

CONTENTS

鑽石島小典	5
Koh Pich's ABC's	31

鑽石島小典

/ 李奎壁

6 柬埔寨正面臨以援助為名的新殖民主義，鑽石島的出現毋寧顯露了問題的表徵，當中匯聚了各方試圖掌握資源的群體，包含部份來自於臺灣的族群。近年來，關注於與新南向國家文化交流、後殖民相關論述持續發酵的臺灣，卻少見對此的反思。我在2016年首次踏上鑽石島，恰巧經歷島上的發展時期；直到2019年再次踏上鑽石島，除了建物的增加，島上開始出現大量華人商家與招租廣告。我想為劇烈改變中的島嶼保留些許紀錄，並探究鑽石島在過去半個世紀以來經歷了什麼事？在當地朋友的協助下，我找到過去居住在鑽石島的居民，試圖還原島嶼原本的樣貌，與其他相關的訪談、資料共同完成了鑽石島小典，部份不便公開的資訊則稍加擅改收錄在文章中。

鑽石島是位於柬埔寨首都金邊的沉積地，隨著湄公河與巴薩河的沖積與流向改變而出現，第一份提及鑽石島的正式記錄出現在1910年，法國殖民政府在金邊的灌溉渠道規劃書當中，當時鑽石島被稱為Koh Tauch Del Roporye，仍是個沙洲，該文件至今仍保存在柬埔寨國家檔案館裡。隨著政權的轉移，鑽石島在今日金邊60歲以上的族群記憶當中被稱為Koh Klong（瘋人島），據傳是過去麻瘋病患與少數民族被集中管理的地方；而在30~40歲的金邊族群記憶當中，島上一片荒蕪，遍植芒果樹，在當地一份1990年代初期的剪報當中，可以看見狹長的鑽石島上有著耕種的痕跡與隨意搭建的鐵皮屋。2006年鑽石島被加華集團的海外東華投資公司（OCIC）買下，以人工造陸的方式增加島嶼面積，試圖將鑽石島打造成金邊的特別行政區與衛星城，在島上複製了大量的世界知名建築，如法國凱旋門等，招攬大量中國與臺灣建商進駐開發，「鑽石島」一名也從此而來。

Abroad 海外

- ① 鑽石島凱旋門，八層半，共960平方米 一樓門面電梯已裝好，一樓可做商鋪，二至八樓可做酒店，目前二樓至八樓仍為毛坯牆。月租3,800美金，押金六個月，合約10年。
- ② 鑽石島愛麗舍宮（The Elysee），九層樓複合式建築，公寓一房一廳月租750美金、兩房一廳月租1,600美金、三房一廳4,000美金。
- ③ 鑽石島麗薇雅廣場（Diamond Island Rivera），施工中，總建築面積近33萬平方米，規劃有購物中心、公寓、停車場、150米高的空中會所與天際泳池，售價每平方米3,281美元。
- ④ 鑽石島摩根大廈，施工中，高210公尺的46層商務大樓，總造價1.6億美元。規劃有4000平方米的空中會所、天際泳池、天空吧、餐廳、一站式辦公室、直升機停機坪，售價每平方米3,657美元。

B**Beung Kok Lake 班公各湖**

隨著金邊的都市開發計劃而在2015年消失的內陸湖，鄰近堆谷區電視塔，湖邊原是傳統漁村，現已變成高樓林立的現代化社區，臺商多在此居住。

BKK

使館特區；蛋黃區；金邊大安區。

8 由南北向的莫尼旺大道（Monivong Boulevard）、諾羅敦大道（Norodom Boulevard）與東西向的西哈努克大道（Sihanouk Boulevard）、毛澤東大道（Mao Tse Toung Boulevard）所構成的長方形地段。為金邊各大使館所在地與全球連鎖品牌進駐的商業精華地段，安全且交通機能良好，近年來為了因應源源不絕的外國投資客與住房需求，不斷擴增現代化公寓的建設數量。

該地段通常是投資客考察金邊時的第一站，高達6%的房地產投資報酬率與不斷上漲的房價，即使經歷2018年總理大選所帶來的政治動盪，與近年來流傳的房市泡沫化流言，市場依然熱絡，常可遇見來自新加坡、臺灣、中國的買家。

目前在BKK由臺商主導的建案有「鉑金公寓」、「帝國首璽第一期／第二期」、「The View」等。

Bubble Economy 泡沫經濟

機會主義者永遠不會放棄任何邁向成功的機會，即便背後隱藏著陷阱。

他是這麼認為的，他在2008年金融海嘯時投入臺灣房地產市場，歷經2011年奢侈稅開徵與2016年房地合一課徵所得稅制度實行，掙扎著在日益嚴峻的投資市場裡前進，賣房，也買房投資。但這一切都未曾動搖他渴望致富的心願，或許先祖逃難來臺時所經歷的困窘，在幾個世代之後依舊如鬼魅般地盤踞在後代心底，並顯示在他們過於削瘦的四肢與異於常人、對於生存的執著上。他相信自己是人生唯一的主宰，看輕一切協定與準則，並且，對於太過久遠的未來毫無興趣。

2014年他第一次造訪鑽石島，彼時島上建設尚未開始，只有一片塵土飛揚的黃土地，但很快的，他就從中找到了生機。據他回憶，當時BKK裡只有五棟現代化的酒店式公寓，棟棟滿租。50平方米的公寓租金是1,500美金一個月，一平方米房價是3,600美金，換算下來，投資報酬率高達10%。很快地，他就愛上了這個陌生的國度，並且在鑽石島基礎工程竣工後不久，成了最早的住戶與房地產顧問之一，實際參與島上的歷史時刻，包括：2014～2016年間臺灣人買下島上八成公寓的盛況、2018年李克強訪東後大量湧入的中國考察團。

他從不迷戀穩定的生活。他明白市場為了迎合投資客而推出的低單價套房產品數量太多；投資報酬率也將隨著政治與經濟狀況的穩定而年年下降，又或者，隨著某個突如其來的災禍瞬間被摧毀。他將會找到下一個機會，離開鑽石島。

C

Chef 廚師

江蘇人，農村出身，初中肄業，廚師資歷15年。

他第一次出國，是到位於西哈努克港的中國飯店工作。飯店緊鄰賭場，從開幕日算起只營業了18天，就碰上中柬合作的非法博弈產業查緝行動，隨著賭場一起關門大吉。他在朋友的介紹下來到金邊，一樣在中國飯店工作，靠近金界賭場與鑽石島。

他每日中午時分起床，下午三點上工，直到隔日凌晨三點，負責製作冷盤與雕花盤飾。上工前的幾個小時空檔，他多半耗在微信群裡，他的微信有三個大群：工作用，廚師們交流食譜與工作機會的

10 情報網；生活用，聯繫在中國的家人們；出國用，各式證件代辦與國外生活資訊，是他主要的資訊來源。

在這短暫的35年生命裡，他花了10年思考如何離開中國。他的祖父母都死於鬥爭當中，他的父母是安靜怯弱的一代，他瞞著父母默默參與農村裡的抗爭，默默被打壓，默默離開農村。他出生的農村實在太過偏僻，沒有人願意或膽敢寫下發生過的不公。

在他學會使用微信後，他最大的嗜好就是交朋友：走私販子、大學教授、菸酒商，他的世界觀就在謊言漫布的平台上的緩慢建立起來，在學會如何分辨謊言之後，他發現，他只剩下離開一條路可走。

他的最終目標是抵達可投票的地方，他發揮了擺盤時的耐性與毅力，找到了出國的路徑，或許柬埔寨不盡人意，但在找到前往下一站的方法之前，他將暫時待在這裡。

Chinese 中國人

浙江人，房屋仲介，來金邊工作近三個月，只會說中文。

來金邊第一個星期，他就學會以二手摩托車載著客戶到鑽石島或BKK看房。他的客戶多半是中國人，手上有點閒錢但還不到闊綽，在中國經營小本生意，日子過得渾渾噩噩，聽信投資顧問的說詞，又看了微信裡瘋傳的柬埔寨投資廣告，幻想出國撈一筆，一夕致富地回去。他們對吃的隨便，住得也隨便，只要房子地段不差，能當店鋪，隨意瞥兩眼就租了下來，往往經營數月，房子又被掛上了招租的板子，回到公司的廣告欄中。

他的主管是柬埔寨出生的華人，40出頭，精通中、英、法、柬四語，他叫她楊姐，恭謹地。楊姐協助公司打理金邊的產業，通常近

午才來，凡消防安檢、警察巡查、柬籍房東對於出租房屋有意見、外國客戶買房租房，全是楊姐一手處理。她底下還帶了個年輕人，也是柬埔寨出生的華僑，中文說得警扭，總是遲到，薪水領了就去買新手錶新衣服，工作剛滿一個月，就換了一台嶄新的摩托車。

下午三點，年輕人固定向門口的小攤販買點心，甜湯或米紙捲，與楊姐一人一份。他有次好奇，也嚐了一捲米紙捲，但那甜膩膩的辣醬，混著魚腥味實在壓著嗓子難受，勉強吃完後他就再也不碰了。平日在公司大家都說中文，但時不時的，便見到年輕人與楊姐避著他、壓低嗓子講柬文。他總覺得莫名憋屈，好像自己被當成賊一樣提防了，分明大家都是中國人！

D

Diamond Island 鑽石島

*For the New World is like heaven
And we'll all be rich and free
Or so we have been told
By The Virginia Company
For glory, God and gold
And The Virginia Company
On the beaches of Virginy
There's diamonds like debris
There's silver rivers flow
And gold you pick right off a tree*

一節錄自1995年動畫《風中奇緣》(Pocahontas) 插曲The Virginia Company，(該旋律被金邊販售冰淇淋的攤車小販拿來代替叫賣聲，當他們不時造訪鑽石島叫賣時)

Eight Communities 八社區

為於金邊郊區的社會住宅聚落，靠近四號公路，安置了第一批因都市計劃離開鑽石島的居民。

八社區占地共10公頃，由八個社區組成，每個社區由200戶四公尺乘八公尺見方或四公尺乘六公尺見方的連棟平房組成，附廁所、廚房與前廊。雖然八社區旁就有小學與市場，走路半小時內可以抵達公立醫院，但因為距離市中心遙遠、交通不便，缺乏中高等教育與工作機會，目前僅有200戶人家在此生活，多為無處可去的貧寒家庭，依賴販售手工食品與到四號公路上的加工廠打工維生。

據第八社區管理員任江土的回憶，剛搬遷到八社區時，社區還沒有自來水，近年來雖然有了自來水與電力，卻面臨社區道路損壞嚴重的問題，目前只能仰賴NGO團體籌措公共設施的修繕費。

八社區雖然位置偏僻、交通不便，卻以另一種方式避免了弊端：在社會住宅缺乏政府配套措施與監督管理的情況下，居民轉售、出租或抵押住宅償還債務的事情屢見不鮮。但八社區裡的建物市場價值極低，這些事件不曾發生，也免除了社區居民遭人誣騙借高利貸、無力償還債務，最終導致喪失居所，更加弱勢的情形。

Korng Samach住在這裡。

Famine 飢荒

透過廚師對於食材在交易市場中的敏銳觀察，與千百萬年來刻在基因裡，一代一代傳遞對於飢餓的恐懼，他知道，飢荒很快就要發生了。

上個世紀，他出生的國家因為實行共產主義實驗，餓死了二千多萬人；上個世紀，他工作的國家也因為共產主義的理念，餓死了二百多萬人。或許就歷史經驗而言，共產主義正是一種跨國界的飢餓主義，只要人們還不放棄以共有作為追求理想生活的手段，在人性貪婪且永遠充滿缺陷的分配機制底下，匍匐在陰影中的飢餓隨時蠢蠢欲動，伺機吞噬人們。

他相信中美貿易戰不過是未來這場飢荒的起點，隨著不透明的資訊與層出不窮的弊端，很快地，資源分配不均與缺乏工作機會所帶來的貧困將成為這場全球性饑荒的主因。身為一名廚師，他所能做的，只能盡可能地為家人儲備食物與延長食物的保存期限，並將飢荒來臨的訊息，秘密地、如早期基督徒傳教般地，讓更多人知曉。

2018年豬肉開始在中國市場短缺前，他已經買好了兩個冷凍櫃，與大批豬肉，清洗、醃漬、低溫冷藏。原先一斤豬肉按食譜配三兩鹽，等後期幾乎買不到也買不起豬肉時，一斤豬肉配一斤鹽。這也使得他警惕了起來：米、麵粉、黃豆，加倍地進了他為家人搭建的地窖。

抵達柬埔寨後，他也不敢鬆懈，為了有朝一日可能面臨的飢荒，他訓練自己以米飯、鹽巴與水作為主食。2020年，中美貿易戰還未止歇，他的存糧已經在新冠肺炎造成的封城期間為家人派上用場。

Great Migration 大遷徙

他們多半來自開發中國家，由跨國投資客、被資本主義煽動的賭徒、受限於國內法律苦無脫產機會的資產家所組成，追逐著利益在世界上移動。

2013年馬來西亞政府為了限制外資炒房，將吉隆坡外國人購屋限制從50萬令吉調升到100萬令吉，他們遂離開馬來西亞來到了柬埔寨。經歷2018到2019年間金邊與西哈努克港房市的起落，2020年，由於馬來西亞的公寓生產過剩，馬來西亞政府再次調降了外國人購屋門檻至60萬令吉，在新冠肺炎籠罩全球的陰影下，他們準備再次移動。

Hierarchy 階層

臺灣籍，外派線上遊戲工程師，底薪：3,000美金

臺灣籍，外派土木工程師，底薪：2,000美金

臺灣籍，房地產公司外派銷售員，底薪：1,800美金

中國籍，外派建設公司經理，底薪：1,500美金

柬埔寨籍，建設公司銷售員，底薪：700美金

柬埔寨籍，珠寶公司雙語銷售員，底薪：500美金

柬埔寨籍，建築工人，月薪：200美金

I**Investment tour 賞房團**

源自於21世紀房地產在金邊七間店面共有的行銷模式，從2013年與臺灣建商聯手推出的「巴里島水岸度假村」系列開始，目前已成為柬埔寨各大房地產經銷商常用的銷售模式之一。

J**Journey 旅行**

中華自駕聯盟創立於2016年，是由全球華人組成的自駕遊平台，秉持著「共創、共建、共享、共贏」的理念，透過自駕文化，推動中國與其他國家之間的交流項目，並在各國設立分會，2017年柬埔寨總會於金邊成立。

為了推廣一帶一路自駕經濟走廊，中華自駕聯盟於2019年舉辦為期20日的中國、柬埔寨、寮國與泰國文化旅遊自駕活動，由雲南玉溪出發，從西雙版納磨憨口岸出海關，一路南下，並拍攝成紀錄片《南亞地緣》。（本條目摘錄、改寫自《東華日報》）

K**Kampuchea Krom Blvd 128 甘隆街**

目的；地標；標誌物；象徵著舊時代機會主義者所締造的榮光。

「甘」（Kampuchea），柬埔寨；「隆」（Krom）下面的。「下面的柬埔寨」源自於柬埔寨人對越南的稱呼，由於過去南越也屬於

柬埔寨的領土，所以有了下柬（越南）的說法。甘隆街原是越南移民與臺灣商人在內戰爆發（1997）前在金邊共同經營的商店街。當時臺灣商人從拜林（Pailin）取得寶石後，就在甘隆街展示、販售，極盛期，半條甘隆街的店舖都屬於同一位臺商所有。

Kheang Meang Heang 高民漢

1960年在金邊出生的第二代廣東移民，紅色高棉結束後與家人到白色大樓（White Building）生活，在白色大樓因為金界賭場第三期建案拆除後，與家人搬遷到水井六村。

高民漢成長的年代恰是這個世界竭盡所能地背叛傳統價值的時代：避孕藥、LSD、迪斯科，他有幸在戰火來臨前一瞥柬埔寨的繁華，可秉持著華人「不忘本」的傳統，高民漢從未受到外在的蠱惑，也未成為他們當中的一分子。

他畢業於華僑學校，中文讀寫流利，只講廣東話，吃米飯配炒熟的蔬菜、香腸，柬埔寨色彩鮮豔而味道濃郁的香料從未出現在他家的餐桌上。過去，他因為不識高棉文而吃了不少悶虧，生活困頓，但在中國投資大量進入柬埔寨後，生活從來不是問題。目前他在中國企業擔任工程領班，以能夠參與中國的「一帶一路」建設為榮。

Korng Samach 高莎曼

最後一批離開鑽石島的居民之一，1996年從泰柬邊境回到戰亂方歇的金邊，直到2009年搭上政府前往八社區的卡車為止，他在鑽石島遊蕩了13年，依賴城市產生的各式零工餬口。

離開時鑽石島時，行政官員承諾所有住戶，將以8,500美金買下他們在鑽石島的棲身之所，或提供一棟供應自來水與電力的全新平

房。在漂流半生後，他選擇了後者，與鑽石島周邊的10戶人家一起來到八社區。

他是經歷過戰爭的人，現實早已磨掉他想像的能力，他只相信厄運、美金與今天穿在身上的衣服。果然，當初沒有與他一起離開的鑽石島居民當中，有人什麼都沒拿到。

L

Landlord 房東

：此處禁止吸食毒品（*Please don't take drugs here*）

M

Mess Vern & Mey Sarerat 米沃與梅莎拉拉

水井六村的居民，來自白色大樓的40歲夫妻檔。平日Mess Vern推著推車兜售混合了辣椒與香茅的炒鹹蜆，Mey Sarerat在家經營小型雜貨點店。兩人的居所是標準的四公尺乘六公尺配給房，附一間蹲式廁所與磚造流理台，在Mey Sarerat吊上紅色格紋門簾遮蔽廚房的雜亂後，只剩下淺淺的客廳，不得不另外隔了木作夾層二樓，充當睡覺與堆放雜物的地方。

Mess Vern與Mey Sarerat的客廳有著過分的簡潔，面對房門的左側是Mess Vern午睡休憩的地方，滲水的牆壁前堆著一紅一綠兩只被壓扁的靠枕，與一套舊卡拉OK設備，除此之外再沒有其他家具，Mess Vern閒暇時便側臥在地上，倚著靠枕發楞。右側是Mey Sarerat的雜貨店。雖說是雜貨店，但其實只有一座沒擺滿的鐵架，

18 架上擺了桶裝水與疏落幾罐飲料。

Mess Vern與Mey Sarerat認為水井六村的生活比白色大樓來得好些，雖然距離城市遙遠，工作選擇少，但有穩定供給自來水的住家。Mey Sarerat希望多賺些錢，擁有一座擺滿商品的鐵架。

N

Naga World 金界賭場

金邊最大且合法的賭場，匯聚了所有渴望成名致富的投機份子，為鑽石島周邊帶來源源不絕的商機。旁邊就是廚師工作的飯店，閒暇時廚師得陪著中國籍的廚房經理到此玩樂，買單；林女士晚餐後偶爾來此玩樂，她說：「玩一局100、200美元，一頓飯的飯錢而已，有什麼玩不起？」外派線上遊戲工程師的工作內容，與之有極高的相似性。高民漢參與過周邊的建設工程，Mess Vern兜售炒鹹蜆時的必經之地，過去是Korng Samach工作後小憩的地方；Ryhorn與Zheap Sreang的孩子們玩耍的荒地。

O

Overseas Chinese 華僑

BKK，從蘭卡寺（Wat Langka）到大官寺（Wat Moha Montrei）之間的278路，有三分之一屬林家姊妹所有。

林家祖父出身廣東仕紳人家，能讀懂算、略識草藥，民初時為了躲避戰火，搭船來到柬埔寨，娶了同船的女子為妻。頭幾年依靠沿街叫賣雜貨生活，後來生意穩定，這才在金邊置產，有了自己的店鋪。

祖父身體硬朗，一生堅信「工字不出頭，出頭就是土；生字才出頭，意是稱心如意，立、日、心，日日有進財」，以商傳家。子女都手把手地教了經商與草藥，但只有兩個孫女學全了：三孫女置下偌大產業後，到澳洲享清福，偶爾到新加坡做身體檢查時才順道回柬埔寨巡視；四孫女留在柬埔寨，管著旅社、磚廠、土地投資生意。

四孫女林女士在19歲那年碰上紅色高棉，初中還沒來得及畢業，就隨著家人被軍隊趕到鄉下勞動。那幾年，家人被拆散到不同公社，一人一天只配給兩根玉米充飢，林女士思念母親時，只能趁著半夜偷偷跑去母親所在的公社探望。待戰爭結束後，林女士從鄉下走了三天回到金邊，在荒廢的舊家前等了一個月，12名兄弟姐妹只等到八名，其餘皆餓病而死。

不幸中的大幸是，林女士等到了父母，祖父也撐過了紅色高棉，還來得及在閉眼前看準這個百廢待興的國家的商機，讓餘下八名孫女都去學了製磚生意，才撒手人寰。

起初，林女士在金邊買地是為了擴大製磚廠規模，追逐日益增加的建設需求所帶來的市場。隨著土地與資本累積，林女士與其他姊妹聯手買下了三分之一條278路，開啟了旅館副業，在旅遊業剛興起的那幾年，接待外國旅客為家族帶來豐厚的收入。後來土地轉手變成一筆生意，林女士做起土地投資，在跨國開發公司密切造訪柬埔寨的那幾年，轉賣市中心的土地給臺灣建設公司。

近幾年隨著西哈努克港的開發，林女士也在當地買下幾公頃土地。中國開發企業老闆曾來找林女士，開價200萬美金要求轉讓。林女士不怎麼樂意，她說：「我若是現在就把土地賣了，可不就提前揮霍光了兒孫的財富？」

Phum orndoug 6 水井六村

為了因應都市計劃從金邊市中心遷出的居民而興建的社會住宅，距離市中心約一小時車程，位於堆谷電視塔的西北方，靠近工業區。由10排平房組成，每排平房分成數十間四公尺、六公尺見方的獨立單位，一單位為一戶，入口處設有醫院，社區四周環繞著稻田與工廠。

水井六村的居民來自於鑽石島、伯雷奇拉（Bory Keyla）與白色大樓，過去仰賴城市的短期勞力需求謀生，如建築工人、裁縫、煮飯女傭等。在舊居所因為都市計劃拆除並遷居郊區後，他們試著以過去習得的技能在村中經營雜貨店與小買賣；也有人以社會住宅作為抵押，借貸償還債務或籌措生意本金，更多時候，他們仍然想辦法接近城市以取得更多生存資源。

社區裡，只有位處邊緣的人們相互推擠著、輾壓著朝不可知的未來前進。2019年時Kheang Meang Heang、Mess Vern與Mey Sarerat、Reith、Ryhorn、Zheap Sreang住在這。

Plov Tom Mop Toul Kork 妓女街

經歷過聯合國柬埔寨臨時權力機構（United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia）過渡期的紅燈區，位於水井六村前往市區的路上。整個1990年代都被來自越南的性工作者佔據，以一次兩美金的價格誘惑著金邊浪子。隨著金邊的都市開發計劃，妓女街已經轉變為汽車工業區，排屋的售價也從1990年代的四千美金，飛漲到今日的百萬美金。

Quiet 安靜

他們來到鑽石島，租下最昂貴的房子，就為了待在房子裡。人們只能從水電維修工人口中得知他們講中文、多數時候在玩電腦，其餘的，一概不曉。每年十月是島上的換房季，接續中國的十一長假，有些人返回中國，直到隔年春節過後才回來；也有人再也不回來，他們總是一群一群地來去，但永遠有人留在島上。聽說數年前，他們曾經在金邊舉辦過盛大的跨國聚會，為了迎接包機前來的夥伴，他們幾乎包下金邊市中心所有的旅館，這就是他們遺留在金邊居民記憶裡，最吵雜的聲音了。又過了半年，隨著破獲跨國詐騙集團的新聞，他們全消失了，最近才零星地回到島上。

R

Reith 赫蕾

水井六村的居民，16歲結婚後隨丈夫般到鑽石島附近生活，因金邊市中心的土地開發計劃，與鑽石島的幾戶家庭共同遷居水井六村。

在政府配給的住屋外，Reith與丈夫又另外買下後方的住家，打通兩戶的牆壁充作一間使用。白天Reith的丈夫外出販售炒鹹蜆，Reith在住家一側開設雜貨店，由於天氣炎熱，前後兩戶門都改成了折疊式拉門門面，雜貨店營業時打開前後拉門通風，Reith懸著粉色紗帳的床鋪便這樣尷尬地，與成排的糖果、汽水一同展示在顧客眼前。

2019年六月，Reith的丈夫在賣炒鹹蜆的途中因車禍去逝，留下Reith與五名孩子，最小的男孩還未滿三歲。Reith的雜貨店一天大

約可以賺20美金，她希望能在經營雜貨店之外接更多工作，提高收入，離開治安不佳的水井六村。

Ryhorn 里沃爾

1976年出生，Zheap Sreang的鄰居，兩人帶著孩子一起從鑽石島來到了水井六村。現在Ryhorn與三名孩子、兩名孫子一起住，平日在村裡販售添加了各式人工調味醬的廉價冰品。

Ryhorn的人生在30歲後，就與丈夫、孩子、工作、鑽石島綁在一起了，隨著她遷居水井六村，丈夫也離開她。當Ryhorn手邊有些零錢時，她會讓孫子去買袋炒鹹蜆，祖孫三人坐在鄰居回收的廢鐵皮上，吐蜆殼取樂。由於水井六村的居民收入普遍偏低，購買冰品的顧客不多，經濟困窘下，Ryhorn向銀行賣掉了政府配給的房子，再以每個月25美金的價格租回房子。

來到水井六村以後，Ryhorn曾經回到舊時居所一次，看著與過去截然不同、有如天堂般美麗的島嶼，悵然若失，猶豫著不敢跨過連接金邊市與鑽石島的橋。

S

Sihanokville 西哈努克港

简称「西港」，位于柬埔寨西南海岸线上的西哈努克港，以西哈努克亲王名字命名。是柬埔寨最大的海港，首都金边外柬埔寨第二大城市，目前是全柬唯一一个经济特区，其地位类似中国的深圳。西港建于1950年以后，为鼓励投资，1998年立为免税港。战时西哈努克港曾改名为磅逊港，1990年代又恢复西哈努克港之名。

近年随着当地经济的发展，原本具有的得天独厚的自然景观得到外界的认可，欧美和中国背包客络绎不绝地赶到这里，为这里的沙滩、海浪深深吸引。作为一个新兴岛屿的旅游热点，风光、沙滩不亚于马尔地夫、帛琉。如今的西港赌场林立，物价高昂，秩序混乱，因中柬关系密切，中国游客大受欢迎，约占访客总量90%。

西港目前处在大开发阶段，百业待兴，具有很多商业机会。（本條目摘錄自《百度百科》，2020年。）

I

Tool 工具

7 CNY : 1USD : 4000 KHR

Taiwan investors 臺商

情感認同複雜的族群，見 **Abroad**（海外）、**BKK**、**Bubble Economy**（泡沫經濟）、**Great Migration**（大遷徙）、**Hierarchy**（階層）、**Investment tour**（賞房團）、**Kampuchea Krom Blvd 128**（甘隆街）、**Naga World**（金界賭場）、**Overseas Chinese**（華僑）、**WeChat**（微信）、**Xmas**（聖誕節）。

U

Utopia 理想國

前共產主義份子離開共產主義國家後，在擁有共產主義歷史的新國家所產生的，對於共產主義的檢討：

- ①必須擁有一座封閉的島嶼，以島嶼作為最後的革命基地，邀請擁有各式專長的人們共同生活；
- ②居住在島嶼上的人們思想必須盡可能地相近並且純粹；
- ③為了杜絕貪污的一切可能形式，島嶼上只可用以物易物的形式進行必要物資的交換；
- ④公平、公正與公開：島嶼上所有事務都必須經由投票決定；
- ⑤去除過去陋習所帶來的干擾；文字不是必要的溝通工具，必要時，島上可以另行創造出一套溝通方法。

V

Victory 成功

- ①首先，你的體力就是最好的資產，你可以到垃圾堆裡撿拾可販售的廢棄物或是到工地擔任臨時工。記住，每日所得必須存一塊美金到你不會想要花掉的地方，比如說，屋頂的某個角落，如果可以，酒還是暫時不要喝吧。
- ②接下來，你可能會有一些些錢，等等，先別急著買下剛剛你腦海裡出現的那些商品—傳統木雕護欄的嘟嘟車一天租借費用是二美金，比較新一些的金屬殼嘟嘟車一天租借費用是三美金。你可以付一點費用給Pass App或者Grab App，加入他們的嘟嘟車司機網，獲得穩定的客源，也可以自行到街上承攬生意。如果你要加入Pass App或Grab App的嘟嘟車司機群，你得先買一支智慧型手機，（OPPO的價格還挺實惠的）還有網路卡，不需要太貴的，能夠隨時連接App即可；如果你要到街上承攬生意，金邊市

三小時的旅遊行程公定價大約在10~15美金之間，這一筆收入絕對足夠你支付嘟嘟車一天的租金，可是購買這些旅遊行程的多是外國觀光客，如果可以，他們會希望司機陪他們聊聊天、介紹一下景點，你最好去學點英文或中文。

- ③現在你一天的收入大約在15~20美金之間，你可以認真地存一些錢了，考慮申請個銀行帳戶，避免遺失或是被搶劫的風險。如果你決定以觀光嘟嘟車服務作為你的主要收入來源，利用業餘時間到NGO開設的英文補習班上課，另外，他們是挑剔的外國人，永遠記得保持嘟嘟車座位的乾淨，如果可以，花點心思裝飾一下嘟嘟車會更好，也不要忘了隨時以Pass App、Grab App增加額外收入。
- ④你已經有一點存款，也開始有穩定的收入了。永遠不要忘記：「學習是邁向成功的不二法門。」我想你對嘟嘟車的駕駛技術已經駕輕就熟，需要來些挑戰，「汽車」將會是你邁向下一階段成功人生的幫手。你的存款將在支付汽車頭期款時派上用場，擁有汽車之後，你就可以上路並且向顧客收取更高額的費用，來償還每月的貸款。
- ⑤現在，你可以恢復喝酒的習慣了，你已經還完汽車貸款、擁有一部車、銀行存款，你可以考慮經營其他事業繼續增加你的收入。

—來自嘟嘟車出租店老闆Proum Veasna的建議，他經商的參考書籍是Robert Kiyosaki的《富爸爸·窮爸爸》（*Rich Dad, Poor Dad*, 1997）

WeChat 微信

機會主義者連結世界與彼此的血管，擁有一套特殊的語言，真假難辨，必須掌握特殊的閱讀技巧才能夠進入世界陰暗而豐沛的血液當中。

X'mas 聖誕節

全世界的風景只有在聖誕節這一天是相同的，從他被父親騙來柬埔寨後過了十年，聖誕節一直是他最享受的節日之一。

他來柬埔寨的前一年，就讀的國際學校剛發生勒索案。一名不滿韓國餐廳老闆打罵的柬埔寨員工攜帶私槍闖入校園，意圖挾持老闆的兒子，過程中還射殺一名哭鬧的加拿大男童。但這並沒有使他的父親渴望在異國一展身手的雄心退怯，接來了母親與他，展開在柬埔寨的生活。

當時道路還沒鋪上柏油，風一吹就是一頭一臉的黃沙，家裡用的是未過濾的混濁地下水，他永遠記得學校裡，外交官家庭出身的孩子身上永遠帶著清新的肥皂味，只有自己的身上有著洗不去揮不走的鐵鏽味。他的父親看準了潔淨水源難求所帶來的商機，開了洗衣公司，專門為大飯店清洗高級寢具，直到當地人也學會了淨水技術，爭相分食市場，這才退休。

那個時候臺灣的電視購物熱潮剛興起，商品名錄也涵蓋東南亞旅遊套裝行程，在朋友介紹下，他的母親接了一團臺灣客人，並在

2013年正式開始經營旅行社。經營沒多久，隨著中國人的湧入與旅行市場的激烈競爭，他與母親很快就發現了資金不充裕的小旅行社，難以與中國人開設的旅行連鎖服務削價競爭，他決定以自己的中、柬、英三語優勢進入香港跨國企業在鄰近278路的精品店工作，分攤家計。

柬埔寨在他身上訓練了完美的生存技術，他懂得尋覓優良大麻的管道；他知道如何迴避惡意；他熟悉所有酒吧的特調並在酒精中保持清醒，一年當中只有聖誕節這日，他感謝自己擁有這些技術。

Y

Yellow 黃色

象徵富裕的顏色。廣告。雕像。皇宮。寺廟。土地。鐵皮屋頂。衣服。糖果。鴨蛋黃。乳瑪琳。

Z

Zheap Sreang 仁莎鈴

她出生於紅色高棉結束那年，但並未因此躲過厄運。她有一張不同於柬埔寨人的臉，顴骨太高、嘴唇太薄，乾燥發黃的頭髮紮成一束，垂散在臉旁。按金邊的審美標準，Zheap Sreang可能有西北傣族的血統。但她的臉是水井六村女人的臉：滿布細紋與曬斑，嘴唇總是缺乏血色，黃濁濁地眼睛充滿疲倦。在她成長時，她吞食飢餓與窮困維生，等她長到足以從子宮孕育出新生命時，她也只曉得以飢餓與窮困餵養她的孩子。

她結過兩次婚，也離過兩次婚，生了七個孩子，過去與家人住在白色大樓，後來因為火災，搬遷到鑽石島附近，搭建簡陋的帳棚生活。在第五、第六個孩子出生時，她摘取鑽石島上的芒果製作小吃、沿街販售，養活她與前六個孩子。2016年九月六日，她與家人搭上政府安排的列車，成了水井六村的居民。

她的女兒在被英國男友拋棄後返家，與她所有的孩子同住，生了美麗的混血女嬰。女嬰的出生填補了這家的不幸，那吹彈可破、如外國人般潔白無瑕的肌膚，象徵著這片土地無法掙得的富裕與健康，也適度彌補祖母Zheap Sreang的缺憾。她為女嬰打了耳洞、戴上金耳環，帶著女嬰讓遠來的訪客拍照，期待有朝一日，女嬰能夠代替她們，遠離被遺棄的命運。

Koh Pich's ABC's

/ Li Kuei-Pi

Translator: Chung Yi-ting; Copyeditor: Li Kuei-pi, Rikey Tenn

Cambodia is currently experiencing a neo-colonialism operated in the name of development aid. The emergence of Koh Pich (Diamond Island) has revealed the symbol of such issue, among which consists of all kinds of communities that have been trying to dominate the resources, and a share of those communities originated from Taiwan. In recent years, even though issues related to Southbound national culture exchanges and postcolonial narratives are much discussed in Taiwan, there is a lack of reflection on Taiwan's role in Koh Pich. When I first set foot on Koh Pich in 2016, it was the time when the island was experiencing its development period; when I visited Koh Pich again in 2019, apart from the increase of buildings, a large number of Chinese enterprises and rental advertisements began to show up. My hope is to preserve some records for the island that has been exposed to drastic changes and to explore what Koh Pich has experienced for the last past century. With the assistance of local friends, I found some people who used to be the residences of Koh Pich and tried to recover the island's original appearance. The *Koh Pich's ABC's* was accomplished through the collection of relevant interviews and data, and certain sensitive information was modified in the article.

Koh Pich is a sedimentary land located in Cambodia's capital Phnom Penh. Its formation was due to the Mekong river and Basa river's alluvium and the change of flow directions. The first official document that mentioned Koh Pich appeared in a 1910 Phnom Penh irrigation channel plan drafted by the French colonial government. At the time, Koh Pich was still only a sandbank, and it was referred to as Koh Tauch Del Roporye. Such document is still preserved in Cambodia's national archive. With the change of regime, Koh Pich is still remembered as Koh Klong (the island of madness) in the collective memory of the Phnom Penh residents who age over 60. The word on the street is that it used

to be the place where patients of Hansen's disease and ethnic minorities were managed collectively; in the memory of the Phnom Penh residents aging from 30 to 40, the island is a barren land full of mango trees. A local newspaper clipping from the early 1990s shows the picture of a long and narrow Koh Pich with some traces of farming and some randomly-built corrugated iron houses. In 2006, Koh Pich was purchased by the Overseas Cambodia Investment Corporation (OCIC) under K. Wah group. They increased the island area through land reclamation, trying to build Koh Pich as Phnom Penh's special district and satellite city. They replicated numerous worldly-renowned architectures such as the Arc de Triomphe in France and recruited a considerable amount of Chinese and Taiwanese construction companies to develop the place — this is how the name "Koh Pich" took shape.

Abroad 海外

- ①The Arc de Triomphe of Koh Pich, 8-and-a-half-story high, 960m² in total. The elevator of the storefront on the first floor had been installed, ready to be used as a merchandise store; the second to the eighth floor still consisted of unfinished walls, but they could be used as a hotel. The monthly rent costs US\$3,800, the deposit is six months' rent, and the contract lasts for ten years.
- ②The Élysée Palace of Koh Pich, a nine-story compound. Its one-bedroom apartment costs US\$750 per month, two-bedroom apartment costs US\$1,600 per month, and three-bedroom apartment costs US\$4,000 per month.
- ③The Diamond Island Rivera is currently under construction. With 330,000 m² of gross building floor area, it consists of the shopping mall, apartment, parking lot, 150 meters high sky lounge, and sky pool. Its listing price is US\$3,281 per square meter.
- ④The Morgan Tower of Koh Pich is a 210 meters high, 46-story office building that is currently under construction. The project costs US\$1.6 billion in total, and the tower is scheduled to include a 4000 m² sky lounge, sky pool, sky bar, restaurants, private offices, and helipad. Its listing price is US\$3,657 per square meter.

B**Beung Kok Lake 班公各湖**

As a result of Phnom Penh's land development project, this endorheic

lake disappeared in 2015. The lake locates close to the National Television of Kampuchea (TVK). There used to be a traditional fishing village nearby the lake, but it has been replaced by a modern community full of tall buildings. Many Taiwanese investors reside here.

BKK

Diplomatic quarter; downtown; the "Daan district" of Phnom Penh.

This rectangle quarter is bordered by Monivong Boulevard and Norodom Boulevard on its east and west side, Sihanouk Boulevard and Mao Tse Toung Boulevard on its north and south side. As a central business area that enjoys safety and great public transport, many embassies and global brands in Phnom Penh are located here. To accommodate the overflowing foreign investors and housing demand, it has continued to expand the construction number of modern apartments in recent years.

This district is usually the first stop of investors' survey tours in Phnom Penh. Its real estate ROI (return on investment) hits 6%, and its house price continues to grow. Even after the political unrest brought by the 2018 Presidential Election and the recent rumors about the housing bubble, the market remains strong, as one can often bump into buyers from Singapore, Taiwan, and China.

"The 352 Platinum I. Apartment", "Imperial Crown" and "The View" are current construction projects led by Taiwanese Investors in Boeung Keng Kang (BKK).

Bubble Economy 泡沫經濟

An opportunist will never give up any opportunity for success, even if

traps are hiding underneath.

This is what he believes. He participated in the Taiwanese real estate market during the Financial Crisis in 2008 and subsequently experienced the implementation of luxury tax in 2011 and the Integrated Housing and Land Tax System in 2016. Struggling to navigate amongst the increasingly severe real estate investment market, he sells real estates as well as buying and investing in them. But all of these never falter his desire for wealth. Perhaps the plight that his ancestors had experienced while fleeing to Taiwan still haunted somewhere deep down in the decedents' hearts even after generations, expressing itself through their overly bony limbs and unusual tenacity when it comes to survival. He believes that he is the only dominator of his life, thereby despise all sort of agreements and principles, showing no interest in future way beyond reach.

He first visited Koh Pich in 2014. Back then the constructions on the island were yet to begin, all one could see was a stretch of dusty land with yellow dirt. But quickly enough, he spotted a silver lining. He recalled that there were only five modern-style service apartments in BKK and they were always full. The rent of a 50m² apartment is US\$1,500 per month, and the house price is US\$3,600 per square meter, which in turn results in the ROI (return of investment) as high as 10%. he fell in love with this stranger's land quickly, and soon after the infrastructure construction was completed, he became one of the earliest residents and real estate consultants. The historical moments in which he had participated include: the exceptional situation during 2014-2016 when the Taiwanese bought 80 percent of the apartments on the island, swarming Chinese trade mission after Li Keqiang's visit to Cambodia in 2018.

He never indulges in stability. He understands that there are way too

many low-price suites, a product as the market caters to the investors; the ROI will decrease yearly as the political and economic situation stabilizes, or it might also be entirely destroyed by a disaster out of the blue. He will grasp the next opportunity, and leave Koh Pich.

C

Chef 廚師

Jiangsunese; born and raised in the rural area; did not graduate from middle school; has been a chef for fifteen years.

His first trip abroad is to work at a Chinese hotel in Sihanohkville. The hotel is right next to a casino. Only eighteen days from the opening day, the hotel was involved in a Sino-Cambodian operation that aims to investigate the illegal gambling industry, and thereby had to close its business together with the casino. Through the introduction of a friend, he came to Phnom Penh and continued to work in a Chinese hotel near Naga World casino and Koh Pich.

Every day, he wakes up around noon, starts working around 3 pm, and finishes around 3 am on the next day. He is in charge of making cold dishes and vegetable carvings. He usually spends his few spare hours before work on WeChat groups. He has three main chatting groups on WeChat: one for work, a network where chefs exchange information of recipe and working opportunities; one for personal life, through which he contacts his family in China; the last one for traveling and living abroad, filled with all sorts of document agency and other information. The last WeChat group is also his main source of information.

Throughout the brief thirty-five years of his life, he spent ten years

thinking about how he could leave China. Both of his grandparents died during the struggle of the Cultural Revolution, and his parents belong to a generation of silence. Quietly, he participated in the protests of rural China behind his parents' back, being oppressed, and left the countryside. The village where he was born is far too remote that no one is willing to, or dare to, write down the injustice that took place there.

After he learned how to use WeChat, making friends became his biggest hobby: smugglers, professors, and tobacco and wine merchants. He gradually formed his worldview based on this platform full of lies, but after he learned how to distinguish truth from lies, he realized that he only has one way left to go.

His ultimate goal is to arrive at a place where one can vote. Demonstrating the patience and perseverance he has developed through garnishing, he found a way to go abroad. Cambodia may not be perfect, but before he figures out a way to set off for the next destination, he will stay here temporarily.

Chinese 中國人

Zhejiangese; worked as a realtor in Phnom Penh for almost three months; only speaks Chinese.

In his first week in Phnom Penh, he already learned to show his clients properties in Koh Pich or BKK with a second-hand motorcycle. Most of his clients are Chinese who have some spare money to spend but not to the extent of extravagance, managing some small business in Chinese while living a life without purpose. After listening to investment consultant's opinions and reading Cambodian investment advertisements that went viral on WeChat, they started to fantasize about a life in which

one goes abroad, makes fortune overnight, and returns with great wealth. They pay little attention to the quality of their food and accommodation. Additionally, as long as the property's location is not too bad for a shop, it only takes a glimpse or two before they decide to rent it. However, usually after months of business management, the rental board would be put up again, and the property returns to the housing company's advertisement section.

His supervisor is a Chinese Cambodian, in her early 40s, fluent in four languages including Chinese, English, French, and Khmer. He calls her Miss Yang with great respect. Miss Yang is in charge of assisting the company to deal with the industry in Phnom Penh. Her arrival time is usually near noon, and her work covers from fire safety inspection, police inspection, Cambodian landlord's complaint with the rental property, to foreign buyer's demand for purchase and rental. There is a young man working under her, also a Chinese Cambodian. He speaks awkward Chinese, always late, and spends his money on new watch and clothes immediately after he receives a salary. Just a month after he starts working, he purchased a brand-new motorcycle.

Every day at 3 in the afternoon, the young man will buy snacks from the street vendor at the door – either sweet soup or rice paper roll, and one portion each for himself and Miss Yang. He once tried one rice paper roll out of curiosity, but simply couldn't bear with that chili fish sauce mixed with a strong smell. After grudgingly finishing it, he has never touched another piece. Usually people speak Chinese in the company, but from time to time, he bumps into the young man and Miss Yang, avoiding him and talking in Khmer with their voice lowered. He felt somehow frustrated to be treated as if a thief that needs to beware of. All of us are clearly CHINESE!

Koh Pich 鑽石島

*For the New World is like heaven
 And we'll all be rich and free
 Or so we have been told
 By The Virginia Company
 For glory, God and gold
 And The Virginia Company
 On the beaches of Virginny
 There's diamonds like debris
 There's silver rivers flow
 And gold you pick right off a tree*

– Excerpted from "The Virginia Company", the opening song of the 1995 animation *Pocahontas*. Ice cream vendors in Phnom Penh use the melody as the ice cream trolley music, playing while they travel with the ice cream cart. Koh Pich is one of the places where they used to visit.

E**Eight Communities 八社區**

A social housing community located in the suburb of Phnom Penh, close to National Road No.4. The first batch of residents who had to leave Koh Pich due to an urban planning project was settled here.

The Eight Communities are composed of eight communities, and they occupy ten hectares in total. Every community consists of 200 townhouses which are either 4 x 8m² or 4 x 6m², and all of them are

equipped with a toilet, kitchen, and front porch. There are a primary school and a market nearby the Eight Communities, and the nearest public hospital is within half an hour walking distance. However, since the area is still far from the city center, there are only 200 families living here. Most of them suffer from poverty and have nowhere else to go. They work as food vendors and part-time workers in the factories on National Road 4 to make ends meet.

Ren Jiangtu (任江土), the manager of the Eight Communities, recalls, when he just moved to the Eight Communities, there is no tap water here. Although it gained tap water and electricity in recent years, the community still faces the issue of its roads being severely damaged. At the moment, they can only rely on NGO organizations' fundraising to gather the repair expenses of the public facilities.

Although the location of the Eight Communities is remote and not easily accessible, it was able to in turn avoid certain malpractices: As social housings usually lack supplemental measures and proper management from the government, it is not uncommon that residents resell or rent out the social housings, some even use it as a collateral to pay off their debts. However, since the market value of the Eight Communities is extremely low, none of the above events have happened. It also prevented their residents from the situation in which they may be tricked into borrowing money from the loan shark, not being able to pay off the debt, and as a result, losing their accommodation.

Korng Samach lives here.

Famine 飢荒

Through his keen observation of the ingredients in the trading market as a chef and the natural fear towards hunger that is wired in his gene and passed down through generations, he knew that the famine is coming soon.

Last century, more than twenty million people were starved to death as the country where he was born implemented a communist experiment; last century, more than two million people were starved to death in the country where he works also because of communist ideals. Perhaps in terms of historical experiences, communism is a kind of trans-border "starvationism." As long as one does not give up on the concept of communism as a means to pursue ideal life, under the rationing system filled with flaws and human greed, hunger crawls in the shadow, eagerly awaits any chance to engulf people.

He believes that the China–United States trade war only marks the beginning of a famine to come. With the non-transparency of information and endless malpractices, sooner than later, the poverty brought by unequal resource distribution and lack of job opportunities will become the main cause of global famine. As a chef, all he can do is to store food and extend its longevity for his family, as well as secretly spreading the news of a forthcoming famine to more people — not unlike the evangelism in the early period.

Before the shortage of pork in the Chinese market in 2018, he had already bought two freezers and a huge batch of pork that is cleansed, marinated, and preserved at low temperatures. The original recipe requires 500g of pork with 100g of salt, but when it became almost impossible to purchase pork, he served 500g of pork with 500g of salt. This sends an alarming message.

He doubled the amount of rice, flour, and soybean entering the cellar he built for his family.

43

Even after his arrival in Cambodia, he couldn't bear to let his guard down. To prepare for a famine that may strike in the future, he has trained himself to eat rice, salt, and water as his main course. In 2020, even before the China–United States trade war has drawn to an end, his storage has come in handy for his family during the COVID-19 lockdown.

G

Great Migration 大遷徙

Mostly from developing countries, they are composed of international investors, gamblers incited by capitalism, and capitalists who could not transfer their property due to the limitation of domestic law — all of them move around the world to chase after profits.

To curb property speculation resulted from overseas investment, in 2013, the Malaysian government increased the minimum purchase price for foreigners to acquire property in Kuala Lumpur from 500,000RM to 1,000,000RM. As a result, people gradually left Malaysia for Cambodia. While Phnom Penh and Sihanoukville's housing markets had experienced ups and downs from 2018 to 2019, entering into 2020, due to an oversupply of apartments in Malaysia, the Malaysian government has prepared to lower the threshold for foreign buyers again to 600,000RM. As the world is under the shadow of COVID-19, they are prepared to move again.

Hierarchy 階層

Taiwanese, expatriate gaming engineer, base salary: US\$3,000

Taiwanese, expatriate civil engineer, base salary: US\$2,000

Taiwanese, expatriate realtor, base salary: US\$1,800

Chinese, expatriate manager of a construction company, base salary:
US\$1,500

Cambodian, salesperson of a construction company, base salary:
US\$700

Cambodian, bilingual salesperson of a jewelry company, base salary:
US\$500

Cambodian, construction worker. base salary: US\$200

I**Investment tour 賞房團**

This marketing technique originates from Century 21 Real Estate's marketing model that applied to their seven branches in Phnom Penh. Starting from the "Bali Resort and Apartment" series, a collaboration with a Taiwanese construction company released in 2013, investment tour has become one of the common marketing modes among all major real estate agencies in Cambodia.

Journey 旅行

Founded in 2016, the China Driving Union is a road trip service platform composed of Chinese around the world. Embracing the ideas of "mutual benefit, common development, joint contribution" and promoting exchange projects between China and other countries through road trip culture, the Union had founded branches in different countries. In 2017, the branch of Cambodia was founded in Phnom Penh.

To promote the Belt and Road Initiative road trip economic corridor, in 2019, the China Driving Union held a 20-day road trip ranging from China, Cambodia, Laos to Thailand. They departed from the Yuxi river of Yunnan, went through immigration at the Mohan port of Xishuangbanna, and went all the way south. All of these are filmed in the documentary "The Road to Southbound". (This article is excerpted and adapted from *Jianhuadaily*.)

K**Kampuchea Krom Blvd 128 甘隆街**

Purpose; landmark; sign; symbol of the glory created by opportunists of the old times.

"Kampuchea", the old name of Cambodia; "Krom" means "lower" or "below" in Khmer. The term "Lower Cambodia" originated from the way Cambodians refer to Vietnam. Since Southern Vietnam used to be a part of the Cambodian territory, the saying of "Lower Cambodia" (Vietnam) appeared. Originally, Kampuchea Krom Blvd was the shopping street

co-managed by Vietnamese migrants and Taiwanese businessmen in Phnom Penh before the outbreak of the 1997 Cambodian coup d'état. At the time, after Taiwanese businessmen acquired jewels in Pailin, they displayed and sold the items on Kampuchea Krom Blvd. In their heyday, around half of the stores on Kampuchea Krom Blvd belonged to a single Taiwanese businessman.

Kheang Meang Heang 高民漢

Born in Phnom Penh in 1960 as a second-generation immigrant from Guangdong, he moved to the White Building to live with his family after the Khmer Rouge. After the White Building was torn down due to Naga World's "Naga 3 project," he and his family moved to Phum Orndoug 6.

Kheang Meang Heang grew up in a period when the whole world is trying all it can to defy the traditional value: oral contraceptive pill, LSD, Disco. He is fortunate enough to take a glimpse of Cambodia's prosperity before the war, but harboring the Chinese tradition of "not forgetting one's roots," Kheang Meang Heang has never been seduced by the outside world nor did he become one of them.

He graduated from an overseas Chinese school, well-versed in reading and writing Chinese, and he only speaks Cantonese. He eats rice that served with fried vegetables and sausages.

The colorful and strong-scented Cambodian spices have never appeared on his family's dining table. In the past, he had been ripped off and struggled to make ends meet since he doesn't understand Khmer, but after a large number of Chinese investments entered Cambodia, leading a comfortable life is no longer a problem. Currently working as a construction foreman in a Chinese enterprise, he is proud to be part of China's Belt and Road Initiative construction.

As one of the last batch of residents leaving Koh Pich, he came back through the Thai-Cambodia border in 1996 and arrived in Phnom Penh which was still under the war. Up until he went on the governmental bus heading towards the Eight Communities, he had already been wandered in Koh Pich for thirteen years, depending on all kinds of part-time jobs the city offered to make a living.

When he left Koh Pich, the government officials promised all the inhabitants that the government would buy their shelter in Koh Pich for US\$8,500, or provide them with a new townhouse with running water and electricity. After wandering half of his life, he chose the latter and came to the Eight Communities with ten other families from Koh Pich.

He is someone who had been through war, and his ability to imagine has been worn out by reality. All he believes in is the misfortune, U.S. dollar, and the clothes he puts on. Sure enough, among those inhabitants who didn't leave Koh Pich with him, some of them ended up getting nothing.

L**Landlord 房東**

: Please don't take drugs here

M**Mess Vern & Mey Sarerat 米沃與梅莎拉拉**

The inhabitants of Phum orndoug 6, a couple in their 40s from the White

Building. Mess Vern usually peddles sundried salted clams mixed with chili and lemongrass with a cart while Mey Sarerat runs a small grocery store at home. Their residence is a standard 4m x 6m ration room attached with a squat toilet and a kitchen counter made out of bricks. After Mey Sarerat put up a red gingham curtain to hide the sight of mess in the kitchen, the only space left is a shallow living room. They had to build a wooden mezzanine as the second floor so that they have space to sleep and store odds and ends.

The living room of Mess Vern and Mey Sarerat is extremely simple. The right side to the door is Mess Vern's place to nap. Two flattened throw pillows, a green and a red one, and a set of old Karaoke equipment were piled in front of a wall with water seepage. These are all of their furniture. In Mess Vern's spare time, he will lie on the side and space out on the throw pillow. On the left side of the door lies Mey Sarerat's grocery store. However, the so-called grocery store is actually an empty iron shelf placed with few barreled water and drinks.

Mess Vern and Mey Sarerat consider their life in Phum Orndoug 6 better than the one in the White Building. Although Phum Orndoug 6 is a bit far from the city and provides few working options, it runs a stable water supply to the residents. Mey Sarerat hopes that she can earn more money in the future and own an iron shelf full of products.

N

Naga World 金界賭場

The largest legal casino in Phnom Penh, full of opportunists yearning for fame and wealth, attracts endless business opportunities for Koh Pich. Next to the Naga World sits the hotel where the chef works. In his spare

time, the chef has to accompany the Chinese kitchen manager to gamble in the Naga World and pay for the bill. Ms. Lin occasionally comes to the Naga World after dinner, *"one bet costs around US\$100 or 200, same as the amount for a meal, why can't I?"* said Ms. Lin. The process of the bet is similar to the working content of an expatriate game engineer. Kheang Meang Heang used to participate in the nearby construction. Mess Vern always passes by when selling salted clams, where Korng Samach used to nap after work, and the vacant lot which is the playground of Ryhorn and Zheap Sreang's children.

O

Overseas Chinese 華僑

One-third of road No. 278 in between Wat Langka and Wat Moha Montrei in BKK belongs to the Lin sisters.

Lin family's grandfather was born in a Guangdong gentry family. He could read, calculate, and knows a little bit about herbal medicine. To avoid the war that broke out in the early republican period in China, he boarded on a boat that ended up in Cambodia and married a woman who was also on the same boat. In his first few years in Cambodia, he relied on peddling along streets to make ends meet. It was not until his business became financially stable that he was able to purchase a property in Phnom Penh and own his own shop.

The grandfather who is hale and hearty believes that *"worker will not succeed, only businessman will bring in the fortune."* Following such doctrine, he passed down his business skills to his children, taught them the knowledge of business management and herbal medicine. However, only two of his granddaughters fully absorbed such teaching: the third

granddaughter left the whole industry behind and headed to Australia for a carefree life. She only stops by Cambodia when she occasionally goes to Singapore for a physical examination. The fourth granddaughter who remains in Cambodia is in charge of managing hotels, brick factories, and land investments.

The fourth granddaughter Ms. Lin encountered the Khmer Rouge when she was 19. Even before she was able to graduate from middle school, Ms. Lin, together with her family, was forced to work in the countryside by the military. During those years, family members were separated and assigned to different communes, and each person only gets two ears of corn per day for food. When Ms. Lin missed her mother, she could only secretly visit her mother's commune during the middle of the night. When the war was over, Ms. Lin walked for three days to return to Phnom Penh, and she waited for a month in front of the old deserted home. Only eight of the twelve siblings showed up, the rest of them all died from starvation.

The silver lining is that Ms. Lin's parents showed up, and her grandfather also made it through the Khmer Rouge. He was able to accurately spot the business opportunity in this wrecked country and had all of his eight grandchildren learn the business of brick manufacturing before he passed away.

At first, Ms. Lin purchased the land in Phnom Penh to increase the scale of the brick manufacturing factories, trying to meet the market expansion brought by the increasing demand for construction. With the accumulation of land and capital, Ms. Lin and her other sisters bought one-third of road No. 278, which led to the beginning of their sideline, hotels. During the years when the tourism industry began to take off, hosting foreign tourists brought in considerable income

for the family. After a while, land conveyance became a business in itself, and Ms. Lin began to engage in land investment. During the years when international development companies frequently visited Cambodia, she would sell the land in the city center to Taiwanese construction companies.

In recent years, as Sihanoukville began to develop, Ms. Lin also bought several acres of land there. A Chinese businessman once came to Ms. Lin, asking her to sell her lands in Sihanoukville for US\$2 million. She did not show much willingness to do so, commenting that *"if I sell the land now, isn't it like squandering all the wealth of my descendants in advance?"*

P

Phum orndoug 6 水井六村

A social housing built for accommodating inhabitants who had to move out of Phnom Penh city's center due to its urban planning. It is located around an hour's drive away from the downtown area, northwest to the National Television of Kampuchea (TVK), next to the industrial district. Composed of ten rows of townhouses, each row of townhouses is divided into dozens of 4m × 6m independent units, and each unit is considered as one household. A hospital is located by the entrance, and the community itself is surrounded by rice fields and factories.

The residents of Phum orndoug 6 came from Koh Pich, Borei Keila, and the White Building. They used to rely on short-term labor demands in the city such as construction worker, tailor, maid, etc. to make ends meet. After their old residence was torn down due to urban planning, they relocated to the suburb area and tried to manage grocery stores or

small-scale trades in the village using the skills they had learned in the past. There were also people who used social housing as collateral to pay off their debt or to raise their startup funding, but more often than not these people still try to stay close to the city so that they can obtain more resources for survival.

In the community, there are only marginalized people, moving toward the unknown future while thrusting and pressing against each other. Kheang Meang Heang, Mess Vern & Mey Sarerat, Reith, Ryhorn, and Zheap Sreang all lived here in 2019.

Plov Tom Mop Toul Kork 妓女街

A red-light district that had experienced the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia. It is located on the way from Phum Orndoug 6 to the downtown district. Throughout the 1990s, the street was occupied by Vietnamese sex workers who were seducing those Phnom Penh prodigals with the price of US\$2 each time. Following the urban planning in Phnom Penh, Plov Tom Mop Toul Kork has turned into an automobile industrial district. Since the 1990s, the price of the townhouse has also skyrocketed from US\$4,000 to over a million dollars.

Q

Quiet 安靜

They came to Koh Pich, rented the most expensive house so that they can stay indoors. People heard from the plumbers that these people speak Mandarin and play computer games most of the time, but other than that, nobody knew anything about them. Every October is the

season of the high turnover rate in the housing industry on Koh Pich. After China's National Day on October 1st, some people will return to China, and they will not be coming back until the end of the Lunar New Year. Some of them never returned. They always come and go, but there will always be some of them on the island. The word on the street is that a few years ago, they held a magnificent event in Phnom Penh to welcome their partners who chartered a private flight from Mainland China to Cambodia. They almost reserved all the hotels in Phnom Penh's city center, and this became the loudest noise they had ever made in the memory of the Phnom Penh residents. Six months after that, as the news showed that an international scam group was cracked down, they disappeared. It was not until recently that some of them gradually came back to the island.

R

Reith 赫蕾

A resident of Phum Orndoug 6. Married at 16, she moved to the area nearby Koh Pich with her husband. Under the urban planning project in Phnom Penh's city center, they moved to Phum Orndoug 6 with several other families from Koh Pich.

Apart from the accommodation assigned by the government, Reith and her husband also bought the apartment behind it, and they broke the wall between the two households to make it one unit. During the day, Reith's husband will peddle salted clams on the streets, and Reith runs a bodega next to their house. Due to the heat, they replaced both their front and back doors with folding doors. During the opening hours of the grocery store, they will open both folding doors for ventilation, leaving Reith's

bed, the pink bed curtain hanging above, and rows of candy and soda exposed awkwardly in front of the customers.

In June 2019, Reith's husband died in a car crash while selling salted clams, leaving behind Reith and five children. The youngest boy had not even turned 3 yet. Reith's grocery store can earn around US\$20 per day. She hopes that she can pick up more jobs aside from running the grocery store, increase her income, and leave the Phum Orndoug 6 that suffers from bad public security.

Ryhorn 里沃爾

Born in 1976, the neighbor of Zheap Sreang. Together with children, Ryhorn and Zheap Sreang came to Phum Orndoug 6 from Koh Pich. Ryhorn now lives with three children and two grandsons. Normally, she peddles in the village, selling low-cost ice that added all kinds of artificial seasonings.

After she turned 30, Ryhorn's life was tied with her husband, children, work, and Koh Pich. After she moved to Phum Orndoug 6, her husband left her. When Ryhorn has some spare money with her, she will let her grandchildren buy a bag of salted clams. The three of them will then sit on the neighbor's recycled iron sheet, enjoying their time by spitting out clamshells. Since the income of most residents in Phum Orndoug 6 is at the lower end of the wage spectrum, the ice business did not receive many customers. Under such a dire economic situation, Ryhorn sold the house assigned by the government to the bank, and in turn, rented the house back at the rate of US\$25 per month.

After coming to Phum Orndoug 6, Ryhorn once returned to the place she used to live. Looking at the paradise-like island that is

now completely different from the past, a sense of loss emerged, discouraging her from crossing the bridge which connects the Phnom Penh downtown and Koh Pich.

S

Sihanoukville 西哈努克港

Sihanoukville, also referred to as "Xigang" in Chinese, is located on Cambodia's Southwestern coastline. Named after the former king Norodom Sihanouk, it is the largest port and the second-largest city besides Phnom Penh in Cambodia. It is also the only special economic zone in Cambodia, similar to the position of Shenzhen in China. Xigang was built after 1950. To encourage investment, it was established as a tax haven in 1998. Sihanoukville was once renamed Kampong Som in wartime but restored the name of Sihanoukville in the 1990s.

With the development of local economics in recent years, its unique natural sceneries gained foreign recognition. European and Chinese backpackers attracted by its beach and waves began to flock into Xigang. As an emerging isle sightseeing hotspot, its scenery and beach are nothing less than Maldives and Palau. Today, Xigang witnesses a large number of casinos, a high commodity price, and a deeply troubled social order. Due to the close relationship between China and Cambodia, Xigang enjoys great popularity among Chinese tourists, which made up 90% of Xigang's total visitors.

Xigang is still experiencing a development boom, with countless business and industries awaiting their time to shine. (This article is excerpted from *Baidu Baike*, 2020.)

Tool 工具

7 CNY : 1USD : 4000 KHR

Taiwan investors 臺商

An ethnic community with intricate emotions and identities. Please refer to **Abroad, BKK, Bubble Economy, Great Migration, Hierarchy, Investment tour, Kampuchea Krom Blvd 128, Khmer Pres, Naga World Overseas Chinese, WeChat, and X'mas.**

Utopia 理想國

The following is former communists' reflection on communism, which they developed after they left their communist homeland and entered another new country with a communist history:

- ① Owning an enclosed island as a base for the final revolution, and invite people with all kinds of expertise to live together.
- ② The thought of residents must be as homogenous and as pure as possible.
- ③ Eliminating all possible forms of corruption, barter system will be the only acceptable form of trade to exchange necessary supplies on the island.
- ④ Fairness, Justice, and Transparency: all matters on the island must be

determined through voting.

57

- ⑤ Removing the obstructions caused by the corrupted customs of the past: written text is an unnecessary communication tool; if necessary, one can create another system of communication on the island.

V

Victory 成功

- ① First of all, your physical capacity is the best asset. You can collect recyclable materials available for sale from the trash pile or become a temporary worker on a construction site. Keep in mind that you have to save US\$1 per day out of your income somewhere you will not want to withdraw money from, for example, a certain corner on the roof. If possible, maybe refrain from alcohol drinking for now.
- ② Next, you might gain some money. Hold on, don't rush into buying all those commodities that just come across your mind. The rental fee for a traditional wooden tuk-tuk is US\$2 per day, and the newer kind of metal tuk-tuk costs US\$3 per day. You can also pay a small amount of fee to Pass App or Grab, join their tuk-tuk driver's network, and receive a stable customer base. Otherwise, you can also go on the streets and solicit customers by yourself. If you want to become part of Pass App or Grab App's tuk-tuk driver's network, you will need to buy a smartphone (OPPO provides pretty reasonable pricing) and a SIM card first. It doesn't need to be something expensive, just the ones that will allow you to connect to the App all the time. If you want to solicit your own business on the street, the standard pricing for a 3-hour trip in Phnom Penh is around US\$10-15, this income is more than enough for the rental fee of a tuk-tuk for an entire day. However,

most people who purchase these travel packages are foreign tourists. If possible, they prefer drivers who can provide tour guide service; you better learn a little bit of English or Chinese.

- ③ Now that your daily revenue should be around US\$15-20, you can start thinking seriously about saving some money. You can consider applying for a bank account to avoid the risk of missing money or being robbed. If you have decided to choose tuk-tuk tourist service as your main source of income, you can sign up for an English class opened by an NGO in your spare time. Additionally, they are picky foreigners, so don't forget to always keep your tuk-tuk seats clean. If possible, you can even spend some effort on decorating your tuk-tuk. Don't forget to use Pass App and Grab App to increase extra revenue as well.
- ④ You already have some savings as well as a stable income. Never forget, "*Learning is the only road towards success.*" I suppose that you have already mastered the driving of tuk-tuk, so you will need some challenge now. "A car" will be helpful to your next step towards a successful life. Your savings will be useful when you need to pay for the down payment of your car. After owning a car, you can hit the road and charge your customers a higher fee to pay for the monthly loan.
- ⑤ Now, you can resume your habit of drinking. You had repaid your car loan, and on top of that, you also possess a car and bank savings. Now you can consider starting other businesses to increase your income.

— *Suggestions from Proum Veasna, a tuk-tuk rental shop owner. He reads Robert Kiyosaki's Rich Dad, Poor Dad (1997) as a reference for his business model*

WeChat 微信

WeChat is the vein that connects the opportunists with the world and among themselves. It possesses its own unique system of language, obfuscating the line between truth and lies. One needs to master a particular reading skill to be able to enter the vein that runs a dark and rich world inside.

X**X'mas** 聖誕節

Sceneries around the world would only synchronize on Christmas day. Ten years have passed since his father deceived him into coming to Cambodia, Christmas has always remained one of his favorite holidays.

A year before his arrival in Cambodia, a school shooting took place at the international school he attended. A Cambodian restaurant staff who held a grudge against its Korean owner for maltreatment broke into the school with a private gun. The staff attempted to seize the Korean owner's son as hostage and killed a blubbering Canadian boy in the process. This incident did not discourage his father's ambition to make the most of his talent in a foreign country. After picking up him and his mother, they began their life together in Cambodia.

At the time, roads were not paved with asphalt yet. When the wind blows, one's head and body will be covered with dust all over. In his house, people drink unfiltered turbid groundwater. He will always remember those kids he met in school — born in diplomat families, those kids

always smell like fresh soap. He is the only one who always has a rusty smell that cannot be washed off. From the lack of clean tap water, his father spotted a business opportunity and started a laundry company that specialized in cleaning high-quality beddings for big hotels. It was not until local residents learned the technique of water purification and intensified the market competition that his father retired.

At the time, the trend of teleshopping just emerged in Taiwan, and its product catalog also includes package tours to Southeast Asia. Introduced by a friend, his mother hosted a group of Taiwanese visitors and officially began to run a travel agency in 2013. Not long after the business started, his mother realized that in a price war, an underfunded small travel agency could hardly compete with the chain travel services provided by the Chinese people. To share the familial financial burden, he thereby decided to utilize his advantage of speaking Chinese, Khmer, and English to work in a Hong Kongese enterprise at the nearby no.278 road.

Cambodia equipped him with the perfect survival skills. He knows the way to find fine quality marijuana; he knows how to avoid ill intentions; he is familiar with all the special cocktails made by the bartenders, and knows how to maintain his sanity while consuming alcohol. Throughout the year, Christmas is the only day when he appreciates the fact that he possesses these skills.

Y

Yellow 黃色

The color that represents wealth. Advertisement. Statue. Royal Palace. Pagoda. Land. Metal sheet roofing. Clothes. Candy. Duck egg yolk. Milkmarrine.

Zheap Sreang 仁莎鈴

She was born in the last year of the Khmer Rouge, but she was not able to avoid the misfortune. She has a face different from Cambodians: her cheekbone is too high, and her lips are too thin. Her dry and yellow hair tied together, hanging beside her face. According to the beauty standards of Phnom Penh, Zheap Sreang might be of Northwestern Thailand heritage. But she has a face of a Phum orndoug 6 woman: covered with fine lines and sunburn, her lips always pale, and her muddy eyes always full of exhaustion. Throughout her childhood, she fed on hunger and poverty for living. When she was old enough to conceive a new life in her uterus, all she could feed her children were hunger and poverty as well.

She was married twice, and she was also twice divorced. She had given birth to seven children and lived with her family in the White Building in the past. After the fire, they moved to somewhere close to Koh Pich and set up a simple tent life. When the fifth and sixth children were born, she used the mangos on Koh Pich to make desserts and peddled those sweets on the street to raise her six children. On September 6th, 2016, together with her family, she took the bus arranged by the government and became a resident in Phum Orndoug 6.

After being abandoned by the British boyfriend, her daughter returned home, lived with all of her other children, and gave birth to a beautiful mixed baby girl. The birth of this baby girl made up to the misfortune of the family. That soft and foreigner-like white skin represents the wealth and health that is out of reach of this land. It also compensates for the regret of grandma Zheap Sreang to some extent. Zheap Sreang had the baby girl's ears pierced with golden earrings, and let visitors took

pictures of the baby in the hope that, in place of them, this baby girl can stay away from the destiny of abandonment.

群島資料庫11：鑽石島小典

作者 | 李奎壁
主編 | 鄭文琦
翻譯 | 鍾宜庭
排版 | 郭硯方
校稿 | 鄭文琦、李奎壁、陳嘉壬、林怡君
出版單位 | 群島資料庫／財團法人數位藝術基金會
出版日期 | 2021年10月
電話 | +886-2-77099091
網站 | www.heath.tw

Twinning Archipelago (雙生群島)：2021「群島資料庫」駐站計劃

指導單位 | 文化部
主辦單位 | 財團法人文化臺灣基金會
計劃協力 | SEA plateaus
統籌單位 | 群島資料庫／財團法人數位藝術基金會
駐站規劃 | 鄭文琦
協同策劃 | 林怡君
技術支援 | 在地實驗

NUSANTARA ARCHIVE 11: Koh Pich's ABC's

Author: Li Kuei-pi
Editor: Rikey Tenn Bun-ki
Translator: Chung Yi-ting
Designer: Kuo Yen-fang
Reviser: Rikey Tenn Bun-ki, Li Kuei-pi, Chen Chia-jen, Esther Lin
Publisher: *Nusantara Archive* / Digital Art Foundation
Printed in Taipei, 2021, October
Tel: +886-2-77099091
Website: www.heath.tw/?lang=en

Twinning Archipelago: 2021 Nusantara Archive A-I-R Program
Advisor: Ministry of Culture (Taiwan)
Producer: The Cultural Taiwan Foundation
Co-producer: SEA plateaus
Organizer: *Nusantara Archive* / Digital Art Foundation
Project director: Rikey Tenn Bun-ki
Project co-Host: Esther Lin Yi-chun
Technical Support: Et@t



THIS WORK IS LICENSED UNDER THE CREATIVE COMMONS ATTRIBUTION-NONCOMMERCIAL 4.0 INTERNATIONAL (CC BY-NC 4.0)

