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André Marty and Ernest Hemingway

Abstract

On its publication in October 1940, Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was widely acclaimed but caused anger and dismay among supporters of the defeated Spanish Republic, starting with veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. For them, the most egregious passage in the novel was Hemingway's portrayal of André Marty, chief political commissar of the International Brigades, as a bloodthirsty crazy: 'está loco', say all those who encounter him. This article places the reception of this novel and the reputation of Marty in the context of the tortuous history of the communist movement. Drawing on the press, memoirs, historiography and Marty's own private papers, we see how the contrasting fortunes of the novelist and the communist leader illustrate a 'craziness' which *For Whom the Bell Tolls* both captures and anticipates. (word count: 9 250 words)

Keywords: Spanish Civil War communism Franco-American relations historical fiction memory

Text

It has been hard to be dispassionate about André Marty, the so-called 'butcher of Albacete'. His career in the communist movement saw rapid rise then brutal fall: from hero of the Black Sea mutiny in 1919 to Paris deputy, chief political commissar of the International Brigades, secretary of the Comintern and leading member of the PCF politburo, before becoming a non-person after a show-trial *à la française* in 1952. Attacked by Stalinists, Trotskyists, anarchists and fascists, among many others, André Marty's reputation was further compromised by his portrayal in Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Confronted with a bloodthirsty Stalinist inquisitor, the character Andrés concurs with Marty's own entourage: *está loco***.** However, without attempting the impossible task of psychiatric diagnosis, it is instructive to place the battle over this literary representation of a living politician in the wider context of the history of communism. The contrasting fortunes of Marty and Hemingway illustrate a 'craziness' that – beyond mere questions of historical veracity - *For Whom the Bell Tolls* manages to capture and anticipate.

'Deference to punks': Hemingway outrages the Spanish veterans

From the mid-30s onwards, notably with his novel *To Have and Have Not* (1937), Ernest Hemingway seemed, in the eyes of left-wing critics, including those in the Soviet Union, to be turning away from individualism and pessimism towards a more socially-committed and future-oriented world-view. This evolution was confirmed by his public support for the Loyalists defending the Spanish Republic against Fascist aggression. His dispatches from Spain, his play *The Fifth Column*, his collaboration with Joris Ivens on the film *Spanish Earth*, and his three contributions to the communist-aligned *New Masses*, made of Hemingway arguably the most prominent American anti-Fascist intellectual of the late thirties. It was therefore with great anticipation that veterans of the defeated Spanish cause, notably those 3, 000 American volunteers of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (ALB), awaited the publication of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, which, they hoped, would evoke and celebrate their doomed heroism.

However, if on publication in 1940, Hemingway's novel was an instant best-seller, it dismayed many of communist sympathies. It was not difficult to see why. First of all, the main character, the American dynamiter and former Spanish tutor Robert Jordan, was a loner, who described himself as anti-fascist but not communist, and fought with a band of guerrillas behind enemy lines, rather than in the International Brigades. What's more, real protagonists of the conflict, named explicitly by the author, were shown in a negative light: Dolores Ibarruri, 'La Pasionaria', sent her sons to the Soviet Union to escape military action; the Russian advisors to the Republican army were drunken and debauched; their Spanish protégés, Enrique Lister and El Campesino, were competent but cruel. However, what enraged most the veterans, beginning with the VALB, was Hemingway's portrait of André Marty, the erstwhile chief political commissar of the International Brigades.

In Marty's own collection of texts in homage to the International Brigades, there is little sign of the bloodthirsty butcher of myth. His account of the first 'douze mois sublimes' begins with a speech to British and American volunteers, praising the 'nobles fils de Jefferson et de Lincoln'.[1] Come from 25 nations and representing every radical tendency, from anarchists to liberals, the Brigades bring to the brave Spanish people the science of modern warfare. However, the struggle is threatened by British and French policy of non-

[1] André Marty, *Volontaires d'Espagne: douze mois sublimes* (Paris: Editions du Comité populaire de propagande, 1937), p. 14.

intervention that favours Berlin and Rome. What's more, the 'stab in the back' perpetrated unsuccessfully in Barcelona by the Trotskyist POUM showed the peril posed by deviationist splitters. It is this suspicious nature which will enter legend and literature.

Marty plays a small but significant role towards the end of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. After another band of guerrillas, led by El Sordo, has been wiped out by Francoist troops and aviation, the old man Anselmo returns from a reconnaissance trip to announce that there is significant enemy movement on the nearby road, including anti-tank guns. It seems that they have caught wind of the planned Republican offensive, which Jordan is charged with helping through blowing the bridge. Jordan puts this information and his concerns in a message which he asks the young Andrés to carry through enemy lines to the headquarters of the man overseeing the offensive, General Golz.

While, at the Hotel Gaylord, Madrid, Russian officers and journalists are sure the annihilation of El Sordo's band is a sign that the fascists have started fighting among themselves, and are confident that Golz will manoeuvre the enemy like he did at the battle of Guadalajara, Andrés crosses enemy lines, bolstered by memories of bravery in bull-baiting. However, Andrés's mission confronts him with generalised 'craziness' and mutual suspicion. His problems begin when he encounters anarchists. As he explains his mission, one declares: 'He's crazy… Toss a bomb at him'.[2] The next obstacle in his quest is an old-style officer, who declares to the battalion commander, Captain Gomez: 'All of you are crazy… I know of no general Golz nor of no attack. Take this sportsman and get back to your battalion' (p. 349). Eventually, Gomez prevails and drives Andrés rapidly towards his destination on motorbike,.However, they suffer the misfortune of arriving at *La Comandancia*, the general headquarters, at the same time as a staff car carrying André Marty.

From photographs and articles in the communist newspaper *Mundo Obrero*, Gomez knew Marty 'for one of France's great modern revolutionary figures who had led the mutiny of the French Navy in the Black Sea. Gomez knew this man would know where Golz's headquarters were and be able to direct him there'(p. 365). And yet, says the narrator, 'he did not know what this man had become with time, disappointment, bitterness both domestic and political, and thwarted ambition and that to question him was one of the most dangerous things that any man could do' (p. 365). Marty's grey face had 'a look of decay' (p. 365). Marty takes the dispatch from Andrés and immediately orders that he and Gomez be arrested. 'Está loco', say the guard and the corporal to the two unfortunates. They warn them:… 'That

[2] Ernest Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (London: Granada, 1980), p. 328. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

old one kills more than the bubonic plague. ... But he doesn't kill fascists like we do. *Qué no*. Not in joke... He kills rare things. Trotzkyites, Divagationers. Any type of rare beast' (p. 366). Marty therefore seems to personify the bloodthirsty Stalinist paranoia then devastating the Republican side as well as the Soviet leadership and military high command, beginning with Marshal Tukachevsky. Hemingway conveys the pathologically suspicious mind-set of this commissar:

> Only by pruning out of these rotten branches can the tree remain healthy and grow. The rot must become apparent for it to be destroyed. But Golz of all men. That Golz should be one of the traitors. He knew that you could trust no one. No one. Ever. Not your wife. Not your brother. Not your oldest comrade. No one. Ever.(p. 368)

'Está loco', concludes Andrés as he is taken away (p. 369).

Marty is left to pore over a map of the front, displaying military pretensions that exasperate Golz, but to which the latter resigns himself. However, he is disturbed by the arrival of the Soviet journalist Karkov (based on the real Mikhail Koltsov), who has a knack of 'puncturing' Marty. The commissar 'did not like Karkov, but Karkov, coming from *Pravda* and in direct communication with Stalin, was at this moment one of the three most important men in Spain' (p. 371). 'You are really a general', Karkov tells him, with more than a hint of sarcasm (p. 371). Marty hands over the dispatch and safe-conduct pass, then the corporal returns with his captives: 'He looked quickly at André Marty who stared back at him like an old boar which has been brought to bay by hounds. There was no fear on Marty's face and no humiliation. He was only angry, and he was only temporarily at bay. He knew these dogs could never hold him' (p. 372). Already, Marty has revenge against Karkov in mind. The journalist warns him: 'I am going to find out just how untouchable you are, comrade Marty. I would like to know if it could not be possible to change the name of that tractor factory' (p. 373).

Eventually, Andrés accomplishes his mission, passing Jordan's pessimistic report to Duval, Golz's French subordinate. But it is far too late: the Republic's bombers have already taken to the sky to bomb ridges from which the Fascist tanks and troops have tactically withdrawn. Down the phone, Golz declares: 'Nous sommes foutus. Oui. Comme toujours' (p. 375). The narrator does not claim the offensive is doomed to failure by the paranoid antics of Marty: 'It is doubtful if the outcome of Andrés's mission would have been any different if he and Gomez had been allowed to proceed without André Marty's hindrance. There was no one

at the front with sufficient authority to cancel the attack' (p. 370). Indeed, such large-scale military attacks had an inertia of their own which crushed the willpower of a single individual. What's more, Marty's 'craziness' and paranoia are echoed by the anarchists and the traditional officer-class: the Loyalist cause seems hamstrung by hopeless divisions. Nevertheless, there was enough in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* to offend those who had once considered Hemingway a fellow traveller.

Hemingway's portrait was based on information given by his friend Gustav Regler, political commissar of 12th International Brigade, who became rapidly disillusioned with the Comintern. Regler recounted to Hemingway how, after the Battle at the Arganda Bridge over the Jarama river, defended bravely by French volunteers in February 1937, Marty had wanted to shoot the survivors as 'wine-looters'.[3] Hemingway, who got along famously with the French survivors, was very moved by their heroism, loved the 12th Brigade, and came to hate Marty. Regler also told him of an incident in which Marty had two volunteers executed when they panicked during combat. Hemingway replied strongly by calling Marty a 'swine' and spitting on the ground in contempt. Afterwards, according to Regler:

> I gave him secret material relating to the Party which he respected, because it was fighting more actively than any other body, although he despised it as Marty's. He used my material later in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*… He depicted the spy disease, that Russian syphilis, in all its shameful, murderously studied workings, writing with hatred of the huntsman for the poacher.[4]

Marty seems to be one of the *politicos* whom Hemingway did not allow into his innermost circle of friends. It is not that the novelist was a pacifist: his cruel indifference to the disappearance of intellectual José Robles ended his friendship with John Dos Passos. A quote from his interview by John North in the *Daily Worker* helps understand his antipathy to the 'butcher of Albacete': 'I like the Communists when they're soldiers; when they're priests, I hate them. Yes, priests, the commissars who hand down the papal bulls'.[5] The doomed

[3] Allen Josephs, *For Whom the Bell Tolls. Ernest Hemingway's Undiscovered Country* (New York: Twayne, 1994), p. 58.
[4] Quoted in Burnett Bolloten, *The Spanish Revolution. The Left and the Struggle for Power during the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), pp. 294-5.
[5] Cecil. D. Eby, *Comrades and Commissars. The Lincoln Battalion in the Spanish Civil War* (Philadelphia: Penn State University Press, 2006), p. 120.

communist Brigade commander Robert Merriman would serve as model for Robert Jordan, but, in Hemingway's eyes, Marty must have been one of these hated communist 'priests'.

A change in political context can also explain the venom in Hemingway's portraits of communist leaders, beginning with Marty. As Adam Hothschild points out, unlike George Orwell, in his *Homage to Catalonia*, Hemingway 'said nothing in his wartime despatches that might have tarnished the heroic Republican image'.[6] But the Spanish Republic had now fallen, the Popular Front policy was abandoned, and Stalin had come to an agreement with Hitler. The French Communist Party was subsequently outlawed and Marty and other communist leaders made their way to Moscow. It is at this time that Hemingway began to write his novel. According to Stephen Koch, Hemingway 'had entered a Faustian bargain with the Popular Front. Yet this time, and for once, Faust got off lucky. When Stalin pulled the plug on the Popular Front, it was Mephistopheles who was first to back out of the deal'.[7] Also while Hemingway wrote the novel, Mikhail Koltsov; 'the most intelligent man I have ever met'[8], had been arrested and shot, presumably after Marty denounced him to Stalin for anti-Soviet deviation. Hence, the desire for revenge against 'Karkov' imagined in chapter 42 had come to real fulfilment. Marty, like other historical figures mentioned by name, contrasts with those friends whom Hemingway portrays sympathetically and perhaps seek to protect with pseudonyms: firstly Karkov, but also 'General Golz', most certainly General Karol Swierczewski, alias Walter, who is characterized by political and military intelligence, as well as lucidity and pessimism.[9]

As Allen Josephs points out, Hemingway was concerned about potential liability and possibly about political consequences, which can explain his invention of names for Koltsov and Walter. Regarding Marty, whose name he decidedly did not want to change so as to publicly settle accounts, he wrote to Charles Scribner: 'One other thing – André Marty is the name of a real person. He has fled from France to Russia under sentence of death… He could never come to US under any circumstances. He cannot go back to France unless the Communists come into power. Can he sue?'.[10]

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[6] Adam Hothschild, *Spain in our Hearts. Americans in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (London: Pan Macmillan, 2016), p. 362.
[7] Stephen Koch, *The Breaking Point. Hemingway, Dos Passos, and the murder of José Robles* (London: Robson, 2006), p. 276.
[8] Ibid., p. 56
[9] Jerzy R. Krzyzanowski, '*For Whom the Bell Tolls*. The Origins of General Golz', *The Polish Review*, 4 (Autumn 1962), pp. 69-74.
[10] Quoted in Allen Josephs, p. 72.

In this way, Hemingway's transposition of historical characters into a work of fiction is very different from that by Scott and Tolstoy, as studied and theorised by Georg Lukacs in *The Historical Novel*.[11] We are not dealing with characters who are dead and often from a distant past who, as marginal dramatis personae, play a role in an epic clash of social forces. Instead, Marty (along with Pasionaria, Enrique Lister and El Campesino) are all too living and real. Here, from the safety of the United States, Hemingway engages more in polemic than epic, openly settling accounts over the fresh demise of the Spanish Republic. Through his prose, he denounces the 'butcher' and military charlatan in a way that General Golz can only dream of, the latter always being reduced to saying: 'Yes, Comrade Marty, I see your point' (p. 370).

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB) had eagerly looked forward to the novel. Instead, Bernard Knox remembered how 'the book contained a savage portrait of André Marty, the political commissar of all the Brigades, as a half-crazed self-important witch-hunter, seeing spies and Trotskyists right and left and sending them before firing squads'. At the end of two meetings, the VALB decided to issue and distribute a denunciation of the novel. Milton Wolff, the last political commissar of the Brigade, was particularly offended. The portrayal of Robert Jordan, he explained much later, 'as clean-cut WASP guerrilla leader, derring-do behind the lines, bombardier blowing up a bridge when not with Maria in a sleeping bag, the earth moving with each climax, was okay for Hollywood, I thought. The reality, however, was a guerrilla squad led by Goff, a Jewish kid who had won a New York State diving championship, and Billy Aalto, a Finn and professed Village poet. These guys had no Abercrombie & Fitch sleeping bags. They slept on the ground using their ponchos for both ground cover and blanket. There were no Marias to share their bedding'. At the time, Wolff wrote an indignant letter to Hemingway, calling him 'a tourist in Spain and saying that as such he could not know his ass from his elbow as to what the war was about.' Predictably, this aroused Hemingway's wrath and prompted a letter to Wolff calling him 'a prick' and ending: 'We are no longer friends.' He later apologized for the epithet, but contact between Hemingway and the VALB was broken off.[12]

Marty never made a public statement about his cameo in Hemingway's novel, but his private papers, now partly held in the Archives départementales de Seine-Saint-Denis,

[11] Georg Lukacs, *The Historical Novel* (London: Merlin, 1962).
[12] All quotations in paragraph from Bernard Knox, 'In Another Country', *The New York Review of Books*, 20, 1 December 1994, p. 35.

contain a substantial dossier of press clippings, sometimes underlined and ticked in red pen.[13] They are almost exclusively articles denouncing *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Thus, in the CPUSA's *Sunday Worker*, Art Shields, former correspondent in Spain during the last days of the Republic, and who had himself been imprisoned, attacked the author's 'travesty on Spanish freedom': 'Hemingway has changed. He has ceased to be a partisan of the Spanish masses as he was when he wrote enthusiastic and vivid dispatches from Madrid. His prose has become stained with futility and defeat, with strong streaks of hostility towards the things he once admired'. The book that should have helped the great struggle against Fascism had become a weapon against it: 'Hemingway's primitive and unstable rank and file Spaniards and their cruel leaders have filled many readers with doubt and defeat'. The slanders that brought this effect were basic to the book: 'If all the falsehoods against Lister, André Marty, Pasionaria and the Soviet Union were purged from the story the mood of doubt and defeat would still be induced. That is true because the Spanish people as a whole are grossly misunderstood'. Hemingway had a 'racist' vision of the Spaniards as kind but cruel, brave but unstable, and devoid of political consciousness, as illustrated by the 'grotesque chieftain' Pablo, who steals Jordan's dynamiting equipment before rejoining the guerrilla band. Shields asserts a truth buried beneath Hemingway's calumnies: it was Marty who got supplies for the underground forces behind Franco's lines. Every guerrilla knew that 'the Polish hand-grenades, the French fuses, the American dynamite, the English guns' that they used were obtained with Marty's help . Shields concluded:

> Hemingway's hatred against the man who organised and guided the International Brigades is intense. He drags Marty into the story in the most artificial fashion for the purpose of venting this hatred. In his spleen he parrots the same stupid charges that the French fascists brought against Marty in the Chamber of Deputies in March, 1939.

'One may well ask' continued Shields, 'why Hemingway singles out Marty for caricature and is silent on the deadly role of another Frenchman, Léon Blum, who joined with Chamberlain in strangling Spain by the vicious blockade imposed under the farce of "Non-Intervention"'. But his conclusion was rather optimistic: 'The best refutation of Hemingway's slanders

[13] Archives Départementales de Seine-Saint-Denis, Bobigny: Fonds André Marty, 281J M15A.

against the people's leaders in Spain is the news trickling through Franco's lines today that the seeds planted by Pasionaria, Marty and the CP are bearing fruit'.[14]

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Another clipping is the review in *People's World* by Steve Nelson, another political commissar of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. In some respects the book's distortions were crowned by the portrayal of Marty: 'this passage is so glaring that even in my original estimation of the book… I branded it as a serious error. But is it really an error? That's, an error in the sense of an unconscious mistake, a slip?'. Nelson remembered one incident that may shed some light on the novelist's behaviour:

> It occurred during the Brunete offensive when an order was issued that all correspondents would be barred from the front lines until the conclusion of this particular military operation. Hemingway and Herbert L. Matthews, the *New York Times* correspondent, wanted to go to the front, but their way was blocked by a sentry who, in conformity with his orders, refused to allow any civilians to go to the front. H flew into a rage, berated the soldier and finally thundered; 'Who in hell signed that order? Who is the goddamned bureaucrat who issues such orders?' To placate Hemingway, the sentry, who felt uncomfortable while Hemingway shouted but was bent on doing his duty, showed Hemingway the order. It was signed by André Marty for the International Brigades.

For Nelson, Marty was primarily a distinguished organiser who, during his time at Albacete, fashioned early volunteers into fighting detachments. It was a race against time, hindered by problems of language and diverse habits and training. In chapter 42, Hemingway cast him in a role which he never played in Spain: 'his job was not at the front, it was at the base… In all its physical details, the particular incident is untrue, and the slander is all the more glaring because Hemingway used a real, historic figure as the center of the incident'. Marty happened to be the only member of the International Brigades accorded any extensive treatment in the novel. For Nelson, it was this characterization that left 'the greatest impression, both because of its vehemence and also because of its skilful placing in the structural narrative. Did Hemingway wish that his false portrayal of Marty should represent the International

[14] Art Shields, 'Ernest Hemingway's Travesty on Spain's Fight for Freedom', *Sunday Worker*, New York, 8 December 1940, p. 1.

Brigades? Whether we wished it or not, that is what his book does. As a result, it is not only a defamation of one man – André Marty; it is a distortion of a great historic phenomenon, which expressed the truest sense of sympathy of the peoples throughout the world with the Spanish people'.[15]

Finally, in *New Masses*, Imagist poet Isidor Schneider berated this calumny by a former contributor, who, as recently as February 1939, had paid homage in its pages to the dead of the ALB. Marty was presented as 'a doctrinaire to the point of idiocy', Karkov as 'a complete cynic without faith in man or principle'. Schneider came to a withering conclusion: 'I have heard the suggestion that *The Bell* is also Hemingway's response to the goading of those who called him a Communist stooge. If there is any truth at all in that, then *The Bell* is not an assertion of independence. It is an act of deference to punks'.[16]

A Novel at War

For ideological and geopolitical reasons, a translation of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* could not appear in Occupied France: publishers and the press were now under the strict control of the Nazi *Propaganda-Abteilung*. In the USSR, 1940 marked the beginning of a publishing and critical moratorium that would last fifteen years. However, Hemingway and his novel could be looked upon favourably by part of the French intellectual resistance. In Algiers, in June 1943, after the Anglo-American landings, *Fontaine* brought out a special issue devoted to contemporary writers and poets of the USA.

The French contributors to this volume were not of communist affinities. In his 'avertissement', the review's director, Max-Pol Fouchet, explained the motivation for this issue: 'De prouver, et de prouver par un acte, que la pensée française était aux côtés de ceux qui, défenseurs de la liberté, défendaient la pensée tout court. Il ne s'agissait de rien d'autre, et de rien de moins, que d'un acte de présence'.[17] The choice of authors for this special issue was eclectic and not obviously political, containing the poetry of Robert Frost and even the notoriously reactionary and anti-Semitic T.S. Eliot. But the anthology included the militant negro poet Langston Hughes's 'Song for a Dark Girl' and Archibald Macleish's 'The Spanish Lie'. As for Hemingway, in his recent works he had expounded and developed 'sa

[15] Steve Nelson, 'Hemingway evades some great, historic truths', *People's World*, 12 February 1941, p. 3.
[16] Isidor Schneider, 'PS on Hemingway', *New Masses*, 14 January 1941, p. 4.
[17] Max-Pol Fouchet, 'Avertissement', *Fontaine*, numéro spécial, (June-July 1943), pp. 27-28.

philosophie ardemment antifasciste'.[18] To illustrate this, *Fontaine* published a translation of chapter two of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, where Robert Jordan joins the group of partisans.

Famously, Ernest Hemingway returned to liberated Paris in August 1944, as a correspondent attached, as always, to irregular troops, before 'liberating' the bar at the Hotel Ritz. At the same time, in London, Heinemann and Zsolny published a French translation of *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, by Denise van Moppès. On 7 October 1944, an extract of the novel was published in *Les Lettres françaises*, organ of the French intellectual resistance, which, at the time, sold 250 000 copies a week and had a 'broad church' of contributors that included Jean Paulhan, François Mauriac and Jean-Paul Sartre, as well as the communists Louis Aragon and Paul Eluard. On the front page was a 'Lettre à nos amis américains' in which Claude Aveline declared : 'Tout nous unit : le même dégoût des doctrines totalitaires, la même horreur de leur mise en pratique, le même respect de la dignité humaine'. On pages three and eight was an extract from the final chapter of the novel, adorned with illustrations by communist artist André Forgeron. The passage describes the blowing up of the bridge to delay the Francoist advance and the sacrifice of old Anselmo, but stops before Jordan's regrets, the departure of his surviving comrades and lover Maria, as well as his wait for death. The extract thus echoes the cult of the partisan and emphasises heroic resistance rather than ultimate defeat.[19]

However, if the French public now had access to Hemingway's acclaimed novel, the translator had renamed Marty as 'Massart'. This self-censorship (for other translations, beginning with the Spanish, kept Marty) can most plausibly be explained by the sheer power of the PCF in late 1944: a leading force in the Resistance, basking in the glories of the Red Army, hegemonic among French intellectuals and led by a triumvirate that included none other than André Marty. The choice of 'Massart' raises various hypotheses: 'mass art', 'Marat', 'massacre'? Nevertheless, the damage had already been done by Hemingway, and the rapid onset of the Cold War would make him most unwelcome in the communist world. Granted, in his review of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* for the communist-aligned cultural journal *Europe*, in September 1946, Pierre Grenaud praised the author's 'prodigieuse vitalité… une richesse qui parachève sa technique et confirme la morale d'un homme qui aime fortement la vie… [son] réalisme brutal… est une des forces de l'existence sous lequel veille une lucide humanité'.[20] Otherwise, the communist press did not deign to review *For Whom the Bell*

[18] Jean Wahl, 'Ernest Hemingway', p. 215.
[19] Ernest Hemingway, 'Un pont dans la montagne', *Les Lettres françaises*, 7 October 1944, pp. 3 and 8.
[20] *Europe*, 6-7, (September 1946), p. 107.

Tolls. If *Les Lettres françaises*, increasingly under PCF control, had serialised John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, Louis Parrot denounced the wave of American literature engulfing France. For this hatchet job, Parrot leaned on *Aperçus de littérature américaine* by Maurice Coindreau, a professor of French at the University of Princeton, who played a seminal role in the translation and promotion of contemporary American fiction. Parrot was particularly attracted by Coindreau's criticism of the 'roman alcoolique' of which Hemingway was a prime exponent : 'Les ivrognes sont à peu près les seuls héros d'un immense secteur des lettres américaines et le représentant le plus illustre de cette littérature alcoolique et brutale est Ernest Hemingway. De fait, tous les personnages de Hemingway, ou presque, sont des brutes, des ivrognes, des bagarreurs'.[21]

This hostility towards American literature was exacerbated by the expulsion of the PCF from government in 1947 and the division of the world into 'two camps' as formulated by Stalin's cultural henchman Zhdanov. As Communist regimes were imposed throughout the Soviet sphere of influence, so ideological rectitude in the arts and sciences was re-affirmed and non-communist American culture attacked. This anti-Americanism found an outlet in *Les Lettres françaises* when the journal was sued for libel by Victor Kravchenko, a high-ranking Soviet official who had defected to the USA. The newspaper claimed that Kravchenko's memoir, translated into French as *J'ai choisi la liberté*, was fabricated by CIA agents and falsely claimed that concentration camps existed in the USSR.[22] The stage was set for a trial in which Communist and fellow-travelling intellectuals would claim that the Soviet gulag archipelago's existence was unthinkable.

In February 1949, on the eve of the 'trial of the century', *Les Lettres françaises* produced 'pièces pour le procès d'une civilisation américaine'. Particular prominence was given to the Kinsey Report on contemporary American attitudes towards sex. According to their medical chronicler, 'Docteur Baissette', Alfred Kinsey's research was devoid of scientific value, although the Communist physician quoted at length references to widespread masturbation and extramarital intercourse. Alongside this article was one by Pierre Daix, a young writer whose Stalinist zeal had been steeled by wartime incarceration in the Nazi camp of Mauthausen. Reviewing *L'Age du roman américain* by Claude-Edmonde Magny, Daix denounced the 'servitude and decadence' of the American novel. 'Le fiasco', he claimed, 'est passé du plan sexuel à la littérature': 'On dirait qu'être écrivain aux Etats-Unis, c'est nécessairement être malheureux, voire désespéré... Même les écrivains qui semblent les plus

[21] Louis Parrot, 'De Faulkner à Henry Miller', *Les Lettres françaises*, 9 August 1946, p. 5.
[22] Victor Kravchencko, *J'ai choisi la liberté* (Paris: Editions Self, 1947).

optimistes par tempérament, le plus superficiel aussi, sont graduellement envahis par l'amertume'. This had been exemplified by the early deaths of Nathanael West, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Thomas Wolfe. As for the contemporary American writers so fêted in French circles, John Dos Passos was 'révolutionnaire dans la forme, mais acceptant la société établie'. Hemingway never stopped 'cheating'. *To Have and Have Not* was 'une protestation aveugle', while in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* he unveiled his real world-view :

> Ce à quoi il en a, ce n'est pas bien sûr à la 'société capitaliste', c'est à ses adversaires les plus résolus. En la circonstance, la République espagnole et les combattants des brigades internationales qu'il injurie et salit. Destin exemplaire de ce romancier qui résout ses contradictions formelles au moment même où, cessant de jouer avec le roman, il ment et falsifie délibérément les faits.[23]

With tension between the 'two camps' so high, and a paranoid 'craziness' gripping them both, it was difficult to find reconciliation with friends turned 'traitors', but not impossible. In 1947 the VALB began to plan a meeting to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Lincoln Battalion's appearance on the front lines in the Jarama Valley. The organizers asked Milton Wolff to call Hemingway in Cuba and invite him to New York to read the tribute to the American dead that he had published in *New Masses*. Wolff was understandably reluctant to do so but was finally persuaded to pick up the phone. To his astonishment, he received a warm greeting from Hemingway and a promise that, though he could not come to New York, he would make a recording of the text and send it to be played at the meeting.The eulogy was preceded by an introduction that began: 'I am glad to be present in this distinguished company of premature antifascists'.[24] Hemingway also agreed to be included in an anthology entitled *The Heart of Spain*. However, the Marty papers held in the Centre d'Histoire sociale, Paris, show the outrage caused by such an inclusion[25]. On 2 February 1950, Marty himself alerted the Amicale des anciens volontaires en Espagne républicaine, of which he was president, to the presence in this anthology of a 'calomniateur de l'Espagne républicaine, de Dolores, d'André Marty'. A week later, on behalf of the Amicale, Roger André wrote a letter of protest to the VALB:

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[23] Pierre Daix, 'Servitude et décadence du roman américain', *Les Lettres françaises*, 20 February 1949, p. 8.
[24] Quoted in Bernard Knox, 'In Another Country', p. 36.
[25] Quotations in the next three paragraphs pertain to documents held at the Centre d'Histoire sociale, Paris: Fonds André Marty, Box 11 2-AM-4A.

> Nos camarades imaginent difficilement que l'auteur de *Pour qui sonne le glas* puisse encore trouver quelque crédit parmi les anciens combattants des Brigades Internationales. Ils admettent moins encore que certains de ceux-ci fassent appel à la collaboration d'un homme qui a abusé de la généreuse hospitalité du peuple espagnol pour bafouer sa lutte héroïque, pour insulter bassement deux des plus belles figures de la guerre d'Espagne, particulièrement chères aux anciens des Brigades Internationales : nos camarades Dolores Ibarruri et André Marty.

Louis Aragon, who had offered his poem 'Santa Espina' for the anthology, also protested at Hemingway's inclusion. But on 20 February 1950, Irving Fajans tried to explain the nuances and compromises involved in the VALB's decision:

> The rule of thumb which we used in compiling it was to exclude the red baiters, and the literary lice – the Malrauxs, the Koestlers, the Dos Passos. We did not exclude those who have withdrawn from progressive activity, or who have remained silent, or who have made it plain that they are not communists but have not red baited. Everybody was in agreement that [*For Whom the Bell Tolls*] was a horrible book, and I think I should point out that we attacked the book when it was published. Many reviews were published. We organised symposiums, etc. Later, when the motion picture came out, we renewed our criticisms.

However, Hemingway was still identified in the minds of most people as a partisan of the Spanish republic and since the conflict he had associated himself with some progressive causes. He had already been invited to sign appeal letters and appear at fund-raising gala dinners. For Fajans, it therefore made no sense to exclude Hemingway from the anthology. He concluded: 'I cannot refrain from quoting Dimitrov, who said that we must take the petty bourgeoisie as they are and not as we would like them to be'.

This disagreement aside, the Amicale expressed solidarity with a VALB considered a threat by the US authorities: in 1947, after a reunion addressed by General 'Walter', the VALB had been placed on the Attorney-General's list of subversive organisations.. In late October 1951, the VALB was obliged to create a committee to defend victims of repressive measures. *L'Humanité* of 27 December 1951 announced that Steve Nelson, 'héros américain de la guerre d'Espagne', had been the object of 'une aggression sur son lit d'hôpital'. The

Pennsylvania Sedition Act had been used to persecute him, while, at that very moment, Francoist Madrid was becoming a 'mecca' for the Pentagon brass. Aragon's 'Santa Espina' was reprinted in homage to Nelson and his comrades. On 22 January 1952, the Amicale informed the VALB: 'We are engaged in a difficult struggle against the political persecution of our comrades… You will be interested to know that our comrade André Marty has expressed the deepest concern about the persecution of the American victims, and that *L'Humanité* has given the story extensive coverage'.

From 'untouchable' to untouchable: Marty's fall from grace

In September 1952, André Marty and Charles Tillon, both heroes of the Black Sea mutiny and members of the Politburo, were publicly accused of colluding in 'fractional activity'. In the months that followed, a veritable witch-hunt was led against these two figures by one Léon Mauvais. The accusations against them piled up, relayed in the party press, and no number of 'autocritiques' could assuage the witch-finders. Tillon was a 'nationalist opportunist' who underplayed the role of the Soviet Union in the liberation of France and over-emphasised the role of the Francs-Tireurs et Partisans of which he had been a commander. As time passed, Marty was found guilty not only of seeking to publish a dissident bulletin, but having used a Titoist Yugoslavian ex-bodyguard to help him clear out his office, readmitted the 'traitor' Vital Gayman into the Amicale, and become closer to his brother Jean Marty, a freemason allegedly close to the minister of the Interior. By the time Marty and Tillon had been not only removed from the Politburo and Central Committee, but expelled from the party itself, Marty was now claimed to have opposed Thorez's Popular Front policy in 1936 and been a traitor and police spy since at least the 1920s.

Marty rapidly became an untouchable. Before the 'affair' broke, Marty had alerted Henri Rol-Tanguy, architect of the Paris insurrection of August 1944, who had served under Marty in Albacete. One day, Rol-Tanguy crossed the street near the PCF headquarters to say hello. Marty immediately warned him: 'La prochaine fois que tu me verras, ne traverse pas, fais comme si tu ne me voyais pas'. Soon afterwards, Marty was no longer a party member. The communist Civil War and Resistance hero recalled : 'A ce moment, sachant les bons rapports que j'avais eus avec lui, des camarades changeaient de trottoir pour ne pas me saluer'.[26]

[26] Roger Bourderon, *Rol-Tanguy* (Paris: Tallandier, 2013), p. 604.

On 8 January 1953, the Amicale wrote to Marty:

> Nous vous informons que la réunion du Bureau National réuni le 30 décembre 1950 à laquelle vous aviez été convié a pris la décision à l'unanimité de vous relever de la présidence de notre amicale. Nous vous prions de bien vouloir nous restituer les documents : archive, souvenirs, drapeaux, livres, revues, photos, qui sont la propriété de l'Amicale et qui ne vous ont été confiés qu'au titre de président de l'association.

A group of veterans protested this 'odious measure'. For them, the Amicale had no business taking sides on the PCF's internal issues. Its leadership had broken anti-fascist unity by refusing to let Marty speak at a rally in Paris on 15 October 1952: 'On frappe André Marty ! On oublie Krupp et Franco !' The authors reminded the Amicale that it had been refounded by Marty in 1944 and that he had obtained for veterans the status of 'Ancien Combattant', with the pension and other rights it brought. They expressed their solidarity with 'celui qui fut *l'homme des temps d'orage* ! l'homme des victoires d'Arganda et de l'Ebre; comme celui de la retraite combattante de Catalogne ; avec André Marty dont le fasciste Tixier-Vignancourt demandait l'arrestation en 1939 !' [27]

Such a protest was to no avail. After the death of Joseph Stalin in March 1953, Aragon reminisced in *Les Lettres françaises* about being in Moscow in late 1936, at the time of the proclamation of the Stalin Constitution. As correspondent for *Ce Soi*r, he had picked up the phone to file copy on this tumultuous event:

> Soudain, l'on m'interrompit et une voix furieuse me cria : 'Si vous croyez, camarade, que nous n'avons rien de mieux à faire que de prendre vos élucubrations ! Les sténos sont occupées : c'est aujourd'hui le Cross de *l'Humanité* à Saint-Denis, et c'est un peu plus important que vos histoires !' C'était la voix d'André Marty. Trente lignes passèrent, le lendemain dans le journal, encore était-ce une simple dépêche d'agence.

On reading this, Marty immediately sent a rebuttal: 'En décembre 1936, date où fut votée la Constitution de l'URSS, j'étais en Espagne, au front de Madrid et au front de Cordoue'. Aragon did not reply, let alone print it.[28] In the Soviet Union, the tractor factories, co-

[27] Quotations in this paragraph pertain to documents held at Centre d'Histoire sociale, Paris: Fonds André Marty, Box 11 2-AM-4A.
[28] Yves Le Braz, *Les Rejetés. L'affaire Marty-Tillon* (Paris: La Table ronde, 1974), pp. 239-240.

operatives and villages mentioned in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* would indeed be stripped of Marty's name.

If the poisonous atmosphere in the PCF began to abate after Stalin's death, Marty remained untouchable. In the Amicale's official history, *Epopée d'Espagne*, published in 1957, there was no photograph containing the former commander of Albacete and mention of his contribution was nil. During his final years, he defended himself in *L'Affaire Marty* and, ironically, moved close to those Trotskyists he had gained such a sulphurous reputation for persecuting. In 1956, the 'butcher of Albacete' died of cancer. The following year, Charles Tillon was readmitted to the PCF. However, he would not play any future leadership role and, in 1971, in *Un procès de Moscou à Paris*, he gave a detailed account of the 1952 witch-hunt, thus sealing his definitive break with a party he helped found.

There are many possible explanations for the fall of Marty and Tillon. Certainly, the context makes the leaders appear as sacrificial victims served up for Stalin by the PCF leadership. For a man so infamously paranoid, Marty's explanation in his final testament is quite moderate: the PCF was losing the support of its working-class base and needed scapegoats.[29] Tillon sees rather personal and political jealousies at work: 'Marty, le descendant d'un communard. Soixante-six mois de prison, le seul des Français décoré du 'Drapeau rouge' et dont le nom était porté en URSS par un navire de guerre et de multiples usines, le représentant du secrétariat à Alger… Un nom à faire bien des jaloux…'[30]

The communist rehabilitation of Hemingway

Marty therefore did not benefit from the 'thaw' that tentatively and tortuously followed Khruschev's arrival in the Kremlin. After the crises of 1956, which had seen prominent intellectuals break with the PCF (as well as Fadeyev's suicide and Koltsov's rehabilitation – 'no-one deserved it more', wrote Hemingway[31]), *Les Lettres françaises*, under the direction of Louis Aragon and Pierre Daix, steered away from the shibboleths of socialist realism. Intransigent anti-Americanism also waned. In December 1957, *L'Humanité* gave a positive review of the film adaptation of *The Sun Also Rises*, basing its judgment on aesthetic rather than political criteria[32]. In the Soviet Union, Hemingway's rehabilitation began : *The Old*

[29] André Marty, *L'Affaire Marty* (Paris: Editions Norman Béthune, 1972).
[30] Charles Tillon, *Un « Procès de Moscou » à Paris* (Paris: Seuil, 1971), p. 113.
[31] Jerzy R. Krzyzanowski, '*For Whom the Bell Tolls*. The Origins of General Golz', p. 73.
[32] JD, '*Le soleil se lève aussi*. Film américain d'Henry King (les taureaux et l'effet… bœuf)', *L'Humanité*, 28 December 1957, p. 2.

Man and the Sea, which earned Hemingway the Nobel Prize, stimulated a high-level debate between literary critics on the tragic and optimistic aspects of the American's work. *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was at last translated. In his poem, 'Meeting in Copenhagen', Yevgeny Yevtushenko expressed the dominant Soviet view of Hemingway as a toiling, down-to-earth writer.[33] Ironically, the concurrent thaw in relations between the USA and Franco led to the translation and positive re-assessment of Hemingway's work in Spain, much to the chagrin of some exiled Spanish intellectuals, notably Eugenia Serrano.[34]

Reactions to Hemingway's suicide on 2 July 1961 marked another twist in his fortunes in communist circles. In *Les Lettres françaises*, Pierre Daix recalled '[son] émerveillement d'adolescent entrant avec *L'Adieu aux armes* dans un roman qui paraissait l'exact miroir du monde sec, implacable et cruel où je me trouvais jeté'.[35] Also on the front page, the Surrealist Philippe Soupault remembered their times together in interwar Paris, trawling the streets and bars with James Joyce, Aragon and Nancy Cunard, among many others. But Soupault did not avoid Hemingway's darker side:

> Quand il revint d'Espagne, à l'époque de la guerre civile, il était comme survolté. Il ne voulait plus voir personne, même pas ses meilleurs amis. … Lorsqu'il était fatigué ou découragé (j'ai déjà dit qu'il écrivait difficilement) il 'éclatait' (c'était sa propre expression) et comme pour se libérer de son angoisse, il racontait avec une certaine cruauté ce qu'il avait vu en Espagne.[36]

Hubert Juin speculated on the 'longue et muette histoire' that might explain Hemingway's tragic gesture, but emphasised the writer's evolution from solitary hunter to anti-fascist intellectual and friend of Castroist Cuba.[37] As if to emphasise the progressive credentials of Hemingway and denigrate France's own fascist intellectuals, beneath Juin's eulogy was a terse announcement in black: 'Louis-Ferdinand Céline est mort samedi dernier'.

In the pages of *L'Humanité,* Haakon Chevalier, former professor of French at Berkeley, paid homage to a man who was 'par ses qualités et ses défauts, Américain à cent pour cent'. If Hemingway's heroes were solitary, they were not individualists: 'Ce sont des

[33] Yuri Prizel, 'Hemingway in Soviet Literary Criticism', *American Literature*, 3 (November 1972), 445-456.
[34] Lisa A. Twomey, 'Taboo or tolerable? Ernest Hemingway in Spain', *The Hemingway Review*, 2 (Spring 2011), 54-72.
[35] Pierre Daix, 'Le jeune homme et la guerre', *Les Lettres françaises*, 6 July 1961, p. 1.
[36] Philippe Soupault, 'Tel qu'en lui-même…', ibid., pp. 1 and 5.
[37] Hubert Juin, 'Maintenant, je me couche…' ibid., p. 5.

révoltés, non point tant contre la société que contre la vie, contre la fatalité. Et dans cette révolte, ils sont solidaires, ils rejoignent les autres hommes'.[38]

This French Communist reaction echoed the editorial of *Pravda*, in which the novelist Leonid Leonov hailed 'a writer with a universal voice'.[39] In general, the French press's coverage of Hemingway's death was extensive and generally warm, including *Le Figaro* which, like the communist press, had been silent during the post-war years on Hemingway's work, probably due to his left-wing, pro-Republican credentials. The one dissenting voice was that of Jean Cau who, in an article for *L'Express* headlined 'L'Amérique de Papa est morte', saw Hemingway's departure as symbolising lost innocence, faded optimism and the death of myths: the world no longer belonged to the USA.[40]

French communist affection for Hemingway, warmed by tropical Marxism, did not disappear with his death. In June 1965, Robert Merle wrote in *Les Lettres françaises* of Hemingway's attachment to Cuba: 'Vint, en 1949, le triomphe de la Révolution fidéliste. Les millionnaires, indignés, s'exilèrent. Hemingway reste. Il admirait Fidel Castro et demanda à le rencontrer'. When asked by an American journalist what he thought of the new regime, he had replied: 'Il y a vingt ans que je suis ici… et c'est la première fois que je vois Cuba gouverné par des gens honnêtes'.[41] That said, Hemingway disappeared from the communist press as French interest in his work declined sharply. However, extracts from *For Whom the Bell Tolls* are still used to teach the Spanish Civil War to French schoolchildren.[42]

Marty's long road to rehabilitation

The rehabilitation of Andre Marty has taken longer to happen, if it ever has. Even erstwhile comrades turned against him. In 1987, Bernard Knox wrote:

> I had known [Marty] at Albacete in October 1936, when the Eleventh Brigade was being formed and had found him a kindly patron of our small English section (there were only twenty-one of us), which tended to get overlooked when equipment, and for that matter rations, were distributed. I expressed my indignation about

[38] Haakon Chevalier, 'Hemingway qui aimait tout de la vie', *L'Humanité*, 6 July 1961, p. 2.
[39] Quoted in Prizel, p. 455.
[40] John R. Bittner, 'Vie hors-série, fin dramatique: The Paris Press Coverage of the Death of Ernest Hemingway', *The Hemingway Review*, 2 (Spring 2005), 73-86 (pp. 83-84).
[41] Robert Merle, 'Hemingway à Cuba, *Les Lettres françaises*, 3-9 June 1965, pp. 1-3.
[42] Hubert Tison, 'La Guerre d'Espagne enseignée en France', in *La Guerre d'Espagne. L'histoire, les lendemains, la mémoire*, ed. by Roger Bourderon (Paris: Tallandier, 2007), 361-387.

> Hemingway's caricature (for so it seemed to me then) to friends in New York and one of them suggested that I write an article about Marty as I knew him. I did, and it was published in *The New Masses* in November 1940. There was nothing in it that was not true but what I had not realized was that the Marty I knew in October had in fact become, long before the war ended, exactly the kind of murderous witch hunter who makes such an unforgettable impression on the readers of Hemingway's novel.[43]

Such a view of Marty conformed to the one expounded in memoirs of ex-communists and in the anti-communist press as well as historiography. Like Gustav Regler and Bernard Knox, another disillusioned Brigader, Sygmunt Stein, portrayed Marty as the perfect Stalinist, an 'assassin détraqué' whose very name 'inspirait la terreur à Albacete'.[44] For Hugh Thomas, Marty was 'arrogant, incompetent, and cruel… Even Stalin had a less suspicious nature than [him]'.[45] In terms of humanity, as well as ability, Marty therefore contrasted with the other commanders of the base, the Italian communists Luigi Longo and Guiseppe di Vittorio. When an action failed on the Andujar front in December 1936, Marty accused Major Gaston Delassalle, commander of the Marseillaise Battalion, of spying for the Nationalists and had him tried and shot. Marty, suggests Thomas, may have engaged in embezzlement alongside his subaltern Vital Gayman. Whatever the truth in this, in February 1939, Marty 'was also only narrowly forestalled in an attempt to shoot a number of his old staff at Albacete, who might, so he feared in his narrow insanity, tell the world of some of his maniacal acts'.[46]

Hemingway critics have unquestioningly accepted the accuracy of Marty's portrayal as crazed stalinist butcher. Allen Josephs writes: 'Hemingway was justified in his portrayal of Marty, no matter how much it infuriated the Left… A large measure of the greatness of the novel … comes from the fictional manipulation of real people such as Marty. Hemingway was undoubtedly aware that his manipulated portrait of Marty, immortalised in fiction, far surpassed any vengeance he could have wreaked on Marty in "real life"'.[47]

There were, however, dissenting voices in France who began to question this view of Marty as a bloodthirsty crazy. Trotskyists and other anti-Stalinists outside the PCF were joined by Jacques Delpierré de Bayac in his pioneering work on the International Brigades,

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[43] Bernard Knox, "The Spanish Tragedy", *The New York Review of Books*, 5, 26 March 1987, p. 23.
[44] Sygmunt Stein, *Ma Guerre d'Espagne* (Paris: Seuil, 2012), p. 257.
[45] Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), p. 384.
[46] Ibid., p. 724.
[47] Allen Joseph, pp. 67-69.

published in 1968. The historian gives welcome context to the accusations against Marty: right from late autumn 1936, the pro-Francoist press had disseminated Brigade deserters' tales of rape, pillage and other crimes. It was as early as February 1937 that the far right newspaper *Candide* described Marty as 'le boucher d'Albacete'. As Art Shields pointed out above, in March 1939, far right deputies had used the Delassalle affair, among others, to accuse Marty of being a murderer. For Delpierré de Bayac, the Spanish Civil War, a murderously complex conflict, involved generalised violence and generalised lies. He then tries to give a more positive assessment of Marty's character:

> Marty est un révolutionnaire sincère. Marty est intègre… Marty est un gros travailleur… Marty est capable de sentiments humains : il aime ses Brigades Internationales. Après la défaite, quand elles rentreront en France, il s'occupera des blessés, des estropiés, des malchanceux, cela pendant des années, encore après 1945, à une époque où pour beaucoup cette page-là sera tournée.[48]

Undoubtedly, Marty was 'très autoritaire, très violent, [il] a l'insulte et la menace à la bouche dès que quelque chose ne marche pas comme il le voudrait…. Marty ne supporte pas la moindre contradiction, la moindre réserve'.[49] As the big boss of Albacete, he could give free rein to his inquisitory nature. And yet, he had insisted that the accused be handed over for trial. The historian concludes: 'Marty n'a pas fait fusiller, et de loin, tous ceux qu'il a menacés de mort. Souvent ses tempêtes tournent court ; il passe à autre chose. Enfin, il n'est pas souverain. Il n'est pas seul. Il ne peut être tenu responsable de tout ce qui eut lieu.[50]

In 2006, seventy years after the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and fifty after Marty's death, Michel Lefebvre made a dispassionate assessment of the 'butcher'. The lurid stories of violence recounted by Regler and Stein were based on hearsay, while the figure of 500 Brigaders shot on Marty's orders, cited unquestioningly by Arnaud Imatz and Antony Beevor, had no documentary basis. Significantly, at no moment did the Cagoulard agent Henri Dupré, Marty's right-hand man at Albacete, publicly accuse him of being a murderer. Lefebvre concluded: 'En l'état actuel de la recherche, affubler André Marty du surnom de boucher de l'Albacete' n'est pas conforme à la vérité historique'.[51] Nevertheless, Carlos

[48] Jacques Delpierré de Bayac, *Les Brigades internationales* (Paris: Fayard, 1968), p. 173.
[49] Ibid., p. 174.
[50] Ibid., p. 177.
[51] Michel Lefebvre, 'La mémoire des Brigades internationales: le cas André Marty', in *La Guerre d'Espagne. L'histoire, les lendemains, la mémoire*, ed. by Roger Bourderon, 389-403 (p. 403).

Serrano has remarked that, with the honourable exception of Rol-Tanguy, none of Marty's fellow Spanish veterans left in the PCF tried publicly to defend his record as chief political commissar of the International Brigades.[52] If, in the nineties, Robert Hue, reforming national secretary of the PCF, denounced the 'political trials' that had tainted the party's history, he did not mention Marty by name. Perhaps he remained too closely associated with the tortured history of the Comintern to find a place in *la mutation*.

Conclusion

'So many men had cursed him in the end' (p. 369). It is difficult to challenge the truth of this observation by Hemingway. Marty the communist hero became *persona non grata*, and not simply in the eyes of anti-communists. The inquisitor became victim of an inquisition, the paranoid accuser brought down by a tissue of lies. The novelist accused of defamation was rehabilitated and celebrated by those very accusers, beginning with Pierre Daix, who himself would become a prominent anti-communist. If Marty is *loco*, he is caught up in a more general 'craziness'. Indeed, 'crazy' is one of the keywords of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and seems to be Hemingway's attempt to capture, if he can, the wildly unpredictable nature of the civil war he had just witnessed. Despite dialectics, history does not follow a linear course; offensives can be planned but, as Golz tells Jordan, never quite go to plan. Mark C. Van Gunten has shown the similarities between Marty the commissar and Pablo, leader of Jordan's guerrilla band. Just as Pablo is illiterate, so Marty cannot understand the map he lays out in front of him. The men have in common unpredictability, abuse of power and betrayal of their own cause: 'both characters are enigmatic characters, undecipherable to their compatriots, bodies of contradictions immune to decidable reduction or interpretation'.[53] In a similar vein, Alex Vernon suggests that the novel's later excoriation of Marty for his role in political murders, must nevertheless be read through the ambiguity over Pablo, who is prepared to sacrifice partisans in order for his band to escape alive: 'Marty is a clear example of immoral excess, yet our hero, Robert Jordan, and even we readers, have already in our imaginations crossed the line'.[54] Such characteristics can be found throughout the novel and

[52] Quoted in Lefebvre, p. 403.
[53] Mark C. Van Gunten, 'The polemics of narrative and difference in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*', in *Blowing the Bridge. Essays on Hemingway and* For Whom the Bell Tolls (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), ed. by Rena Sanderson, 143-157, (pp. 150-151).
[54] Alex Vernon, *Hemingway's Second War. Bearing Witness to the Spanish Civil War* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2011), p. 155.

beyond, into the real fortunes of Hemingway and Marty. If, at the end of 1956, in his lonely village near Toulouse, Marty had returned to *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, he may well have recognised this fact.