

D. T. FILE

GENERAL FILE (undated)

Consisting of

Robert P. Hansen - Character

~~FBI as instigator~~ (6)

Wife/Kids

Hong Kong to 4 weeks

PS on Bonnie + Pam's book

at marriage scene

Driving scene

Open Dei

- removed + taken
w me to Chicago

Reduced to BG, BG Open Dei
+ rejects

Chronology A4 to 1911

U.S. at Da Chou 1944

THE HEART OF
THOREAU'S
JOURNALS

EDITED BY
ODELL SHEPARD

Keep for D.T.

DOVER PUBLICATIONS, INC.
NEW YORK

Norm,
Here is the
full virtue-
vice quote
from Thoreau
Wild

having got near
wood, I grace-
e not a bone in
w for a rod or
course. When
d slid down it
rd it from any
not have been
erience would
he highway of

there might ask the brazen-fronted Taurus to draw in his horns, that
she might shine in his stead. No, no! not till my cycle is completed.

Feb. 6

"Lu ral lu ral lu" may be more impressively sung than very respect-
able wisdom talked. It is well-timed, as wisdom is not always.

Feb. 7

The eaves are running on the south side of the house; the titmouse
lips in the poplar; the bells are ringing for church; while the sun
presides over all and makes his simple warmth more obvious than all
else. What shall I do with this hour, so like time and yet so fit for
eternity? Where in me are these russet patches of ground, and scattered
logs and chips in the yard? I do not feel cluttered. I have some notion
what the John's-wort¹ and life-everlasting² may be thinking about
when the sun shines on me as on them and turns my prompt thought
into just such a seething shimmer. I lie out indistinct as a heath at
noonday. I am evaporating and ascending into the sun.

Feb. 8

My Journal is that of me which would else spill over and run to
waste, gleanings from the field which in action I reap. I must not live
for it, but in it for the gods. They are my correspondent, to whom
daily I send off this sheet postpaid. I am clerk in their counting-room,
and at evening transfer the account from day-book to ledger. It is as
a leaf which hangs over my head in the path. I bend the twig and
write my prayers on it; then letting it go, the bough springs up and
shows the scrawl to heaven. As if it were not kept shut in my desk, but
were as public a leaf as any in nature. It is papyrus by the riverside;
it is vellum in the pastures; it is parchment on the hills. I find it
everywhere as free as the leaves which troop along the lanes in autumn.
The crow, the goose, the eagle carry my quill, and the wind blows the
leaves as far as I go. Or, if my imagination does not soar, but gropes in
slime and mud, then I write with a reed.

In our holiest moment our devil with a leer stands close at hand.
He is a very busy devil. It gains vice some respect, I must confess, thus
to be reminded how indefatigable it is. It has at least the merit of

¹ [Saint-John's-Wort, or Hypericum.]

² [Cud-weed.]

ent in music.
g so wild and
eam my only
hat only the
remotest and
d of heroism,
: beyond life,
of Time.

Thursday

ecting, there
ttitude—the
to operate—
to elicit the

When once I
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rbit at their
anger other
you can be
hance ever-
ur look say
and I will
iopeia¹ up

.]

industriousness. When I go forth with zeal to some good work, my devil is sure to get his robe tucked up the first and arrives there as soon as I, with a look of sincere earnestness which puts to shame my best intent. He is as forward as I to a good work, and as disinterested. He has a winning way of recommending himself by making himself useful. How readily he comes into my best project, and does his work with a quiet and steady cheerfulness which even virtue may take pattern from.

I never was so rapid in my virtue but my vice kept up with me. It always came in by a hand, and never panting, but with a curried coolness halted, as if halting were the beginning not the end of the course. It only runs the swifter because it has no rider. It never was behind me but when I turned to look and so fell behind myself. I never did a charitable thing but there he stood, scarce in the rear, with hat in hand, partner on the same errand, ready to share the smile of gratitude. Though I shut the door never so quick and tell it to stay at home like a good dog, it will out with me, for I shut in my own legs so, and it escapes in the meanwhile and is ready to back and reinforce me in most virtuous deeds. And if I turn and say, "Get thee behind me," he then indeed turns too and takes the lead, though he seems to retire with a pensive and compassionate look, as much as to say, "Ye know not what ye do."

We are double-edged blades, and every time we whet our virtue the return stroke straps our vice.

Feb. 9

I have been breaking silence these twenty-three years and have hardly made a rent in it. Silence has no end; speech is but the beginning of it. My friend thinks I *keep* silence, who am only choked with letting it out so fast. Does he forget that new mines of secrecy are constantly opening in me?

Feb. 18

I do not judge men by anything they can do. Their greatest deed is the impression they make on me. Some serene, inactive men can do everything. Talent only indicates a depth of character in some direction. We do not acquire the ability to do new deeds, but a new capacity for all deeds. My recent growth does not appear in any visible new talent, but its deed will enter into my gaze when I look into the sky, or vacancy. It will help me to consider ferns and everlasting¹.

¹ A popular name for various plants whose flowers keep the appearance of freshness long after they are gathered.]

We seem but to linger in hood, and they vanish out o

When I am going out for so that I do not fail to find a have engaged my frequent : am to be at home, I sometin trouble. And this is the ar dition to go alone, and not then sit down serenely to liv

Let all our stores and mur

My prickles or smoothness myself. I cannot tell you wh sun. What I am I am, and s attempt to explain, shall I pl but a cornstalk?

If my world is not sufficie it is and then call thec. You house.

My homeliest thought, I within the mine, will shine w To be great, we do as if w are broad, stretch ourselves : proportioned, unstrained, an

I who have been sick hear c ear as prophesies my cure. } some purpose. A fragrance c that I am still of Nature the the tinkling of the anvil com

¹ [Presumably a punning allusion]

Thought you'd find this interesting-amazing what one happens upon on the internet. (emphasis mine in the quote below)

"Why of course the people don't want war. But after all it is the leaders of the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is a democracy, or a fascist dictatorship, or a parliament, or a communist dictatorship. **Voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is to tell them that they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger.**"

- Hermann Goering -

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MONDAY, JULY 2, 2001

CLEAR SAILING

Today: Mostly sunny,
highs 71-78

Tomorrow: Some fair-weather
clouds, 75-82

HIGH TIDE: 9:41 a.m., 9:55 p.m.
FULL REPORT: PAGE B12

001



The bodies of surrendered Nazi troops lying at the base of a wall at Dachau after they were shot by US soldiers.

ARMY SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO

Vengeance at Dachau

In dark footnote to death camp's liberation, US soldiers shocked by Holocaust executed Nazi SS troops

By Thomas Farragher
GLOBE STAFF

It was a chilling spring dawn a lifetime ago, the day before Hitler's suicide, a week before Americans danced in the streets to sweetly toast triumph in Europe.

But in that wan Sunday sunlight as the Allies raced for Munich and history, Felix L. Sparks, William P. Walsh, and John P. Lee were still combat soldiers trying to stay alive at the end of a long and bloody war. Still on fierce duty. Still hunting desperate Germans pushed to the brink of defeat and disgrace.

As the GIs were detoured into an intersection

THE SECRET HISTORY OF WWII

Fifth in a series of
occasional articles



"The first goddamn thing we saw were 20 or 30 boxcars," said Walsh, a Newton native, his Boston accent chowder-thick. "Some open at the top, some closed in. And here are all these goddamn people in it. And you kind of figure, well, maybe they're sleeping. Maybe they're hungry. You soon realize: They're all dead! What the hell is this? We had never seen anything like that before."

Few had. The horrific lexicon is familiar now. Concentration camps. The Final Solution. Between five million and six million Jews murdered by a megalomaniac on a satanic mission. The Holocaust.

But the members of the 45th Infan-

Hospitals facing new safety rules

US regulation links disclosure to accreditation

By Alice Dembner
GLOBE STAFF

Starting today, hospitals nationwide will have to be more honest with patients about their mistakes or risk losing their accreditation.

New rules set by the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Health Care Organizations require hospitals to tell patients if they've been harmed as a result of a medical error. In addition, the rules mandate an overhaul of hospital operations to prevent errors and hold administrators responsible for creating a culture of safety within the facilities.

"These standards raise the bar for the performance of hospitals," said Dr. Dennis S. O'Leary, president of the Joint Commission. "Patient safety needs to be the number one job for hospitals across the country."

National studies estimate that

more than 1 million hospital patients each year are victims of medical errors and that as many as 98,000 die annually from these errors. The new rules are the latest effort to come to terms with problems that range from surgery on the wrong part of the body to medication mistakes.

"It's reinforcement of what everyone should have been doing," said Nancy Ridley, assistant commissioner of public health in Massachusetts.

Some hospitals nationally and many in Massachusetts have voluntarily moved to curb medical errors and some already disclose them to patients, but the new rules will force others to move quickly. O'Leary said the commission will begin enforcing the measures with inspections at some facilities next week. Hospitals are accredited on a three-year cycle, and many insurers and patients will not deal with an unaccredited hospital.

"In some parts of the country, the effect may be much more significant," said Jim Conway, chief operating officer of the Dana-

MEDICAL ERRORS, Page A7

Breyer stature grows among court centrists

By Lyle Denniston
GLOBE CORRESPONDENT

town of Dachau, they had no way of knowing they were marching toward one of the war's most egregious but barely explored cases of prisoner mistreatment by US forces in Europe.

They could not have fathomed that they would soon find themselves at the center of a US Army investigation into a massacre of German soldiers that General Dwight D. Eisenhower worried might erode America's moral authority to prosecute the Nazis at Nuremberg.

At first, they simply saw a train.



1990 PHOTO/JAMES KENT STRONG

First Lieutenant William P. Walsh: "I'll be honest with you. I broke down."

try Division. ... Dachau on April 29, 1945, knew little or nothing of concentration camps. They knew only what they could see, hear, and smell.

The sight of 2,310 decomposing corpses on that train, an edgy silence interrupted by episodic gunfire, and the stench of death that hung in the air that day ignited a deadly fuse. It would quickly explode with fury and linger like gun smoke for more than a half century.

DACHAU, Page A8

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court last week closed out the historic term that helped George W. Bush into the presidency, then left town without creating a vacancy for him to fill and with its centrist approach to the law undisturbed.

But there are some signs of change. One is that the dominance of the justices in the ideological middle is making way for a more significant role for the court's junior justice, Stephen G. Breyer, a liberal, but far from a doctrinaire one.

The 62-year-old jurist from Boston has just finished his seventh year on the court, a proper apprenticeship in the eyes of court observers, who say it takes a while to grow assertive. Some say that Breyer, who has a reputation for waiting until asked before he says what he thinks, has taken somewhat longer than other junior justices to lay claim to a distinctly personal role.



STEPHEN G. BREYER
The junior justice

Scholars and advocates who closely analyze the court's work suggest that the term just ended has left an image that Breyer finds entirely to his liking: no movement hard to the right or the left, no drive to make sweeping pronouncements, close attention to the details peculiar to each case, a desire to make cases come out fairly rather than to make waves.

BREYER, Page A4

Inside Today



Shore formula

Revere boasts the oldest public beach in America, and when the summer heats up, it's still the place to go. *Living/Arts*, B7.

Technology debate

Plans to upgrade the Sagamore missile defense system renew arguments over environmental safety on Cape Cod. *Business*, C1.

Senior Open champ

Bruce Fleisher takes a one-stroke victory at Salem Country Club in Peabody. *Sports*, D1.

Features Classified

Comics	C8-9	Classified	D10-20
Crossword	C8	Autos	D14
Deaths	C10-11	Help Wanted	D11
Editorials	A10	Professional	D11
Horoscope	C8	Real Estate	D10
Lottery	B2	Apartments	D10
TV/Radio	C6-7	Comm'l/Ind'l	D10
© Globe Newspaper Co.		Market Basket	D13
		Yachts/Boats	D7
		Education	C5

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Israel retaliates on Syrian post

By Dan Ephron
GLOBE CORRESPONDENT

JERUSALEM — For the second time in three months, Israeli warplanes yesterday destroyed a Syrian radar station in Lebanon in retaliation for a border attack by Syrian-backed Islamic militants, in what appears to be an Israeli policy of exacting a price from Damascus for attacks by Lebanese

guerrillas.

The late-morning air raid, which wounded one Lebanese and two Syrian soldiers, touched off one of the fiercest firefights between Israeli soldiers and Hezbollah (Party of God) guerrillas along the border since Israel withdrew from southern Lebanon more than a year ago.

It also prompted sharp Arab

criticism, but officials and analysts in Israel were quick to play down the possibility of a wider conflict.

"Thank God we are surrounded by countries that if they have anything in common, it is not to lead the Middle East into war," Defense Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer of Israel said at a Jerusa-

MIDEAST, Page C6

Fall in love with Old Cape stuff

Vintage purveyors of souvenirs push on

By Nathan Cobb
GLOBE STAFF

SOUTH YARMOUTH — Styrofoam boogie boards?

Check.
Cape Cod salt and pepper shakers?

Got 'em.

Two-for-\$10 T-shirts?

Racked and ready.
It's hot enough outside to fry a clam on Route 28, which is just fine with Richard Byrne. Such sizzling weather brings the day-trippers from Boston and Brockton, families with their tongues hanging out and visions of Cape Cod's frosty surf dancing in their overheated heads.

"Rain's good, too," Byrne acknowledges as he sits inside his tiny office, two floors above the simmering blacktop. "That means they'll come in off the beaches to shop."

"But a perfect week would be five sunny days and then two days of rain," beams the 68-year-old purveyor



GLOBE STAFF PHOTO/BARRY CHIN

From left, Art Wright, Richard and Janet Byrne, and Sharon Wright, celebrating summer's arrival with dog Bailey at their gift shop.

or of anything a tourist could possibly desire, his eyes sparkling behind his gold-frame glasses at the thought of it: "Perfect."

This week marks the beginning of the Cape's high season, to which the previous two months have been mere prelude. Byrne's Cape Tradewinds

Gift Shop is hopping now, with overstuffed vehicles emptying out their sun-pinkened passengers beside the two-story shingled building. The colorful structure's many signs — promising fudge, taffy, wicker, gifts, souvenirs, T-shirts, oil paintings,

CAPE COD, Page B5

Canada turns nose from ugly secret: Harbors are filthy

By Colin Nickerson
GLOBE STAFF

ST. JOHN'S, Newfoundland — Embarrassed locals call it the "bubble." Then quickly switch to politer subjects.

But Mayor Andy Wells doesn't mince words about the fount of filth burbling amid one of North America's most spectacular harbors.

"It's a shame and a disgrace," he said of the 29 million gallons of raw sewage that gush every day from underwater outfall pipes just a few yards from the main docking quay for cruise ships, cargo vessels, sailing craft, fishing boats, and other vessels calling on the historic seaport.

In this era of rarefied environmentalism, St. John's lacks even rudimentary sewage treatment facilities, relying on time and tides to do its dirty work.

The disgrace is not Newfoundland's alone, however. Harbor pollution on a scale unseen outside the Third World is perhaps Canada's ugliest environmental secret. It has failed to create the combination of public disgust, outraged headlines, and federal wrath that fell upon Boston two decades ago, forcing the cleanup of its dirty harbor.

"Canada has this great green reputation . . . but don't go near the water," said a Massachusetts harbor scientist, who did not want to be quoted by name for fear of offending Canadian colleagues. "When it comes to clean

CANADA, Page A4

men ever have. Doing things few trained just outside the electrified ies of hundreds upon hundreds of panied Walsh when the four Ger- supreme commander of Allied forces in Europe, was already 1945, the asphyxiations in the POW boxcars and the shootings in

Holocaust horrors clouded judgment at Dachau's liberation

► DACHAU
Continued from Page A1

The word went out at Dachau: We'll take no prisoners here. A machine gun was set up. Scores of captured acolytes of Hitler's Third Reich were herded into a dusty coal yard and lined up against a stucco wall.

Then American gunfire crackled. Germans fell. Officially, at least 17 were killed. Eleven other Germans who had surrendered were shot in two other locations at Dachau that day, according to records and interviews.

As an eye blink's worth of springtime light slipped onto black-and-white film from behind a camera's shutter, the dark image that slowly took focus endures today. It is frightful evidence that the evil the Nazis manufactured at their death camps was strong enough to badly cloud the judgment of some Americans who tore down Hitler's barbaric cages.

In an almost forgotten footnote of history, American investigators concluded that some of the GIs who rounded up elite SS troops during Dachau's liberation were not heroes, but murderers — the ugly underbelly of the Greatest Generation.

"It certainly has to be among the most egregious imaginable examples of misbehavior by the US military in the Second World War," said Douglas Brinkley, director of the Eisenhower Center for American Studies at the University of New Orleans. "It's a low point in an otherwise gallant effort to beat fascism. It's an example of what every commanding officer does not want to see happen. . . . I think the general sentiment about this is: 'Oh, come on. Look how horrible the Nazis were. I would have done the same thing.' We give a bit of empathy to the soldiers who killed the Nazis. And yet, they became very much like the Nazis they were gunning down."

That sharp assessment is shared by some of the soldiers who witnessed the shootings. When forces have surrendered,



ARMY SIGNAL CORPS PHOTO

Dachau prisoners raise a flag they had made after their liberation by members of the US Seventh Army.



On the Web

For a complete transcript of the official US Army inquiry into the shootings at Dachau and video clips of the 1990 documentary, go to www.boston.com/ww2. Read the previous parts of this series on the Web at the same address.

acutely sensitive about the handling of German prisoners of war. Just a month earlier, two almost simultaneous reports of horrible, preventable POW deaths had crossed his desk.

In late March 1945, while American soldiers were transporting thousands of German prisoners by train to two French detainment camps, 127 of the prisoners perished — essentially entombed in nearly airtight US rail cars.

Two days later Eisenhower expressed anger and deep concern in a message to General George C. Marshall, Army chief of staff.

"I have not yet found out the cause of the death of the German prisoners, recently reported to me, nor do I know who is responsible," Eisenhower wrote in a memo contained in National Archive files reviewed by the Globe. "It is irritating to have such things occur because I certainly loathe having to apologize to the Germans. It looks as if this time I have no other recourse."

US officials concluded that American guards on the train failed to take into account unusually warm weather that day. Investigators who inspected the deadly rail cars found evidence of frantic German efforts to survive. Fingernail and teeth marks scarred the boxcars' interior plywood.

"The prisoners attracted attention of the guards by cries of 'Kamerad kaput,' knockings, and poundings on the doors of the cars, and calls for 'air' and 'water' in English," reported Lieutenant Colonel Marvin C. Hillsman, the inspector general who investigat-

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they say. If you do, you cross the line that separates soldier from criminal.

"That is not the American way of fighting," Second Lieutenant Daniel F. Drain, who was ordered to set up his machine gun on that unseasonably cool April day, testified at the Army's official inquiry 56 years ago.

But men like General George S. Patton did not believe that. Patton dismissed the murder charges with a flourish, tossing all of the investigative files into a trash can and telling the accused men to go home and get on with their lives, according to two officers interviewed by *The Boston Globe*.

One copy of the classified investigation survived, however, sandwiched into a gray cardboard box at the National Archives outside Washington, D.C., mislabeled, undisturbed for nearly 50 years, and reviewed by the *Globe* as the basis for this article.

The investigation was declassified in 1987, before the 3 million pages that have become available in the last few years under the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act, some of which have formed the basis for other articles in this series. Yet according to National Archives historian Greg Bradsher, some of the best material was declassified long ago, but never examined by anybody. "If something has sat here for 50 years and nobody's used it, it's basically news," he said.

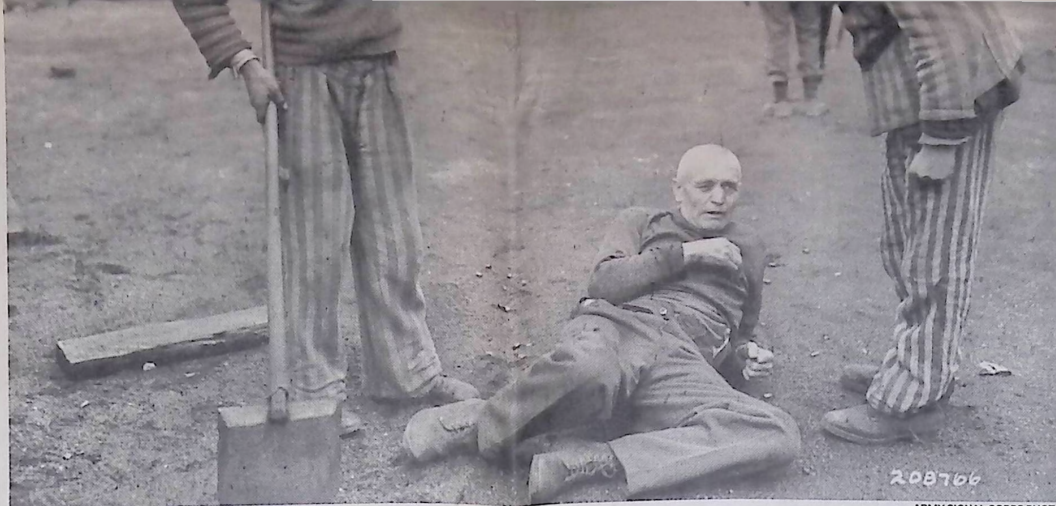
The report on the Dachau investigation tells a story that has gone virtually unreported in major American newspapers and magazines, meriting just several sentences, for example, in a 1995 *US News & World Report* account of the 50th anniversary of Dachau's liberation.

Inside those archived files, however, is gripping testimony of citizen-soldiers — some of them just teenagers at the time — who never forgot the moment they confronted the devilish divide between good and evil. Walk a mile in my boots, those men later would implore, before passing judgment on what happened that day at Dachau.

Weary soldiers

The road to Dachau was an unwelcome diversion for battle-hardened men of the 45th "Thunderbird" Division, some of the most combat-tested soldiers of World War II.

By April 1945 they had seen 500 days of combat, enduring terror, absorbing monumental casualties, and witnessing events few men ever have. Doing things few



Newly liberated Dachau prisoners heap insults on an SS guard after knocking him to the ground.

men will ever do — like helping to rescue the world from tyranny.

They had seen civilian scavengers dig up American graves in the North African desert. They had invaded Sicily and secured strategically crucial beachheads at Salerno and Anzio. They fought in icy Italian mountains and helped liberate Rome. They landed in German-occupied southern France and pushed through the "Siegfried Line" fortifications between France and Germany.

"You've got to understand that, you almost turn inhuman as to your feelings," said Edwin Gorak, now 80, of Elmwood Park, Ill., who marched into Dachau after its liberation and took photographs of the horror. "You get hardened."

Felix L. Sparks was the 27-year-old commander of one of the liberating battalions. The lieutenant colonel, a native Texan, was pushing for Munich, a coveted military prize, when he was ordered to take Dachau instead.

Sparks and his men didn't know what Dachau was. The former munitions factory 10 miles northwest of Munich had been remade into a death camp in 1933. Elite German SS troops were trained just outside the electrified

barbed wire fence. Inside, the Nazis tortured, shot, starved, or worked to death more than 30,000 prisoners.

But to the men who advanced on the camp that springtime day, like First Lieutenant William P. Walsh of Massachusetts, Dachau was just a tiny point on a wrinkled war map.



"The men became quite boisterous. . . . They were saying, 'Let's kill these SOBs.'"

JOHN P. LEE
Private first class

there playing soccer and all that kind of stuff. And I kind of thought it was a compound for prisoners."

What Walsh and his men encountered stunned them: 39 boxcars stuffed with the broken bodies of hundreds upon hundreds of

men, women, and children, many in striped concentration camp uniforms. Eyes open. Mouths agape. Skeletons with skin.

And, for many terrible moments, the soldiers' world seemingly spun off its axis.

"The effect of it just opened up a flood of raw emotions," Sparks recalled in a recent telephone interview. "Some men were screaming. Some were cursing. Some were silent. I'm afraid Walsh set the tone for it."

Walsh, his eyes wet with tears, his heart full of rage, could not comprehend such inhumanity. "I'll be honest with you. I broke down," he says in the film. "I started crying. The whole thing was getting to me."

Two weeks after Dachau's liberation, in testimony before an Army investigator in Munich, Sparks's men recounted the vengeance the Americans exacted in the chaotic moments that followed.

Private Fred E. Randolph said that when four Germans, hands on their heads, surrendered to Walsh, the lieutenant was having none of it.

"Lieutenant Walsh was quite angry and upset and took them into one of these wagons and called for a machine gun," Randolph told an Army assistant inspector general on May 17, 1945. "Then he changed his mind and took them in a boxcar and fired his pistol at them. We were told as soon as we saw the bodies in the train that no prisoners would be taken."

Private Albert C. Pruitt accompanied Walsh when the four Ger-

mans were gunned down.

"Lieutenant Walsh shot at them, and they were suffering and taking on and I figured there was no use letting them suffer, so I finished them off," Pruitt testified. "They were all hollering and taking on. And I never like to see anybody suffer."

Sparks, Walsh, and their men were cautiously advancing through the SS quarters outside the concentration camp, where gaunt prisoners soon would strain against the no-longer electrified barbed wire with disbelieving eyes. Finally, their liberators had arrived.

But first, the Americans had to deal with their newly acquired German captives. Regular German soldiers were separated from the elite corps of SS storm-troopers.

The liberators marched the SS men into a power plant's coal yard, enclosed on three sides by a concrete wall.

They set up a machine gun.

"I don't think there was any definite orders given, but it was the general feeling among all of the troops when we saw those bodies and one or two skinny fellows that came out there that no prisoners would be taken," First Lieutenant Jack Bushyhead, who served as Walsh's top assistant, would later testify.

A general's concerns

By the time the surrendered but still-defiant SS troops stared into the barrels of American guns at Dachau, General Eisenhower, supreme commander of Allied forces in Europe, was already

... ignored these appeals and on one occasion fired shots into the upper corner of two of the cars to quiet the prisoners. No car doors were opened during the entire trip."

Military scholars say Eisenhower's preoccupation with prisoner treatment was driven equally by public relations and altruism. He insisted that film crews be allowed to record the German mass murders at concentration camps.

"He didn't want it to come out that the US had equally committed atrocities," said Brinkley, the Eisenhower Center director in New Orleans. "He was very conscious of living by the Geneva Convention. Eisenhower believed that when one was fighting in the Second World War for international law, to break it simply because one's emotions took over was not to be a soldier, but to be a murderer. A true soldier understood what their job was. And their job was not to line Germans up on a whim and mow them down."

Indeed, in July 1945 Eisenhower ordered a comprehensive review into whether enemy prisoners in Europe had been killed or mistreated by US forces, dismissing as unacceptable the excuse: I was just following orders.

"America's moral position will be undermined and her reputation for fair dealing debased if criminal conduct of a like character by her own armed forces is condoned and unpunished by those of us responsible for defending her honor," Eisenhower wrote in his order.

War historians Gunter Bischof and Stephen Ambrose have estimated that 99 percent of American and German POWs were returned safely home at the end of the war.

But that did not mean that both sides were innocent of fatal misconduct. For example, in December 1944 nearly 100 US troops — caught by surprise after a rapid German advance — were captured during the Battle of the Bulge. The Americans were herded into a farmer's field in the Belgian city of Malmedy, where a machine gunner opened fire.

Word of the "Malmedy Massacre" quickly spread throughout the European Theater, and war scholars say there is little doubt that the Americans who singled out the SS soldiers at Dachau four months later were aware of it.

In any case, when the results of the Eisenhower-ordered investigation were filed on the last day of 1945, the asphyxiations in the POW boxcars and the shootings in



PHOTO COURTESY OF ARTHUR W. LEE, JR.

In frame No. 3 of a film shot at the scene, Lieutenant Colonel Felix L. Sparks fires his pistol into the air to stop his troops from shooting their German prisoners.

the coal yard at Dachau were noted prominently. In the report, compiled on an old manual typewriter, both incidents were set apart in unmistakable red ink.

Disgust and disbelief

As 19-year-old John P. Lee, a private first class, stood in the coal yard, guarding an estimated 50 to 125 SS prisoners, his emotions trembled between disgust and disbelief.

"We were all enraged," he said in a recent telephone interview. "Hell, what a shock when you walk up on something like that. Here are these human bodies that look like skeletons with skin on

About this series

This is the fifth in an occasional series of articles shedding new light on key events of World War II, from Pearl Harbor to the Holocaust.

into the machine gun, the SS prisoners, by now apparently certain of their captors' intentions, began to move toward the Americans.

"[Walsh] cut loose with his pistol and said, 'Let them have it,'" said Curtin, telling investigators that he fired 30 to 50 rounds in three long bursts.

harrowing arrival at Dachau in Strong's 1990 documentary.

"I remember saying, 'Geez, we came over here to stop this bullshit, and now here we got somebody doing the same thing.' Once they were prisoners, they were prisoners. They were unarmed, and they were prisoners. You can't shoot them. You can't do that. That's an atrocity, I'm sure."

Mills said as he walked around the camp that day, he was overwhelmed by a yearning not often associated with toughened veterans.

"I remember it real well, I said: 'I've been here too long. I've to go home now.' And it was a funny

of the seventeen."

An Army judge advocate general said Whitaker's findings were sufficient to support charges of murder against Walsh, Bushyhead, and Pruitt, who had finished off the four Germans chased into the boxcar. A separate court-martial for murder was recommended for Henry J. Wells, who allegedly shot and killed several Germans later that day after they had been taken prisoner from one of Dachau's guard towers.

But as those black-and-white murder charges wound their way up the chain of the US Army command, superior officers saw the subtler shades of gray that only soldiers could fully discern.

mand that the difficult and perhaps impossible task of fixing individual responsibility now be undertaken."

Or, as Lieutenant Harold T. Moyer, one of Sparks's men who witnessed the coal yard gunfire, would put it at the inquiry:

"I believe every man in the outfit who saw those boxcars prior to the entrance to Dachau felt, and was justified, in meting out death as a punishment to the Germans who were responsible."

War's end and beyond

The war over, the charges dismissed, Lee, Sparks, Walsh, and the men who marched with them returned home to the loving em-

preme Court in the 1950s. He later practiced law and became a state lobbyist.

When he retired 20 years ago, Sparks placed an ad in a VFW magazine, looking for members of his old unit. It was time for a reunion, decided Sparks, now 83 and hamstrung by a failing heart. The former battalion commander found 1,500 of them, and soon hundreds of old soldiers began swapping war stories each year in banquet rooms from Boston to Chicago to Denver.

At one of those reunions, Walsh sat before Strong's video cameras and struggled to convey the emotions that swept over him on the German death camp's door-

them. Quite a few had their eyes open. It's like they're saying to us: 'What took you so long?'

"The men became quite boisterous. The adrenaline was really flowing. They were saying: 'Let's kill these SOB's.' And 'Let's not take them alive.'"

As Lee stood watch over the Germans, Private First Class William L. Competielle, a company medic, was busy just outside the coal yard, attending to a woman and two young children who had fainted at an SS camp hospital nearby.

"I was there when they took [the Germans] behind the wall, but didn't have the nerve to see what was going on," Competielle testified at the inquiry. "There was so much excitement that everybody was shouting so you could not tell who the order [to separate the SS men] came from. And all I do know was they separated the SS troops from other prisoners."

But Competielle knew the Americans' intentions. "The word just got around that they were going to shoot all the SS'ers," he said. "I figured that is why they were taking them behind the wall. Then I heard somebody ask: Where is a machine gun?"

At that moment Sparks, the battalion commander, said he considered his German captives under guard and secure.

"There was nothing really going on at that time," he said in the recent interview. "It looked like everything was under control, and then I heard some firing off in the vicinity of the concentration camp."

The gunfire in the near distance, last remnants of resistance from the rapidly retreating and uncaptured German guards, distracted Sparks. He left the coal yard to investigate.

But Sparks's men remained. Lee stood guard with his rifle.

Lieutenant Drain, as ordered, set up his machine gun. Then, he said, he turned and walked away.

Corporal Martin J. Sedler stood next to the gun, and Private William C. Curtin took aim at the Germans, according to testimony at the inquiry.

Lieutenant Walsh was in command.

"He said he was going to shoot the machine gun, and lined up [rifles] men, and called for a few Tommy gunners," Curtin testified of Walsh.

Curtin said as he fed the belt

Lee said he fired off a shot before his gun jammed. "Somebody hollered, 'Fire!' and about three rifles and a machine gun started shooting, and my BAR [Browning automatic rifle]," Lee testified.

Bushyhead, Walsh's executive officer, testified that he believed that he, too, had joined in the firing.

"It was probably no more than 10 seconds, but it seemed like much longer," Karl O. Mann, Sparks's interpreter, who witnessed the shooting, said in an interview. "They fired from left to right and right to left and so on. It wasn't very long, but it was long enough to inflict damage."

Sparks, alarmed by the sudden machine-gun burst, raced back to the coal yard, firing his pistol in the air and furiously signaling with his left hand for his men to stop shooting.

"Some young private was on the machine gun, and I kicked him and knocked him forward," Sparks recalled in the interview. "I then dragged him by the collar — he was a small man — and he was crying. He said, 'They were trying to get away.' They weren't trying to get away at all. And then everything was very quiet."

The Germans lay crumpled at the base of the stucco wall. At first, it seemed scores had been killed in the gunfire. When the Americans ordered survivors to stand, however, they said many did.

"When I went over there, why, there were, I should say, about 75 or so lying on the ground," Private Frank Eggert testified later. "It looked like they were pretty badly wounded."

"Then somebody gave the order for them to get up, and most of them got up. I don't see how they got away with it, with so many shots fired."

The inspector general report found that 17 were killed at the wall. And, like the visceral reaction evoked by the death train just outside Dachau, the shootings frightened and disgusted some GIs.

"[Drain] said it was one of the worst things he had ever seen since being in the Army," Second Lieutenant Donald E. Strickland testified. "He was sorry that it was his machine gun that had to be used for it."

Corporal Henry Mills, then a 22-year-old member of the battalion's intelligence and reconnaissance platoon, remembered his

mom. "I hadn't seen her for three years. That's what came in to my mind: I wanted to see my mom."

Five days later, Walsh sat in a small town outside Munich before Lieutenant Colonel Joseph M. Whitaker, the Seventh Army's assistant inspector general.

"Did you intend to execute these SS men when you put them in the yard?" Whitaker asked.

"No, sir," Walsh replied.

The investigation

As headlines around the globe cheered the news that American troops had freed 32,000 captives at Dachau, word of the coal yard shooting reached the Seventh Army's top commanders. They ordered a formal investigation.

Four days later Whitaker was at the concentration camp, still more of a war zone than a carefully preserved crime scene. He reported finding the bodies of 17 Germans in a courtyard littered by the brass casings of spent American ammunition. He counted 12 holes in the wall. Some were still stained by blood and bits of flesh.

"Rumor had it that we were going to Leavenworth for the rest of our lives," Lee said in the recent interview. He recalled that as he sat before Whitaker, he noticed that his name and rank were already penciled onto the back of one of the shooting photos.

"Somebody had already identified me. And I was scared to death."

Lee said Whitaker quickly made clear the focus of his inquiry: "He wanted to know who gave the order to fire."

Walsh told Whitaker he issued that order only after the SS men, who he said required tight supervision, moved toward his men.

"Some of the men in the yard on the right flank of that group started to move forward, towards the guards," Walsh told Whitaker. "I ordered them back. They still kept going. I ordered a machine gun covering the road to come inside and hold them back, that if they didn't stay back to fire at them. While I was there, they still continued to move forward on the guards, and I told the machine gun to fire to hold them back."

Whitaker swiftly rejected that version of events. He concluded that 17 SS men were "summarily executed" under Walsh's supervision, and that Bushyhead "personally participated in the execution

Lieutenant General Wade H. Haislip, Seventh Army commander, criticized Whitaker for failing to take into account "the horrors and shock of Dachau on combat troops already fatigued with more than 30 days continuous combat action."

Sparks said that by the time he was summoned to headquarters to account for the actions of his men at Dachau, the control of the 45th Division had been transferred to the Third Army, led by Patton.

"General Patton was appointed military governor of Bavaria and had set up headquarters in Augsburg," Sparks said in the Globe interview. "I walked into his office and saluted and introduced myself. Patton said, 'Didn't you serve under me in Africa and Sicily? Well, you have a damn fine record.' Sparks said that when he began to explain what happened in the coal yard, Patton instantly waved him off.

"He said, 'That won't be necessary. I've investigated these goddamn charges, and they're a bunch of crap.' I saluted and left, and I never heard anything more about it."

Sparks's version of his meeting with Patton is disputed by some researchers, but it is supported by Lieutenant General Kenneth Wickham, the 45th Division's chief of staff, who now lives in Los Altos, Calif.

In any event, when the Eisenhower investigation into the American treatment of German POWs was completed at the end of 1945, Colonel Charles L. Decker, an acting deputy judge advocate, said officials doubted that convictions could ever be obtained.

"It appears that there was a violation of the letter of international law, in that the SS guards seem to have been shot without trial," Decker wrote. "But in the light of the conditions which greeted the eyes of the first combat troops to reach Dachau, it is not believed that justice or equity de-

brace of their families and, to perpetual salutes from a grateful nation. They entered college, began new careers, married, and helped father the demographic colossus that became known as the Baby Boom.

But they could never forget the coal yard at Dachau.

For Hank Mills, the man who found himself searching for his mother's touch during his darkest hours at Dachau, the images of that day would lead to a breakdown in 1953.

"I was an electric lineman. That's a hell of a job to have when you're having a nervous breakdown," said Mills, of Altoona, Pa., in the 1990 documentary. "I'm OK now. I've always been

OK for a long time."

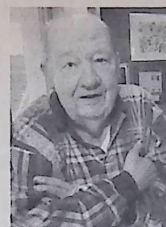
Jack Bushyhead, a native American, became a member of the Cherokee tribal council in Oklahoma, where he helped provide food for the poor and housing for the needy. But he became increasingly haunted by alcohol-fueled visions of the starved victims of the Holocaust he saw on the so-called "death train." He died on Christmas Day 1977.

"When he was inebriated he would even see these people — he called them the little people," said his daughter, Jaxine Bushyhead Gasper. "He just drank himself to death. I don't think dad ever got over the war stuff."

Lee, a native of Delaware, earned a degree from LaSalle University and spent his career as an engineer in the steel business. Now 75 and battling Parkinson's disease, he said when he closes his eyes, he can still see things he wished he couldn't.

"You've probably seen the pictures. They're just pictures to you. You've never walked up on something like that," said Lee, who now lives in Ohio. "When you see the living dead, it strikes you across the eyes. It knocks you off your equilibrium. It's part of war, but nobody prepared us for it."

Sparks served as a district attorney in Colorado after the war. He was a justice on the state Su-



The effect of it just opened up a flood of raw emotions.

FELIX L. SPARKS
on his troops'
reactions
to Holocaust
victims

"I'm shaking right at this minute just talking about it," Walsh said. "And I didn't know if I could talk about it. I tried to forget about it for years."

When Walsh came home from the war, he worked for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as an engineer, helped build a new highway called Route 128, and went to Northeastern University on the GI Bill.

When the US Holocaust Memorial Museum was dedicated in 1993, Walsh was invited as a special honoree.

A year later, on the 50th anniversary of D-Day, he was invited to ceremonies at the US Capitol. His legs weakened by age, two men stood next to him to provide support. One was Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the wounded World War II veteran who sought the presidency in 1996.

When he died in July 1998 at age 78, Walsh was remembered as a kind and gentle man who loved children and golf. Ruth Walsh, his wife of 46 years, said he never dwelled on Dachau.

In Strong's documentary, Walsh, his hair by then white, seems a man who has long since found peace with himself.

"I guess somebody thought that maybe [for] some of the SS guys who died in that camp it wasn't a real legitimate fight, if you want to use that term. If there is such a thing," Walsh said.

"Some of the SS guys had died in the defense of that camp," he said, "and some goddamned day, when I go to hell with the rest of the SS, I'm going to ask them how the hell they could do it and what they were doing up there. And if they knew."

"I don't think there was any SS guy who was shot or killed in the defense of Dachau that wondered why he was killed, or wondered about it, or couldn't figure it out. I think they all knew goddamned-well-right why some of them were killed down in the camp. Goddamn-well-right. And some day, as I said, when I get to hell, I'll check it out and find out whether they really understood."

"But I have a funny feeling that every one of them that died in the defense of Dachau knew why he died."

Thomas Farragher's email address is tfarragher@globe.com.

Heinrich Göring Jan 12, 1893 *

Chronology

1837	June 7	Birth of Alois Schicklgruber, later Hitler
1885	January 7	Alois Hitler marries Klara Pözl
1889	April 20	Birth of Adolf Hitler
1895	May 1	Adolf enters elementary school at Fischlham
	June 25	Alois Hitler retires on pension
1899	February 23	Hitler family settles in Leonding
1900	September 17	Adolf enters Linz <i>Realschule</i>
1903	January	Alois Hitler dies
	September 14	Angela Hitler marries Leo Raubal (* July 28, 1883)
1904	May 22	Adolf confirmed at Linz Cathedral
	September	Adolf enters Steyr <i>Realschule</i>
1905	Summer	Adolf leaves Steyr <i>Realschule</i> and falls ill; convalescence at Spital; in June Leonding garden house is sold
	Autumn	Adolf meets August Kubizek at the opera
1906	Spring	Adolf falls in love with Stefanie
	Early summer	Adolf in Vienna
1907	October	Adolf takes examination at Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, and fails
	December 21	Klara Hitler dies
1908	February	Adolf settles in Vienna at 29 Stumpergasse
	October	Adolf takes examination and fails for second time; breaks with Kubizek
	November	Adolf lives in lodgings on the Felberstrasse
1909	August	Moves to lodgings on the Sechshausstrasse
	December	Appears at the Asylum for the Shelterless, sick and penniless; meets Reinhold Hanisch
1910	February 9	Settles in the Männerheim
	August 5	Testifies in lawsuit against Hanisch
1911	March 21	Johanna Pözl dies, having previously given Adolf a small inheritance
	May 4	Ordered by the Linz court to surrender his orphan's pension

(1904
Kubizek
himself)

not according
to
Tobias

last summer first seen
Stefanie

1912 November
1913 May 24
1914 January
January
February
August 2
August 1
October
December
1915 February
1916 October
1917 September
1918 August 4
October
November
November
End of
November
December
End of
January
February
April 13
May 1
August
September
September
October
1920 February
March 13
March 17
August 8
1921 Summer
July 11
September

592

* After his return from Vienna, feeling himself to be a sophisticated, liberal in Gopp
no Stefanie