

:

( )\*



가 1999

. 1970

가 가 가

가 가

가 (scandal) 가

(cycle) (chain)

---

\* Dong-Hoon Yang(Kyungsung University), "The Problem of Political Corruption and the New Democratic Regime in Brazil: A View of Political Regime".

. , , , , , - .

가 (the rule of the law) , (public)· (private)

, 가 (Quah, 1999, 245; della Porta & Vannucci, 1999: 7-8, 95; Weyland, 1998: 114; Geddes and Neto, 1999: 31; Heywood, 1997: 14).

가 ‘ , ‘ , .

가 , (political institutionalization)

, 가 . , , , ‘ , .

가 .

가  
가  
가

1.

(political system) - , , 가  
- (political regime) 가 (value),  
(norm), (rule) 가  
.2)  
가 - .3)

가

---

1) (TI)가 (CPI)  
2000 10 3.9 90 가 45 , 2001 4.0  
91 가 46 , 2002 4.0 102 가 45 , 2003  
3.9 133 가 54 가 . 2000 4.0 48 ,  
2001 4.2 42 , 2002 4.5 40  
40 가 (http://www.transparency.org/  
documents). 2003 4.3 133 50 가  
(http://www.transparency.org/cpi/2003/).

2) (2001; 2002)

3) (political system) '가'(the state)  
(political regime) '가',  
(Easton, 1979: 21-33, 199-4) (Macridis, 1986: 2-21)

(準, quasi-) (transition)  
 가 (consolidation)  
 가 , ,  
 가 (Sechdler, 2001: 6;  
 , 1994).<sup>4)</sup>

(ideal- type)  
 가 “ ”(solid) “  
 ”(consolidated)  
 .<sup>5)</sup> 가 ,  
 ’(the quasi-authoritarian regime) ‘ ’(the new demo-  
 cratic regime)

가

---

4) 가 가 가  
 가  
 가

5) (Linz and Stepan, 1996: 3-15) “ ”(con-  
 solidated democracy) 가 ,

가

가

2.

가

가

6)

6)

가

가

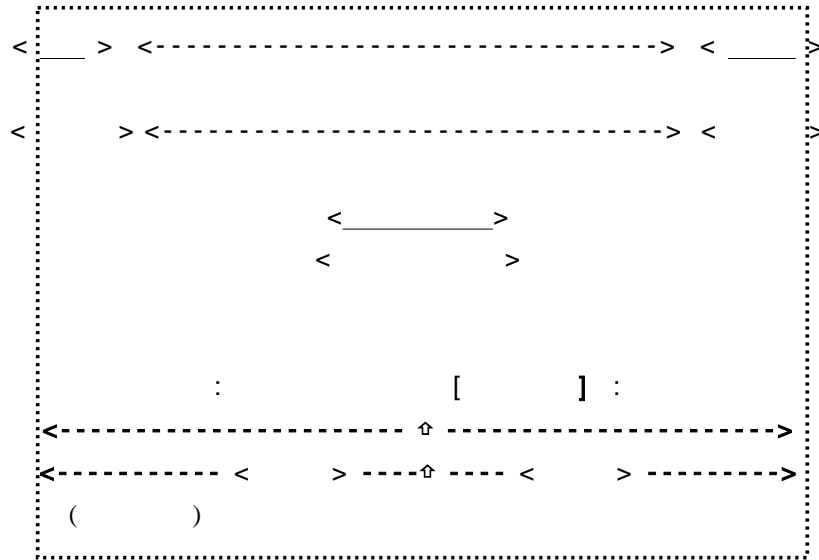
가

가

가

< 1 >

7)



가

7)

“

”(democratic founding elections)

가

(Dahl, 1971: 3).

(cycle)

가

가

1.

(1889)

(Clientilism:

Patron-Client Politics)

(boss)

(the Old Republic)

”(coronel)

가

(Fynn,

1978: 38-39).<sup>8)</sup>

가

(Marinz, 1996).

(公) (私)

“(The politics of

favor)

(Fleischer, 2002: 5).

< 1> (1964-1978), (1979- 1988), (1988-2003)

가 1964

“ 5 ”(Institutional Act No. 5)

1978

(Humberto Castelo Branco),

(Artur da Costa e Silva), (Emílio Garrastazú Médici),

(Ernesto Geisel) - 1978

8) "Coronelismo"



5 가  
1988 9 가 (Jão Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo) (José Sarney Costa) (1985, 4 - 1990, 3)가

“ ”

.9)

가 1988

9

(Fernando Collor de Mello), (Itamar Franco), (Fernando Henrique Cardoso)

가

“ ”(extreme multi-partism)

가

가 “

---

9) (Sarney) “ ”가 “ ” : (1)

; (2)

”(pork-barrel politics)

(Geddes/Neto

1999, 28).

“ ”(decree politics) -  
(Medidas Provisórias)

-

2.

1) (1990 3 - 1992 9 )

가

(1988)

1960

(Jânio Quadros)

30

1989

39

1

30.5%,

53.0%

“ ”(Luis Inácio ‘Lula’ da Silva)

(Coggins and

Lewis, 1992: 57).

가 (PRN))

1989

20

4.2%

2

가

39.6%

60

37

30 가

.<sup>10)</sup> 1990 100  
1991  
- 415 13 -

(Mainwaring, 1997: 95-96;  
Power, 1994: 9-10). 1991 8

가  
(Paulo César Farias)

(Pedro Collor de Mello) (RB, 1992-05: 6).<sup>11)</sup>  
1988

가

(São Paulo)

2

(Fleischer, 1997: 5).

가

-10%

---

10) 1990 5 가 185 -  
190

11) RB Latin American Regional Reports: Brazil Report (RB, 1992-05) 1992  
5

15%-

40%

.12)

, , ,

.13)

1992 6

(CPI)

.

(roll-call)

1992 9 441 36

6

12 30

8

81

76

(RB,

1992-08: 6; RB, 1993-01: 3).

(STF))

1993 12

1994 12

-

5 3

-

12) 가

(Skidmore,

1999: 2).

13) 100

71% 36% (RB, 1992-01: 6).

3 23%, 1992 2 15%

1990 3 71%, 1990 6 36%, 1991  
(Mainwaring, 1997: 15).

가  
 가 - - 7 25  
 (RB, 1995-01: 6-7).

2) (1992 10 - 1994 12 )  
 가 2  
 . 61 2 (Minas Gerais)

, 20 ,

가 .  
 . 1994 2 1 7.2  
 . 4  
 . 가 .14)

.15)

(João Alves) 1988 가

.16)

1993

- - ,

---

14) : 505; 160; 147 (Mainwaring, 1997: 63).

15) "Budgetgate" .

16) , 7%; , 23%; , 24%;  
 , 56% (RB, 1994-04: 2). 1993 36.1%  
 14.5% ((RB, 1993-01: 5; RB, 1993-09: 4).

			3	43	
				18	
	14				
		11			
			18	4	7
			14	가	
(SFCI)					(CEI)

3) (1995 1 - 2002 12 )

	(PSDB)	1994	10
1		54.3%	
		가	27%
	(PT)	,	2
	가		
(Real Plan)			
		4	
	1998	1994	1
	53.1%		
(PFL)	1994	517	175 ,
	81	33	

(PFL)  
 (PMDB), (PTB)  
 56%, 69%  
 (Derbyshire and Derbyshire, 1996: 568; Mainwring, 1997:  
 78). 1998  
 99 , 16  
 378 , 62  
 (Regional Surveys of the World, 2001: 177).  
 8

1995

(Political Council)  
 (Government Council)

5 803  
 5 , 1995 1999  
 3,223 (EIU Country Report: Brazil, 2000:  
 1Q/16). ,  
 60  
 2000 12 2001 9  
 1  
 120

(SUDENE)가  
(Real)

(SUDAM)

20

(Para)

(Jader

Barbalho) 10 - 17 -

(Roseana Sarney)

4 4

가

(SIVAM)

(Raytheon)

1989

(Banco Econômico)

가

2000 9 (Fleischer,

(Luiz Estevão)

2002: 11).



1995 가

(Fleischer, 2002: 28).

(lobby)

21

2001

(side-payments)

2000 가

(The Code of Public Ethics)

가

가

(Fleischer, 2002:

27).

가  
 , 가 ,  
 , 가 가  
 가  
 가  
 가  
 .17)

가  
 (法治)  
 가  
 가

가  
 (Geddes and Neto, 1999: 45).<sup>18)</sup>

---

17) “ ”  
 (Rose-Ackerman, 1999: 225).  
 가 가 가  
 regression) 가  
 18) 가  
 "(authoritarian



making power between major governmental institutions, and the expansion of citizenship including political rights and freedoms of speech and press which can oversee and check the political society to some extent. In the new democratic regime, however, some authoritarian attitudes and practices, such as clientilism or political leadership's arbitrary collection and distribution of political funds without being caught and punished, have still affected most political roles and relations in the reality. This is mainly because the rule of law is much less effective in term of political norms and intentions. It is also because the principles of political accountability do not work properly inside the government, between its major agencies.

Key Words: Political Corruption, Democratization, The New Democratic Regime, Democratic Consolidation, Brazil / , , , ,

: 2003 10. 15

: 2003 11. 14

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