1 **The Art of Anti-Utopia:**

Visual and Poetic Narratives on Russia's War against Ukraine

across the Taiwan Strait

Daria Berg & Qian Cui
University of St.Gallen, Switzerland
'Visual Culture in Modern and Contemporary China' Seminar,
University of Oxford, 10 June 2025

2 **To explore today…**

- Visual Art & Poetic Narratives
- Contesting discourses in China's mediasphere
  - China's social media
  - Chinese artists on Western social media
- 3 Themes (Artists & Poets from China and Sinosphere):
  - Colours of Ukraine
  - Sunflowers
  - Red & Black

3 **I.**

INTRODUCTION

4 **PICTURE 1: Cao Fei 曹斐 (b. 1978)**

5 **PICTURE 1: Cao Fei 曹斐 (b. 1978)**

Cao Fei, Instagram, 25 February 2022: The day after Russia's invaded Ukraine:
"Falling Matryoshka © Cao Fei 2022. Photo from the border of China and Russia. Project commissioned by @garagemca."
Collaboration Garage Museum of Contemporary Art, Moscow, Jan 2022.

6 **Matryoshka in Russia & China**

- Russia: tradition since 1890
- Japan: Honshu doll, daruma doll (but not nested)
- China: traditional roly-poly toy: 'tumbler' (*budaoweng* 不倒翁)
  - Drinking game since Tang dynasty
- Cao Fei: The doll that cannot fall has fallen

7 **Tang drinking game**

- Since Tang dynasty (618-907)
- Wine vessel for drinking game
- Top light, bottom heavy, used to rotate and point to one person at table
- 'catching drunken immortal' (*bu zui xian* 捕醉仙) game

- *xi hu zi* 劝酒胡、*jiu hu zi* 酒胡子，
- ‘like an alien with blue eyes and curly hair who points finger at drinker in a group around a table’.

8 **Tang & Song dynasty poems**

References to tumbler, e.g.:

Wang Dingbao 王定保（870-954), scholar-official from Nanchang (Jiangxi).

- Fled after fall of Tang and served under Southern Han dynasty (917-971).

"Song of the Drinking Tumbler" 《酒胡子长歌》

The appearance of a drinking tumbler resembles a human,
yet it is filled with interest and intent.
However, swaying unsteadily, it moves according to others,
not depending on the drunkenness itself.
胡貌类人，变有意趣，然而倾侧不定，缓急由人，不在酒胡也。

9 **Ming poem: Xu Wei**

- Xu Wei 徐渭 1521-1593 (Xu Wenzhang 徐文长), from Shaoxing
  - Roly-poly: metaphor for political rise, fall & comeback
- "The Tumbler" 《不倒翁》

A black gauze cap and jade belt make him appear a dignified official,
Yet this old man is nothing but a lump of clay.
Suddenly, you shatter him to pieces,
Revealing, inside and out, no integrity or moral substance at all.
乌纱玉带俨然官，此翁原来泥半团；忽然将你来打碎，通身上下无心肝。

10 **Qi Baishi 齐白石**

Famous painter (1864-1957), from Hunan

"Inscribed on the Tumbler"《题不倒翁》

This old man is crafty, enough to amuse a child,
Knock him down—don’t prop him up, just let him rise again.
His black gauze hat sits straight upon his brow,
Though he has no heart or liver, he still holds official rank.
能供儿戏此翁乖，打倒休扶快起来。头上齐眉纱帽黑，虽无肝胆有官阶。

-> mocking official authority

11 **Tumbler in Modern Chinese Culture**

Tan Wenrui 谭文瑞 (1922-2014)

- Journalist, *People’s Daily* editor-in-chief, satirical poet

"The Tumbler Has Fallen" 《不倒翁倒了》

Sometimes bad luck comes,
and the tumbler falls over.
时来厄运到，不倒翁倒了。

12 **‘Martyrs’ (‘Xundaozhe’ 殉道者),**

Liao Weitang 廖伟棠

为什么这乌克兰的微笑似曾相识
原来他也曾属于那个西藏男孩。

就像一朵桃花那样的微笑。

她珍爱生命，去拯救被人类放弃的
他珍爱自由，放弃生命去喊出它。

地球没有放弃你们，山和水奔走相告
在炮弹开始流亡的时候， 你们

只有你们知道回家的路。路也追随
你们，渐渐涌起巨浪来。

温柔的，坚定的，一亿朵桃花那样。

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只有你们知道回家的路。路也追随
你们，渐渐涌起巨浪来。

温柔的，坚定的，一亿朵桃花那样。

14 **China's Utopia: *Locus Classicus***

Tao Yuanming 陶渊明 (365-427)

'Record of the Peach Blossom Spring' ('Tao hua yuan ji' 桃花源记)

15 **China's Dream?**

- Art / poetry on topics in China's media sphere: Taiwan, Tibet, HK
- China Dream: Xi Jinping's motto, Nov 2012
  - 'Great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation'.
- Ai Weiwei: 'There is no Chinese Dream, only Chinese nightmares.'
- Many unofficial dreams / vernacular culture
- China's many Chinese Nightmares:
  - pandemic,
  - Ukrainian leg of BRI in ruins…

16 **Vernacular Voices in the Sinophone Mediasphere**

- Research Questions:
  - How do netizens/citizens in China and Taiwan express unofficial perceptions of Russia's war against Ukraine?
  - What are their dreams, hopes, fears and nightmares?
  - How do they speak truth to power?
- Aims:
  - to reveal vernacular voices / 'China's vernacular cultures' (Dudbridge 1996)
  - to shed new light on the dreams, fears and nightmares of netizens / citizens
- Sources: Sinophone Mediasphere
  - Print & digital media
  - Visual art
  - Chinese & Sinophone social media: WeChat, Weibo, Instagram, X
- Method:
  - Analyse utopia & anti-utopia in visual art & poetry
  - Analyse voices that 'speak truth to power' (parrhesia)

17 **II.**

SOURCES

18 **1. China's Mediasphere**

- 'Mediasphere' (Debray, 1991)
- := 'Cultural production in the visual and textual fields characterised by endless expansion'
- Our sources:
  - Online literature
  - Online magazines
  - Visual art & literary websites

- Weibo 微博 (Sina Weibo)
- WeChat / Weixin 微信

19 **Official Discourse on China's Mediasphere**

- Social media / Weibo, WeChat
- February & March 2022:
-
  - Pro-Putin
  - Pro-Russia
  - Anti-Ukraine

20 **Official Discourse on China's Mediasphere**

- 'Glorious Russia! Glorious Putin! They have politicians in the West, but Putin, he is a great political player who will go down in history!'
- 'I support the disintegration of NATO! I support Russia, because when Russia falls, China is next!' (Weibo, 2 March 2022).
- 'Russia has done a beautiful job!'
  - (Cf. Bandurski, 2022)

21 **Pro-Russian Propaganda Poem**

Admirer of Plum Blossoms in the Snow N
19 September 2022

American imperialists become the tyrants of the world,
Expanding eastward to the Russian border.
Instigating Ukraine to provoke Russia,
Each Nazi is a demon.
They have killed more than 20,000 Russian civilians,
Many of them women and children.
The Russian army rises to resist the Nazis,
Bravely fighting without fear against the pack of wolves.
They heroically hold on and smash the encirclement,
Ultimately ensuring the defeat of the Nazis.

Imitation of old-style regular poem:
Seven-word couplets, rhyme attempted.
14 likes, 4 comments
Author: 2014 followers; 130,000 likes.

Toutiao 头条 (Headlines) Platform, URL:
https://www.toutiao.com/question/7142737941764129055/?source=seo_tt_juhe, accessed 3 January 2024.

22 **2. Sinophone Mediasphere**

- Western social media, e.g.:
  - Instagram

- X (Twitter)
- Taiwan's Mediasphere

23

III.

CONCEPTS

24 **1. *Utopia* (1516)**

1 • Neologism
- Thomas More (1478-1535)
- Pun on Greek
  - 'good place' (*eu topos*)
  - 'nowhere place' (*ou topos*)
- = ideal place that exists nowhere.

25 **Whose Utopia?**

- *Wutuobang* 乌托邦
- *Lixiangguo* 理想国
- Utopia has long indigenous tradition in China
- ➔ pre-imperial times
  - Spring and Autumn era, 770-476 BC
  - Warring States era, 475-221 BC
- Fig: Illustration for the first 1516 edition of More's *Utopia*.

26 **2. Dreams & Nightmares:**

"Whose Utopia?" (2006)

- Cao Fei (b. 1978)
- Video, 2006
- Siemens OSRAM light factory, Guangzhou

27

28 **'My Future is not a Dream'**

- Video clip - Whose Utopia? + interview: https://youtu.be/zB9NFRWREec?t=7m28s
- >> from 7:28 until 8:42

29 **Apocalypse & Post-human Anti-Utopia: 'Haze and Fog'**

1 • Zombie horror-movie
- Part of Cao Fei's Post-human Trilogy
  - 'Mirror', 2007
  - 'La Town', 2014

2 By Cao Fei, 2013

30

Ancient Chinese Utopias & Anti-Utopias

31 **Ancient Confucian Utopia**

■ Great Sharing (*da tong* 大同)

■ *Li ji* 禮記 (*Book of Rites*), 21.3a/b

32 **Ancient Daoist Utopias**

- Daoist 'Supreme Harmony' (*tai ping* 太平)
- *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (*Spring and Autumn of Lü Buwei*), 1.44-45.
- *Zhuangzi* 莊子, 13.471.

33 **Ancient Daoist Utopia, 4th Century BC**

1 • Huaxu 華胥 land (Mother of legendary Emperor Fuxi and goddess Nüwa)
- Yellow Emperor (trad. 2696–2598 BC)
- Liezi 列子, 2.41-3.

34 **Ancient Daoist Utopia, 4th Century BC**

- 'Land of Northend'

(Zhongbei 終北)

- Paradise of mild climate & no epidemics
- Clear and sweet springs
- *Liezi* 列子, 5.163.

35 **Anti-Utopia: The Deluge**

- Dystopia: Inversion of Utopia
- Under legendary ruler Emperor Yao: Water flows upstream ➔ Deluge floods central states
- 'Snakes and dragons appear, disturb humans.' Mengzi, 3A.4; Lau, 1987, 102.

36 **A Confucianist's Dystopia**

- Xi Zhou sheng 西周生 (fl. 1630s/40s) (Scholar of the Western Zhou) / Late Ming
- *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan* 醒世姻缘传 (*Marriage Destinies that will Bring Society to its Senses*)
  - -> Berg, *Carnival in China*, 2002

37 **Parrhesia in East & West**

38 **Parrhesia in Western Culture**

- Greek παρρησία — first in Euripides (c.484-407 BC)
  - Literally: 'saying everything one has in mind'
  - Speaking truth to power, freedom of expression, transparency, duty, idle talk, gossip.

39 **Parrhesia in Western Culture**

- Foucault, 1983:
  - Condition: truth-tellers face risk or danger for them in telling truth
  - But they feel bound by duty to muster the courage and do so.

- Foucault, Michel, 'Discourse and Truth: The Problematisation of Parrhesia', Six Lectures given at Berkeley, 1983.

40 **Parrhesia Tradition in China**

- Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 (r.685-643 BC) established office of 'admonition officers' (*jian guan* 諫官) to speak truth to power—until Liao dynasty (916-1125).
- Praised by China's e-government today: He Jing 何静, website of Audit Bureau of Guilin City, Guangxi 广西自治区桂林市审计局.

41 **Parrhesia Tradition as the Intellectuals' Mission**

- Roaming scholars s*hi* 士 in pre-Qin China
  - Confucius 孔子
  - Mencius 孟子
- Roam from kingdom to kingdom
- Offer advice on good government to the ruler

42 **Parrhesia Risks**

- Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145-c. 86 BC) & Grand Historian to Emperor Han Wudi 漢武帝 (r. 141- 87 BC)
  - Sima Qian defended defeated general Li Ling 李陵 (d. 74 BC)
  - Death sentence
  - Commuted to castration and 3 years in prison after
- Tradition of *xiaoshuo* 小说 — idle talk, gossip — history rather than fiction
- Political critique — often indirect

43 **IV.**

DREAMS

44 **1.**

Trump's Dream

45 **1. Trump's MAGA**

But: American Dream -> Chinese Dream

46 **2.**

Putin's Dream

47 **2. Putin's Dream of Empire: Sovjet-Style Imperialist Russia**

- Badiucao, 'Baby Eaters'
- 2022, 'MADe IN CHINA', Exhibition, Dox Contemporary Art Centre, Prague, Czechia

- Series on Badiucao's Website
  - https://www.badiucao.com/artwork

48 **Putin's Dream of Empire**

• Source: Badiucao, Homepage, https://www.badiucao.com/latest-adventure, 4 March 2022.

49 **3.**

Xi Jinping's 'China Dream'

50 **Xi's 'China Dream' (*Zhongguo meng* 中国梦)**

29 Nov 2012

- Xi Jinping:
  - speech at Exhibition in National Museum, Tiananmen Square
- 'Great revival of the Chinese nation'
  - National humiliation 19C
  - Opium Wars

51 **The China Dream**

- New Leaders' Slogan
- Vision of China as 21st Century Superpower
- Imperial reign eras had mottos
- President Xi Jinping
  - 2013-for life

1. Government's dream?
2. Other dreams?

52 **V.**

NIGHTMARES

53 **1.**

Russia-China 'No-limits Friendship'

54 **China's Geopolitics & the Opening of Beijing Winter Olympics**

4 Feb 2022: Beijing Winter Olympics Opening Ceremony,
China & Russia pledge 'no limits' friendship

55 **1. Joint Statement: No limits Friendship & Media Mirroring**

56 **National Radio & TV Administration 国家广播电视总局 (2018)**

- 2021 NRTA under Central Propaganda Dept of CCP
  - Additional agreement with Russia's Ministry of Digital Development, Communications and Mass Media: Chinese media to repeat & amplify Russian propaganda
- Since Feb 2022: converging media narratives Russia / China

- China amplifies Russia's fake news: Ukraine prepares biological warfare (cf. Hvistendahl & Kovalev, 2022)

2.

Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

2: Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

- Badiucao, 2022
- badiucao: "Here, I fix the disgraceful and offensive mural in Melbourne with the true face of Russia's brutality and war crimes from its invasion in Ukraine."

3.

US Realignment

3. US Realignment

- Badiucao, 'The end of the USA' , Instagram, 3 March 2025

@badiucao, X.com

1

- @badiucao
- X.com
- 1 March 2025

@badiucao

- @badiucao
- X.com
- 1 March 2025

4.

Taiwan the 'new Ukraine'?

4. Taiwan—the 'new Ukraine' Scenario?

- Badiucao website
- March 2025
- https://en.nbpublish.com/library_read_article.php?id=39592

VI.

THEMES

1.

COLOURS OF UKRAINE

69 **Cao Fei 曹斐**

70 **Cao Fei on Instagram**

71 **Cao Fei**

1
- February/March 2022
- “Found daily colours to support Ukraine”
- Echoes of Ukraine found in China…

72 **Cao Fei**

Master of the Art of Indirect Critique
Cao Fei: ‘Comments on China’s society, not criticism’ (NYT, 2015)

73 **Cao Fei**

- Conform to the System
- Avoid direct confrontation with authorities
- Mix art, political & commercial culture
- Design alternative worlds without CCP, new utopias
- In her video artwork ‘Whose Utopia?’
- ‘My future is not a dream’ 我的未来不是梦

74 **Cao Fei**

- Photographer
- Film maker
- Video artist
- Script writer
- Composer
- Sculptor

75 **Multi-media artist CAO Fei 曹斐 (b. 1978)**

76 **Badiucao 巴丢草**

77 **Badiucao 巴丢草**

78

- #StopWar
- #StandWithUkraine
- https://www.badiucao.com/latest-adventure

79

- #StopWar
- #StandWithUkraine
- https://www.badiucao.com/latest-adventure

80 **Badiucao website**

- 57,000 followers on Instagram
- 2200 posts

81 **Badiucao: Interactive Art on Blockchain / Mint**

- NFT (non-fungible tokens / cryptocurrency) Ukraine:
  - allows 'collectors to write their own message of opposition to China's authoritarian regime onto the blockchain as part of the minting process, preserving it as a public decentralized record of protest'.
- Badiucao:
  - 'I have been battling censorship from China's authoritarian regime for more than 10 years. When conventional galleries and venues are too intimidated to exhibit my art due to threats from Beijing, NFTs and blockchain technologies not only provide a safe way to offer critical financial support to dissident artists, but serve as an important immutable public record outside of authoritarian tampering and control.'
- 'Help Badiucao support the brave citizens of Ukraine by collecting this vital work. https://www.badiucao.com/ukraine'

82 **Badiucao**

- Born 1986 in China
- Known by pseudonym only
- 2009 emigrated to Melbourne, Australia
- Active on
  - WeChat, Weibo,
  - Twitter, Instagram
- Website: https://www.badiucao.com/latest-adventure

83 **Huang Rui 黃锐**

84 **Huang Rui 黃锐: 'Absence of Black Moon'**

- Art Basel
- 2022
- Oil on canvas, 88 x 99 cm

85 **Huang Rui 黃锐: 'Absence of Black Moon'**

- 'Together for Peace': Exhibition by Ukrainian & Polish Embassies, Beijing, 12 March 2022
- *Dao de jing* 道德經 inspiration
- *Yi jing 易經Book of Changes*

86 **Huang Rui 黃锐: 'Absence of Black Moon'**

87 **Huang Rui 黃锐: 'Absence of Black Moon'**

- Paused his other projects to dedicate himself to a anti-war work about Ukraine after hearing the news of its invasion on February 24.
- 'Absence of Black Moon'
- Finished 3 days later

- Presented at Ukrainian and Polish embassies in Beijing
- Ukrainian flag sliced into quarters by lines of red and white = Russia.

88 **Huang Rui 黄锐: 'Absence of Black Moon'**

- *1952, Beijing
- 1978 co-published Jintian 今天 Today literary magazine
- 1980s Co-founder & member of Stars Group 星星画会
- Exhibitions in China, Europe, USA

89 **Deng Kangyan 邓康延**

90 **'Echoes from the Ukrainian Trenches' ('Wukelan zhanhao de huixiang' 乌克兰战壕的回响), Deng Kangyan 邓康延**

乌克兰兄弟
听到你战壕的笛声离死亡很近
我们揪心
看到你故乡的旋律离太阳很近
我们开心

我们也有过梅花和青天血染的清晨
知道恨与爱的山高海深
请接受遥远东方的和音
比炮弹更响的共鸣
比履带更快的前进

91 **'Echoes from the Ukrainian Trenches' ('Wukelan zhanhao de huixiang' 乌克兰战壕的回响), Deng Kangyan 邓康延**

当你的笛声和我们的琴声共振
那是母亲和孩子的声音
那是自由与和平的声音
那是地球山崩地裂的声音

你笛孔里有乌克兰的花黄天蓝
你旋律里回荡着向死而生的国运
没有谁能打败一场心灵的合奏
苍天护佑热爱自由的人民

92 **Deng Kangyan 邓康延**

- Poem mixes
  - peach blossom image of utopia,

- colours of Ukraine's flag,
- Blood.

- b. Kunming
- Geological engineer
- Poet
- Author &
- Documentary filmmaker

93 **2.**

SUNFLOWERS

94 **Badiucao 巴丢草**

95 **Ukrainian woman confronts Russian soldiers**

Henichesk, sea of Asov
25 February 2022
"Take these seeds and put them in your pockets, so at least sunflowers will grow when you all lie down here."
Viral on social media
"#PocketSunflowers to grow sunflowers from their graves!" — a Twitter user
(Shweta Sharma, 'Brave Ukrainian woman wells soldier: 'Put sunflower seeds in your pocket so they grow when you die', *The Independent*, 25 Feb 2022)

96

(Badiucao.com, 25 March 2022), Badiucao website, URL: https://www.badiucao.com/ukraine, accessed 20 January 2024.

97

1/6 series: Six-piece NFT (non-fungible tokens/cryptocurrency) collection
dedicated to the brave Ukrainians fighting against the Russian invasion, inspiring the world
All proceeds to go to Ukrainian government

98 **Seeds in the Pockets**

1 • 25 March 2022
Seeds in the Pockets
is a 6 pieces NFT collection dedicated to the brave Ukrainians who fight against Russian invasion and inspire the world.
March 25th, 2022—Chinese dissident artist Badiucao announces today he has created an NFT collection in support of Ukraine amidst the 2022 Russian invasion. This NFT collection, 'Seeds in the Pockets' is dedicated to the brave Ukrainians who fight against Russian invasion and inspire the world. 'Seeds in the Pockets' features six new works, each with a message of support and empathy for Ukranians who are living through this terrible war.

All proceeds from the sale of this collection will be sent directly to the Ukrainian government, who is now accepting payments via crypto currency.

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Sunflower Seeds (*Kuihuazi* 葵花籽)

• Tate Modern, 2010
• 'Readymades'
• Marcel Duchamp (1887-1968)
• 'Ukraine-Conflict is a testbed for China's Taiwan plans' (7 April 2022)

100 **On Sunflowers**

101 **Xi Yongjun 席永君**

102 **Microblog Poem: 'Ukraine: Homeland of Sunflowers (Poetry Series): Sunflowers', Xi Yongjun 席永君, 2022**

向日葵

更无柳絮因风起，
惟有葵花向日倾。
——【宋】司马光《客中初夏》

在乌克兰港口城市亨尼切斯克
一位大妈当街怒怼俄罗斯士兵
她大声质问：你们为什么要来
我们这里？你们是侵略者
你们是乌克兰人的敌人
从这一刻起，你们被诅咒了

你们应该把这些葵花籽
放进你们的口袋里，这样
等你们死后，它们就会
在乌克兰的土地上自由生长
那光明，那沉默的爱……
大妈深爱向日葵
向日葵是乌克兰的国花

103 **Xi Yongjun, 'Sunflowers' Microblog poem**

- Poem 4/12 in series
- Publ. 12 March 2022, Chengdu
- 1110 views
- 39 likes
- On WeChat public channel 'Poetry, Wine and Tea Republic' *shijiucha gonghe* 诗酒茶共和, Sichuan

104 **WeChat Channel**

- ‘Poetry, Wine and Tea Republic’ *shijiucha gonghe* 诗酒茶共和 from Sichuan
- ‘Publications of excellent writings on wine culture and tea culture, and also excellent poetry to disseminate the excellent Chinese culture.’

105 **Xi Yongjun 席永君 (b. 1963)**

- b. 1963 Qionglai 邛崃, Sichuan
- Lives in Chengdu
- Poet, with international recognition
- Editor-in-chief of
  - literary magazines
  - *Chengdu Evening News*, etc.

106 **3.**

BLACK & RED

107 **Badiucao 巴丢草**

108 **Stop**

109 **STOP 3/6**

110 **STOP 3/6**

‘In my view, if you open the dazzling neon jacket, China’s complexion is nothing more than black and red.
Red is blood, fear and violence.
Black is iron, freezing nights, depression, despair, and the silent corners. It’s the cloth gag covering the screams.
The country is like a giant meat grinder, a layer of fresh blood covering a layer of despair, new despair covering the layer of fresh blood, over and over again.’
https://chinadigitaltimes.net/2013/12/ten-question-badiucao-%E5%B7%B4%E4%B8%A2%E8%8D%89/, accessed 20 Jan 2024.

111 **Red/Black: Colour of Anarchists**

- Anarchy: ‘doctrine of no government’ 無政府主義 *wúzhèngfǔ zhǔyì*
- Against oppressive government
- Popular variant of socialism
- Russian Revolution 1917
- May Fourth Movement 1919

112 **Badiucao 巴丢草**

- Composite Portrait
- 2022
- Badiucao’s first solo show
- DOX, Prague, Czechia, May-August 2022

113 **Liao Weitang 廖伟棠**

114 **‘Winter on Fire’, Liao Weitang 廖伟棠**

Winter on Fire

二二八連假前夕
我坐在路邊
用手機看紀錄片
Winter on Fire:
Ukraine’s Fight for Freedom

115 **‘Winter on Fire’, Liao Weitang 廖伟棠**

Winter on Fire

二二八連假前夕
我坐在路邊
用手機看紀錄片
Winter on Fire:
Ukraine’s Fight for Freedom

116 **‘Winter on Fire’, Liao Weitang 廖伟棠**

117 **‘Winter on Fire’**

我想截圖給我防火牆內的朋友看
但只截下來字幕
圖像變成一片漆黑只剩下：

118 **‘Winter on Fire’**

「我的朋友和我
開始搖響所有的鐘」
「聖米迦勒修道院的人
正在阻止這件事發生」
「上一次這些鐘敲響
是在1240年蒙古韃靼人
入侵基輔之時」
我不確定他們能否猜到什麼回事

119 **‘Winter on Fire’**

而我住在基輔、第聶伯的朋友

鐘聲盈耳，無暇寫詩
她們忙於撬開
十字架之上
針孔一般狹窄的天空
就像我住在九龍、港島、大嶼山
每天都經歷著二二八前夕
的朋友一樣

120 **Liao Weitang 廖伟棠**

- b. 1975 Xinxing county 新兴县, Guangdong
- 'Left behind child' in rural area
- Moves to Hong Kong (Cantonese name: Liu Waitong, pun on *liuwang aitong* 流亡哀痛, 'Grief in Exile)
- Poet, photographer, writer, magazine editor, bookshop manager
- Literary prizes in HK, Taiwan, abroad
- Assoc. Prof. National Taipei University of the Arts 國立臺北藝術大學 (Literature Dept.)

121 **VII.**

VOICES FROM TAIWAN

122 **1.**

Han Chinese Voice:

yAnG xiaObiN 杨小滨:

123 **yAnG xiaObiN 杨小滨: 'Post-Epitaph Quatrain: On the Steps of Odessa' (Hòu juéjù: Áodésà táijiē shàng 後絕句：敖德薩台階上), Instagram**

你不是刺刀下的第一個死者，也不是最後一個反抗者。

你不是滑落台階的第一個嬰兒，也不是滾下的最後一顆頭顱。

你不是第一個驚恐的母親，也不是最後一個美少女戰士。

你不是第一個轟然倒塌的雕像，也不是歷史懸崖下的最後一個瘋子。

124 **'Post-Epitaph Quatrain: On the Steps of Odessa'**

- Title: Lament / Post-Epitaph
- Jueju 絕句: in classical Tang poetry 4 lines, 5 or 7 characters, rhyme, strict tonal pattern.

- Yang Xiaobin's poem: 4 lines but explodes rules: more & irregular number of characters, no rhyme
- 'Post': frames poem not only as a eulogy for a single event or individual, but a meditation on pattern of suffering and resistance.
- Opening limitations of traditional forms / norms

125 **yAnG xiaObiN: 'Lament: On the Steps of Odessa'**

- Title: Lament / Post-Epitaph
- Jueju 絕句: in classical Tang poetry 4 lines, 5 or 7 characters, rhyme, strict tonal pattern.
- Yang Xiaobin's poem: 4 lines but explodes rules: more & irregular number of characters, no rhyme
- frames poem not only as a eulogy for a single event or individual, but a meditation on pattern of suffering and resistance.

126 **Allusion to Potemkin Stairs, Odessa**

- iconic for their role in Sergei Eisenstein's 1925 film *Battleship Potemkin*.
- Dramatises 1905 mutiny: battleship's crew rebel against their officers.
- In the end: Tsarist sailors show solidarity with rebels.

127 **yAnG xiaObiN: 'Post-Epitaph Quatrain: On the Steps of Odessa'**

- *Battleship Potemkin* (1925) dir. Sergei Eisenstein.
- Fictional massacre of civilians

128 **yAnG xiaObiN: 'Post-Epitaph Quatrain: On the Steps of Odessa'**

- *Battleship Potemkin* (1925)
- including the image of a baby carriage tumbling down the steps.

129 **yAnG xiaObiN: 'Post-Epitaph Quatrain: On the Steps of Odessa'**

- *Battleship Potemkin* (1925)
- Stairs as a symbol of: revolution, martyrdom, state violence, cinematic myth-making.

130 **yAnG xiaObiN 杨小滨**

- Poet & Artist, born in Shanghai
- 1980s studied & joined avantgarde movement in Beijing
- 1985 BA Fudan University, Shanghai
- 1985-89 Researcher, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences
- 1996 PhD Yale in Chinese Literature
- 1998-2004 Professor, University of Mississippi, US
- 2006- Research Professor, Academia Sinica, Taipei
- Resides in Taipei

131 **2.**

Taiwan Indigenous Voice:

Iverson Rangi

132 **PICTURE 3: Iverson Rangi (b. ca.1990s, Taiwan) & Yana (Ukraine)**

133 **PICTURE 3: Iverson Rangi (b. ca.1990s, Taiwan) & Yana (Ukraine)**

'Ukrainian Lion & Taiwanese Bear', Fundraising Exhibition for Ukraine, Epic Taipei Nightclub, Taipei, Jul-Aug 2022

134 **Ukrainian Lion**

- Ruthenian lion
- 1848- Ukraine: national symbol & liberation movement symbol
- 2007 state symbol

135 **Formosan Black Bear in Taiwan**

- Symbol of Taiwanese identity
- largest land animals and
- the only native bears in Taiwan.
- Considered a star species
- Mascot in Taiwan

136 **Iversøn Rangi**

- Iversøn Rangi Miciq
  - indigenous artist from the Taroko (Truku) tribe in Taiwan;
- LBWS, a Ukrainian artist group;
- Yana, a Ukrainian artist and a friend affiliated to LBWS
- Picture: Iverson Rangi Instagram

137 **Truku Indigenous Peoples**

- Truku / Taroko People 太魯閣族 (12th Taiwan Indigenous Group)
- Officially recognised 2004
- Not Atayal, but claim separate ethnic identity

138 **Exhibition at Epic Taipei Nightclub, Summer 2022**

The painting created for an art exhibition featuring Indigenous Taiwanese hip hop 'party animals' from Ukraine and Taiwan.
Epic Taipei nightclub in the summer of 2022 to raise funding for Ukraine through the showcasing of collaborative artwork by Ukrainian and Indigenous Taiwanese artists.

139 **Taiwanese and Ukrainian wildlife as 'party animals'**

- Artists: Iverson Rangi, a Taiwanese / Indigenous artist from the Taroko (Truku) tribe;
- LBWS, a Ukrainian artist group;
- Yana, a Ukrainian artist affiliated with LBWS

140 **Taiwan Government Support**

- Support from the government:
- The deputy mayor of Taipei participated
- Popular discourse in line with government's official discourse

141 **3 layers of subjugation & identity struggles**

Both artists emphasize the maintenance of their own identity and independence. And they together bring a message of solidarity between the Taiwanese and the Ukrainians. The Ukrainian word 'support' and the Chinese word "团结" (unity) jointly demonstrate the mutual solidarity

between the artists, and between Taiwan and Ukraine, too.

142 **Tuanjie 团结 unity, solidarity —> Chinese Dream**

1 • Key concept

143 **Tuanjie 团结 unity, solidarity —> Chinese Dream**

1 • 1912- Key concept in Sun Yatsen's China
• 1949- in PRC propaganda
• Ethnic unity 民族团结
• 2013- Xi Jinping's China Dream

144 **3 layers of subjugation & identity struggles**

In view of Beijing's one-China ideal and Russia's view of post-Soviet states still belonging to Russia, the painting acquires an ironic message. It appears to mock the emphasis on unity that Putin and Xi put on the ties with Ukraine and Taiwan by reclaiming the term and applying it to Ukrainian-Taiwanese solidarity instead.

145 **Formosan Black Bear:**

3 layers of subjugation & identity struggles

The infinity symbol, a figure eight on its side, signifies the concept of limitlessness or eternity. It has been widely used as a metaphor for eternal love.

146 **Formosan Black Bear:**

3 layers of subjugation & identity struggles

The medium of graffiti covertly constitutes a protest against authority, as street art has historically been known for this.

147 **To Promote Solidarity Taiwan-Ukraine**

Rangi said that the fist bump symbolizes the mutual support and solidarity between the two countries and promotes ideas of love and peace, which are also the "spiritual core of hip hop culture."

148 **VIII.**

Concluding Remarks

149 **Concluding Remarks**

- In sum: 3 Themes on war:
  - Ukrainian Colours, Sunflowers, Red & Black
- Experimenting in mediashere with different strategies of direct & indirect styles of critique & comment on war
- New styles, reject old forms / norms
- Anti-/Utopian visions deconstruct China Dream into a series of dreams & nightmares
- Shed light on perceptions of the Russo-Ukrainian war from unofficial perspectives
- Provide insights into vernacular culture & new mediasphere
- Contesting voices in a network of social and cultural negotiations and exchanges.

150 ***Thank you!***

151 **Xtra Material**

152 **Qi Shaoting 齐少婷**

153 **Qi Shaoting 齐少婷**

154 **Qi Shaoting**

155 **Qi Shaoting**

2022 Qi and her child fled to Dusseldorf

'The idea of the project arose because of the restriction of access to materials when we were fleeing at the outbreak of war. I didn't have paint or rice paper, which are hard to find even in peacetime. If an artist has a passion for art, they can paint with anything: toothpaste, fingers. The first works of art were made in such conditions, in the conditions of war.'

Interview 27 April 2022, Ukrainian Association of Sinologists

156 **Li Qiang 李强**

157 **Li Qiang**

- Li Qiang, 5 April 2022, ink and red stamp. 'Bucha'

158 **Li Qiang**

- Li Qiang, 21 March 2022, ink and red stamp. 'Ukrainians sheltering during a Russian bomb attack'

159 **Translation Li Qiang, 21 March 2022**

1. 俄军动用高超音速武器，乌克兰民众在地下防空洞避难，利沃夫。

3月19日，俄罗斯国防部宣布首次使用"匕首"高超音速导弹炸毁乌克兰军方的大型地下弹药库，协助"卢甘斯克人民共和国"军队成功解放90%以上领土。俄军迄今累计摧毁乌方1412辆坦克和装甲车辆，184架无人机，142门多发火箭炮，542门火炮和迫击炮。当天乌克兰政府宣布通过"人道主义走廊"累计疏散6623名平民。联合国通报本次俄乌冲突已造成至少847名平民丧生，超过320万乌克兰难民逃往邻国避难。

二零二二年三月二十一日，李强画

The Russian military deployed hypersonic weapons, and Ukrainian civilians sought refuge in underground air raid shelters in Lviv.

On March 19, the Russian Ministry of Defense announced the first use of the "Dagger" hypersonic missile to destroy a large underground ammunition depot of the Ukrainian military, assisting the forces of the "Luhansk People's Republic" in successfully liberating over 90% of the territory. The Russian military has so far destroyed 1,412 Ukrainian tanks and armored vehicles, 184 unmanned aerial vehicles, 142 multiple launch rocket systems, 542 canons and mortars. On the same day, the Ukrainian government declared the evacuation of 6,623 civilians through a "humanitarian corridor." The United Nations reported that the current Russia-Ukraine conflict has resulted in at least 847 civilian deaths and over 3.2 million Ukrainian refugees seeking shelter in neighboring

countries.
March 21, 2022.
Illustrated by Li Qiang

160 **Li Qiang 李强**

- 'Flight of Ukrainian Refugees'
- After a photograph by Andrea Alexandrova,
- Painted by Li Qiang,
- 27 February 2022, Qingdao'
- Black ink, red stamp

161 **Li Qiang 李强**

乌克兰难民出逃

2022年2月26日，乌克兰与罗马尼亚边境，一名乌克兰难民抱着4岁女儿逃离处境。2月25日，联合国人权办公室宣布已收到至少127名乌克兰平民伤亡报告，包括25人在炮击和空袭中死亡，102人受伤。联合国难民署估计本轮冲突已造成至少10万乌克兰人流离失所，过去48小时逾五万乌克兰难民逃往邻国避难。联合国秘书长宣布从应急基金中拨款2000万美元，用于为乌克兰提供积极人道主义援助。

摄影师：Andrea Alexander

二零二二年二月二十七日， 李强画于青岛

Ukrainian Refugees Fleeing
On February 26, 2022, at the Ukraine-Romania border, a Ukrainian refugee is seen escaping the situation while holding his 4-year-old daughter. On February 25, the United Nations Human Rights Office announced receiving reports of at least 127 Ukrainian civilian casualties, including 25 deaths from shelling and airstrikes, with 102 people injured. The UN Refugee Agency estimates that this conflict has already displaced at least 100,000 Ukrainians, with over 50,000 Ukrainian refugees seeking shelter in neighboring countries in the past 48 hours. The UN Secretary-General declared an allocation of 20 million dollars from the emergency fund to provide active humanitarian assistance to Ukraine.
Photographer: Andrea Alexander
February 27, 2022.
Illustrated by Li Qiang in Qingdao.

162 **Li Qiang**

Three years ago, I painted the picture 'Ukraine Commemorates the 86th Anniversary of the Great Famine'. Millions of Ukrainians were starved to death. This is a human tragedy caused by the former Soviet government! We must always remember that the human right to exist is paramount. On February 24, 2022, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine, much to the outrage of peace-loving people around the world. The actions of the Ukrainian people who fought bravely against the aggressors, and defended their freedom and dreams, inspired and moved me.Victory must belong to the glorious Ukrainian people! God bless Ukraine!

163 **Li Qiang**

- 'An elderly Ukrainian man guarding his grandson's sweet dreams. Painted by Li Qiang on 10 April 2022.'

- Ink on paper.

164 **Li Qiang 李强**

- b. 1963, Qingdao
- Studied in USA, lives in Qingdao
- Qingdao Artists Association
- Executive director of Pen Painting Association