

側論早期的「李萬居／《公論報》現象」 ——以戰後三次的「藝文」刊評及其歷史脈絡 (1945-1957) 為考察對象^{*}

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摘要

關於李萬居／《公論報》的相關研究——諸如「民主先聲」、「為民喉舌」這類的評價——事實上已有不少，論者們的研究取向也大多藉由「從政」、「辦報」、或「組黨」等不同的面向來探討其對民主憲政的推展與貢獻。然而筆者透過大量史料和藝文作品的梳理後卻認為，由於林林總總的個人與歷史際遇，戰後初期特別是最早的那幾年，李萬居／《公論報》雖曾也迫使當局在部分的施政上改善或讓步，可是那都只能算是反官員的苛政、卻不反國府黨國，只批判地方措施、卻不碰中央體制；相對地，他／它深信也深陷在黨國體制的「報」國情結裡，而半志願接受意識型態的馴化與領導，其早期的民主憲政功績在某種程度上不能不說同時也是屈從於對黨國體制的認可。本文試圖從異於以往的視野出發，將李萬居／《公論報》同時替換／並置於文化與文學的場域中，透過《公論報》早期對〈香蕉香〉話劇、〈台灣文學的方向〉、「反共藝文」等雖非直接全面，但卻近似「政治性」的三次藝文刊評及其歷史脈絡的考察，來重新審視其作為知識分子／民辦報紙曾經一度面臨的侷限及其

* 在此要特別感謝匿名審查人惠賜許多寶貴的建議及指正，使本文有機會能在改善的情形下得以出版。至於仍有不盡周延之處，其文責筆者理當自負。

對部分藝文走向所發揮的影響力。最後，並試著提出早期的「李萬居／《公論報》現象」其可能產生的效應和因應之道。

關鍵詞：李萬居、公論報、台灣文學、黨國體制、知識分子現象



The Phenomenon of Li Wan-chu / *Public Opinion Press* in the Early Stage:

A Study on three art & literature reviews in *Public Opinion Press* and his/its historical context in the post-war period (1945-1957)

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Abstract

Li Wan-chu / *Public Opinion Press* is referred to in many studies as a “democracy’s harbinger” and “a person/newspaper who speaks for the public.” In addition, most researchers studied his/its contribution to the democratic constitutionalism from the perspective on “entering politics,” “running newspaper” or “establishing parties.” However, after analyzing a great deal of historical data and works of art, the researcher believes that due to the numerous personal and historical opportunities in the early postwar period, especially in the first of those years, Li Wan-chu / *Public Opinion Press* had forced the authorities to improve some governance or concession. But that can only be regarded as against tyranny officials, yet not against the Kuomintang government, in which he/it only criticized the local measures, but did not mention the central system. By contrast, he/it was convinced and mired in the complex of serving the country in the party-state system, and thus semi-voluntarily accepted the ideological domestication and leadership. His/its achievements in the democratic constitutionalism in the early stage were to some extent subject to the recognition of the party-state system. This paper, taking from a different point of view, changes/places Li Wan-chu / *Public Opinion Press* in the fields of culture and literature, and re-examines his/its limitations and influence on the trend of some art and literature fields by analyzing three indirect and political art & literature reviews on “Banana Aroma” stage play, “The Direction of Literature in Taiwan” and “The

Anti-communist Art” in *Public Opinion Press* and his/its historical context. This paper also proposes the phenomenon of Li Wan-chu / *Public Opinion Press* in the early stage and its possible effects and the way of response.

Keywords: Li, Wan-chu, *Public Opinion Press*, Taiwan Literature, Party-state System, Phenomenon of Intellectuals

