



"THE READER WILL BE TOTALLY ENTHRALLED,  
HORRIFIED, AND ULTIMATELY ILLUMINATED."  
—Kirkus Reviews

**HERMAN WOUK**

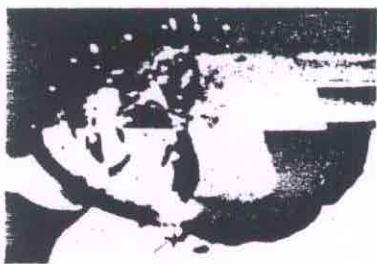
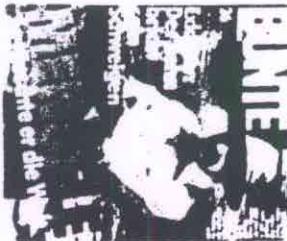
Index

- Passport, Italian Red Cross obtained by Mengele, 16a  
Pawor, Dr. Raul Sapera, 193  
Peck, Gregory, 250  
Perl, Giella, 4, 76, 77, 89, 80, 81, 89, 130, 131, 132, 158-59 account by, 55-56, 81  
Perón, Eva, 277  
Perón, Juan, 170, 171, 214, 227  
Peru, soi, 209, 230  
Pianauti, Professor, 47  
Physicians, camp. *See* Auschwitz, SS  
Pinochet, Augusto, 25, 252  
Plana, Dr. Alberto, 185  
*Playing for Time*, 79  
Poland, 140  
Poland, conquest of  
German rationale for, 95  
Polish Tobacco Administration, 42  
Pope John XXIII, 228  
Pope Paul VI (Eugenio Pacelli) refusal to condemn Nazis, 161-62  
Portugal, 166  
Pömler, Gerald, 149, 259, 266  
Prof. Dr. Felipe Erlich, 210  
Pregnancy in death camps, 80-84  
Prisoner-doctors. *See* Auschwitz, inmate-doctors  
Prosecution of war crimes. *See* War criminals; prosecution of  
Protocols of the Elders of Zion, 20  
Przemysl (KZ), 209  
Psychologische Criminale des Hitlerians, 183  
Q8 VII, 88
- Racial Science, 25, 279. *See also* Mengelk, Dr. Joseph.  
development of, 20  
in education, 21  
Auschwitz, research at, 91-108  
dwarfs, research with, 99, 101, 102
- Rome, 58  
occupation of, by Nazis, 161-62 as sanctuary for fleeing Nazis, 161-62  
Rockefeller, Franklin D., 140, 209  
Good Neighbor Policy, 208
- Raud, Walter, 161  
Ravenbrück (KZ), 54  
Reagan, Ronald, 8, 9, 255, 258, 263  
Red Army, 38  
death of, 258  
Riefenstahl, Ricardo, 214  
Reich Research Council, 142  
*Rebuttal of (Permission for) the Destruction of (Permision for) the University of Life, The*, 104  
Reward money, 2, 263, 272  
RhineLand, occupation of, 109  
Riefenstahl, Ricardo, 214  
*Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, The, 148  
Roeder, Manfred, 264  
Rohde, Dr., 70  
Rohm, Ernst, 18  
Röfleit (Zahnpulpa). *See* Auschwitz, Roman Catholic Church, 14, 16a, 248  
and Gumbung priest, 151-52 and Nazism, 12 and sanctuary given to war criminals, 161-63
- Rome, 58  
occupation of, by Nazis, 161-62 as sanctuary for fleeing Nazis, 161-62  
Rockefeller, Franklin D., 140, 209  
Good Neighbor Policy, 208

C. Pömler  
reference

X-rays of the skull taken from the grave at Einhu were superimposed by computers upon photographs of Mengel to prove that the body was that of the long sought war criminal.

Credit: Black Star



Using photographs obtained from Rolf Mengel, the cover of the German magazine *Bunte* featured a straw-hatted, smiling Mengel with Rolf's memoirs. The pictures proved to be less exclusive when Stern, using a set from the Brasertis who befriended Mengel, published a series at the same time.

Credit: Wide World Photos

German Army routed, troops surrendering by the tens of thousands, a resourceful man like Mengel could rather easily have circumvented checkpoints alert to deserters.

In 1945 Irene Mengel rented a small cottage from a farmer at Autenreid, a tiny community several miles from Günzburg, and moved in with Rolf, the son born to her and Joseph in 1944. Many believe that Joseph Mengel hid in this house during the immediate post World War II years. When Hans Eberhard Klein questioned the owner about his tenants he maintained that he never saw any person there other than Frau Mengel. Lawyer Gerald Posner, a Mengel archivist, says he spoke with a person who swore he saw Mengel in the Günzburg area during these years. Klein says, "There is no evidence that Mengel was in Günzburg," which is not a flat denial that the fugitive did once reside in Autenreid in the Günzburg area.

Felix Kuballa, a German reporter, put together one account of Mengel's movements after Auschwitz for a 1985 TV broadcast. Kuballa believes Mengel left Auschwitz headed either for the KZ Grossroeten or Bergen-Belsen. While accompanying a transport to one of the camps he probably fled.

Kuballa turned up a witness named Thomas Bergfeld, a native of Burgau, not too far from Günzburg. Bergfeld told Kuballa that he was a prisoner of war in a British camp near Neuunster. While chatting with comrades about bartering cigarettes for food, another inmate noticed Bergfeld's Swabian dialect and inquired about his hometown. After he told him, the newcomer asked if Bergfeld knew Günzburg and the Mengel factory. When Bergfeld said of course he did, the other man said, "I am Mengel. I come from Günzburg."

The official story given by Rolf Mengel to the magazine *Bunte* after his father's certified death, based on letters and conversations with the doctor, says: "At the end of the war, my unit was located in Czechoslovakia. During the night of the armistice, we

Elsa Gulpian, who worked as a maid for the man she knew as Senior Pedro, holds a 1945 photograph of Mengel. He asked her to live with him in 1978 when she said she was quitting to be married.

Credit: Camara Tres, Black Star

#### Flight

THE "LAST" MAN

Discovery

White House nor the U.S. Department of State under any administration had ever denounced Mengele or applied pressure on a country where he supposedly resided. Interestingly, Senators D'Amato and Specter, both Republicans calling for the capture of Mengele, did not embarrass their leader, President Reagan, by asking why his administration had not moved against Mengele.

To continue the chronicle of the trackers, Beate Klarsfeld had returned to Asunción to further press her case. Accompanying her were Menachem Rosensaft, a member of the Children of Auschwitz Survivors (his mother and father had both been imprisoned there), Bishop Francis Mugavero, the Roman Catholic head of the Brooklyn, N.Y., diocese whose participation lent an air of ecumenicism, and Brooklyn District Attorney Elizabeth Holtzman. Herself Jewish and a twin, as a member of Congress she had sponsored the formation of the Office of Special Investigation. Additionally, some said Ms. Holtzman might have had further reasons to be interested in the case, such as a possible return for the U.S. Senate seat occupied by Alfonse D'Amato. In any case, once again the Paraguayans proved polite but firm in their insistence that Mengele did not live there anymore. They did offer a concession, though: the outsiders could monitor the efforts of the government to find the person they said was not there.

The Mengele hunt was further stimulated by an expedition to Auschwitz of survivors on the fortieth anniversary of the liberation of the camp. Among those making the pilgrimage were Marc Berkowitz, Ruth Elias, who had killed her own newborn, Vera Kriegel, who saw the "wall of eyes" in the doctor's laboratory. From Poland the group traveled to Israel, where a tribunal staged a mock trial. Dignitaries present included Gideon Hausner, the prosecutor of Eichmann, Simon Wiesenthal, for-

mer Nuremberg trials prosecutor Telford Taylor, and historian Yehuda Bauer.

In the wake of such events came a deluge of publicity as journalists now descended on both Gunzburg and South America. Indeed, the search for Mengele became a kind of cottage industry. Hotels in Asunción housed a steady stream of reporters, writers, and TV journalists. Alejandro von Eckstein priced his offerings at between \$1,500 and \$3,000. ABC-TV interviewed him, and he chauffeured Gerald Posner, a New York lawyer, about the country. Posner announced that he had amassed a collection of \$5,000 pages of documents on Mengele and had interviewed 500 people in South America. He became something of a voice of authority for *Time*, among others, though there is no evidence his \$5,000 pages were closely examined for their value.

Posner also talked on ABC, declaring that Mengele had lived in Asunción "for nearly five years" and that a family (Alban Krugg's survivors?) last saw Mengele "in 1982." It turned out that Mengele had been dead for three years. Posner completed his ABC piece with: "I have evidence that I believe is trustworthy that Dr. Mengele in the last eighteen months has visited both Brazil and Chile"—an active year for a corpse. Posner also said he was writing a book with John Ware, the producer of the Granada TV film in which "Nazis Mueller" regaled the interviewer with tales of Mengele in Paraguay in 1978.

More equivocal and disingenuous before ABC-TV's cameras was President Alfredo Stroessner, who told correspondent John Martin, "I will be very sincere," said Stroessner. "I don't know where he is and we cannot find out where he is."

The prevailing mood of the hometown, Gunzburg, to all of this was resentment—not toward its fugitive son but to the reporters who came to town to chronicle him, his family, and his background. Unfair, was the consensus, to blame the town for

ALFREDO DON S. STROESSNER  
Flynn Esquina in Paraguay in 1936, witness to Mengele's sightings and profited

the Bosserts broke down and admitted that their friend Peter Hochbichler was Joseph Mengele and that he had been buried at Embu in 1979. That was on June 5, 1985. The next day the police rounded up Gitta Stammer; her husband Geza was at sea, a passenger on a ship commanded by one of his sons.

On June 7 the Brazilians, accompanied by a horde of reporters, photographers, and TV cameramen, exhumed the body that had been buried as Wolfgang Gerhard. One investigator brashed the remains of the skull for the cameras, and observers, including forensic scientists, feared that the casual digging might damage bones and make identification even more difficult.

Within a few days an impressive international team of specialists was on the scene prepared to aid the Brazilian experts. At first the reaction of many Nazi hunters was skepticism. In Israel, Isser Harel and Menachem Russek both expressed doubt. The Klarsfelds suspected a hoax. Wiesenthal was dubious. Gerald Posner appeared on TV to say he had contacted a source in São Paulo who told of the coroner's insistence that he had buried a fifty-two-year-old man in 1979. Mengele, of course, would have been much older.

There was good reason to be wary. Jorge Luque remembered a "dead" Mengele in Paraguay that proved out to be a Czech doctor. Erwin Erdstein had claimed that he killed Mengele in Brazil during the 1960s. In 1970 a report had come from Asuncion that Mengele had died; the corpse bore the name of Flores. The Institute of German-Paraguay Relations had reported Mengele's demise in Bolivia in 1976; the body was cremated and there was a report that the missing man had committed suicide in Portugal.

Many with strong reservations wondered why the family and friends would have allowed his death to pass unmentioned for

six years, during which time the Mengele family suffered the badgering of the media. Joseph Mengele's lawyer in Germany, Fritz Steinacker, who defended a number of war criminals, had promised he would inform authorities when his client died.

Wiesenthal began to take the possibility seriously as he learned that unlike other instances this investigation had begun in West Germany and was based on information obtained from a raid on Hans Sedlmeier's home. The first report from experts indicated that the man who had lived with the Stammers and had been befriended by the Bosserts was indeed Mengele. David A. Crown, former chief of the CIA Laboratory and Gideon Epstein, an analyst of the Forensic Document Laboratory at the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States, both handwriting specialists, said they were "thoroughly convinced beyond a shadow of doubt" that the papers collected from the Stammers and Bosserts were written by Joseph Mengele.

Matching the bones with the living being who swaggered through Auschwitz was more difficult. There was a paucity of records for comparison purposes. Much talk centered on a pelvic abnormality. Wiesenthal said Mengele had fractured a hip in a motorcycle accident. The dossier on Mengele indicated only a fender-bender incident in the summer of 1943, and Ella Lingen could not recall any period when Mengele was laid up with an injury. However, no one could locate a medical history that covered Mengele's war wounds or other desired details. The dental records, for example, were all World War II reports, and most of the original teeth of the corpse had been replaced.

On the other hand the forensic scientists could determine the precise height of the Embu body, which matched Mengele. The age at death also fitted the long-time fugitive. And although the details on the teeth were sketchy, the investigators could declare: "Skeletal evidence indicates the upper central incisors