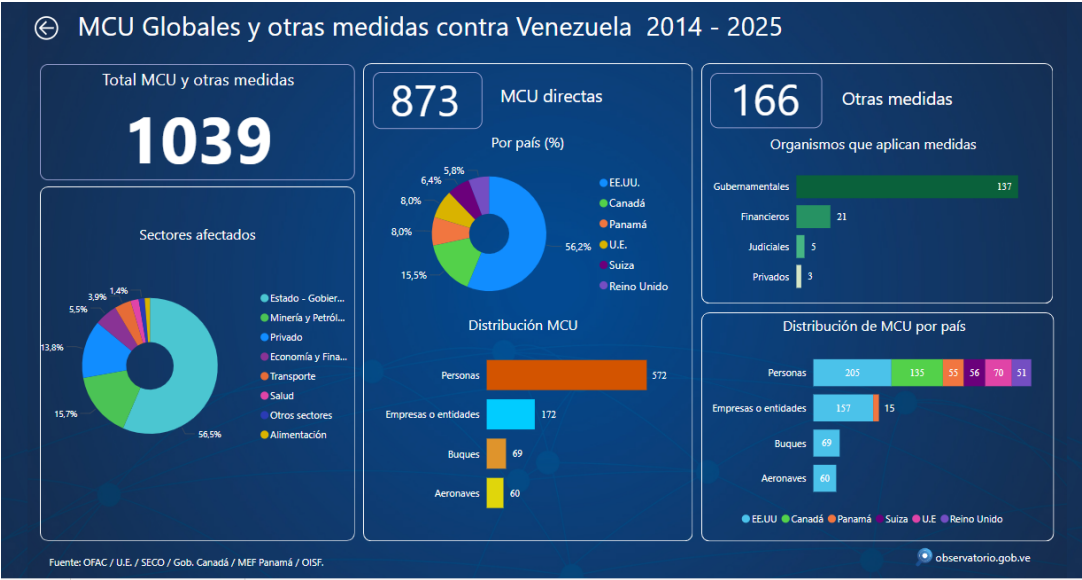
services, such as drinking water, electricity service, as well as the production and distribution of domestic gas, communications and transport.

Castellano (2023) argues that:

Unilateral coercive measures applied to Venezuela cover all areas of society, so we can ensure that they violate the right to life. They constitute political weapons of interference that violate the sovereignty and the self - self-determination of the Venezuelan people; they are pressure mechanisms to bend and force them to divert their interests and break their principles. Despite being and recognizing that these unilateral coercive measures are illegal, the power of the American empire and other imperialisms has prevented, until now, their non-application (Castellano, 2023, p. 25).

According to the Venezuelan anti-lock observatory (2025), to date, the country is subject to 1,039 unilateral coercive measures, distributed as shown in the following table:

Quadro 1 - 1,039 Unilateral Coercive Measures



Fuente: Observatorio Venezolano Antibloqueo (2025)

The coercion framework imposed by the blockade added greater difficulties to the ability to maneuver of the Government, the institutions of the State, and other organizations and sectors of society, including the private, to deal with the pandemic in a difficult context of governance. The pre-existing situation in Venezuela, created from the imposition of the UCM, deepened the economic crisis to the point of leaving the entire society at the limit of its possibilities to face the demands derived from the health emergency. Sample of the above is the performance of the US Treasury Office

through the Financial Assets Control Network (Financial Crime Enforcement Network [FINCEN]), which in 2017 and 2019 imposed surveillance alerts on transactions of Venezuela that prevented the payment of food and medicines; These actions resulted in the paralysis of the Venezuelan government operations by the international financial system, excluding the country from the World Messaging System (Swift) (Castellano, 2023).

Simultaneously to this event of confiscation of resources belonging to the Nation, there is another manifestation of the impacts of the UCM, in this case against the oil industry, which translates into the abrupt decrease in productive capacities, until reaching in July 2020 a historical minimum of 339 thousand barrels of oil per day, compromising the economy and the financial possibilities of the country.

The Venezuelan anti-lock observatory (2021, n.p.) reported that:

The COVAX Center office notifies the Venezuelan government of the blockade of four payments for a total amount of 10,031,838,18 USD by the Swiss Bank UBS for reasons of "investigation". This payment is intended to cancel the acquisition of vaccines through the COVAX mechanism to vaccinate 20% of the Venezuelan population¹.

To the blockade of Venezuelan resources by the Global Access Fund for Vaccines COVID-19 (for its acronym in English: COVID-19 Vaccines Global Access, COVAX), which aggravated the emergency care situation, in September 2021 the Portuguese bank Novo Banco, controlled by the Lone Star Investment Fund, a US capital company, which blocks the payment to the Pan-American organization, of health (PAHO) aimed at acquiring vaccines, clothing and medical instruments.

On the other hand, the devastating effects of the aggression against Venezuela through the imposition of the UCM generated, among other impacts, the paralysis and/or divestment in strategic sectors for the functioning of the country. This fact made a dent in the country's services infrastructure, seriously affecting the national road and electricity network; in the case of electricity, with significant restrictions on the service in important areas of the country. This harmed the telecommunications service, that is, telephone and internet connectivity.

¹ Ver: <https://observatorio.gob.ve/sistema-estadistico-antibloqueo/>

In this adverse context for Venezuelan society, the pandemic happens. Therefore, if the education system was already shocked by this coercive scenario, the pandemic due to the effect of the COVID-19 is added as another event to a catastrophic situation, which notoriously aggravates the working conditions and social welfare of the teachers and complicates the educational prosecution of millions of children, adolescents and young people.

Through the implementation of the protocols approved by the multilateral organizations (WTO, PAHO, among others), it was made to guarantee the exercise of the right to education of the school population, seeking a safe and protected context. These preventive measures were transferred to all areas of society. In the case of education, national states adjusted such actions to the conditions, characteristics, and particularities of educational systems, to create safe school environments for the educational community.

Hermo González (2022), when referring to the Venezuelan case, argues that the pandemic:

He faced the sudden transformation of the aulic experiences that led to educational institutions of all levels and modalities of the Venezuelan education system to rethink and reformulate the teaching and learning process, as well as implement spaces of compulsive and immediate virtualization in distance, emerging innumerable unpublished experiences in the country and in the world (Hermo González, 2022, p. 78).

This context raised radical measures that had as a framework the decrees issued by the Presidency of the Republic (No. 4,159 and No. 4,160) on March 13, 2020. The first of them, that is, Decree No. 4,159, which suspends "[...] 2020 and Decree No. 4.160, which promulgates the state of alarm throughout the national territory, given the circumstances that put people's health at risk."

These government decisions forced us to rethink the educational process as a whole. In this sense, in April of that year, the presidential decree 4.186, which extends for a month the state of exception contained in the aforementioned Decree 4.160 of March 20, 2020. From this framework, the actions in educational matters are derived, based on two lines of action: a) the first of them, contained in the program of the Ministry of Popular Power for Education (MPPE, Fundabit, Fundabit, 2020) School", aimed at "[...] guarantee educational attention to the entire student

population of the country as another alternative within the National Plan for Prevention and Protection against Coronavirus (Covid-19)."

This governmental action, designed by the MPPE and coordinated by the Bolivarian Foundation of Informatics and Telematics (Fundabit), was aimed at meeting the educational needs of the initial, primary, general medium, technical medium levels, and adult education. For this, a battery of digital resources dispensed from the MPPE web portal was enabled, which offered links to access the educational television signal (linked to the Venezuelan public television channel - VTV), the digital library, and a link to tools in communication and information technologies. On these instruments, the process of virtualization of education in the country was managed.

The second line of action was materialized through the "National University Plan for Anticovid-19", aimed at meeting the educational requirements of Venezuela's public and private universities. According to the foundations of the Plan designed by the Ministry of Popular Power for University Education, it was aimed at: "[...] Sub - University System that includes all university education institutions (IEU) of Public Management and Private Management, to assume immediate measures to protect the different academic communities of the country" (MPPEU, 2020; p. 2).

This plan proposed as a purpose:

[...] Protection of life and care of human beings, given circumstances that make assistance to classes, strategic guidelines are established to guarantee the academic and postgraduate academic prosecution, through alternative modalities according to the nature of the formation ... (MPPEU, 2020, p. 3).

These efforts, which marched in two directions, guarantee the right to education and, simultaneously, protect all those involved in the educational process, represented a demanding coordination task at all levels of the system that began to travel most of its operational deployment through remote activities. Non-face-to-face as a fundamental modality of teaching work was imposed, leaving some coordination tasks reserved for limited groups within the different subsystems and in educational centers.

Accelerated migration, little planned, towards the virtualization of countless work activities previously carried out through the face-to-face modality, meant a

radical impact on the forms of organization and exercise of work, as well as on labor relations. In the case of education, the implementation of virtualization implied a deep change in the performance of teaching work and the concurrence and/or access to education of millions of girls, boys, adolescents, and young people. The virtualization of education represented a challenge for which most educational systems were not prepared. Like millions of homes, whose benefits were not aligned with the technological demands that this educational process implies.

The Venezuelan school institution had to adapt rapidly to the demands and uncertainties posed by the pandemic to the sovereign exercise of the right to education. It should be remembered that the Constitution of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (1999, 2009) enshrines in article 102 to education as a public service, a human right and a fundamental social duty, in which the State must assume it as a function “[...] indeclinable and of maximum interest in all its levels and modalities, and as an instrument of scientific, humanistic and technological knowledge at the service of society. (p. 27) Hence, such adequacy was a complex exercise due, fundamentally, to the difficulties, on the one hand, presented by the State itself to fully comply with the constitutional mandate.

The expression of the above was the material difficulties of the teaching workers that, amid the impact of imperial aggression by imposition of the UCM, the already precarious working conditions, they had to face with alternative work outputs to complement family income. To this matter was added the dropout of many teaching professionals who sought to be used in more profitable activities or joined the mass of migrants who sought solutions to the family economy outside the country.

5 Notes and discussions to conclude

The ongoing post-pandemic has materialized political expressions that, far from paying for that world dream of equality, solidarity, and twinning that was aspirated to the beginning of the global health process, open the door to fascism. Without a clipper, openly, today we are witnessing the visibility of political and communicational practices that lead to the cancellation of the other. Paraphrasing Clara Zetkin (1923), today humanity presents the deep inequalities of a system, the

capitalist, in crisis. German politicians and thinkers argued that fascism is an expression of capitalism in crisis. That is, this is nothing more than a tool of that system when it perceives entered a stage of economic crisis. Neoliberalism has been in that crisis for several years; Its praxis has only allowed the transfer of resources from the dispossessed classes to the economic elites, generating a greater concentration of wealth in a select minority.

Neoliberalism has resulted in the precariousness of life and labor relations, under the armored story of freedom. During this process of collective dispossession to which capitalism has submitted in its neoliberal version to the majorities, the pandemic happens. This epidemic event of global reach was to delve into the pre-existing inequalities. Amid this panorama, the political expressions of the extreme right, raising the flags of fascism today, take the alternative in vast social and cultural sectors.

Education as a political territory in dispute is nothing more than another of the scenarios in which this confrontation of ideas and praxis takes place. Technological disruption and with it the flooding of all spaces of personal and collective life by the social network's device, has contributed to the circulation of content that taints in favor of fascist ideas, leaving the traditional school in a frank state of disadvantage.

It is no accident that the year 2022, just when a progressive lifting of confinement begins due to the pandemic by the COVID - 19, which gradually relaxes the sanitary measures imposed on a global scale and the activities are restarted in a scenario that they called "the new normality", they open (or perhaps better, are reactivated) two foci of regional scale conflicts global. One of them, just in February 2022, began the so -called Special Military Operation (according to it the part of the Russian Federation) on Ukraine or the invasion of that country, according to the Ukrainian authorities, NATO and the European Union, which faces two peoples and whose motivations and beyond the concrete facts that defined the disintegration of the USSR, conflicts and agreements. Of this process, they reveal a war strategy by delegation led by a sector of Western elites against the Russian Federation with geopolitical and geoeconomic purposes characteristic of the capitalist system in crisis.

The second case, the extension and deepening of the historical tragedy of the Palestinian people through the action of genocide by the Israeli army, before the expectant look of a paralyzed and silent "international community". The excuse to resume the action of expulsion and extermination of the Palestinians of Gaza has been this time the attack of Hamas on civilians with a balance close to a thousand dead and hostages. This ethnic cleaning operation of the Israel Defense Forces (FDI) on the Palestinian people, so far, reports the murder of approximately 3 % of the population, that is, about 54,000 dead, highlighting that most of those killed are children, girls, women and the elderly; In addition, about 130 thousand injured, as well as the expulsion of their homes of more than 800 thousand people.

In the regional context that, despite the leadership in key countries of the so - called "progressive left", such as the cases of Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Honduras, Mexico, Uruguay, among others, the vigorous force of the political -cultural factors of the right and the ultra-right forces is evident. In a continent in whose territory the imperial power lies, as is the case of the USA, which at no time has renounced the validity of monroeism and whose spearhead swingon between the governments of Argentina, chaired by Javier Milei and his "libertarian" agenda; Daniel Noboa in Ecuador and the potential return to the power of the extreme right led by Bolsonarism in Brazil.

This political panorama is aggravated by the fragmentation of the "progressive block", unable to leave aside the differences and resume a common agenda of the exercise of the common sovereignty and reimpulso of the integration agenda of our American integration, consolidated in the advances in that direction during the first decade of this century. This situation facilitates restoration and survival, in other cases, of the regressive neoliberal policies, which are maintained in the region for approximately five decades.

Education as a political territory in dispute is nothing more than another of the scenarios in which this confrontation of ideas and praxis takes place. Technological disruption and with it the flooding of all spaces of personal and collective life by the social networks device, has contributed to the circulation of content that taxes in favor of fascist ideas, leaving the traditional public school in frank state of frank disadvantage.

The pandemic due to COVID-19 meant a determining event for all societies. In principle, there was a time of uncertainty, ignorance, and generalized fear of the unknown. Hence, the protocols imposed to combat an unknown virus such as that of COVID-19, obeyed an uncertain context; Thus, the physical distancing imposed meant deepening social distancing, the separation of people, the community, and families. It is likely that such action had as an anchor the preceding expression of the cult of individuality as a way of exercising the "freedom", within the cultural doxa of the social fragmentation proposed and imposed by neoliberalism.

The construction of hybrid work environments, product of the pandemic phenomenon, constitutes a novel factor that, on the one hand, facilitates the exercise of work, but, in turn, represents one more expression of the new configuration of the international division of labor that introduces elements of greater fragmentation to the complex of labor relations; that is, more precarization on your own account.

The educational work was impacted by this reality. Pandemia served to further undress social inequalities regarding access to education. The technological factor highlighted these asymmetries. The Venezuelan case may be an example of this. A country punished for illegal coercion mechanisms had to face this process in significant precariousness conditions in all areas.

The impacts of the 1,039 UCM imposed on the country weigh heavily on Venezuelan education, both because of their magnitude and by the strategic sectors that are affected. Some of these impacts can be summarized in more deterioration of the living and working conditions of teaching workers, deterioration of school infrastructure, lack of resources for teaching and learning, partial paralysis of a key program such as school food, abandonment of the teaching profession, and school dropout. As described, these impacts leave them in a situation of deep precariousness, generating difficulties for their operation and management.

Despite the efforts to conduct the education system and make it operational within the framework of the so-called "new normality", some structural and human difficulties made this task a much more complex issue. One of the key aspects to guarantee school continuity was the incorporation of distance modality (or virtualization of teachings); For this, an adequate connectivity infrastructure to the network was vital, as well as the respective computer equipment. The described

economic and social conditions were erected as true obstacles to many families and, consequently, for the school population.

This panorama becomes a real challenge that should be addressed by witty and effective public policies, because given the material deficiencies indicated, an emotional climate was configured that affected many teaching workers, for whom this pandemic period was characterized by fear, disorientation and uncertainty, and that stimulated an attitude of survival in the face of manifest adversity (Carvajal Ruiz; Agudelo 2023). Therefore, reversing such a scenario meant and means a long-breath task, and that requires greater investment and efficiency in the execution of the scarce resources.

There is a set of policies aimed at reversing the difficult scene of Venezuelan education, briefly described. One of them is oriented to the recovery of school infrastructure; Another of these actions is aimed at recovering the school registration combined with the activation of medullary programs for the functioning of the public school through the attention of the vital needs of girls, boys and adolescents, as is the case of the School Food and Health Program. Articulated to these guidelines is the policy of academic and teaching recovery, which includes the initial and permanent training of teachers; readjust compliance with the school calendar and the relocation of teaching staff dedicated to other work activities. Although the national educational authorities have announced policies aimed at meeting the socio-economic needs of teaching professionals that include, among other actions, the partial bonus of the salary of teachers and teachers, a gradual increase in income and the revival of teaching health programs, the persistent precariousness will require major efforts that represent the true dignification of the working conditions of this work.

For the Venezuelan people in general and, particularly, for those and those who are dedicated to teaching work at this time narrated and lived, they have left deep traces. An imprint on the experience of surviving a global epidemiological event under the cruel pedagogy of unilateral coercive measures imposed by the US governments. and creative construction in all areas of life.

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