Impacts of the Bolsonaro Government in times of Coronavirus in Brazil

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to analyze the narratives, at the time of the OVID-19 pandemic in the Brazilian scenario, that directly affect health, education and the population in general. The problem that motivated the development of the text is based on the following question: How do the actions of the scholarship government in times of pandemic directly affect human life and produce a readjustment of Brazilian education in the marketing logic? In order to carry out the research, we used bibliographic research, analysis; and in the empirical field, we used the reports of the great media, due to the perspective of capturing, in real time, the discursive character of the talking subject, and demonstrate that these reports can be used for the construction of knowledge, the latter being filtered and analyzed from a critical perspective. For the analyses, we used the theoretical foundations of the historical-dialectic materialism of Marx and Engels. It is concluded that the worsening of Brazilian political and religious fundamentalism by the conservative wing, together with the current president, minimize deaths and promote the attack on science and technology. Therefore, it becomes urgent to guarantee the mobilization effort for the defense of public health, the strengthening of the SUS (Unified Health System) and public education, free and universal, together with health workers, students as subjects, teachers and all education workers.

Keywords: Ultra-liberal ideologies, COVID-19, Health, Education.

Introduction

The pandemic caused by the new Coronavirus (COVID-19) is configured as a global health crisis, forcing us to return to the old lessons that seem to have been forgotten by the great international businessmen and corporations that command the advance of capital, in the search for profit and accumulation of global wealth. From time to time, world capitalism faces violent crises and collapses stemming from the contradictory logic in which it has historically operated from its process of accumulation.

In this logic, whether it comes from the economic crisis caused by environmental issues or natural crisis, capital will always demand the accumulation of

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wealth. Although the current crisis is caused by a natural virus (the new Coronavirus), capitalism shows the signs of world disorder in times of neoliberalism, teaching lessons that demonstrate the limitations of world health on the aegis of the market, as well as, contradictorily, reinforcing the laws of the market that attack science, education and human formation.

Thus, the problem that motivated the development of this article is based on the following question: How do the actions of the stock market government directly attack human life and produce a readjustment of Brazilian education in the market logic of the COVID-19 pandemic? In order to carry out the analyses, we used the theoretical foundations of the historical-dialectic materialism of Marx and Engels, for the understanding that it will not be possible to advance the discussion on a critical perspective without relating the singular to the social totality, that is, the actions of the scholarship government in times of pandemic, in its historical and contradictory determinations.

In this context, the issues analyzed in this research are real premises that require uses of theoretical and methodological possibilities that can help understand how social life is articulated to the means of production, and education can be transformative as long as it is linked to a revolutionary project of society.

The work made use of bibliographic research, for "[...] using data or theoretical categories already worked on by other researchers" (SEVERINO, 2007, p. 122); documentary analysis, to "[...] capture the clues for understanding political rationality, the master ideas of educational guidelines, in order to understand the influences that produced it" (EVANGELISTA, 2004, p. 15); and in the empirical field, it was used the reports of the great media, due to the expectation of capturing, in real time, the discursive character of the talking subject, demonstrating that these reports can be used for the construction of knowledge, as long as they are filtered and analyzed from the critical perspective.

Thus, the text is divided into Introduction, three sections, Final Considerations and References. The first section presents brief considerations about COVID-19 on a global scale. The second shows the advances of the pandemic in Brazil and the narratives of the Bolsonaro Government that pay attention to human life. The third section demonstrates that the Federal Government is taking advantage of the current situation to impose a pragmatic educational policy. In the Final Considerations, the need for strengthening the Brazilian Unified Health System (SUS) and free and universal public education, together with health workers, students as subjects, teachers and all workers in general, is demonstrated.

2. The new Coronavirus on a global scale and its contradictory processes

On a global scale, the free competition resulting from the organization of capitalist societies and the flow of people and goods circulate freely, invading every corner of the planet, and producing the different population flows and access to consumption and other necessary goods that guarantee daily life, as David Harvey (2011) points out. This flow, which, as Marx (2015, p. 45) said, was conjured up in "gigantic means of production" millennia ago, has undergone in recent months a process of deceleration of all the world's economies, driven by the need to stop an invisible enemy with lethal effect called the "new Coronavirus," which has already
infected 23,120,830 people in the world, causing 802,693,000 deaths and has already recovered 14,842,382 people².

In times of neoliberalism and globalization of the world economy, the pandemic found fertile ground for its spread since its first identification on December 31, 2019 in Wuhan, China, spreading at an unprecedented speed, already reaching the fragile health systems that could not support millions of people who were infected and needed hospitals equipped to serve the populations. According to the Birh analysis (2020, p. 25):

The situation created by the COVID-19 pandemic is a real and undeniable demonstration of the failure of the thesis defended for decades by those in favor of opening up the health system. Their basic premise: everyone has a "health capital" of which they are the main, if not the only, responsible (it is up to them to preserve it and, even better, to value it - to improve it), has been denied in the last weeks on a planetary scale.

The pandemic clearly shows the results of the neglect of the neoliberal state and the very logic of capital in preserving profit, in which governments have spared no effort to dismantle the entire public health system, directly attacking the financing of health policies and research aimed at containing the virus and epidemiological control. For decades, the transfer of responsibility to the subjects, as Bihr (2020, p. 26) shows, has induced people with better conditions to seek in private health plans the guarantee of medical care, thus guaranteeing the free competition of the market. In this way, it has promoted the scrapping of the public health system, disadvantaging a large part of the population who seek care in health systems with reduced capacity and minimal infrastructure conditions.

It can be seen that "[...] the weapons used by the bourgeoisie turn against itself [...]" (MARX, 2015, p. 44), because the premise that everyone has a "health capital" now takes on a lethal proportion, and the operationalization of hospitals reduced to the dictates of the minimal state leads governments to abandon their speeches and decree urgent measures for public and private health in order to halt the spread of the pandemic and prevent the collapse of hospital services and deaths on an unprecedented scale, as has already happened in Italy, the United States and Spain, as well as in Brazil, which has records of SUS collapse in the states of Amazonas, Ceará, Pará, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and continues to record, until August 21, 1,054 daily deaths, being considered the second country with more deaths registered by Covid-19, behind only the United States³.

The minimum state now faces the weight of glorifying individual freedom of choice and seeks solutions in measures already experienced in history, for example, in the Spanish flu of 1918, which is "[...] to confine each one to his own homes [...]" because the productive forces at their disposal are not enough to "[...] protect from the potentially fatal danger of this pandemic. (BiHR, 2020, p. 25). The advance of neoliberal policies shows, in the worst possible way, their inefficiency in the face of the world pandemic; in Brazil, the aggravating factors are extreme, since the stock market policy divides public opinion between the attack on science and the world of

² CORONAVIRUS: the map showing the global reach of the disease, 2020.
work, in which, being minimized by demonstrations by President Jair Bolsonaro, millions of workers are being exposed in their workplaces so that the "economy does not stop", while their bosses are safe doing social isolation.

Until science develops vaccines and drugs for viral containment safely, there will not be enough elements to get back to the world of work from before; and relying on Harvey's analysis (2020, p. 22), he wonders "[...] How long will this last [OVID-19 pandemic]? It may be more than a year and the longer it lasts the more it devalues, including the labor force". However, the fight is also theoretical. It is not possible to fight neoliberalism without scientifically understanding the destructive logic and purposeful inoperativeness of the capitalist system, which has always intensified the appropriation of labor and the concentration of wealth without the least concern for the civilizing and self-destructive effects of both the labor force and nature and the environment.

Thus, it is necessary to register that the pandemic is not a surprise element in contemporary society, as Badiou (2020, p. 35) explains:

Its name is SARS-2, that is, "Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome - 2", a name that marks the "second time" of this identification, after the SARS-1 epidemic that spread around the world in the spring of 2003. At the time, it was called "the first unknown disease of the XXI century". It is clear that the current epidemic is by no means the emergence of something radically new or unprecedented. It is the second of its kind in this century and can be considered a descendant of the first.

The explanations on this issue focus on the most diverse positions that do not justify why laboratories worldwide, endowed with technological capabilities, did not produce, in time, vaccines to prevent a possible epidemic from taking the lives of millions of people. The seriousness of this pandemic is becoming less and less justifiable, given the fantastic capacity of the state to protect markets that are concerned only with profits, adopting austerity policies to the detriment of investments in health, research and vaccine production to protect different populations.

The negligence of pharmaceutical companies is explained exactly by the logic that for the large-scale production of any drug there must be financial return; and since neoliberal governments do not invest in health and deliver the research to private laboratories, there is no interest in producing any kind of prevention, as Harvey analyzes (2020, p. 18): "The pharmaceutical industry has little or no interest in non-profit research on infectious diseases (like all classes of coronavirus known since the 1960s).

The logic adopted by world governments has historically allowed the process of deregulation of health, concentrating in the hands of economic groups the knowledge of health technologies, thus promoting "social apartheid", because it does not see health as potential to save lives, but rather as a market. According to Harvey (2020, p. 18): "The business model applied to the supply of public health has eliminated the response capacity that would be necessary in case of emergency. Prevention is not even a seductive branch of work enough to justify public-private partnerships".

Besides the logic mentioned above, the world is facing its own geopolitical contradictions that divide the planet into poor and rich countries, in which Latin
America, specifically Brazil, which has historically been thrown to the condition of hunger and diseases, and nowadays, besides being subject to the COVID-19 pandemic, is also subject to the virus called "stock market", which moves through the determinist and unilateral logic of destroying the rule of law, directly affecting the health, security and education of millions of Brazilians.

Whether in the North or in the South, the expansion of COVID-19 exposes to the contemporary world the perverse face of neoliberalism, globalization and urban and rural segregation. In Brazil, COVID-19 has accelerated the deaths of indigenous people, Quilombola and workers in the countryside, and in the metropolitan peripheries people are agonizing over the suffocation of public health policies, security increasingly distant from the population.

3. Expansion of COVID-19 in Brazil and the prominent logic of the capital

The crises of world capitalism, promoted or natural, demonstrate historically that the world capitalist society has always been demarcated by class struggles. In Brazil, this relationship did not occur in a differentiated way, as Iamamoto (2012, p. 129) explains, but "[...] it reveals itself as an expanded reproduction of wealth and social inequalities, increasing poverty relative to the concentration and centralization of capital [...] through the enjoyment of the conquests of social work.

Just as labor was taken over, knowledge was transformed into private property of the bourgeois fundamentalist and extreme-right class, and science and technology began to be managed by the large corporations, with the consent of the State, which was only interested in developing technologies to serve the market. This society, explains Iamamoto (2012, p. 141), "[...] is presided over by an authoritarian and excluding tradition in which social relations are now governed by complicity when people identify themselves as equals [...]. "; and for the Brazilian working class, only its labor force is left to operate production; and without the right to life, this class resists and struggles to continue surviving, collectively, the perverse capital crisis promoted by the ultra-liberal politics of the extreme right and aggravated by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Therefore, it is necessary to demonstrate that the health crisis of the pandemic has aggravated the extreme poverty situation in which the country finds itself. According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP, 2015), 3.8% of the Brazilian population, or 7.8 million people, lived in multidimensional poverty; that is, they suffered deprivation of access to health, education, water and sanitation, electricity and adequate housing standards.

According to Neri (2008, p. 1), of the Getulio Vargas Foundation (FVG), at the end of 2014 until the end of 2017, "[...] the increase in poverty was 33%, from 8.38% to 11.18% of the Brazilian population. This contingent represents 23.3 million poor people in the country [...]", living with an "[...] income below R$ 232.00 per month, and poverty has risen 33% in the last four years. There are 6.3 million new poor - more than the population of Paraguay - added to the poverty stock4."

Aware of this reality, the ultra-liberal stock market government takes advantage of the health crisis of COVID-19 to naturalize deaths from the pandemic and insists on social regulation of the economy, betting on vertical isolation and open

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trade. This relationship has the support of a good part of the population that does not have access to goods and services, but consider themselves "entrepreneurs"; and also of large entrepreneurs, who even though they are benefited by the crisis, intend to lay off thousands of employees.

The attack on social rights, constitutionally guaranteed, in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic, advances from several argumentative narrative fronts. The first of these occurred with the confrontation of President Bolsonaro against the former Minister of Health, Luiz Henrique Mandetta, who defended science as a criterion of truth and followed the guidelines of the World Health Organization (WHO) to intensify social isolation. He showed that the virus is lethal, there is no hospital structure, nor financial possibility to pay for mass population testing; the president, on the contrary, strongly defends the return to work and vertical isolation, attacking scientific knowledge and thus attacking thousands of lives.

It is noteworthy that in Brazil the public health system - SUS - is the only option for approximately 70% of the Brazilian population for simple and complex treatments. However, public health sector financing follows the austerity policy, as shown in the Report, called *Fiscal Aspects of Health in Brazil* (Aspectos Fiscais da Saúde no Brasil) (BRAZIL, 2018, p. 8):

> According to World Bank data [...], public spending on health in Brazil was equivalent to 3.8% of GDP, which placed the country in the 64th percentile of world distribution (considering 183 countries), slightly above the average for Latin America and the Caribbean of 3.6%. [...] In 2015, the percentage of elderly people (over 65 years old) in OECD countries was 16.2%, while in Brazil it was 8.0%. Already in 2027, the IBGE projects that the elderly will correspond to 12.3% of the Brazilian population.

This document also highlights that "[...] the future dynamics of health spending becomes even more challenging in a context of limited public spending growth and fiscal adjustment" (BRAZIL, 2018, p. 8), especially the rules for financing health and education that will follow the ceiling rules, linked to Constitutional Amendment No. 95 of 2016, which will be in force for 20 financial years.

The study by Santos and Vieira (2018, p. 7) explains that "[...] between 2017 and 2036, expenses were frozen in real terms at approximately R$ 1.3 trillion [...]"; and the consequences of this policy of austerity was the worsening "[...] of treatments for depression and anxiety; [...] with an increase in suicide rates, especially among children under 65; the increase in chronic non-communicable diseases and some infectious diseases.

After nearly 30 years of neoliberal policies, Brazil finds itself with emergency medicine reduced to the private sector and with a public hospital demarcated by fiscal austerity, that is, with reductions in state and federal budgets for the sector. The worsening of the pandemic shows not only in Brazil, but worldwide, the importance of investing in the public sector, in strengthening SUS, here in Brazil, and in scientific research.

In Brazil, in the COVID-19 pandemic, the aggravation of the political and ideological crisis waged by the current president Jair Bolsonaro on any institution, be it Science, Technology, Congress, the Federal Supreme Court (STF), Universities, public research centers, or political leaders and social movements, who defend, in the midst of the pandemic, the preservation of life, not economic production.
This is an ironic denialist process that expresses a worldview and a position against the working class, as shown in the narratives in Box 1:

### Table 1: President's position on the pandemic (2020)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quote</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;A lot of what you have there is a lot of fantasy, the coronavirus issue is not all that the big media propagates&quot;.</td>
<td>(Folha de S. Paulo, 10 mar. 2020)</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;I'll call Mandetta, I'm not a doctor, I'm not an infectologist, what I've heard so far is that the other colds killed, but that one.&quot;</td>
<td>(Folha de S. Paulo, 11 mar. 2020.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Many will take this depending on the care they take. This will happen, but sooner or later. We must respect taking the appropriate measures, but we cannot go into a neurosis as if it were the end of the world&quot;.</td>
<td>(Folha de S. Paulo, 15 mar. 2020.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because of my track record as an athlete, if I was contaminated by the virus, I wouldn't have to worry. [...] I wouldn't feel anything, if anything a little flu or a cold&quot;.</td>
<td>(Folha de S. Paulo, 24 mar. 2020).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;We go together with the pastors and religious to announce to ask the Brazilian people for a day of fasting in the name that Brazil can be free from this evil as soon as possible&quot;.</td>
<td>(Folha de S. Paulo, 02 Apr. 2020).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;[...] Brazilian has to be studied. It doesn't take anything. You see the guy jumping in the sewer there, he goes out diving and nothing happens to him&quot;.</td>
<td>(Folha de S. Paulo, 26 mar. 2020).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Author's own elaboration (2020), based on articles of the newspaper Folha de S. Paulo

The organic core of Brazilian capital, represented by Jair Bolsonaro, fights directly against the life and rights of workers, manifesting itself immediately through words and actions that promote "[...] barbarism and the annihilation of the social and material bases of human life" (FRIGOTTO, 2020, p. 70), based "[...] on political fundamentalism and the pedagogy of hatred with the strategy of eliminating adversaries or critical thinking [...]" (FRIGOTTO, 2020, p. 20). Such questions represent at the limit of reason that the human being does not exist; what exists is the labor force that creates value, and without it capital goes bankrupt. Marx (2008, p. 83) analyzed it this way:

[...]

External work, in which man externalizes himself; it is a work of self-sacrifice, of mortification. Finally, the externality of work (Ausserlichkeit) appears to the worker as if the [work] were not his own, but someone else's; as if the [work] did not belong to him, as if he in the work did not belong to himself, but to another.

The elements that constitute this relationship are represented by the antagonistic class struggle; it is the subordination of the subject to the division of social classes that sustains this capitalist state structure. Labor becomes a mere necessity of existence for the functioning of the market; and the president daily reproduces this biased policy that feeds the stock market ideological committee, and produces subordination of social needs to the logic of restrictions of public resources destined for the working classes, coherent with the postulates of neoliberal politics.

In the meantime, the mode of production with the maintenance of profit is the only organization that really interests the reactionary policy of the stock market government. As a faithful representative of the theses of the minimum state, Bolsonaro postulates his arrogance and dehumanization for human life in "the name of God," while he practices acts of social exclusion of the working class sustained by
the great businessmen, thus approaching "Malthus' theories\(^5\)," when, in the name of the market, they demand that people leave isolation and return to work, because "the economy needs to function again."

The political solution today is aligned with economic fundamentalism, like a kind of fiction in the president's speech: "[...] many more people will die as a result of an economy that does not walk than the coronavirus itself". (MURAKAWA, 2020, [s.p]). The concern to reestablish economic and political conditions continues to feed the imagination of its followers, who prevent any kind of analysis that escapes the constructed ideal of society, that is, it is easier "[...] to blame oneself or God if something bad happens, but never to dare to suggest that capitalism can be the problem. (HARVEY, 2020, p. 22).

The negligence of the one who leads this country signals that the worker will be contaminated by the new Coronavirus to save the economy, big capital and its reelection, as shown in Box 2:

**Table 2: President’s narratives for protecting the economy (2020)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;There’s hysteria going on. If the economy sinks, it sinks Brazil. And what interest do these political leaders have? If the economy ends, any government ends, my government ends. It's a struggle for power.&quot;</td>
<td>(UOL, in Brasília 2020).</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;It seems that the problem is the president. It is that the president has responsibility and has to decide. It's not just the question of life. It's the issue of economy too. It's the issue of employment.&quot;</td>
<td>(March 30) (UOL, in Brasília 2020).</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;If employment continues to be destroyed the way it is, other [deaths] will come and for other reasons. Depression, suicide, psychiatric issues&quot;.</td>
<td>(UOL, Brasilia, 30 Mar. 2020).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The father who arrives or is at home, the son asks for a plate of food and does not have it. He, who has shame on his face, starts to judge himself responsible for what is happening. And he goes to the fight. Even an animal goes to the fight to bring sustenance to his children. The human being is no different&quot;.</td>
<td>(UOL, Brasilia, 30 Mar. 2020.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;We go together with the pastors and religious to announce to ask the Brazilian people for a day of fasting in the name that Brazil can be free from this evil as soon as possible&quot;.</td>
<td>(Folha de S. Paulo, 02 Apr. 2020).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Stop this virus issue going away, but it's coming and hitting unemployment hard.&quot;</td>
<td>(Folha de S. Paulo, 12 Apr. 2020).</td>
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</table>

Source: Author's own elaboration (2020), based on UOL Portal and articles from Folha de S. Paulo newspaper.

The president's speeches directed at Brazilian society represent the tenor of the "petty politics", highly conservative and lethal that are in progress, founded on "[...] ultra-restrict objectives, marked by wild, predatory social relations, with patrimonialism purposes". (FRIGOTTO, 2020, p. 20), showing that there is no plausible response to an economic model that established the fulfillment of the neoliberal agenda of cost reduction originated by the Constitutional Amendment (EC) of no. 95/2016 that froze public spending for 20 years.

This EC was not for the solution of income distribution or public service; it is the reproduction of social inequalities over the command of markets, which has been

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\(^5\) Malthus' assumption was that food production grew on an arithmetic scale and the population on a geometric scale. On the other hand, he condemned policies of assistance to the poor in combating pests and epidemics, because according to him it was advisable in the cities "[...] to build the narrowest streets, crowd more people inside the houses and provoke the return of the pests. [...] His conclusion is that in this way nature would make a natural selection and allow the children of the elite to marry very early and have as many children as they want. (FRIGOTTO, 2020, p. 17).
considered the epicenter of the economic fundamentalism of stock market policy, and that, even in times of pandemic, strategic actions are summarized in the condition of saving the economy, and reestablishing "the homeland above all" (FRIGOTTO, 2020).

The inhuman behavior that justifies today's politics is based on "religious fundamentalism, contempt for science and its subordination to belief. [...] with the insistence of not isolating oneself with the argument that this will collapse the economy and jobs" (FRIGOTTO, 2020, p. 20); that is, the overvaluation of economic policy and currency stabilization at any price. For Iamamoto (2012, p. 160), "[...] this process is radicalized by the dismantling of social policies and services related to them, removing the responsibility of the state for the preservation of life [...]", in which everything moves in an astonishing way toward the obstruction of ethics and criminalization of society, channeled by the lack of empathy of President Bolsonaro in the face of the pandemic in its manifestations.

The absence of humanity is an expression of the president's speech, like the fact registered on April 29, 2020, when the country broke the record of 474 deaths in one day; and the president, when asked about the number of deaths, which already counted 5,162 deaths by COVID-19, replied: "So what? I'm sorry. What do you want me to do? I'm the Messiah, but I don't do miracles". This contributes to the tendency to naturalize the serious health and social issue in the country, reflecting a constant unequal class struggle.

According to the UFPA's announcement, by August 20, 2020, COVID-19 had already advanced with frightening results of 3,506,625 confirmed cases of the disease, reaching a number of 112,459 deaths throughout the country, and even so, there is a call from the State to affirm an emergency policy for education, a subject dealt with in the following section.

4. The impacts of COVID-19 on Brazilian education

The defense of education, in an uncritical and articulated way to the capital throughout its historical trajectory, has always had rearrangements that manipulate the restriction of access to quality education. The tradition has been the leadership by dominant groups to reform the educational structure following the theses defended by conservatism that do not take into account the objective conditions. The counter-reforms already preceded in Brazil that diluted the human and social sciences of basic education is an example of this tradition.

In this context of health crisis by COVID-19, with the struggle for social isolation, the owners of power have been taking advantage of the crisis to further aggravate the educational process and human formation. The definition of the purposes and conceptions of MEC, which guide these school formative processes, imposes itself to the exploitation of teaching work, home education, strengthening distance education and the dismissal of any critical thinking.

The logic that is in course in Brazil about education in this pandemic follows the guidelines of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (REIMERS; SCHLEICHER, 2020, p. 7), which presents a checklist of 25 items, presented in Box 3, below:
**Table 3: OECD checklist for education in time of pandemic (2020)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Create a committee responsible for defining responses to the pandemic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Reinforce curricular objectives, given the reality that the usual way of developing these objectives will be interrupted. Define what should be learned during the period of social withdrawal.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Identify the feasibility of looking for options to recover learning time after the social withdrawal period ends, for example, an intensive review period during the interval prior to the start of the new school year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Identify the means of teaching. When feasible these should include online learning, as it provides the greatest versatility and opportunity for interaction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Clearly define the roles and expectations of teachers to effectively guide and support student learning in the new situation, through direct instruction whenever possible or self-directed learning guidance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>If an online education strategy is not feasible, develop alternative means of teaching, they could include TV programs, if a partnership with television stations is feasible, podcasts, radio broadcasts and learning packages, either in digital or paper format. Explore partnerships with community organizations and the private sector to broadcast these programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Create a mechanism for emergency continuing education so that teachers and parents can support students in the new teaching modality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Define appropriate mechanisms for evaluating students during the emergency. Define appropriate mechanisms for approval and conclusion.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Source:** Author's own elaboration adapted from Reimers and Schleicher (2020).

The OECD's articulation for the school is linked to private interests following a technical-pragmatic world perspective, whose unfolding is frightening for the children of the working classes, because they seek to eliminate any projection of critical formation and restrict it to the viewpoint of market demands. Based on practical and experiential questions, i.e., those generated in daily life, the OECD pursues its objective of breaking the hegemony of knowledge generated by scientific research within universities, and questioning education based on a universalized understanding that is based on theories of knowledge that deal with elaborated knowledge, systematized, orienting towards the re-priorization of curricular objectives.

The validity of this thought is evidenced in the debates held by the Ministry of Education (MEC), with the projection of the event called "Education in the World 4.0", held in virtual meetings in which specialists debate the context and challenges of education in face of the needs of the so-called "Fourth Industrial Revolution", as demonstrated by the Secretary of Professional and Technological Education, Ariosto Culau, according to whom education has a growing demand for innovation in their curricula and methodologies: "We have a great challenge ahead of us to prepare students and educators protagonists in a 4.0 world through new teaching and learning processes, using technologies". (BRAZIL, 2020c, [s.p.]).

It is important to emphasize that the counter-reforms proposed for Brazilian education are legalized without minimum and democratic participation of society; and in this context of pandemic, with democracy weakened by the political and health crisis, the intensification of the proposal for education needs to be questioned. Thus, the movement proposed for education and teaching work in the OECD document is a worrying item, for obvious reasons.

In this epidemiological scenario, the teacher is confined inside the home with his family members, confronting domestic care, family hygiene, facing, in some
cases, deaths due to COVID-19; in other cases, teachers, who have historically suffered from psychological problems, depression, may have deepened the neurological problems generated by the pandemic; however, within a process of extreme dehumanization, they need to guarantee the continuation of classes through online education strategies.

It is emphasized in this article that for any reform destined to Brazilian education, the financial executive of great companies and social organization has been invited (Lemann Foundation, Itaú Foundation, the group Todos pela Educação), and not the research groups of universities education. These groups have been orchestrating the functioning of higher education and basic education according to the logic of mercantilization.

Curiously, the formats given to education in this pandemic follow the OECD-oriented checklist. The construction of proposals and solutions is already in full operation, counting on the Lemann Foundation (2020a) in partnership with the MEC, the Consed (National Council of Secretaries of Education) and the UNDIME (Union of Municipal Education Directors). Among the proposals that call attention is the use of cell phones for students to study, in partnership with broadband and mobile operators, to avoid the collection of data packages and tariffs for this purpose (LEMANN FOUNDATION, 2020b).

In times of COVID-19, the action forwarded by the MEC to higher education was carried out by Ordinance No. 343/2020 with the following determination in Article 1:

Authorize, on an exceptional basis, the replacement of the subjects in progress in person by classes that use information and communication means and technologies, within the limits established by the legislation in force, by higher education institutions that are part of the federal education system. (BRAZIL, 2020e).

MEC’s guidance for Distance Education (EaD) authorization follows an international trend that has already been adopted by countries such as Germany, United States, and is destined for all courses, except those of Medicine, as well as the internship and laboratory practices of the other courses. Starting with the unequal process of human formation, in which it is made to think that the other courses do not have a degree of importance and can be taken remotely?

The Provisional Measure (MP) no. 934/2020, article 1, establishes that "the dispensation for basic education is, on an exceptional basis, the obligation to observe the minimum number of days of effective school work". It was recommended, in its sole paragraph, that higher institutions anticipate the duration of the Medicine, Pharmacy, Nursing and Physiotherapy courses, observing the following rules: "at least: I - seventy-five percent of the workload of the internship of the Medicine course; or II - seventy-five percent of the workload of the mandatory curricular internship of the Nursing, Pharmacy and Physical Therapy courses". (BRAZIL, 2020a).

Following the same line as the MP cited above, the Opinion of the National Education Council (CNE/CP nº 5/2020/BRASIL, 2020b) was hastily approved, approving the guidelines during the pandemic, and placing economic fundamentalism as the manager of the school year, allowing the outcome of actions that oppose education as a constitutional right, the standard of quality, which will be unfolded by the lack of condition of access and permanence, in participating in workload through
the Internet or distance education, facing the equality of access for most students in this country.

It is important to point out here that this Opinion uses a private platform, establishing a public-private partnership, as guided by the OECD (REIMERS; SCHLEICHER, 2020), to produce actions that do not benefit society in general, and induces the narrowing of the austerity policy for education already in place. According to data from the Institute for Socio-economic Studies (INESC, 2020, p. 76):

The authorized resource in 2019 was R$ 123.2 billion and the final payment was R$ 106.9. For 2020, the authorized resource, still dependent on the approval of supplementary credit of R$ 10.2 billion, is R$ 108.8 billion, or R$ 14.4 billion less than that authorized in the previous year. And what was effectively paid in 2019, was R$ 16.3 billion less than the authorized, or about 13% not executed. If the logic continues, in 2020 the R$ 108.8 billion may become R$ 94.8 billion, which will mean a drop of more than 10% in relation to the previous year, which was already below 2018. For higher education, the authorization is 13% less than in 2019, which means a loss of another R$ 4 billion in a budget that has already lost, in five years, another R$ 3.7 billion.

Since 2015, the cut in the education budget has caused a freeze in the number of master's, doctoral and post-doctoral scholarships, according to the Coordination of Improvement of Higher Level Personnel (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - Capes). In agreement with the National Union of Teachers of Higher Education Institutions (ANDES-SN, 2019, online),

[... ] Decree nº 9.741/2019[...] contingented R$29.582 billion from the Federal Budget. With this, Education lost R$5,839 billion, about 25% of the foreseen. Added to the cuts, the folders of Education, Health and Citizenship had R$ 7.5 billion of funds frozen.

In Education, with the reduced budget, it had already been made impossible to fulfill the program with scholarships and research development. In relation to Basic Education, the question was already being ruled about the resource for its maintenance, according to the BBC News Brasil report in São Paulo (2020):

Most (about 60%) of Brazilian public education expenses come from Fundeb, a billionaire public money fund that came into effect in 2007, but by law expires on December 31, 2020.

The panorama described about education, before COVID-19, shows that the financial problems tended to worsen, for example, if by the end of December 2020 no solution is found to resize Fundeb's resource, there will be a great lack of control in the payment of education workers, as well as the funding of schools. This ongoing EaD movement, recommended by the CNE in partnership with private company platforms, may represent, later on, great complications for education, given the worsening of the country's financial crisis, resulting in a demand that is not
provisional, but a possible solution to continue the educational process in the country in the post-pandemic COVID-19 crisis.

The document of the CNE’s Opinion No. 5/2020, quite similar to the OECD document, organized a list of guidelines to be followed, which includes: Early Childhood Education, Elementary School initial years; Elementary School final years; and High School, Technical Education, Higher Education, Youth and Adult Education (EJA), Special Education, Indigenous Education, Campo and Quilombola and even evaluation, proposing the following solutions:

[...] non presential pedagogical activities may take place through digital means (video classes, content organized in virtual teaching and learning platforms, social networks, e-mail, blogs, among others); through television or radio programs; through the adoption of printed didactic material with pedagogical orientations distributed to students and their parents or guardians; and through the orientation of readings, projects, researches, activities and exercises indicated in didactic materials (BRAZIL, 2020b).

The gravity of this issue lies in the capacity of Brazilian educational policy to make any kind of rearrangement with education, in the face of the objective reality of millions of Brazilians, where "[...] not everyone has equal access to the Internet, not even computers" (GUIA COVID-19, 2020, p. 15); and the objective conditions depend on the economic conditions of most families. "In Brazil, 58% of households do not have access to computers and 33% do not have Internet, according to the TIC Households 2018 survey by CETIC (Regional Center for Studies for the Development of the Information Society)". (GUIA COVID-19, 2020, p. 15).

According to ANPEd (National Association of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Education), the action of the MEC has led "Some networks of public education and private schools have programmed the Distance Education (EaD) or the proposition of remote activities mediated by the technologies to fulfill the days foreseen in the school calendar". (ANPEd, 2020). Universities and institutes have also suspended, or are carrying out activities designed by Tic/Remotes or partial activities, as shown in MEC data (BRAZIL, 2020d) in Box 4:

Table 4: Functioning of Federal Institutions in the Pandemic (2020)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Total of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federal Universities</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1.123.691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Universities with suspended activities</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>231.499 (student without class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Institutes</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>941.342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutes with suspended activities</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>265.369 (student without class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutes /federals with partial activities</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Institutes with Tic/Remote activities</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Universities with Tic/Remote activities</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s own elaboration. MEC platform data (BRAZIL, 2020d).

According to the National Association of Directors of Federal Institutions of Higher Education (ANDIFES, 2020), the objective of this monitoring platform "is to verify in real time the federal, state, municipal and Federal District networks to know where and how the government can act more effectively"; however, in view of the statements of the former Minister of Education, Weintraub: "the universities that are
maintaining the activities will be awarded"; "there is weeds and there is wheat"; "the students who are standing still must organize themselves and press deans/directors for classes at a distance. You are adults! Fight for your future!"; the creation of the platform also signals to another unnecessary objective, which is to intend the civil society to fight against the university for the return of classes, whether undergraduate or graduate.

The approved strategies signal that the actions of the MEC, with the consent of the Federal Government, constitute for the adjustment of education to the health issue, with very serious implications, such as putting into practice the articulation of the denial of public education as a right constitutionally guaranteed under the law, as the collective ANPEd (2020, p. 1) has been alerting through a document:

This positioning of ANPEd is made to alert education professionals and families about the impropriety of the EaD modality in Early Childhood Education, initial stage of Basic Education, in which its use is not foreseen in the educational legislation for being, above all, inadequate. Furthermore, in this document we ratify the unconditional defense of children's rights, as provided in the Statute of the Child and Adolescent, being the responsibility of the Public Power, the family, the community and society in general, to ensure, with absolute priority, the protection of children, especially their rights to life, health, food and education.

For ANPEd (2020, p. 4), the scenario requires broad discussion and proposal of policies that cannot be improvised or reduced to mere technology-mediated content activities under a mask of innovation. In this sense, it is no surprise that in the COVID-19 scenario, the Brazilian State considers education from a unilateral perspective and mirabolic visions of the geniuses of financial capital, in order to demand the fulfillment of a workload when the entire "[...] population in precarious living conditions is at risk, a social group in which most Brazilian children attend public education networks or private institutions that establish partnerships with the public power". (ANPEd, 2020, p. 5).

5. Final considerations

Of the issues presented in this article, the prerogative of free antiviral vaccines for all populations should be a universal strategy to ensure the preservation of human life on all continents. If the pharmaceutical industries do not receive fiscal incentives or have no interest in this type of market, it is up to governments to urgently take on the financing for the manufacture and distribution of vaccines for all populations.

If the virus depends on a vaccine to avoid local and global catastrophe, what will be the way out to avoid the virus of exploitation and expropriation of the worker, the containment of income concentration and social inequalities, how will it be possible to dissolve the authoritarian and criminalizing state of social movements and society in general that echo in Brazil? Of course, it is not by maintaining political and economic fundamentalism that obscures the social consequences, that takes advantage of human fragility in a time of cruel world pandemic to strengthen the binary position of the President of the Republic in wanting to save the economy, as well as the contradictions of the political crises involving his political regime.
The subordination of science to religious belief manipulates to the extreme the moment experienced by Brazil, ignoring that it is the responses coming from universities, public laboratories and scientific opinions that are contributing to the recovery of human life affected by the new Coronavirus.

In this sense, they are producing today in education and human formation the greatest advancements ever registered in Brazil, through provisional measures and empty discourses that try to promote the deregulation of education in times of pandemic, with a single objective: to articulate education in the line of the big capital so long orchestrated by the apologists of power, in the vile attempt to dismiss the whole process of struggles for the constitution of a public, critical, free and quality education.

Therefore, the need to strengthen workers’ unions, social movements, militant intellectuals, political and cultural forces, to contain the forces of the stock market regime in the field of ultra-right conservatism on the rise in this country, and to restructure the rule of law within the public sphere, to guarantee daily the mobilization effort for the defense of public health, the strengthening of the SUS and public education, free and universal, together with health workers, students as subjects, teachers, and all workers, to build an effective socialist project.

References


