### Table: Agreement on Reforms, Progress towards Reform Priorities, and Comments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agreed Reforms</th>
<th>Progress towards reform priorities</th>
<th>Donor comments</th>
<th>NGO comments</th>
<th>Media comments</th>
<th>RGC comments</th>
<th>Aid requested</th>
<th>Aid given</th>
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</table>
| 2002 | **Set in 2001**<sup>i</sup><br>Key requests:<br>  - Anti corruption law adopted <br>  - Forest law adopted and completion of negotiations with concessionaires <br>  - Adoption of land law | - Anti-corruption law not passed.<sup>viii</sup>  
- Continued impunity and high level corruption.<sup>iii</sup>  
- Chaotic forest/natural resource management.<sup>ii</sup> | UK — "Overall disappointing progress against the action points agreed at the 2001 CG [The] pattern of increased donor support should not be regarded as a given. We need to see that Government is doing its part [...]. The passage of an anti-corruption law is still awaited."<sup>iv</sup> | NGO Forum — "The progress in policy has not translated into progress in impact [...] Corruption and the culture of impunity remain rampant."<sup>iv</sup> | - "[Analysts] warned [that] the slow pace of reforms, endemic corruption and a failure to try surviving Khmer Rouge leaders was testing donor patience, and could result in conditions being attached to aid for the first time."<sup>viii</sup> | Hun Sen — "The Royal Government is committed to finalize the draft of the Anti-Corruption Law before end June 2003."<sup>v</sup> | US$485 million | US$530.9 million |
| 2003 | No meeting held | | | | | | US$539.5 million | US$539.5 million |
| 2004 | **Set in 2002**<sup>ii</sup><br>Anti-corruption<br>  - 'Reported cases of corruption investigated and prosecuted appropriately within existing legal framework.' Due immediately<br>  - 'Anti-corruption law submitted to National Assembly.' Due 30 June 2003.<br> Concessions<br>  - 'Public disclosure and opportunity for independent experts [to] comment on Sustainable Forest Management Policies and Environmental and Social Impact Assessments prior to finalization of Government review' Information disclosure<br>  - 'Increased transparency of terms of Government contracts.' Due immediately | - Anti-corruption law not passed.<sup>vi</sup>  
- Very limited action on corruption.<sup>ii</sup>  
- Suspension of forest concessions, but continued illegal logging.<sup>ii</sup>  
- Poor implementation of existing policies and laws.<sup>ii</sup> | World Bank — "Corruption is endemic [...] The volume of bilateral and multilateral donor support needs to be conditioned on the adequacy of Cambodia’s reform effort."<sup>iv</sup> | NGO Forum - "NGOs feel there are currently a proliferation of plans, policies, and strategies in circulation. The challenge at this point is to ensure that these plans are being implemented [...] How confident are donors that funds are being used efficiently and have a positive impact on improving livelihoods, rather than being used to support unnecessary technical assistance,"<sup>iv</sup> | - "Despite the government failing to fulfil many previously set benchmarks, international donors pledged $504 million dollars in aid to Cambodia for next year, but warned that future support will directly hinge on real changes in 2005 [...] ‘It's a repackaging of the same old system that hasn't seemed to work before,' said one Phnom Penh based diplomat involved in the CG meeting."<sup>xv</sup> | Sok An — "[The Anti-Corruption] law will be resubmitted to the National Assembly and the Senate as a matter of urgency."<sup>xvii</sup> | Hun Sen — "Reform is not a just shallow word".<sup>xvii</sup> | $500m<sup>xvii</sup> | US$555.4 million |

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<sup>i</sup> Notes and comments are provided for each agreement year, detailing various aspects of the agreements andclusions, ensuring a clear understanding of the reform priorities and the outcomes of each year. The table above is a summary of the key points discussed in the text.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Set in 2006&lt;sup&gt;xx&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Anti-corruption</th>
<th>Concessions</th>
<th>NGOs/Donors</th>
<th>Economic Development</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>No meeting held</td>
<td>Anti-corruption</td>
<td>- Anti-corruption law not passed.&lt;sup&gt;xxi&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Germany – &quot;The still unsolved problems of land grabbing and land speculation are of great concern […] We hope the information provided on economic land concessions will be quickly followed up with more complete disclosure.&quot;&lt;sup&gt;xxiv&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>NGO letter to CG attendees – &quot;there has been an increase in the misuse of natural resources and other public assets by elite families and crony companies.&quot;&lt;sup&gt;xxv&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>- &quot;The request was for $513 million, but the pledges amounted to $601 million,&quot; said Finance Minister Keat Chhon.&lt;sup&gt;xxvi&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>2007</td>
<td>Anti-corruption</td>
<td>Concessions</td>
<td>- Anti-corruption law not passed.&lt;sup&gt;xxviii&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>World Bank representative – &quot;We are very concerned that provisions for transparent bidding on ELC contracts are limited transparency on the awarding of</td>
<td>President of Cambodian Human Rights organisation Licadho – &quot;The meeting has become a routine. We know</td>
<td>- &quot;I worry that maybe the time for being firm with the government has passed,&quot; said one source with extensive</td>
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<td>authorising and approving land concessions is an issue already.&quot;&lt;sup&gt;xxix&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<sup>xx</sup> Anti-corruption law not passed.<sup>xxi</sup> Partial disclosure of information on concessions, but limited detail.<sup>xxii</sup> Illegal logging and land grabbing continued.<sup>xxiii</sup> Enforcement of Article 18 of Land Law, that private sales transactions on state lands are illegal.<sup>xxiv</sup> Increase transparency of state management of natural resources through immediate public disclosure of existing contracts and compliance status (royalties and other key provisions) of contracts governing economic land concessions, mining concessions, fishing lots and continued disclosure of status of review of forest concessions.<sup>xxv</sup> RGC disclose the location and legal status and process for termination of mining concessions, Military Development Zones, economic land concessions and other development arrangement situated on forest land or in protected areas and inconsistent with law governing management of these areas.’ [In annex] Information disclosure Public authorities must change current practice by displaying a preparedness to share information with the general public.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Partial disclosure of information on concessions, but limited detail.

<sup>xxvii</sup> US$513 million

<sup>xxviii</sup> US$601 million

<sup>xxix</sup> US$513 million

<sup>xxx</sup> US$689.2 million
| - Periodically disseminate information on economic land concessions. 2nd quarter 2006 |
| - [Disseminate] all relevant sector information on the activities of government agencies, including information on mining concession and military development zones, as well as donors and NGOs by periodically postings on TWG-F&E website. 4th quarter 2006 |
| - Strengthening the enforcement of the Forestry Law, especially combating forest land clearing and encroachment |
| Information disclosure |
| - Develop a clear policy framework on access to information. Dec 2006 |

| ELC contracts, being circumvented, that nothing will change. There will be promises from the government - the same promises as last year - and after the meeting everything will remain the same. |
| experience of donor-government meetings, who requested anonymity. 'I worry that the donor community have missed their opportunity now.' […] A year on and the anti-corruption law is still languishing in draft form, judicial reform is progressing at a glacial pace, and the government's management of natural resources is being lambasted from all sides. |
| by undertaking many concrete actions to meet this objective including the drafting of the Anti-corruption Law itself.” - “Reform is not a shallow word” |

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5 ‘Cambodia banking on donors for annual handout after a troubled year’, *AFP*, 12 June 2002

xiv Country Director for Cambodia, World Bank
xviii Liam Cochrane, ‘Cambodia takes scolding, $500 million from donors’, Phnom Penh Post, 17 December 2004
xxiii Ibid.
xxiv Ibid.
xxv Global Witness wrote a letter to Keat Chhon in October 2008 to ask for his comments on the main issues raised in this report as involve or relate to him. At the time of the report’s publication, Global Witness had not received a response. For information on the content of this letter to Keat Chhon please contact Global Witness via mail@globalwitness.org.
xxvi Charles McDermid and Vong Sokheng ‘RGC counts $601 million blessings’, The Phnom Penh Post, 10 March 2006
xxviii 1st Cambodia Development Cooperation Forum 19-20 June 2007: Statement on Agriculture and Natural Resources Management Mr. Michael Brownell, Director, Southeast Asia Programme, CIDA’,
Global Witness, *Cambodia’s Family Trees: Illegal logging and the stripping of public assets*, June 2007


Quoted in Cat Barton and Vong Sokheng, ‘$690 million: pledges, promises and faint praise’, *Phnom Penh Post*, 29 June 2007

Cat Barton, *Government deeds to face CG*, *Phnom Penh Post*, 15 June 2007