

Index

- Aarhus Convention, 297–300, 304
Abacha, Sani, 153, 154, 156, 170*n*1
Abu Ghraib prison, 221, 316
Abubakar, Abdulsalami, 154
Access Initiative, 292–93
access to information (ATI), 180, 237, 283–85, 298, 341
Access to Information Programme—Bulgaria (AIP), 125, 128, 132–34
access to justice, 289–91, 299, 341
accountability, 5, 22, 28; horizontal, 297; in Nigeria, 154; transparency and, 283–84
ACDP. *See* African Christian Democrat Party
activism: civil society, 223–26, 304, 342; by NGOs, 224; RTI in Maharashtra, 39–41; transparency, 224
activists, 20, 255
ad hoc groups, 290, 291
Adeosun Indigenisation Panel, 169
Administrative Licensing Law—China (ALL), 68, 82
Administrative Procedures Act (U.S.), 268, 305*n*4
affected people, 290–91
African Charter on Human and People's Rights, 10, 172*n*19
African Christian Democrat Party (ACDP), 234
African Development Bank, 263
African Leadership Forum, 149
African National Congress (ANC), 231, 234
African Union, 161
African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption, 172*n*19
agbada, 168
agency coordination, 322–23
agency problems, 6
AIP. *See* Access to Information Programme—Bulgaria
Air Force B-29 Superfortress crash, 328–29

- ALL. *See* Administrative Licensing Law—China
- Amazon forest preservation, 287
- American Bar Association, 268
- Amnesty International, 270
- ANC. *See* African National Congress
- AngloGold Ashanti, 234
- Angola, 224, 253
- Anticorruption Office—Argentina (AO), 197
- Anyanwu, Tony, 158
- AO. *See* Anticorruption Office—Argentina
- APIA. *See* law on access to information—Bulgaria
- “Archive of Terror,” 309
- Archives Law (China), 66, 108, 111
- Argentina, 186, 197, 198
- argumentation, 97
- Armenia, 129
- ARTICLE 19, 134, 326
- Arun III dam project (Nepal), 257
- Asian Development Bank, 262–63, 265
- ATI. *See* access to information
- ATI laws, 180–81; of Bulgaria, 230; challenges to, 228–36; of Italy, 230; of Jamaica, 231; in Mexico, 190; of Netherlands, 230; of Slovakia, 230; in South Africa, 231–36, 238; of U.S., 228
- “audit storm,” 66
- Audu, Abubakar, 166
- Australia, 198
- Ayida, Allison, 169
- Azie, Vincent, 163–64
- Babangida, Ibrahim, 145–46, 150, 152–53, 156
- Baer, Robert, 221
- ballistic missile defense (BMD), 313
- Bank Information Center, 262
- Basel Committee, 269
- BEAG. *See* Bombay Environmental Action Group
- Belarus, 117
- Belize, 185, 195, 198
- below poverty line (BPL), 41
- Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 44
- Bhopal gas disaster, 219, 279, 280, 305ⁿ²
- “big brother” police state, 348
- Bio-Bio River project (Chile), 256, 257
- Biodiversity Conservation Centre, 301
- BJP. *See* Bharatiya Janata Party
- blanket secrecy, 311
- Blanton, Thomas, 243, 329, 341, 344, 346
- BMD. *See* ballistic missile defense
- Bodibe, Oupa, 232
- Bolivia, 186–87, 192, 197; civil servants in, 196; documents in, 198; laws of, 210ⁿ⁶
- Bombay Environmental Action Group (BEAG), 31–32
- Bombay High Court, 31–32
- Bombay Municipal Corporation, 40
- Bontoc people, 254
- BPL. *See* below poverty line
- Brazil, 254–55, 302
- Bulgaria, 116, 121, 125, 128–29, 133–34, 184; ATI laws of, 230; Glasnost movement in, 291–92; Public Mediator in, 132; transparency in, 124
- Bunker, Matthew, 228–29
- bureaucratic inertia, 323–25
- Burns, Arthur, Jr., 249–50
- Bush administration, 13, 314, 317, 321
- business confidentiality, 265
- Calland, Richard, 11, 12, 179, 214, 338, 342, 344–46
- Cambodia, 261, 265
- Campaign for the Freedom of Information (Great Britain), 207
- Canada, 193, 203, 226; RTI law in, 314; transport ministry of, 324; Treasury Board in, 206
- Canadian Information Commissioner, 329
- CASS. *See* Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
- Castro, Fidel, 16ⁿ¹⁵
- CDF. *See* Citizen Democracy Association—Slovakia

- CEE. *See* Central and Eastern Europe
- CEE transparency, 342; addressing problems in, 131–36; civil organizations and, 135; common heritage for, 117–18; implementation of, 127–30; improvements from, 138; initial enthusiasm for, 120–22; introduction, 116–17; key issues in, 119–20; laws/institutions for, 122–24; lessons learned about, 136–39; media's role in, 119, 123, 135, 138; movements/driving forces for, 124–27; problems implementing, 130–31; reforms for, 122–23
- Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), 312, 313; collective rights in, 118; competition in, 120; democracy in, 137–39; party-state monopoly in, 117; privatization in, 119–20
- central bank confidentiality, 249
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 315
- Centre for Equity Studies and Parivartan, 34
- Centre for Science and Environment (India), 296
- Changchun Archives Administration, 81
- “check the box” syndrome, 184
- Chernobyl disaster, 125, 305ⁿ²
- Chesapeake Bay Foundation (U.S.), 295
- Chevron, 224
- Chief Minister—India (CM), 37
- Chile, 256, 257, 292, 302
- Chilean coup (1973), 310
- China, 4, 11, 226, 343, 347; authoritarian leaders in, 79–80, 82; corruption in, 58, 65, 105; economy of, 64; “E-government” program in, 61, 100; GDP of, 99; grassroots self-governance movement in, 80; India invaded by, 22; information access in, 66–77; information openness in, 64–66, 101–4; as “information society,” 80; Internet use in, 61, 98, 99–101, 112; laws of, 62, 66, 68, 72–73, 78, 82, 93–94, 97, 103, 107–11, 114ⁿ⁹, 114ⁿ¹⁰, 115ⁿ¹¹; media in, 79, 89ⁿ⁴⁸; OGI in, 55, 63, 64–65, 78–83; as one-party state, 9; “open door” policy in, 55; open village affairs in, 54, 58, 67, 93–95; privacy in, 89ⁿ⁵¹; rights in, 67; social unrest in, 56; “socialist market economy” in, 55; WTO and, 55, 61–62, 81, 108; *see also* Communist Party of China; Regulations on the Openness of Government Information (China)
- China Constitution, 56, 96–97; democracy and, 104–5; open governance in, 67
- China informization, 63, 66; as drive for modernization, 98–99; promotion of, 100
- China, OGI legislation, 65, 66; challenges to, 77–83; enforcing, 76; exceptions to, 72–73; implementing, 74–77; local experimentation with, 69–70; national draft for, 68–69; new information rights for, 71–72; open decision making in, 73–74; prospects for national, 77–78
- China, open government, 59, 61, 63, 66, 69; causes for development of, 104–7; practice of, 92–104; problems facing, 107–12
- China, open legislation, 95; energy in, 96; methods of, 97–98; stages of, 96
- China, open village affairs, 54, 58, 67; great advancement stage, 95; rapid development stage, 94; self-motivated practice stage, 93; spread of, 95; standardization stage, 93–94
- China transparency: context of, 55–58; corporate, 60; development of, 58–63; market economy and, 106; rapid development of, 104; as right of people, 104–5; rule of law and, 107; social stability and, 106; spread of, 81; technological stimulus for, 60–61; in transitional phase, 54
- China Western Poverty Reduction Project, 258

- China's Tenth Five-Year Economic Plan (2002–07), 63
- Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), 69
- chlorination, 284
- cholera, 284
- CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
- Citizen Democracy Association—Slovakia (CDF), 130, 136
- Citizen's Shopping (Slovakia), 129
- civil liberties groups, 319
- Civil Liberties Organisation—Nigeria (CLO), 151–52, 154, 173ⁿ²⁶
- civil servant sanctions/incentives, 206–8
- civil society activism, 223–26, 304, 342
- class action suits, 290
- classified information, 312, 323
- Classified Information Protection Act (Czech Republic), 326
- CLO. *See* Civil Liberties Organisation—Nigeria
- “closed politics,” 320
- CM. *See* Chief Minister—India
- CMP. *See* Common Minimum Programme
- Coady, Patrick, 256
- Coca-Cola, 218
- Cold War, 7, 260, 310–11, 316, 323, 326–27
- Cole, David, 319
- Colombia, 313
- “commercial secret,” 73, 89ⁿ⁵⁰
- Commission on Sustainable Development, 295
- Committee for the Ecological Protection of Ruse (Bulgaria), 291
- Committee to Protect Journalists (China), 79
- Common Minimum Programme (CMP), 44
- Communist Party of China (the Party), 55–56, 60, 83; elections and, 57–58; leadership in, 58
- competition, 216
- Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU), 185, 232
- consensus building, 203–4
- Constitutional Affairs Committee (United Kingdom), 191
- Copyright Law (China), 114ⁿ⁹
- corporate disclosure, 8–9
- corporate law, 216
- corporate secrecy, 215, 216–20
- corporate social responsibility (CSR), 12, 216; change and, 223–26; human rights and, 223; practice of, 223
- corporate transparency, 215; new arguments for, 220–28; voluntary, 226–28
- corporations: dehumanizing, 220; rights of, 239ⁿ⁸
- corruption, 2, 149, 155, 161, 168, 172ⁿ¹⁹, 172ⁿ²², 197, 271; in China, 58, 65, 105; in India, 29, 49; in Nigeria, 149–50, 154–55, 160, 163
- COSATU. *See* Congress of South Africa Trade Unions
- cost of information, 6, 102, 112, 131, 173ⁿ³⁵, 192–93, 301, 342, 346
- counterintelligence service (MI5), 311
- Criminal Law (China), 110, 115ⁿ¹¹
- “critical infrastructure information,” 325
- CSR. *See* corporate social responsibility
- Cuba, 10
- culture of secrecy, 180
- Czech Republic, 302, 326
- Data Protection and Freedom of Information—Hungary (DP-FOI), 122–23, 125, 128, 136
- Davis, Carlton, 179, 194
- Davis, Charles, 228–29
- Davis v. Clutchco (Pty) Ltd.*, 235
- Dawson, Thomas, 250–52
- Declaration of Principles on Freedom and Expression, 10
- defense, 311
- Delhi High Court, 50
- Delhi RTI, 35, 42
- democracy, 1, 3, 82; in CEE, 137–39; China Constitution and, 104–5; in

- India, 19; in Slovakia, 130, 136; in South Africa, 185, 231, 233, 234; transparency as norm for, 214; *see also* Open Democracy Advice Centre
- Democracy by Disclosure* (Graham), 217
- "democratic deficit," 243–45
- Deng Xiaoping, 63
- desacato* laws, 330
- Desai, Morarji, 21
- Dey, Nikhil, 24
- dharna* (sit-in), 26; Beawar, 26–27; MKSS and, 26
- disclosure: corporate, 8–9; government effectiveness/efficiency and, 338–39; motives for, 344–47; participatory, 262; policies, 2; regulation by revelation, 339–41; role of, 337–38; secrecy *v.*, 10; shift toward, 216–20
- disclosure laws, 8; in Great Britain, 7; in U.S., 7
- Dolas, Sunetra, 40
- Douglass, Frederick, 270
- Dow Chemicals, 279
- DP-FOI. *See* Data Protection and Freedom of Information—Hungary
- Dutch East India Company, 217
- Earth Summit, Rio de Janeiro (1992), 282, 285, 289, 295
- East Germany, 120
- Ecoglasnost movement, 291–92
- Economic and Financial Crimes Commission—Nigeria (EFCC), 166, 168
- economics, 1, 5
- Ecuador, 210n6
- education, 22
- EFCC. *See* Economic and Financial Crimes Commission—Nigeria
- "E-government" program, 61, 100
- EITI. *See* Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
- Elf Aquitaine, 224
- Ellsburg, Daniel, 321
- Emergency Planning and Community Right to Know Act (1986), 279–82, 284–85
- Emkhandwini, 209
- empowerment, 22
- Enron, 9, 216, 225
- environmental assessment, 288–89
- environmental associations, 290
- Environmental Defense, 296
- environmental governance, 13; new paradigm in, 279–81; principles of good, 282–90
- environmental lawsuits, 290
- Environmental Management Act (Indonesia), 285
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 13, 219, 279
- environmental transparency: future of, 300–305; NGOs role in, 293–300; state of, 291–93; technology and, 300
- EPA. *See* Environmental Protection Agency
- equity, 283
- Estonia, 132
- Ethics in Government Act (Nigeria), 152
- EU. *See* European Union
- EU Accession Monitoring Program (EUMAP), 134
- EUMAP. *See* EU Accession Monitoring Program
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 263
- European Court of Human Rights, 327–28
- European Investment Bank, 263
- European Union (EU), 134, 271, 297
- Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), 225
- Fallows, James, 322
- FBI. *See* Federal Bureau of Investigation
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 315
- Federal Institute for Access to Information (Mexico), 193

- Federal Register, 269
 Feinstein, Andrew, 234
 Financial Management and Accountability Act (1997), 200
 Finland, 247
 Florini, Ann, 1, 13, 337
 FOI. *See* freedom of information
 FOI compliance, 191
 FOI laws, 2, 246; “gold standard” of, 12; in India, 9; for Nigeria transparency, 154–60
 FOIA. *See* Freedom of Information Act
 FOIA laws, 285
 Ford Foundation, 162, 188
 forestry concerns, 294
 Forestry Stewardship Council, 300
 forums, 97, 290
 Fourth Plenum of 16th Party Central Committee (China), 64
 Fox, Vincente, 344
 Frankel, Maurice, 207
 fraud, 28
 free expression, 330
 Freedom from Debt Coalition (Philippines), 251
 freedom of information (FOI), 2
 Freedom of Information Act (China), 74
 Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), 8, 13, 158, 191, 200, 229, 249, 268, 324; amending, 44–46; citizens and, 281; compliance with, 344; detainees under, 319; early years of, 315; enactment of, 280; exceptions to, 312
 Freedom of Information Act (Trinidad and Tobago), 205
 Freedom of Information Act (United Kingdom), 311
 Freedom of Information Advocates Network and Web site, 135
 Freedom of Information Bill (India), 44
 Freedom of Information Law (Belize), 185
 Fujimori, Alberto, 185
 Galbraith, J. K., 216
 Gandhi Peace Foundation, 43
 Gandhi, Shailesh, 39–40
 GDP. *See* Gross Domestic Product
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 67, 243
 genetically modified organisms (GMOs), 301; labeling for, 302–3; opponents of, 301–2; proponents of, 302; tracking of, 302
 “ghost employees,” 193
 “ghost works,” 28
 Global Forest Watch, 301
 Global Reporting Initiative (GRI), 225
 Global Witness, 224
 globalization, 2, 12, 347
 GMOs. *See* genetically modified organisms
 Gonzales, Alberto, 315–16
 Gonzáles, Felipe, 330
 governance, 1, 33, 39–41; *see also* environmental governance
 government, 152, 197; Blair, 317; effectiveness/efficiency, 338–39; E-government, 61, 100; of Nigeria, 172*n*21; secrecy, 218; transparency as principle of democratic, 341; *see also* Bush administration; intergovernmental organizations; Johnson administration; Nixon administration; nongovernment organizations; open government information
 Gowon, Yakubu, 146, 149
 Graham, Mary, 217, 218, 219
 Great Britain, 7, 207; *see also* United Kingdom
 Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—China (1966–76), 54, 58
 Greenpeace, 271, 294–95, 301
 GRI. *See* Global Reporting Initiative
 Gross Domestic Product (GDP), 99
 Guangdong, China, 322
 Guangzhou Office of Legislative Affairs, 70
 Guangzhou OGI Provisions, 70–71, 74, 89*n*48
 Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, 319
 Gulf War, 146, 156, 157

- Hair, Jay, 257
"hamara paisa-hamara hisaab," 25
 harm test, 262
 Harvard group of Cultural Survival, 270
 Hazare, Anna, 24
 health system, 29
 hearings, 97
 Hersh, Seymour, 221
 Highly Indebted Poor Countries Program, 181
 HIV status, 218, 237
 horizontal accountability, 297
 Horsley, Jamie, 54, 343
 Hu Jintao, 79
 human rights, 3, 78, 217, 220, 223–24, 316, 327; abuses, 330; classified information and, 312; corporate obligations for, 223; CSR and, 223; legal rights and, 236–37; limiting application of, 237; in Nigeria, 150–52, 162; universal, 236; violations, 29; *see also* European Court of Human Rights; Kharkiv Group for Human Rights Protection
 Human Rights Violations Investigation Commission (Nigeria), 162
 Hungary, 116–17, 117, 121, 125, 128, 290, 292; Constitution of, 122–23; ombudsman in, 132; Parliament of, 132; penal code in, 123; secrecy in, 123, 130; transparency model in, 122; *see also* Data Protection and Freedom of Information—Hungary
 hunger strikes, 25

 IADB. *See* Inter-American Development Bank
 ICPC. *See* Independent Corrupt Practices Commission—Nigeria
 IDASA. *See* Institute for Democracy in South Africa
 IFC. *See* International Finance Corporation
 IFI Transparency Resource, 262–64
 IFTIs. *See* international financial and trade institutions

 IGOs. *See* intergovernmental organizations
 Iliescu, Ion, 260
 IMF. *See* International Monetary Fund
 IMF Code of Fiscal Transparency, 251
 IMF Manila conference, 254
 independent appeals, 44
 Independent Corrupt Practices Commission—Nigeria (ICPC), 155, 168
 India, 4, 34, 37, 40, 52*n*4, 52*n*7, 184, 285, 292, 296, 311, 347; China's invasion of, 22; corruption in, 29, 49; democracy in, 19; electrification of, 22; FOI laws in, 9; governance in, 33; information in, 19; justice system of, 290; language in, 22; media in, 22; "model district" in, 188; population displacement in, 33; public interest litigation in, 52*n*4; RTI in, 19–20, 34; women's movement in, 19–20, 33; *see also* Narmada Bachao Andolan; Narmada dam project
 India Congress Party, 21, 22, 23, 44
 India Constitution, 23, 31
 India Election Commission, 33–34
 India Supreme Court, 10, 23, 30–31, 32, 34, 44
 India transparency: arbitrary governance and, 39–41; contemporary issues in, 46–48; development projects and, 32–33; elections and, 33–34; environmental movement and, 30–31; evolution of, 21–24; future directions for, 51–52; people's movements for, 24–26; policies/laws/institutional structures in, 43–44; right to food and, 41–42; urban municipal governance and, 34–35
 Indonesia, 285, 292, 302
 information: asymmetries, 6; control of, 216; cost of, 6, 102, 112, 131, 173*n*35, 192–93, 301, 342, 346; "critical infrastructure," 325; demystifying, 52; in India, 19; of officers, 202–3; personal, 237; power

- information (*continued*)
 and, 1, 4; private, 237; public, 131; "public record," 72; rights, 78; *see also* access to information; classified information; open government information; right to information
- information access, 2, 3, 10, 66–77
- Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), 233, 234
- insularity, 252
- intelligence, 311, 312, 315
- intelligence service (MI6), 311
- Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), 262, 263, 270
- Inter-American Investment Corporation, 263
- intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), 2, 6, 261, 341; secrecy of, 246; selling transparency, 244–45; transparency rules of, 12
- internal security, 311
- International Committee of the Red Cross, 316, 319
- International Crisis Group, 330
- International Finance Corporation (IFC), 256, 257, 262
- international financial and trade institutions (IFTIs), 244; activists of, 255; as "closed and secretive clubs," 245; issues/debates concerning, 265–69; lessons learned by, 270–71; policies/structures for, 261–64; secrecy in, 246, 247–51; staff of, 246
- International Maritime Organization, 324
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 2, 4, 8, 12, 149, 181, 224, 243, 263, 346; documents of, 252; loan from, 262; reforms of, 267; transparency and, 250–51; as world arbiter, 244
- International Organization on Standardization (ISO), 269
- Internet, 61, 98, 99–101, 112, 135
- Iraq, 313, 317, 321
- "iron rice bowl," 56
- ISCOR, 229
- ISO. *See* International Organization on Standardization
- Italy, 230
- Jacobson, Joseph, 325
- Jamaica, 179–80, 182, 184, 185, 192; ATI laws of, 231; civil servants in, 196; documents in, 198; Information Officers in, 190
- jansunwais* (village public hearings), 25, 33, 35; bureaucracy's reaction to, 36–38; contractors' reaction to, 38; discoveries of, 28; in Kukurkheda, 49–50; local people and, 35–36; preparing for, 27
- Japan, 207
- Jatar, SCN (Major General), 39
- Jiang Zemin, 63
- Johannesburg Principles, 325–26
- Johnson administration, 320
- Johnson, Lyndon, 315
- Jones, Wayne, 196
- Kalinga people, 254
- Kalpavriksh, 31
- Kaufman, Daniel, 260
- Keeling, William, 146
- Kejriwal, Arvind, 35
- Kennedy administration, 320
- kerosene oil depots (KODs), 41
- KGB, 131, 309
- Kharkiv Group for Human Rights Protection (KHPG), 125–26, 128, 133, 135
- KHPG. *See* Kharkiv Group for Human Rights Protection
- Kirchner, Néstor, 187
- KODs. *See* kerosene oil depots
- Kosovo, 313
- Kouga, 209
- Kwa-Zulu Natal, 209
- Kyoto Protocol, 297
- LASKA Pure Water Plant, Vietnam, 284
- Latin America, 11
- Latvia, 132

- law(s), 2; of Bolivia, 210n6; for CEE transparency, 122–24; of China, 62, 66, 68, 72–73, 78, 82, 93–94, 97, 98, 103, 107–11, 114n9, 114n10, 115n11; corporate, 216; *desacato*, 330; disclosure in U.S., 7; drafting for transparency implementation, 188–90; of Ecuador, 210n6; India transparency, 43–44; RTK, 229, 241n29; of Sweden, 110; in Ukraine, 125; *see also* ATI laws; disclosure laws; FOI laws; RTI laws; transparency law
- Law Against Unfair Competition (China), 108
- Law of Administrative Litigation (China), 103
- Law of Administrative Review (China), 103
- law on access to information—Bulgaria (APIA), 124
- Law on Administrative Punishment (China), 97
- Law on Environmental Impact Assessment (China), 68
- Law on Guarding State Secrets (China), 66
- Law on Organization of Villagers' Commissions (China), 93–94, 97
- Law on Protecting State Secrets (China), 73, 108
- Law on the Freedom to Publish (Sweden), 110
- Leading Group on National Informationization—China, 60–61, 100, 101
- Leander, Torsten, 327–28
- legal rights, 236–37
- legitimacy, 283
- LIBERTY, 331
- literacy, 22
- Macedonia, 129
- Madison, James, 7
- Maduna, Penual, 195
- Maharashtra, 24; activists in, 20; RTI activism in, 39–41
- Maharashtra Right to Information Act (MRTI), 39
- Malaysia, 226, 302
- Mali, 192, 193
- Mandela, Nelson, 231
- Marcos, Ferdinand, 253
- Marriage Law (China), 97, 98
- Marwa, Buba, 174n47
- Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (MKSS), 23–24, 34, 49, 167, 246; *dharna* and, 26; formation of, 24–26
- Mbeki, Thabo, 195
- MCD. *See* Municipal Corporation of Delhi
- McNamara, Robert, 254, 320
- MEAs. *See* multilateral environmental agreements
- Measuring Transparency Index, 225–26, 241n20
- media, 8, 72, 187, 258, 294, 323, 331, 343–44; in CEE transparency, 119, 123, 135, 138; in China, 79, 89n48; in India, 22; in Nigeria, 167; in U.S., 74; *see also* Press Council of India; Southeast Asian Press Alliance
- Media Rights Agenda—Nigeria (MRA), 152–55, 158
- Mehta, M. C., 30
- Member of the Legislative Assembly—India (MLA), 37
- Mendes, Francisco “Chico,” 255
- mentalidad*, 209
- Mexican Federal Institute for Access to Information (IFAI), 205
- Mexico, 180, 184, 193, 285, 292, 344; affected people in, 290–91; ATI laws in, 190; conservation in, 286
- miniaturization, 5
- minimum exclusions, 44
- minimum wages, 25, 27
- Mitrokhin, Vasili, 309
- “Mitrokin Archive,” 309
- MKSS. *See* Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan
- MLA. *See* Member of the Legislative Assembly—India
- mohalla samiti* (local area committee), 36

- moral claims, 3
- Morgenthau, Hans J., 248
- Mozambique, 253
- MRA. *See* Media Rights Agenda—Nigeria
- MRTI. *See* Maharashtra Right to Information Act
- Muhammed, Murtala, 169
- multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs), 297
- multilateral institutions, 296
- Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, 262–63
- Mungiu-Pippidi, A., 136
- Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD), 35, 36, 37–38, 50
- Municipal Corporation of Thane, 40
- NAC. *See* National Advisory Council—India
- Nagrik Chetna Manch, 39
- NAO. *See* National Auditing Office—China
- Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA), 33, 255–56, 287
- Narmada dam project, 33, 255–56, 259
- National Advisory Council—India (NAC), 44–45
- National Auditing Office—China (NAO), 65–66
- National Campaign for People's Right to Information (NCPRI), 24, 34, 35, 43–44
- National Intelligence Agency (South Africa), 312
- national openness, 267
- National Party Congress—China (November, 2002), 63
- National Party of Nigeria (NPN), 171110
- National People's Congress—China (NPC), 56, 63
- national security, 1, 331; secrecy *v.*, 9; in U.S., 13, 312
- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- Nazarbayev, Nursultan, 224
- Nazis, 310
- NBA. *See* Narmada Bachao Andolan
- NCPRI. *See* National Campaign for People's Right to Information
- Nehru, Jawaharlal, 21
- NEITI. *See* Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
- NEPAD. *See* New Economic Partnership for African Development
- Nepal, 257
- Netherlands, 230
- Neuman, Laura, 11, 179, 342, 344, 346
- New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), 161
- New Economic Plan for Africa, 343
- New South Wales, 198
- New Zealand, 198, 229
- New Zealand Official Information Act (1982), 229
- NGO. *See* nongovernment organizations
- Nicaragua, 192, 198
- Nigeria, 11; accountability in, 154; Constitution of, 145, 147–48, 151, 165, 174145; corruption in, 149–50, 154–55, 160, 163; ethnic diversity in, 147; government of, 172121; human rights in, 150–52, 162; media in, 167; military/civilian rule in, 144–46; resource curse in, 146–47; secrecy in, 147; *see also* Civil Liberties Organisation—Nigeria; Economic and Financial Crimes Commission—Nigeria; Media Rights Agenda—Nigeria; Official Secrets Acts (Nigeria); People's Democratic Party—Nigeria; Secretary to the Federal Military Government—Nigeria; Structural Adjustment Program (Nigeria)
- Nigeria Police Force, 150
- Nigeria transparency, 342; attitudes/habits of, 165–68; background for, 144–50; challenges to future, 169–70; challenging secrecy, 150; FOI laws for, 154–60; introduction, 143–44; lessons learned for, 161; military-civilian continuum

- and, 168–69; prospects for future, 161–65
- Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ), 152, 154, 173*n*26
- Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI), 162, 164, 167, 168
- Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), 165
- Nirex, 227–28
- Nixon administration, 315
- NNPC. *See* Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation
- nongovernment organizations (NGOs), 4, 6, 30, 31, 50, 125–27, 133–35, 152, 185, 290–91; achievements of, 304; activism by, 224; impediments from, 224; oversight by, 324; pressure from, 239; Publish-What-You-Pay coalition, 225; role in environmental transparency, 293–300; role of in Aarhus Convention, 299–300; as watchdogs, 295
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 119, 124, 243, 249, 260–61, 313, 343
- Not My Will* (Obasanjo), 169
- NPC. *See* National People's Congress—China
- NPN. *See* National Party of Nigeria
- NUJ. *See* Nigeria Union of Journalists
- OAS. *See* Organization of American States
- Obasanjo, Olusegun, 145, 149, 153–54, 157, 160–61, 163–65, 168–69; as African Union Chairperson, 161; control by, 155–57
- Obe, Ayo, 11, 143, 343
- ODAC. *See* Open Democracy Advice Centre
- OECD. *See* Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
- Official Secrets Acts, 330
- Official Secrets Acts (Nigeria), 147–48, 151, 165, 171*n*17, 174*n*45
- OGI. *See* open government information
- Okigbo Panel Report, 157
- Okigbo, Pius, 156
- ombudsman, 132, 257
- Onagoruwa, Olu, 153
- Onitsha-Owerri road, 175*n*48
- opacity, 14, 191, 252
- Open Democracy Advice Centre (ODAC), 202, 209, 232–33
- Open Democracy Campaign Group—South Africa, 185, 231
- “open door” policy, 55
- open government information (OGI), 55, 63, 64–65, 78–83
- Open Society Institute (OSI), 134, 182
- Open Society Justice Initiative, 129
- openness, 4, 318; information in China, 64–66, 101–4; national, 267; promoting security, 320–25; secrecy and, 327; *see also* Principle of Openness
- Oputa Panel, 162
- Organic Law on Villagers' Committees—China (the VC Law), 59
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 281
- Organization of American States (OAS), 16*n*16
- Oroh, Abdul, 153, 159, 173*n*27
- OSI. *See* Open Society Institute
- oversight groups, 331
- oversight/coordination units, 204–6
- Panchal, Balu, 48
- panchayat*, 28, 52*n*3
- Paniagua, Valentine, 186
- Paraguay, 185, 309
- Parivartan, 50; meetings held by, 36; story of, 34–35; workers of, 38, 48
- Parliamentary Network on the World Bank, 267
- participatory disclosure, 262
- the Party. *See* Communist Party of China
- PATIA. *See* Promotion of Access to Information Act
- Patkar, Medha, 255

- PDP. *See* People's Democratic Party—Nigeria
- Pentagon Papers, 248, 315
- People's Bank of China, 108
- People's Democratic Party—Nigeria (PDP), 171*n*10
- "People's Parley," 167
- People's Union for Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights (PUCLDR), 22
- personal information, 237
- Peru, 129, 184, 185–86, 189
- Peter-Okoye, Nicholas, 143
- Petkova, Elena, 13, 279, 339, 340, 341, 342
- PetroChina, 226
- Petronas, 226
- Philippines, 253–54
- PIOs. *See* Public Information Officers—India
- pluralistic societies, 287
- policy making, 305
- political participation rights, 316–17
- politics: "closed," 320; of transparency implementation, 191–96; transparency in, 5, 343
- pollutant release and transfer registers (PRTs), 281
- pollution, 30
- Polonoeste paving project (Brazil), 254–55, 258–59
- Poona Cantonment case, 31–32
- Portugal, 253
- power, 1, 4
- Powers, Thomas, 314
- PPPs. *See* public-private partnerships
- Press Council of India, 43–44
- Pretorius v. Nedcor Bank*, 232
- Principle of Balancing Interests, 102
- Principle of Free Use, 102
- Principle of Gratis, 102
- Principle of Openness, 101–2
- Principle of Relief, 102–3
- Principle of Right, 101
- "Principles Relating to the Human Rights Conduct of Companies," 223–24
- privacy, 3; in China, 89*n*51; right to know *v.*, 1
- private information, 237
- privatization, 12, 215, 347; in CEE, 119–20; RTI impacted by, 220–22
- Progress in China's Human Rights Cause (2003), 78
- Promotion of Access to Information Act (PAIA), 12, 183, 202, 232
- "The Proper Limits of Openness in Government," 249
- PRTs. *See* pollutant release and transfer registers
- public discussions, 97
- public forums, 288
- public hearings, 98
- public information, 131
- Public Information Officers—India (PIOs), 45
- public interest, 14; litigation in India, 52*n*4; test, 262
- public outrage, 11
- public participation in decision making, 286–89, 298–99
- "public participation in environmental protection," 68
- public policy, 2
- "public record" information, 72
- public servants, 195–96
- public works, 220
- Publication Schema (United Kingdom), 188
- public-private partnerships (PPPs), 220
- Publish-What-You-Pay coalition, 225
- PUCLDR. *See* People's Union for Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights
- Pustintsev, Boris, 121
- Al Qaeda, 319
- Queensland, 198
- Quesada, Vincente Fox, 310
- Radio Free Europe, 118
- Radio Liberty, 118
- Rajasthan Panchayati Raj Act, 29
- Ramkumar, Vivek, 13, 279, 339, 340, 341, 342
- ration cards, 41, 42, 53*n*14

- ration shops, 41
realpolitik, 144
 Rechitsky, V., 133
 record keeping, 196–99
 record making, 189, 199–200
 “redlining,” 250
 referendums, 287
 regulation by revelation, 244, 339–41
 Regulations on the Openness of Government Information (China):
 exceptions to, 103–4; formulation
 of, 101–4; principles within,
 101–3
 resettlement colonies (India), 52*n*7
 Resident Welfare Associations (India),
 34
 review mechanisms, 262
 Reynolds precedent, 328–29
 Riggs Bank, 225
 right(s), 172*n*19; in China, 67; for
 China, OGI legislation, 71–72;
 China transparency as, 104–5;
 collective in CEE, 118; of corpo-
 rations, 239*n*8; to food, 41–42;
 human, 3; information, 78; legal,
 236–37; to live, 338; political
 participation, 316–17; security and,
 320; transparency and, 239; *see*
 also human rights
 right to information (RTI), 19–20,
 26–27; impact of, 29–30; in India,
 34, 39–41; issue of, 25; privatiza-
 tion’s impact on, 220–22
 Right to Information Act (India), 311
 right to know (RTK), 78, 83, 88*n*43,
 219, 338; adopting approach, 201;
 privacy *v.*, 1; statutes, 229, 241*n*29
 risk aversion, 233
 “road maps,” 198–99
 Roberts, Alasdair, 13, 192, 214, 238,
 253, 261, 309, 338, 339, 345
 Rogers, William, 248
 Romania, 116, 121, 128, 260; secret
 service in, 131; transparency in,
 123–24
 Romanian Academic Society (SAR),
 126, 128, 136
 Roy, Aruna, 24
 Royal Western India Turf Club
 (RWITC), 40
 RTI. *See* right to information
 RTI activism, 41; challenges to,
 46–48; in Maharashtra, 39–41;
 protecting, 48–49
 RTI campaign, 36
 RTI laws, 41, 49, 310, 330; in Canada,
 314; effectiveness of, 331; liberal,
 312; spread of, 312
 RTK. *See* right to know
 Russia, 302
 RWITC. *See* Royal Western India Turf
 Club
 SAHA. *See* South African History
 Archive
 “samizdat” publications, 118
 Sanchez, Ricardo, 221
 Santosh, 48
 SAR. *See* Romanian Academic Society
 Sarbanes-Oxley Act, 9, 219, 240*n*10
sarpanch, 28
 SARS. *See* Severe Acute Respiratory
 Syndrome
 Satark Nagrik Sangathan (SNS), 41
 satellites, 5, 300
 Saudi Arabia, 302
 Save the Children, 225
 Sawant, P. B., 43
 scrutiny, 5
 Seattle protest, 245, 252
 secrecy, 3, 4, 6–7, 123, 252; blanket,
 311; broader context of, 329–31;
 challenging by Nigeria transparen-
 cy, 150; culture of, 180; debate in
 U.S., 9; defining limits to, 325–29;
 disclosure *v.*, 10; encouraged by
 NATO, 260–61, 343; government,
 218; in Hungary, 123, 130; in
 IFTIs, 246, 247–51; of IGOs, 246;
 national security *v.*, 9; in Nigeria,
 147; norms, 247; openness and,
 327; *see also* corporate secrecy
 Secrecy Act (Hungary), 123
 secret services, 131
 Secretary to the Federal Military Gov-
 ernment—Nigeria (SFMG), 169

- security, 13; internal, 311; openness promoting, 320–25; rights and, 320; “unreasonable,” 324; *see also* national security
- security sector: as protected enclave, 311–14; revelations about, 309–10
- Seamlani, Kewal, 39
- September 11 terrorist attack, 13, 127, 322
- Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), 66, 77, 90*n*55, 322, 339
- Seveso dioxin leak, 305*n*2
- SFMG. *See* Secretary to the Federal Military Government—Nigeria
- Shagari, Shehu, 171*n*10
- Shanghai Municipal People’s Congress, 74
- Shanghai OGI Provisions, 70–71, 74–75, 76
- Shastri, Alguarai, 21
- Shourie, Shri H. D., 44
- Singer, Peter, 313
- Singh, Shekhar, 19, 24, 246, 338, 342
- Singh, V. P., 43
- sit-in. *See dharna*
- Slovakia, 116, 117, 126, 129, 130; ATI laws of, 230; transparency in, 124
- Slovakian Secrecy Act, 124
- Slovenia, 132
- SNS. *See* Satark Nagrik Sangathan
- social audits, 29
- “socialist market economy,” 55
- societal prejudices, 287
- South Africa, 10, 12, 129, 180, 183, 184, 194, 218, 253, 292, 311, 347; ATI laws in, 231–36, 238; civil servants in, 189; Constitution of, 232, 235; democracy in, 185, 231, 233, 234; Open Democracy Campaign Group, 185, 231; private sector in, 215; water delivery in, 221–22; *see also* Congress of South Africa
- Trade Unions
- South African History Archive (SAHA), 202, 209, 331
- Southeast Asian Press Alliance, 261
- Soviet Union, 309
- special interests, 7
- specialization, 51
- Sriram Food and Fertiliser Industry case, 30–31
- Stasi, 131, 310
- “state secret,” 73
- State Secrets Law (China), 78, 109–10, 114*n*10, 115*n*11
- State Security Law (China), 66
- Statistics Law (China), 68, 108
- Stiglitz, Joseph, 250
- strategic planning, 203–4
- stringent penalties, 44
- Structural Adjustment Program (Nigeria), 149
- subsidized food, 41
- Summit of Americas, 15*n*15
- Supreme Decree for Transparency and Access (Argentina), 187
- Supreme Decree for Transparency and Access (Bolivia), 187
- Sweden, 110, 247
- Swedish Naval Museum, 327
- Swedish Security Police, 328
- Szekely, Ivan, 11, 116, 342
- TAC. *See* Treatment Action Campaign
- Taguba, Antonio, 221
- Talisman, 226
- technology, 348; environmental transparency and, 300; transparency and, 5
- Telecommunications Law (China), 113*n*3
- terrorism, 306*n*7, 319, 323, 330
- Thailand, 285, 292
- Thant, U, 253
- Thomson James C., Jr., 320, 321
- “Time for Transparency—Coming Clean on Oil, Mining and Gas Revenues,” 224
- Toxics Release Inventory (TRI), 219, 280, 281, 340
- TransAtlantic Petroleum, 226
- transnational bodies, 296
- Transnational Corporation, Suez, 222
- transparency: as 2003 “Word of the Year,” 2; accountability and, 283–

- 84; achieving, 341–47; activism, 224; arguments for, 2–3; battle for, 348; in Bulgaria, 124; debate over, 1; definitions of, 14n5, 304; in economics, 5; during emergencies, 318–20; equity promoting, 283; future of, 14; history/current state of, 7–10; IMF and, 250–51; issues for future of, 347–48; legitimacy lending, 283; meaning/purposes of, 4–7; model in Hungary, 122; as norm for democratic state, 214; in politics, 5, 343; as principle of democratic government, 341; revolution, 348; rights and, 239; in Romania, 123–24; rules of IGOs, 12; selling by IGOs, 244–45; in Slovakia, 124; technology and, 5; as transformative tool, 14; in Ukraine, 123; U.S. as proponent of, 9; at World Bank, 251–61; WTO and, 105; *see also* CEE transparency; China transparency; corporate transparency; environmental transparency; India transparency; Nigeria transparency
- “transparency champions,” 180
- transparency implementation: automatic publication and, 200–201; conclusion about, 209; demand side of, 208–9; diagnosing challenge of, 182–83; drafting law for, 188–90; implementing law for, 190; internal systems for, 201–6; introduction to, 180–82; politics of, 191–96; prologue for, 179–80; public servants for, 195–96; record keeping/archiving, 196–99; record making and, 199–200; setting stage for, 184–90; supply side for, 196–206; vanguard steps toward, 186–88
- Transparency International, 2, 246
- Transparency International Corruption Perception Index, 149, 161, 172n22
- Transparency International index, 261
- transparency law, 11; drafting, 188–90; in India, 43–44; indications of strong, 44
- “transparency line,” 218
- transparency principles, 282, 292, 304; access to information, 283–85, 298; access to justice, 289–91, 299; public participation in decision making, 286–89, 298–99
- “transparency triangle,” 183
- transparent society, 5
- Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), 209
- TRI. *See* Toxics Release Inventory
- Trinidad and Tobago, 195, 205
- Triveni, 42–43
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 310
- Uganda, 194, 265–66, 292, 293
- Ugokwe, Jerry, 158
- Ukraine, 116, 117, 128, 133; Constitution of, 123; laws in, 125; public servants in, 130; transparency in, 123
- Ukrainian Law on Information, 125
- Ukrainian Secrecy Act, 123
- UN. *See* United Nations
- UN Global Compact, 223
- UN Security Council, 269
- UN Sub-Commission on Promotion of Human Rights, 223
- UNECE. *See* United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
- Union Carbide, 23, 279
- United Kingdom, 182, 188, 191
- United Nations (UN), 223
- United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity, 295
- United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), 289, 297
- United Nations Environment Programme, 294
- United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, 294
- United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 295
- United Progressive Alliance (UPA), 44

- United States (U.S.), 268, 292; ATI laws of, 228; disclosure laws in, 7; media in, 74; national security in, 13, 312; secrecy debate in, 9; as transparency proponent, 9
- United States Interagency Committee on Government Information, 197
- universal accessibility, 44
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 3, 316
- “unreasonable security,” 324
- “unsuccessful norm transmission,” 140n25
- “unwise compromises,” 315
- UPA. *See* United Progressive Alliance
- U.S. *See* United States
- U.S. Congress, 9, 312
- U.S. Constitution, 7
- U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 324–25, 334n58
- U.S. Federal Reserve Board, 249
- U.S. National Security Archive, 331
- U.S. Supreme Court, 217–18, 248, 312, 328
- VCs. *See* villagers’ committees—China
- the VC Law. *See* Organic Law on Villagers’ Committees—China
- Vega, Mignone, 194
- Venezuela, 10
- “vice of publicity,” 248
- Vietnam, 284
- Vietnam War, 315, 321
- village public hearings. *See* *jansunwais*
- villagers’ committees—China (VCs), 59
- Voluntary Openness Strategies (VOS), 188
- VOS. *See* Voluntary Openness Strategies
- Washington consensus, 246
- waste collection, 220
- water delivery, 221–22
- Watson, Jenny, 227
- Weber, Max, 216
- Wen Jiabao, 63, 77
- whaling, 294–95
- wildlife preservation, 293
- Wilson, George, 248
- Wolfensohn, James, 257, 258, 271
- women’s movement in India, 19–20, 33
- Woods, George, 253
- Working Group on Transparency and Accountability of the Group of 22, 5
- “The Working Manual on the Reduction of the Farmer’s Burden,” 113n5
- World Bank, 2, 4, 8, 12, 149, 181, 188, 243, 267, 345, 346; charter of, 253; history of, 251; as “lawless institution,” 253; lessons learned, 270–71; loan from, 262; as protest target, 252; training materials of, 259; transparency at, 251–61; Washington consensus, 246
- World Bank Inspection Panel, 256, 257, 264, 271
- World Commission on Dams, 300
- World Trade Organization (WTO), 12, 243, 343; China and, 55, 61–62, 81, 108; framework for, 111; lending and, 262; requirements of, 109; review mechanisms for, 262; transparency and, 105
- Worldcom, 216
- written submissions, 97
- WTO. *See* World Trade Organization
- WTOs Appellate Body, 253
- Wu Bangguo, 99
- Zhou, Hanhua, 11, 69, 92
- Zhu Rongji, 99
- Zimbabwe, 185