64 - POLITICS OF SPORT IN THE AGE VARGAS

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INTRODUCTION

The objective of this article is to carry through an analysis of the relations that if had established between the sports sphere and the State in a specific period of the history of Brazil: the Age Vargas (1930-1945). In this period intense structural changes of the Brazilian society had occurred. The bases of the development and the way of accumulation with emphasis in industrialization had gotten excited. The enclosure for bullfighting politics, beyond if becoming more complex, passed for a liberalization process, what it did not hinder the government to mobilize resources to control and to restrain the social and trade union movements.

The sports sphere was not immune to all these changes. In Brazil, the governmental actions that had objectified prescribed, to command and to control of direct form the sports sector had occurred after this having reached a great institutional development in the scope of the private relations. In this way, it can be affirmed that it had a "sports sphere" consisting and permeate by the contradictions of classroom in a liberal and autocratic State that, leaving for the past a economy essentially based in the agricultural production, tried to arrive at modernity from a project of industrialization anchored in a development perspective that was known as "national-developments".

Therefore, a new standard of state intervention in the sport - totalitarian, centralized, bureaucratic and corporativism -, in a similar way that in the too much spheres of the social life, started to be implemented at a specific moment of development of the capitalism in our country, of tough of interests between an agricultural bourgeoisie and an industrial, where the State is under the control of these last ones, however, without presenting the conditions of hegemony necessary to carry out the elaboration and implantation of a project of modernization of the society. To consolidate and to preserve its social power and its power politician, this bourgeoisie, by means of a pact interelites, it concentrates to be able "in the governmental and administrative cupola" (POULANTZAS, 2000, p. 233) of the government that, in turn, expands in amount and quality its domain, creating and intervened in diverse devices thus to make to appear the conditions of consensus and more good reproducing the necessary and typical relations of domination/subordination in the way of capitalist production, whose tentacle reach, from now on, the sports device.

THE SPORT IN THE AGE VARGAS: STATE INTERVENTION AND TOTALITARIAN RELATIONS

The justification adopted for the government to interpose its authority in the sports sector was, mainly, the necessity to discipline it and to organize it, that is, if, on the other hand, the sport already was established as a sphere of the daily life, therefore, carrier of a history, for another one, was taken offense for the "lack of general and adjusted organization, that it prints to them disciplines it necessary to its correct practical one, convenient development and useful influence in the formation spiritual and physics of youth". In these arguments, incited disputes were hidden that especially disclosed to the fictions (contradictions) in the "block in the power" that occupied the sports system the soccer, involving the question of the professionalization and the amateurism. Some sports controllers and athletes wanted to see the practical sports professionalized; others defended the permanence of the amateurism and the bourgeois ideology of "fair-play".

For certain, the chapter of the history of the sport in relative Brazil to the professionalization involved classroom questions and caused splits in the porting entities has long date. Perhaps the case most radical has been of the Athletical Club Paulistano, that if removed of the disputes after the State to have recognized and regulated the professionalism in the soccer, in 1933. On the other hand, they were the interests of the controllers and athletes proceeding from the elite, who wanted to keep the impermeable sports activities to the popular classrooms for diverse reasons (politics, economic and social). On the other hand, they were the interests of controllers (some of also pertaining them to the elite) and of black and laboring athletes, who defended the professionalization.

Diverse studious they evaluate as dire the consequences of the governmental, occured interference during a long period, in which the sports sector was under the "guardianship" of the State. This type of evaluation, usual not only in the analysis of the sports politics, is essentially moralism and seated in an idealistic perspective (instrumental) of the relations between the State (absolutely independent), the power and the relations of production, that, in the truth, nothing explains on the contradictions gifts in the material institutionality of the State, and also it does not catch its basic function of reproduction of the hegemony and the restored relations of domination/subordination in the sector. The development of the State is historical, therefore it is not possible to mention it to it from a idealized concept, as if the structure and the form to act of the State the cases were equal in all and any time. We can, this yes, to speak in States, each one corresponding to a particular form of development of the capitalist relations.

Assuming new totalitarian contours (such as all action implemented for the State from ends of years 1930), strenghtened from the Decree n.º 3,199, of 14 of April of 1941, brought up to date for the Decree n.º 6,251, of 8 of October of 1975, that it lasted until the year of 1993 (therefore, 52 years in the total), the related guardianship of the State and governmental protagonism in the sports sector they would be legitimated and make use in such a way of the legal instruments how much of institutional structures to define the routes of the sport in Brazil and the participation of this sector in the construction of the State capitalist Brazilian.

Some years before the publication of the Decree n.º 3,199/1941, the federal government already had defined its intention to intervine in the sport, with the institution of the National Commission of Sports, by means of the Decree n.º 1,056, of 19 of January of 1939, with ability, according to its Art. 2.º, "to carry through minute study of the problem of the sports in the country, and to present the Federal Government, in the stated period of sixty days, the general plan of its regulation" (BRAZIL, 1939a). The systematization of the works of the commission was determined by the Decree n.º 1,099, of 7 of February of 1939, that it defined the relations between the National Department of Education and the National Commission of Sports, stipulating that the director of this department would be part of the cited commission, being attributed it responsibility to it to present the report of the works of

1 Stretch of the exposition of reasons of the project taken for president Getúlio Vargas, and that n.º 3,199 resulted in the Decree, of 14 of April of 1941. Cf. Manhães (2002, p. 29).

2 "But it was not moved away from the tennis, that also was professionalized. What it demonstrates clearly that the defense of the amateurism in the soccer was simply a way them athlete them dominant layers to try to prevent of if mixing athlete 'plebeian'. The dominant social groups choose the modalities that practise and they coat them with a label that strengthens social preconceptions and the existing between dominant and dominated irrigation ditch." (SAINTS, J. , 2000, p. 27).

3 This responsibility would remain, thus, generic until middle of the decade of 1950, when the regiment of the Division of Physical Education was approved, now tied with the Ministry of the Education for the Decree n.o 40.296, of 6 of November of 1956.

this. It fits to remember here that, in the administrative organization of the Ministry of the Education and Public Health, together to the National Department of Education, was created the Division of Physical Education, that, in accordance with Art. 12 of the Law n.º 378, of 13 of January of 1937, that "it gives to new organization to the Ministry of the Education and Public Health", would be responsible "for the administration of the relative activities [...] to the Physical Education" (BRAZIL, 1937b). The hegemony of the military sector in the administration of this department was total, having passed for it enters 1937 and 1970 major João Barbosa Leite, the colonel Caio Mário de Noronha Miranda, the professor Alfredo Columbus, general Antonio Pires de Castro Filho, colonel Genival de Freitas and the colonel Arthur Orlando Costa Ferreira.

The report product of the work of the National Commission of Sports subsidized the elaboration of the Decree n.º 3,199/1941, considered the first "organic law" of the sport in Brazil (MANHÃES, 2002, p. 29). In its first Art., it it created, together to the Ministry of the Education and the Health, the National Advice of Sports (CND), with the responsibility "to guide, to oversee and to stimulate the practical one of sports in the country" (BRAZIL, 1941). Thus, as for the sport and to the physical education, we have in this period a device with two basic arms of control: administrative, the next one to the school, represented for the Division of Education Physical of the Department of Education, and the other normative and of overseeing, next one to the sports entities, represented for the National Advice of Sports.

The Decree n.º 3,199/1941 would suffer some adjustments with passing of the time, being complemented by the Decree n.º 9,267, of 16 of April of 1942, that "it approves the regiment of the National Advice of Sports" (BRAZIL, 1942a), and for the Decrees n.ºs 5,342, of 25 of March of 1943, that "it makes use on the ability of the National Advice of Sports and disciplines it of the porting activities, and gives other steps" (BRAZIL, 1943b), and 7,674, of 25 of June of 1945, that "it makes use on the administration of the porting entities, especially under the point of view financier, and establishes measures of protection financier to the sports "(BRAZIL, 1945c). The CND would suffer, still, an alteration in its composition determined for the Decree n.º 9,875, of 16 of September of 1946. In this way, the institutional structure of the Brazilian sports device would be complete and remain, of the point of view of the legislation, practically invariant during little more than half century.

However, where they weigh the functions of the National Advice of Sports, the Brazilian government continued intervening with the sport by means of decrees, being distinguished those that granted "subventions" and fiscal exemptions to the porting entities. This was the main form of financing of the sport until the beginning of the decade of 1970, fact that would contribute of significant form for the to attach of the sports sector, especially that tying with the income sport, to the project of change of the Brazilian State, that wanted to create the bases of the based capitalist accumulation in industrialization (OLIVEIRA, 2003, p. 40).

It is interesting to notice that the analysis of the carried through sports politics on this period has as deep cloth of a perspective that can be synthecized by the expression "demonic of the State". What if it standes out it is not the governmental action that objectified the construction of one definitive type of State with one determined type of modernization project and economic and social development - the "national-development" -, that, for not counting on necessary the material and social bases for its instauration, it would not breach with oligarchical and authoritarian the past, in short, with the classrooms that represented the delay and which such project intended to eliminate (NOGUEIRA, 1998, p. 31).

In this direction, on the other hand the critical one is directed against the State in general and to the contradictions gifts in this specific project that it demanded, not to be implemented, pact between the fractions that composed the bourgeoisie, exclusion of the diligent and popular classrooms, coup of state, censorship, torture, cooptation and repression of the social movements, among others "strategies", and produced the extremely poor of great parcels of the population, unbeatable indices of proven social inaquality with data that point the Brazilian society as the one that withholds the second greater concentration of income in the world. They are analyses that do not take in account all the social agents, and respective interests, that participated of the enclosure for bullfighting politics at that moment and its relations with the proper State. On the other hand, such analyses pass to the plaza of the joints that if had established between the State and the social relations of production, characteristics of the particular process of change of the accumulation of the capital to ignite from the Revolution of 1930. Of in such a way strengthening the dichotomy between the public and the private one, associating with first the categories as "it disciplines", "authoritarianism", "nationalism" and "corporativism", and "autonomy", "pluralism" and "freedom" to as, such analyses had not obtained to catch the essential of the relations that if had established between the State and the society: that the project of modernization of the Brazilian State had as objective to implement, since the beginning, actions directed to the attendance of private interests of the strategical alliance between agrarian oligarchies and industrial bourgeoisie, promoting, in this way, a constant privatization public it, that is, of attendance them interests it private sector in detriment it public sector.

The analyses of the implemented politics of sport in this period had been carried through without leading in consideration or giving the due importance to these facts that context them historical and that they insert them in one definitive project of State and society; they scrumble it a mere "phenomenal" boarding of the questions excited in lathe of this subject, hindering an including understanding because they do not obtain to articulate the relations that if establish between the sport and the social totality, having as reference the manifest contradictions in the process of development of the capitalism in Brazil.

Of this form, the boarding of the sport politics that it searchs to construct explanatories matrices from the analysis of the present speech in the legislation and the normalization of the sector, taken the effect for the National Advice of Sport and some agents that they had participated of its elaborations, does not allow that if it catches what effectively it was in game at that moment. It is in the direction to contribute to eliminate one definitive structure of being able, social values and relations of production it associates, substituting them for whom they are in accordance with the necessities of a new producing society of merchandises, that the sport will be instrumentation as element disciplinarian, promoter of the nationalism and specific moral and civic values.

It disciplines it was had as necessary not only to the practical sports, as also to the creation of a "army of reserve". In the truth, for intermediary of the Service of Worker Recreation (SRO), "the disciplined" sport was one of the activities proposals as half of education of the contingent of workers. Over all, she was necessary to exempt the sport of the private interests of the elites and the inadequate forms of appropriation of such activities on the part of the workers for, to leave of this, to place it service of the nation and the State, articulating it the project of development of Brazil. In this way, in the scope of the sport it disciplines it she was salient in the exposition of reasons of the Decree n.º 3,199/1941, contemplated in the proper decree in question, and was present in diverse other documents and speeches pronounced for the responsible ones for the sports sector in the period where the country was governed by Getúlio Vargas. It is possible to observe, therefore, that it disciplines it had a bigger character of the one than simply "to assure a healthful climate to the order spiritual of the sports" (LYRA FILHO, 1952, p. 30) or to take care of to the demands of "social order" of a "project of corporative society" where took advantage "social harmony" (MANHÃES, 2002, p. 32-33).

It is certain that these objectives, associates to discipline demanded in the sport, they were gifts and had contributed for the "pacification" of the agents and for the harmonization of the different interests at diverse moments where ruptures in the sector if showed with concrete possibilities. Perhaps the example most significant in this case is of the conflicts of interests between that they defended the professionalization and the amateurism in the scope of the soccer. The disputes between the two groups without a doubt disclosed classroom interests differentiated, what it made with that the State acted tending to favor the

entailed groups to the amateur sport. In the Decree n.º 3,199/1941, in its Art. 30, that it defines the abilities of the CND, consists in item "b" the following one: "par excellence to stimulate by all means the development of the amateurism, as practical of educative sports [...]" (BRAZIL, 1941).

However, the vindication to disciplines done for the government at that moment meant "submission" and integrated a proposal ampler of formation of a type of citizen who would have to subject it the conditions and relations of work demanded by the way of capitalist production, therefore, had an educative character. It is in this more general picture of formation of a new type of worker, adapted to the "soil of plant", more docile and productive, that must be understood the valuation of disciplines required in the sports sector. Thus, it was a requirement of the necessity to educate the masses to accept the conditions of life imposed by the capitalism, for the seated process of capitalist accumulation in the exploration of the work, for the progress and development of the country.

In this direction, we disagree with the position of Manhães (2002), that it opposes to the liberal order, plural and democratic originate in the sports sector the order imposed for the State from 1941. In Brazil, liberalism rare was democratic e, certainly, in the first republican period this was not one of its characteristics. For this reason, the analysis carried through for Manhães (2002), in which the author opposes and compares this period with the New State, using itself for in such a way of categories that supposedly characterize one and another period - conflict/harmony, pluralism/linear vertical of the functions, autonomy/intervention, democracy/authoritarianism, among others -, only can be effected by unfamiliarity or obliqued interpretation of history.

The sport never was democratic in the original direction of the word, that is, practical one whose access and participation had been guaranteed to all without distinction. Its institutional organization never allowed questionings and the support that received rare was directed the elites. By the way, the sports order in Brazil, mainly in its origins, was resistant its democratization, creating all order of impediments so that the sport could be practiced by the popular classrooms, as demonstrates above. In certain measure, the government of Vargas guaranteed the consolidation of the sports structures and the permanence of the same groups of interests that controlled them.

The normative agency of the sport - the CND -, created, from now on not had representatives of the sports entities or any another entailed interest to the sport that was not in accordance with the status quo. He was composed for five people, one of them chosen by president Getúlio Vargas and the others four for the minister of the Education and Health, Gustavo Capanema. The first president of the CND was the lawyer Lyra João Filho. The nominated others four had been the commission agent of the head of the nation, the commission agents of the ministers of the Education and Health, War and Navy and the representative of the organizations of national character (PERRY, 1981, apud MANHÃES, 2002, p. 38). The expansion of the State route to the porting sector is demonstrated in the same legal document that creates the CND, imposing its guardianship to the porting confederations. The rules for the subventions of the sport also would be determined by the CND. In short, a structure capable was created to impose to the sports sector disciplines it necessary to its development and the project of society traced for the elites installed in the power.

The nationalistic character of the implemented politics of sport in this period can be observed in the indent "of Art. 3 of the Decree n.º 3,199, that it defines the ability of the CND. In it is explicit that the sport must be become "an efficient process of physical education and spiritual of youth and one high expression of the national culture and energy" (BRAZIL, 1941).

She is necessary to point out that the nationalistic speech, as well as the one of disciplines and the eugenic one, is inheritances of the previous period to the getulismo. The nationalistic speech was tied with the perception of that not if still constitute Brazil as a nation, with a defined racial profile, of form that the sport was understood as an activity that could contribute for the strengthening of a presumption "Brazilian type". It is coherent with a species of "social darwinism" where, when evolving, most apt (strong and healthful) they remain, and less apt (weak and sick) they degenerate. The eugenic and sanitary speech, articulated with the previous one, elapses of the contact established with the positivism on the part of some people who had been to study in the Europe and they had divulged it when for here they had returned. In the beginning of century XIX, for example, it already was present in the architecture and the urbanism of some cities, whose administrators followed principles considered for the sanitary in the urban planning.

The fact of the sport to be understood as "expression of the national culture and energy" implied the aiding and the stimulation to the practical ones in its manifestation "of income" and in the selectivity of that they could represent the country in international competitions well. In this way, the subventions to the sport had practically been restricted to this form of manifestation, privileging only the elite of the national sport.

One is about one I make a mistake the agreement of that such normative measures if restrict to the whim of a project of State of totalitarian matrix, in detriment of supposedly existing the liberal organization in the Brazilian sport in its origins. The restrictions imposed to the professionalism disclose the hegemony of the thought of parcel of the sports elite in the administrative structure of the sport in that period. This elite did not tolerate the "invasion" to its practical socialize, that allowed it to distinguish themselves from excessively; neither she could admit that deriving people "of color" or of the popular classrooms could represent the "national energy" and symbolize "the patriotic" feeling. The racial preconceptions, stimulated for the perspective of the sprouting of a "Brazilian race" favored by eugenic processes, were disclosed in the sport having as deep cloth of the social relations of production and the busy place for the athlete in the social division of the work.

Tied with the nationalistic speech, of dither of patriotic and racist values, the moral and civic speech would complement framework ideological constructed to equip the sports sector and to write scores the sport in favor of the project of emergent society of years 1930. A project that was incapable to incorporate great parcels of the population and that if it kept to the costs of a State whose apparatus dominated all the spheres of the social life as form to promote the development capitalist.

FINAL WORDS

For the displayed one it can be affirmed that, in the period of known Brazilian history as Age Vargas, the sport was used to organize the space and the time of the workers, to inculcate wrong ideological values to its interests of classroom, to produce and to reproduce one definitive forc8e of made use work to be explored in favor of the capital. It was for fulfilling its paper economic - to promote the accumulation and the reproduction of the capital based on industrialization - that the State elaborated, improved and spread out the speeches to discipline, nationalist and civic moral and. What it was in game in the enclosure for bullfighting politics, therefore, was the establishment and the consolidation of a economic project and capable politician of, having as bedding the capitalist relations, to take the term the modernization of the Brazilian State, which, if did not leave to make concessions to the subordinate classrooms, also did not hesitated when it had to use the force being made to be valid its exclusiveness in the use of the "legitimate violence".

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POLITICS OF SPORT IN THE AGE VARGAS

Summary

The objective of this article is to carry through an analysis of the relations that if had established between the sports sphere and the State in a specific period of the history of Brazil: the Age Vargas (1930-1945). In Brazil, the governmental actions that had objectified prescribed, to command and to control of direct form the sports sector had occurred after this having reached a great institutional development in the scope of the private relations. From years 1930 it had a change in the standard of intervention of the State in the society and, in special, the totalitarian sports sector characterized by, being centered, bureaucratic and corporatist. In this period, the sport was used to organize the space and the time of the workers, to inculcate wrong ideological values to its interests of classroom, to produce and to reproduce one definitive force of made use work to be explored in favor of the capital.

POLITIQUE DE SPORT DANS L'ÈRE VARGAS

Resume

L'objectif de cet article est de réaliser une analyse des relations qui se sont établies entre la sphère sportive et l'État dans une période spécifique de l'histoire du Brésil : c'Était Vargas (1930-1945). Au Brésil, les actions gouvernementales qui ont objectivé réglementer, commander et contrôleront de forme directe le secteur esportivo se sont produites après celui-ci avoir atteint un grand développement institutionnel dans le contexte des relations privées. Depuis des années 1930 a y eu un changement dans la norme d'intervention de l'État dans la société et, en particulier, dans le secteur sportive caractérisé totalitaire, deêtre centralisé, bureaucratique et corporatif. Dans cette période, le sport a été utilisé pour organiser l'espace et le temps des travailleurs, pour deinculquer des valeurs idéologiques contraire à leurs intérêts de classe, pour deproduire et reproduire une certaine force de travail disposé à être exploré à faveur du capital.

POLíTICA DE DEPORTE EN LA ERA VARGAS

Resume

El objetivo de este artículo es realizar un análisis de las relaciones que se establecieron entre la esfera deportiva y el Estado en un período específico de la historia del Brasil: Era Vargas (1930-1945). En Brasil, las acciones gubernamentales que objetivaron regular, controlar y controlarán de forma directa el sector deportivo se produjeron después de éste haber alcanzado un gran desarrollo institucional en el contexto de las relaciones privadas. Desde años treinta hay un cambio en la norma de intervención del Estado en la sociedad y, en particular, en el sector deportivo caracterizado totalitario, centralizado, burocrático y corporativo. En este período, el deporte se utilizó para organizar el espacio y el tiempo de los trabajadores, para inculcar los valores ideológicos contrario a sus intereses de clase, para producir y reproducir una determinada fuerza de trabajo dispuesto explorarse a favor del capital.

POLíTICA DE ESPORTE NA ERA VARGAS

Resumo

O objetivo deste artigo é o de realizar uma análise das relações que se estabeleceram entre a esfera esportiva e o Estado em um período específico da história do Brasil: a Era Vargas (1930-1945). No Brasil, as ações governamentais que objetivaram regulamentar, ordenar e controlar de forma direta o setor esportivo ocorreram depois de este ter atingido um grande desenvolvimento institucional no âmbito das relações privadas. À partir dos anos 1930 houve uma mudança no padrão de intervenção do Estado na sociedade e, em especial, no setor esportivo caracterizado por ser totalitário, centralizado, burocrático e corporativista. Nesse período, o esporte foi utilizado para organizar o espaço e o tempo dos trabalhadores, para inculcar valores ideológicos avessos aos seus interesses de classe, para produzir e reproduzir uma determinada força de trabalho disposta a ser explorada a favor do capital.