Premier’s Copyright Agency Creativity and Innovation Scholarship

Postinternet: Tradition and Modernity

The effects of new media and innovations in global accessibility on interpretations of culture and identity in traditional and contemporary creative practices of artists from emerging Asian nations

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*Without tradition, art is a flock of sheep without a shepherd. Without innovation, it is a corpse.*

—Winston Churchill

Through technology, it is possible for artists in emerging nations to access and interpret global contemporary art practices. Conversely, their practice is accessible on-line to western audiences.[[1]](#footnote-1)

On my study tour I examined the roles played by tradition, personal experience, cultural identity, and globalisation in forming the nature of contemporary art. I visited Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and met with artists, curators and gallery owners. I also visited galleries and collectives where contemporary art was being produced, exhibited and sold, and museums and significant cultural sites. This allowed for further exploration of traditional practices; not only how these are being maintained, but also how they are represented in contemporary art practice.

A number of key questions underpinned my research:

* + Has technological globalisation in contemporary art practice created outcomes that are transnational in process and resolution, differing only through exploration of local themes and concerns?
  + Is contemporary art recognisable for its geographical place of production or does it transcend national borders?
  + Do we expect “…a kind of ethnographic work in which the contemporary artist becomes an artifact of difference”*.[[2]](#footnote-2)*
  + Does the dominance of the western market for contemporary art create in emerging Asian nations a discreet art practice with an imposed ethnic referentiality?

The countries I visited were selected because they are ‘emerging’ – both economically and from significant and traumatic conflict and social upheaval. Each country has a strong tradition of art as a commodity. Stores and stalls sell technically skilful, if mass-produced, art - particularly targeting the growing tourist market. This art is, for the most part, brightly coloured, stylised representations of traditional scenes and themes, eschewing the idea of the artist as innovator, and is often copies of works by other, more famous, artists.

Contemporary art, and particularly art that is not based in traditional practices of painting and sculpture, has a less certain place. Few venues exist for the exhibition, performance and sale of contemporary art, and government support for the arts is at best limited and at times restrictive. Where these venues exist, they often take one of three forms:

* + High-end galleries, often run by foreigners, which support and market art to a mostly international market.
  + Artist run collectives that provide contemporary art practitioners with a collaborative, supportive platform for the development of ideas and artworks.
  + Small spaces, supported by international companies or non-government oganisations.[[3]](#footnote-3)

No government funded gallery or museum for the collection and exhibition of contemporary art exists in Vietnam, Laos or Cambodia.

Technology and Internet usage

While the Internet has clearly been transformational on a global stage, there is a significant global imbalance in access– fewer than 50 per cent of the world’s population are currently using the Internet. The idea that we are ‘Postinternet’ can be contested with regard to Vietnam, but is demonstrably not the case for Laos and Cambodia.

In the blog Post Internet, Gene McHugh posited that we would be postinternet “...when the Internet is less a novelty and more a banality.”[[4]](#footnote-4) But that assumes that most people are regularly online and that they have access to high-end computer equipment and programs.

Language barriers also affect use of the Internet as a research and artmaking tool. Even when access is available, much of what is written about contemporary art is written in English and in a highly specialised meta-language. This makes it difficult either to translate or to comprehend text in isolation.

[Srey Bandaul](http://romeet.com/project/srey-bandaul-2/), a teacher at [Phare Ponleu Selpak](http://www.phareps.org/) in Cambodia, says: ‘Everyone here has Facebook, but many people here can't read what is being discussed. You can't understand conceptual art without context; most of us can't get that without a translator.’[[5]](#footnote-5)

Censorship of the Internet and of art in general also remains an issue in all three nations, but is most evident in Vietnam. Where the west allows for art to challenge boundaries and to question hegemonic societal structures, that freedom is not necessarily afforded to artists in emerging nations.

Cambodia – reconnecting with past traditions

*It is easy to do painting but not art.[[6]](#footnote-6)*

—Chov Theanly

This statement by Chov Theanly underlines the difficulty faced by many artists in Cambodia – that of making the conceptual leap from skilled craftsperson to a unique artist whose work explores ideas and requires more than observation from the audience. Art that needs to be interpreted or responded to is less common in Cambodia.

This difficulty reflects the limits on education and on access to knowledge through books and the Internet. Art is often thought about in categories such as portraiture or landscape, especially as realistic representations.

Vuth Lyno[[7]](#footnote-7), an artist and curator working with Sa Sa Bassac in Phnom Penh, said that when discussing their plans for exhibitions, artists often found it easier to explain what their work was ‘of’ than what it was ‘about’. They could more easily indicate the number and size of works needed for a gallery space than present a coherent idea for an exhibition.

Through the artist run spaces of Sa Sa Bassac and Sa Sa Projects, which offers studio space, young artists are encouraged to think conceptually about their art. Professionals such as Vuth Lyno, who have studied overseas, are helping to generate an awareness of current visual arts processes and approaches.

As is the case in Vietnam and Laos, education in the arts is difficult to access and limited in its scope with regard to contemporary art practices. Art schools such as the Royal University of Fine Arts in Phnom Penh and Phare Ponleu Selpak - Visual and Applied Arts School in Battambang offer training for artists but the emphasis is on traditional representational art forms.

Access to examples of contemporary art is also limited, with no public galleries or museums displaying local or international artworks, and the work produced within Cambodia being sold to the international market.[[8]](#footnote-8)

Curatorial practice is also limited, with many exhibitions staged by venues without the input of a curator. The Asia Foundation in Phnom Penh has a Community Art Gallery that it makes available for exhibitions. For his installation *Silhouettes of Tomorrowland*, Kong Vollak created an installation of wire, lithographs and charcoal drawings. Without designated gallery staff to oversee the exhibition, a table holding information brochures was set up in the middle of the installation.

*Cambodian history and the loss of an art tradition*

The scope (and recentness – 1975[[9]](#footnote-9)) of genocide, with one in five Cambodians killed or dying from illness or starvation during the reign of the Khmer Rouge, ensures that it remains raw for survivors and for later generations. Education was effectively halted and historical records destroyed. Art and literature are now significant processes for addressing and documenting the past. Loven Ramos, artist and co-founder of The 1961 Coworking and Art Space[[10]](#footnote-10) in Siem Reap, refers to a level of fixation on images from the past: of artists trying to re-connect with lost traditions and highlight the traumas of the past.

Conversely, the complicity of many living Cambodians as members of the Khmer Rouge leaves a sense of incompleteness or lack of resolution within the population. Many Cambodians have found it easier not to revisit the past directly, which adds to a loss of oral history.

The Bophana Audiovisual Research Centre, founded by film director Rithy Panh, in Phnom Penh is a significant initiative designed to address the loss of cultural knowledge in Cambodia. Bophana is a digitised archive of film, sound recording and still photography documenting Cambodian history that allows the public to access materials that help to maintain a continuum of cultural knowledge. It also provides training for young Cambodians in all aspects of film and new media.

A further initiative is Cambodian Living Arts[[11]](#footnote-11), which strives to connect young students with living masters of traditional artmaking skills.

Having lost its history of Modernism, it is difficult to conceive of Cambodia as postinternet. The term most often used to describe recent generations is Post-Conflict, identifying the oppression of the nations’ people and their culture as a significant creative influence.

Laos –Recording and Developing Traditional Textile Techniques

Traditional textiles techniques in Laos are not an ethnological practice frozen in time. For centuries, styles and techniques developed as contact occurred between cultural groups or as creative individuals changed their practice. Recent changes occurring, albeit more rapidly as Laos engages with the modern world, are just as valid.

The strong tourist market for Laotian textiles has created a tendency to mass produce items such as scarves, skirts and wall hangings, with the uniqueness of work giving way to repetition in design. Rebecca Hall refers to differences in practice as ‘pre-commoditised’ and ‘contemporary.’[[12]](#footnote-12)

There remains a need to record and maintain traditional practices. For communities such as the Hmong, who have no written form for their language, the intricate patterning of their batik dyed cloth has a significant symbolic meaning.

The Laos Heritage Textile Collection, run through Ock Pop Tok in Luang Prabang, is documenting, through film and photography, art practices of a number of Laotian ethnic groups. Ock Pop Tok celebrates the individual artists who combine traditional weaving techniques with contemporary art practices, helping artists to work with computer technologies to make innovative use of traditional motifs.[[13]](#footnote-13) The organisation also runs educational tours and practical workshops for tourists, introducing them to a range of traditional dyeing and weaving techniques.[[14]](#footnote-14)

Fibre2Fabric[[15]](#footnote-15) – a permanent exhibition of artworks and artefacts – showcases traditional and contemporary textiles skills and provides online educational materials.

The Village Weavers Project[[16]](#footnote-16) teaches traditional skills to villagers in outlying areas and is also equipping them with marketing knowledge so they can work independently as artists.

Negotiating a Different Means of Expression in Vietnamese Contemporary Art

*If there are no restrictions I would be painting flowers. [[17]](#footnote-17)*

—Le Hoang Bich Phuong, Artist, Ho Chi Minh City.

*No one in Vietnam is using art in such a direct way but that is why it is it is so interesting what people are doing. They are having to find ways around and new ways to engage*.[[18]](#footnote-18)

—Zoe Butt, Director and Curator, San Art, Ho Chi Minh City.

This section of the report presents information related to government policy and legislation in Vietnam and refers to restrictions those can place on artistic freedoms that Australians might take for granted. It is not a criticism of Vietnam or its policies. Rather, it is presented as factual information – among a range of cultural variables that influence the development of contemporary visual arts.

Some factors shaping the development of contemporary art in Vietnam include:

* 1. **A different aesthetic tradition**

Vietnam is a communist nation and has been a united country since the end of the American War in 1975. The government and the people see themselves historically as victims of oppressive regimes and invaders. They celebrate their victories over those nations, particularly over the Japanese in 1945, the Colonial French in 1954, the Americans in 1975, and the Chinese in 1979.

Much of their public iconography is based on social realist posters and Soviet propaganda imagery, while traditional and popular artforms are often heavily decorated and intricately patterned.

* 1. **A different experience of art education**

Under their policy of *mission civilisatrice*, the Colonial French were disdainful of traditional Vietnamese customs and culture. They established the École Supérieure des Beaux Arts de l’Indochine art school in 1925 to teach western art skills;, modifying its syllabus in 1937 in a bid to ‘revitsalise the Indochinese arts’.

The year 1925 is widely regarded as the beginning of modern art in Vietnam. The French introduced a syllabus that stressed the distinction between art and craft, with the artist being raised to the status of a professional.

While art education in Australia balances skills and ideas (expressed in the NSW Visual Arts syllabus as Conceptual Strength and Meaning and Resolution), in Vietnam instruction is skills-based. Artists in schools and in the fine arts universities learn through reiteration and replication; mimetic realism is the standard to be achieved.

Artists in Vietnam generally have a strong grounding in traditional artmaking skills but will not have experienced explicit teaching of such contemporary art methodologies as installation, performance, or 4D practice.

* 1. **Limited government support for contemporary art or for state run museums and galleries**

Currently, no public galleries or museums of art have contemporary art, either as part of their collection or in temporary exhibitions.

There is support for the maintenance of some cultural activities, but more often if they operate within a tourist market, which risks creating an environment ‘where people are asked to perform rather than live their own cultures.’[[19]](#footnote-19)

* 1. **The development of artists’ collectives as a model for support, education and for promotion/exhibition**

Limited support from government or corporate sources has led to a development of artist run cooperatives; not-for-profit organisations offering artists opportunities to learn skills and to participate in group exhibitions.

Collectives also provide access to on-line information and print material that is not freely available for purchase in Vietnam. Important collectives include San Art in Ho Chi Minh City and Nha San in Hanoi.

* 1. **The predominance of an external, international market**

Đổi Mới refers to the economic reforms initiated in Vietnam in 1986 with the goal of creating a socialist-oriented market-driven economy. Businesses were allowed to work for profit, and foreign investment changed the commercial landscape of Vietnam. 1986 is often considered the beginning of contemporary art in Vietnam.

A number of high-end galleries in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi began to sell ‘expensive’ contemporary art, mostly to foreign customers. As tourism developed as an important economic stimulus, the collectors were both visitors to the country and those working and living in Vietnam.

The predominance of an expat market also tended to skew the nature of the art being produced, with customers often wanting the work to be recognisably Vietnamese, a reminder of their time in Vietnam.

* 1. **Government restrictions on content**

Decree 72 came into effect in September 2013, making it illegal to distribute any materials online that ‘harms national security’ or ‘opposes’ the government. Only ‘personal information’ may be provided or exchanged through blogs and social media outlets; distributing ‘general information’ or any information from a media outlet (including state-owned outlets) is banned.

Before staging an exhibition, galleries and collectives must submit detailed plans to the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism Agency for Fine Arts, Photography and Exhibition. These include details of all images, proposed layout/juxtaposition of images, and all text, either in hard copy or digital form.

An exhibition will likely be inspected to ensure that the display is in keeping with the statements of intent. Failure to comply with all aspects of the legislation can result in fines and/or the closure of exhibitions. Two significant exhibitions staged by San Art in Ho Chi Minh City – ‘Space/Limit’ by Phan Quang (2013) and ‘Fullness of Absence’ by Nguyen Thai Tuan (2011) – were subject to censorship.

Phan Quang’s photographic works, which explore the constraints of modern living and question social and political freedom, were censored. Only two of nine works – one photograph and one installation – could be exhibited. San Art continued with the exhibition, replacing the banned works with signs saying ‘NOT ALLOWED FOR EXHIBITION.’[[20]](#footnote-20)

Nguyen Thai Tuan’s exhibition was also censored. His dark paintings, showing faceless people often under threat from (non-specific) military figures, and moody depictions of crumbling buildings could not be shown. San Art was fined for its ‘lack of adherence to the license conditions.’[[21]](#footnote-21) San Art was further asked to remove all text, on and off-line, about the exhibition. The San Art website now contains the following text in its archives:

*Regrettably, the Cultural Ministry of Ho Chi Minh City, has asked San Art  
to remove the previous explanatory text that was here on Nguyen Thai Tuan’s  
exhibition from San Art’s website.[[22]](#footnote-22)*

Nguyen Thai Tuan, who lives in Dalat, has not exhibited in Vietnam since 2011. He has, however, held solo exhibitions in Milan and Hong Kong and participated in group shows in many cities, and is represented in the Gallery of Modern Art, Queensland collection.[[23]](#footnote-23)

Nha San Collective in Hanoi has also been subject to censorship, being forced to close after images of a naked performance by Le Thi Dieu Ha were posted online.

Restrictions and censorship bring a tendency to self-censor when artists know that they are likely to be subject to bans for working with certain themes or practices.[[24]](#footnote-24) There is, however, a way in which this is affecting contemporary art practice in a positive way. Zoe Butt, from San Art, refers to this as finding ‘new ways to engage’[[25]](#footnote-25) – creating artworks that subtly challenge social and political values, often in an oblique manner.

* 1. **Access to the Internet and to written texts – particularly for those who do not read English**

Access to current research and analysis of contemporary art remains a difficulty for young Vietnamese artists. Most texts are available only in English and are difficult to source locally. If available, the meta-language of contemporary art writing is difficult to translate into Vietnamese.

* 1. **The return of Việt Kiều**

Việt Kiều are Vietnamese people who live or have lived overseas. In many cases they were born in Vietnam but left after the collapse of the South Vietnamese government in 1975. Many younger Việt Kiều were born and educated overseas and are continuing their artmaking practice in Vietnam.

These younger artists bring with them broader educational experiences and exposure to contemporary art practices. Their confident use of digital media and of new technologies, and their willingness to challenge boundaries, place them in the forefront of artistic practice in Vietnam.[[26]](#footnote-26)

Conclusions

It would be wrong to assume that the factors influencing the production and nature of contemporary art are the same across Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. While they share many of the more recent cultural “factors” such as a history of colonisation, invasion and conflict, their traditions are more varied.

Conclusions that can be drawn, however, include:

* + Exciting and innovative contemporary art practice that is global in its outlook is occurring, particularly in Cambodia and in Vietnam.
  + Each nation has limited access to computer technologies and to the Internet.
  + Each nation has a system of art education that stresses the development of technical skill over conceptual exploration.
  + None of the nations has a significant museum or public gallery for displaying contemporary art.
  + There is no public funding for the development of contemporary art.
  + With small domestic markets, each nation relies on global sales of contemporary art. To be successful, artists must achieve an international rather than national profile. Expatriate curators and gallery owners are promoting this, and they are also prominent in promoting a viable domestic market for contemporary art.[[27]](#footnote-27)
  + Because most contemporary art is sold to an overseas market, there is a strong tendency for it to contain explicit cultural references. It also is no longer available as an example in the country of its production.
  + Many of the more successful artists and curators have lived and studied overseas. Their impact on the local art scene is immense as they bring with them exposure to international trends in contemporary art.
  + Artists’ collectives are a powerful model for developing contemporary art in emerging nations, allowing exhibitions to be staged and a sharing of knowledge and resources to occur.

This study tour has allowed me to investigate and challenge my assumptions about contemporary artmaking practices in emerging Asian nations. It has made it possible for me to build on my personal research and to make connections that will continue to inform my practice as a classroom teacher. The resources that I have created, and the presentations I have already made, will be the beginnings of an ongoing body of knowledge accessible to students and educators throughout the state.

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‘Site/Cambodia Presents Five Contemporary Cambodian Artists’. <http://theculturetrip.com/asia/cambodia/articles/site-cambodia-presents-five-contemporary-cambodian-artists/>

1. This needs to be considered with recognition that access is still limited (in Cambodia less than 1/3 of the population have used the internet) and that freedom of expression cannot be assumed. In Vietnam in September 2013, Decree 72 came into effect; making it illegal to distribute any materials online that "harms national security” or “opposes" the government, only allows users to "provide or exchange personal information" through blogs and social media outlets—banning the distribution of "general information" or any information from a media outlet (including state-owned outlets).  
   Further, it is not always possible to access online material in the local language, with translation tools offering limited support. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Alice Yang (2000) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Examples include *Dia Project + Studio*, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, which is sponsored by Audi; and the *Institut de Francais du Cambodge* in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, which is supported through the French Embassy. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Quoted in: Ben Valentine “Art After Social Media in Cambodia” [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Quoted in: Ben Valentine “Art After Social Media in Cambodia” [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. In conversation with the author, April 2016. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Vuth Lyno was a speaker at the APT8 Conference at GOMA in Brisbane, and has exhibited works including Thoamada II (2013) and Light Voice (2015). He is a cofounder of Sa Sa Bassac. Vuth’s essay Knowledge Sharing and Learning Together: Alternative Art Engagement from Stiev Selapak and Sa Sa Art Projects can be accessed from [Sa Sa Art Projects](http://www.sasaart.info/images/press_2014_udaya_vuth.pdf) [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. After my visit to Cambodia, a major exhibition *Histories of the Future* was staged at the National Museum in Phnom Penh. Featuring works by 14 internationally known Cambodian artists including Anida Yoeu Ali and Pich Sopheap, the exhibition was curated by Dana Langlois (Java Arts) and sponsored by the Australian Embassy of Phnom Penh. Talking to [Art Radar](https://artradarjournal.com/2016/07/01/histories-of-the-future-at-phnom-penhs-national-museum-of-cambodia/), Langlois emphasised the importance of the exhibition: *This exhibition is important because it brings together artists that are largely shown abroad and placing their work in a respected Cambodian institution.  It will, I hope, do two things: introduce a new, young public to contemporary Cambodian art and be a model for Cambodian institutions and authorities to invest more in developing its living culture.* [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. That this occurred just after the American bombing in the 1970s, where 2.5 million tonnes of ordinance was dropped on Cambodia, killing and injuring hundreds of thousands of citizens, adds further to the distress. Laos suffered in a similar way, and unexploded ordinance remains a danger, particularly in rural areas. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Coworking spaces are venues where artist and researchers can get access to computers, the Internet, graphic design software and printers, and books. While these operate globally, in Cambodia they provide an important service for the development of contemporary art practices. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. [Living Arts](http://www.cambodianlivingarts.org) presented a seminar *Living Arts in Post-Conflict Contexts: Practices, Partnerships & Possibilities* that *“brought together a select group of creative actors in the fields of cultural renewal and development, youth resilience, and social innovation, from around the world”*. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Hall, Rebecca, "Tradition and Innovation in Contemporary Lao Textiles" (2004). Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings. [Paper 468](https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/468/). Hall argues that change is integral to the survival of an ongoing tradition in Lao textiles. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Article 22, a fair trade organisation based near Phonsavan, uses fragments from bombs dropped in the 1970s to make contemporary jewelry. A percentage of all profit goes towards the ongoing efforts to clear landmines throughout Laos. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Mulberries Organic Silk Farm near Phonsavan, on a smaller scale, aims to produce silk products using similar social enterprise structures. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. [Fibre2Fabric](http://fibre2fabric.org/) [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. [Village Weaver Project](https://www.ockpoptok.com/impact/village-weavers-project/) [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. In conversation with the author, Ho Chi Minh City, March 2016 [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Quoted in: Agnew, Mary, *Curating Under Communism,* *Creating Space for Contemporary Art in Vietnam*. April 10, 2012. http://hk.blouinartinfo.com/contemporary-arts/article/798482-curating-under-communism-creating-space-for-contemporary-art-in-vietnam [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, Visit to Viet Nam, 18 - 29 November, 2013 Preliminary conclusions and recommendations. Hanoi, 29 November 2013. The report also stated: “However, it is the responsibility of the Government to ensure that tourism does not lead to the mere folklorisation of its peoples’ cultures, meaning reducing people to certain manifestations of their culture and not acknowledging their humanity.” The United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner – accessed online at: http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=14035&LangID=E [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. More information on this exhibition can be found on [Art Radar](http://artradarjournal.com/2013/04/23/not-allowed-to-exhibit-signs-replace-phan-quangs-photograph-in-ho-chi-minh-exhibition) [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Zoe Butt: Red Tape and Digital Talismans – Shaping Knowledge Beneath Surveillance in Larissa Hjorth, Natalie King, Mami Kataoka: Art in the Asia-Pacific: Intimate Publics Routledge 2014. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. [San Art Fullness of Absence](http://san-art.org/exhibition/fullness-of-absence/) [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. An [online monograph](https://issuu.com/primomarellagallery/docs/ntt_pmg) on the work of Nguyen Thai Tuan. Nguyen Thai Tuan was a featured artist in APT7 at QAGOMA. His four works from their permanent collection can be accessed [online](http://collection.qagoma.qld.gov.au/qag/imu.php?request=display&port=45001&id=759e&flag=start&offset=0&sort=creatortitleaccno&count=20&view=lightbox&PublishOnIMuInternet=Y&value1=Nguyen%20Thai%20Tuan&column1=creatorculture). [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Performance art is frequently censored. One artist explained this as the fact that the government officials find it difficult to understand performance and censor it “just in case”. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Quoted in: Agnew, Mary, *Curating Under Communism,* *Creating Space for Contemporary Art in Vietnam*. April 10, 2012. http://hk.blouinartinfo.com/contemporary-arts/article/798482-curating-under-communism-creating-space-for-contemporary-art-in-vietnam [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Giang Hoan Nguyen works with online publishing, video interactives. His work can be accessed at [caihoden.tumblr.com](https://caihoden.tumblr.com/) and at giangngh89.wix.com/site. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Dana Langlois, Java Arts, Phnom Penh, Cambodia; Suzanne Lecht, Art Vietnam Gallery, Hanoi, Vietnam; Craig Thomas, Craig Thomas gallery, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)