# 連戰連敗的文藝大眾爭奪戰 ——日治時期的鄉土文學、流行歌謠與左翼知識分子——

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臺語流行歌謠的誕生實與 1930 年代以左翼知識分子為主所引發的鄉土文學運動有密切關係。以時間上而言,鄉土文學運動的起因和唱片工業的興起相關,臺語歌謠活動的盛行約是在鄉土文學受挫後;而以從事流行歌謠活動的成員來看,兩者則有相當程度的重疊。1930 年代歌詞經常被當作文學作品刊登在文藝雜誌上,而繼承了鄉土文學的精神內涵,這些歌詞也具有以寫實主義批判社會現況、凸顯臺灣主體性的色彩。

由於缺乏一個穩定,且具有自主性的文學書寫工具,日治時期臺灣文學必須不斷面臨文體/文學/詮釋共同體之邊界,到底要如何設定或磨合的問題。在艱難的文學發展路上,臺語流行歌謠可說是臺灣人在文字文學活動受困後,轉戰到聲音的一種文藝現象。而這些相關的文化活動可說是三〇年代,臺灣文藝大眾爭奪戰的一環。

1920、30 年代日本(左翼/右翼)以及臺灣(左翼/殖民統治者)兩地,相繼發生了一場試圖利用媒體以爭取無產階級大眾教化權的文藝大眾爭奪戰。在文字文學上,兩場爭奪戰均以擁有資本主義以及政治權力為後盾的後者取得勝利。日本方面,右翼更是趁勝追擊把教化大眾的手段由文字出版擴展到唱片工業。另一方面,在臺灣的大眾爭奪戰中,左翼知識分子雖也轉戰到流行歌謠,但卻依舊受挫。不同的是,在臺灣這場以聲音做為手段的大眾爭奪戰中,擊敗左翼知識分子的陣營與其說是日本的唱片工業,不如說是具資本主義色彩、強調娛樂休閒功能的其他本土文化工作者。

在這場文藝大眾爭奪戰中,臺灣的左翼可說是連戰連敗。

關鍵字 文藝大眾爭奪戰、鄉土文學、臺語流行歌謠、左翼知識分子、轉戰



## Incessant Defeats Suffered by Left-wing Intelligentsia in Japanese Colonial Taiwan – Folk Literature and Popular Ballads

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The emergence of popular Taiwanese ballads was closely related to the folk literature movement initiated mainly by the left-wing intelligentsia in the 1930s. While the rise of the record industry hindered the folk literature movement, both its boom and the setback it posed eventually led to the growing popularity of Taiwanese ballads. To people of that era, folk literature and Taiwanese ballads shared many common characteristics. Lyrics of the 1930s pop ballads were often published as literary works in magazines of literature and arts. Succeeding the spirit and essence of folk literature, pop ballads contained criticisms of the social reality at that time with a strong tinge of Taiwan consciousness.

Without a steady and autonomous literary writing tool, Taiwan literature during the Japanese colonial years often confronted problems of its literary forms and styles. It also faced constant challenges from the community of common literary interpretation, struggling hard to maintain its status under cultural assimilation. Along the uphill arduous path of literary development, promotion of Taiwanese pop ballads was a tactical move, out from the quagmire of literature in 'words' to that in 'sounds', and from the arena of being 'read' to that of being 'heard'. All cultural activities related to such change in strategy in the 1930s played an important role in the campaign for winning domination of the literary populace.

The 1920s and 1930s saw the outbreak of a struggle for power in the education and enlightenment of the proletarian populace in both Japan (between the left and right wings) and Taiwan (between the left-wing intelligentsia and the colonial ruler). The battlefield was set in the mass media and the eventual victory went to the side with capitalist ideology and supported by political power. With the initial triumph, the right-wing in Japan further extended its domination from the publication to the record industry. On the other hand, the left-wing in Taiwan, enduring the first defeat, switched the battleground from literature to ballads, and yet faced further setback from the thriving Japanese record industry. Nevertheless, in this battle with 'sounds' as the combat weapon, the left-wing intelligentsia of Taiwan was vanquished not by a foreign foe. Instead, it was beaten by the domestic cultural circle that embraced capitalism and emphasized more the role of the mass media in providing entertainment and leisure than as a tool for educating the public.