



OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301

Swyter

March 20, 1968

SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

Dr. Matthew Meselson  
Biological Laboratories  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Dr. Meselson:

Our afternoon together last week was very beneficial. Thank you for taking the time. Your ideas, and Dr. Viney's, will help me complete the paper.

Would you check the \$300 million annual cost you mentioned and the operations at Newport and Rocky Mountain? With some specific examples to ask about, I will get a better answer from the Army.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Han Swyter", is written over a horizontal line.

Han Swyter

April 22, 1969

APR 24 1969

Dr. Matthew Meselson  
Biological Laboratory  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Meselson:

Now that I have left OSD (Systems Analysis), I want to express my personal appreciation to you. Your efforts have been inspiring. America desperately needs its citizens to take an interest in the military establishment. I hope you will continue doing it.

Very sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Han Swyter', written over a horizontal line.

Han Swyter

HS:js

CBW

July 28, 1969

AUG 1 1969

Dear Matt:

The American Academy meeting was enjoyably stimulating. I rather enjoy the intellectual challenge.

The paper for Henry should address the protocol issue. That should be the focus.

The capability issues should be touched on. In the letter to Henry we can advise that capabilities and spending money need be addressed, but a classified NSAM can do that.

On page 46 of your testimony, you allude to the capability matter. As long as we have a capability, some part of the military is going to recommend using it. Treaties are barriers. Not having the capability is best.

Please send a draft <sup>of the paper for Henry</sup>. I hope to avoid meeting on August 23. Not only am I short of time, but very reluctant to dig into my own pocket for \$350. My best contribution can come in a careful markup, done quietly on a weekend.

Your testimony for Senator Fulbright was superb.

Thanks for inviting me last week. I enjoyed it.

Sincerely,



H. Swyter

Dr. Matthew Meselson  
The Biological Laboratories  
Harvard University  
16 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

September 5, 1969

Mr. Han Swyter  
4600 South Four Mile Run Drive  
Arlington, Virginia 22202

Dear Mr. Swyter:

It is highly pleasing to hear from Matthew Meselson that you will take part in the Symposium on Chemical and Biological Warfare on October 13 during the meeting of the National Academy of Sciences at Dartmouth College. On behalf of Dartmouth College and of the Academy I write to express this pleasure and to offer our help with local arrangements for your visit.

First, as to the symposium itself: a copy of the final roster of participants is enclosed. We expect that some 600 to 800 people will be in attendance. Perhaps 50 to 70 of these will be Academy members. Many of the others will be faculty members and students, not only from Dartmouth but also to some extent from other colleges and universities in the area. We also hope that Senator McIntyre, who will give a public lecture the same evening, will manage to get here in time to be at your symposium.

As Meselson may have said, he would like to take up with the participants in the symposium the possibility of publishing prepared papers based on it. If this appears desirable, a possible vehicle would be the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences; but I am sure that this is not the only choice.

The Academy meeting runs from Monday morning, October 13 through Wednesday noon. On Tuesday morning there will be another symposium, a sort of round-table discussion of the relative merits or demerits of manned and unmanned space exploration. Among the participants are Colonel Frank Bormann and Dr. W. H. Pickering, Director of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena. Still another symposium is wholly scientific and concerns The Forms of Water.

Mr. Swyter - 2

Enclosed please find a copy of the preliminary announcement of the meeting that was sent to Academy members. Also enclosed is a card on which I ask you to indicate your housing requirements and the events for which you will be here (of course, as guest of the College and the Academy). We have already reserved a double room\*for you and Mrs. Swyter for the nights of October 12, 13 and 14, but we would be grateful to know your exact needs so that we can release any hotel space to other registrants, and so I should be thankful to have you return the card to me promptly. If there are any other ways in which we can help you before or during your stay in Hanover, please let me know.

Yours sincerely,

Walter H. Stockmayer  
Chairman of Local Arrangements

WHS:dr

cc: M. S. Meselson ✓

\*at Hanover Inn

CBW

October 17, 1969

Dear Matt:

Enclosed are my opinions about various CB issues. I prepared them anticipating questions. They did not materialize. However, you might find this useful.

I cannot locate the paper for Henry, of which you gave me a copy. Could you have another made and sent to me in Newport Beach?

Thanks for the National Academy invitation. We enjoyed ourselves. What's next in our program for ratification?

Sincerely,



Han Swyter

Dr. Matthew Meselson  
The Biological Laboratories  
Harvard University  
16 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

## CONCLUSIONS

About The Need for Chemical and Biological Weapons

1. Lethal Biologicals. If we want to kill population, our strategic nuclear capability gives us that option. We keep the nuclear capability anyway. We do not need the lethal biological capability in addition.

2. Lethal Chemicals. The Soviets have a lethal chemical option in Europe short of nuclear war, if we are unable to respond in kind. We need some lethal chemical capability to deter their first use in Europe.

3. Incapacitating Chemicals. These weapons enable us to attack unprotected enemy troops mingled with civilians. This is a first-use capability. No other weapon gives us this option. The alternatives are not to attack the enemy or to kill civilians. Such situations occur infrequently because most enemy troops are protected. Using the weapons would break down the barriers to chemical and biological warfare and encourage proliferation of chemical and of biological capabilities.

The importance of discouraging proliferation is greater than the lives of ten to hundreds of civilians occasionally killed on the battlefield. Hence, we can proscribe the use of incapacitating chemical weapons and do not need the capability.

4. Incapacitating Biologicals. First-use situations in which we might consider using these weapons would be very much more serious. The lives of tens of thousands of United States troops, for example, might be involved. Proliferation would again be the main cost.

The importance of discouraging proliferation is greater than the lives of even tens of thousands of U. S. soldiers. Hence, we can proscribe the use of incapacitating biological weapons and do not need the capability.

About Using CS and Defoliants in Vietnam

Using CS and defoliants in combat amounts to chemical warfare. Engaging in chemical warfare, if only with harmless irritants also used to ~~suppress~~<sup>suppress</sup> domestic riots, breaks down the barriers to chemical and biological warfare. Maintaining these barriers discourages proliferation and use of all kinds of chemical and biological weapons.

The importance of maintaining these barriers is greater than the lives of tens to hundreds of civilians killed in intermingled situations. Correspondingly, even if CS could be shown to reduce U. S. troop casualties--CS does not necessarily reduce casualties--maintaining the barrier is more important than reducing U. S. troop casualties by several thousand per year in Vietnam. Therefore, the United States should stop employing CS and defoliants in Vietnam.

Employment could be halted by the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, the President, or even the U. S. Ambassador to Vietnam or the U. S. Commander there.

About Ratifying the Geneva Protocol

International convention is a major factor influencing nations not to acquire or use chemical and biological weapons. Ratification by the U. S. Senate would strengthen this convention, and thereby the barriers to chemical and biological warfare.

Ratification would draw attention to the use of CS and defoliants in Vietnam. To make the gesture of ratification genuinely meaningful, we would be obliged to stop using CS and defoliants.

Opponents to halting our use would allege embarrassment to the United States, loss of face, even our becoming after the fact war criminals. They would allege shackling of the military, increased U. S. troop casualties, and other dire consequences. I question the validity and certainly the relevance of these arguments.

We should stop using CS and defoliants in Vietnam because continued use leads to proliferation. We should strengthen the barriers to proliferation and CB warfare by ratifying the Protocol.

#### About CB Disarmament

We do not need any biological capability. We do not need incapacitating chemical capability. Our lack of need is independent of other nations' capabilities. Hence, we can publicly and unilaterally disarm. We should make that decision and announce it in a manner which will strengthen the barriers to chemical and biological warfare.

Our only need for a lethal chemical capability stems from the Soviets having one. If the Soviets agreed to disarm, we should also.

CBW

January 15, 1970

Dear Matt:

After our meeting at ACDA, I jotted down some ideas which might be helpful to them.

Please review the enclosed statement, looking particularly at the explanation of how a toxin works. It may be wrong technically, but still not change the thrust of the argument. Please make it correct.

Appreciate your help.

Sincerely,



Han Swyter

Dr. Matthew Meselson  
Harvard University  
16 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

February 24, 1970

Mr. Han Swyter  
Macco Corp.  
881 Dover Drive  
Newport Beach, Calif. 92663

Dear Han,

Here is the first draft of David Brown's paper on anti-plant warfare. Please try to communicate your suggestions for revision to Brown so that they arrive before February 28. Please send a copy of your suggestions to me.

Are there any major issues that have not been treated? Have you any suggestions for revision of the discussion of each issue? Is there any additional material you think should be added?

Sincerely yours,

Matthew Meselson

MM:ls  
Encl.

May 19, 1970

Dr. Matthew Meselson  
The Biological Laboratories  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Matt:

I was disappointed to miss the CBW group meeting on May 11.

The need to complete an acquisition negotiation forced me to cancel my plans for a trip home and to New York.

I hope you'll understand.

Very sincerely,

A handwritten signature consisting of a stylized, scribbled name.

Han Swyter

HS:vb

July 27, 1970.

Professor Walter Stockmayer  
Department of Chemistry  
Dartmouth College  
Hanover, New Hampshire

Dear Walter,

I am ashamed to pass on to you the enclosed letter from Han Swyter. It has been on my desk since April, lost in the thicket of other things. Could you let me know whether anything can be done to check up on the arithmetic of Swyter's expenses and, if justified, to reimburse him additionally.

I'll be away from Cambridge for the next few weeks, in Viet Nam looking at the effects of herbicides on behalf of the A.A.A.S.

With warm regards.

Sincerely yours,

Matthew Meselson

MM:ag

Encl.



Dartmouth College HANOVER · NEW HAMPSHIRE · 03755

Department of Chemistry · TEL. (603) 646-2501

CRW

April 7, 1970

Professor M. S. Meselson  
The Biological Laboratories  
Harvard University  
16 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

Dear Matt:

For some time I have been meaning to write an expression of my pleasure at seeing the Symposium on Chemical and Biological Warfare in print in the Proceedings. It is testimony to your personal dedication and persistence, and I feel sure that it is important not only for itself but because it has set an example to the Academy.

I would, however, also like to register a slight disappointment. Nowhere in the titles or in the body of the text can I find any reference to the fact that the symposium was held here at Dartmouth. In view of the fact that the college paid the bill, it deserved at least one citation.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

*Walter*

Walter H. Stockmayer

WHS:dr

AUG 21 1970

CBW  
correct

# Scientific Control Corporation

August 18, 1970

Dr. Matthew Meselson  
The Biological Laboratories  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Matt:

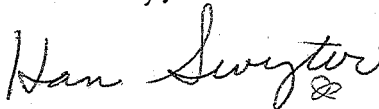
The June version of "The Military Value and Political Implications of the Use of Riot Control Agents in Warfare" was very good. It was comprehensive and the language seemed appropriate.

I have closed my Newport Beach office. Please address mail to me in Arlington.

Thanks for arranging Dartmouth's additional reimbursement.

Hope to see you soon.

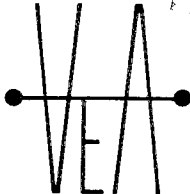
Sincerely,



Han Swyter  
Director

HS:jp

VAN ELS ASSOCIATES a Corporation

FEB 3 1971  


4600 South Four Mile Run Drive Arlington, Virginia 22204 703-671-4281

January 30, 1971

Dear Matt:

It was nice of you to call. The Carnegie report just arrived, appropriately. Your article was especially well done, always persuasive. I am in the midst of a draft for Jeremy Stone and will plagiarize your ideas.

Getting this land development business underway is enjoyable. It has its rewards, and drawbacks too.

I am looking forward to seeing you soon, hopefully the next time you come to Washington.

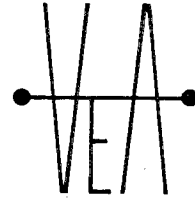
Best regards,



Han Swyter

Professor Matthew Meselson  
The Biological Laboratories  
Harvard University  
16 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

VAN ELS ASSOCIATES a Corporation



4600 South Four Mile Run Drive Arlington, Virginia 22204 703-671-4281

September 30, 1971

Professor Matthew Meselson  
The Biological Laboratories  
Harvard University  
16 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Matt:

Congratulations on your success with Senators Fulbright, Humphrey and Brooke. Eventually, I expect, the United States will formally become an adherent to the 1925 Geneva Protocol. It will be because of your diligent efforts.

Thanks very much for keeping me posted. If in my small way I can help push the matter further, I will be happy to do so.

Very sincerely,

OCT 05 1971

Han Swyter

March 8

Dear Sarah & Matt

Do you really have flashing  
red radioactive ants in the laboratory?

We heard George Wald  
do a Smithsonian lecture on recombinant  
DNA (vs Don Brown & Hopkins). It  
was the elder statesman against  
the eager young scientist. Lots  
of homilies, anecdotes, and scare  
stories vs the probabilistic facts. He  
angered me, but Tai thought he  
was provocative and effective.

I'm beginning to understand  
why Matt wants a new building.  
Demolish the old, wash the ants into  
the sewers of Cambridge, where the  
old fashioned Ecoli will eat the  
ants, and start over with new  
weaving machines.

Hope you're surviving the city  
government.

Best regards,  
How

HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
THE BIOLOGICAL LABORATORIES  
16 DIVINITY AVENUE  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

14 June 1977

Mr. and Mrs. Han Swyter  
4600 South Four Mile Run Drive  
Arlington, VA 22204

Dear Han and Jai,

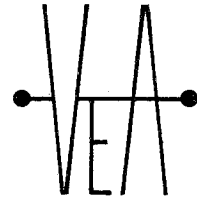
Time out from swatting the radioactive ants to say hello and thanks for your note of last March. We will be in Cambridge most of the summer except for the next two weeks when we will be on St. Martin in the Caribbean. I have enjoyed getting to know Art Herrington at our conference on CW at the American Academy in January and subsequently at lunch. We just finished editing the conference proceedings and will send you a copy of the book when it becomes available,

With best wishes,

as ever,

Swyter

VAN E S ASSOCIATES a corporation



3301 New Mexico Avenue, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20016 • (202) 362-7500

May 7, 1979

Dr. Matthew Meselson  
c/o Division of Biology  
California Institute of Technology  
Pasadena, California 91125

Dear Matt:

My notes say your sojourn at Caltech is about over. It seems only like last month that you called. Has it gone as fast for Sarah and you? How did it feel being "home," this time world famous instead of as another student?

How was the last train ride? I often think I ought to take that trip again before the iron horse for passengers is gone forever. Then I will only have childhood memories of long ago.

You called about my newest project. I was disappointed to have to tell you the partnership was already over-subscribed. Your confidence and that of my other friends who become partners never ceases to impress me. When the next one is ready to proceed, I will let you know again. Be more prompt.

Is there anything to Norman Cousins' assertion that DoD is pursuing BW again?

Best wishes for your return trip to Cambridge.

Sincerely,

Han Swyter

HS/am

DEPARTMENT OF BIOCHEMISTRY AND MOLECULAR BIOLOGY  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY



7 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

September 30, 1981

Mr. Han Swyter  
Van Es Associates  
3301 New Mexico Avenue, N. W.  
Washington, D. C. 20016

Dear Han,

Your notes keep me from getting discouraged. I wonder if the T<sub>2</sub> toxin story could be a stunt that someone is pulling on naive U.S. government officials. From what I know of the substance, it ought to be vastly inferior to nerve agent as a weapon because of the much larger dose required. Also, T<sub>2</sub> toxin, when fed to or inhaled by laboratory animals, has only a delayed effect, starting only several hours after exposure, unlike what I understand to be reported from Laos. There may be some relevant things I do not know; still, I am pretty confident that the U.S. has no important military requirement for a big or exotic offensive chemical warfare capability.

How are you? Warm regards.

As ever,

P.S. We have moved into a brand new building across the street, hence the new address.

Swyter

4/8/82

Matt Meselson

These pesky issues  
don't go away! Fifteen  
years ago we didn't know  
why we had chemical  
weapons and we still don't,  
but we want to buy the  
latest gadget anyway. Aren't  
you frustrated by this?  
Perhaps that's what patience  
and wisdom is for!

Thanks for the note.

#

Smyth

Matt Meselson

Damn the Russians,  
but keep the Americans  
honest. I admire  
your persistence. One  
citizen applauds you.

Her Smyth

# Portion of 'Yellow Rain' Riddle Is Linked to Bees, Panel Says

By Philip J. Hilts

Washington Post Staff Writer

DETROIT, May 31—Five noted scientists said today that they believe they have solved a part of the riddle of "yellow rain," which the U.S. government has attributed to Soviet chemical warfare in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan.

The government has said its samples of "yellow rain" are the residue of Soviet toxin weapons, but has been unable to explain why the samples contain bee pollen and are in the shape of droplets.

Today a panel of five scientists said the powdery samples are probably pollen-filled feces dropped by bees.

"We cannot exclude the possibility that a side product of some chemical used in Southeast Asia has affected both people and bees," said Peter S. Ashton, director of the Arnold Arboretum at Harvard University. "What we do have is very persuasive evidence that the best explanation of the yellow rain [spots is] bee excrement."

"We are not saying that chemical warfare is not going on," said Thomas D. Seeley, a Yale University specialist in Asian bee behavior. "We are saying that we are going down the wrong alley if we focus in on the yellow spots."

The panel delivered its report to the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The other panelists were Matthew Meselson of Harvard, Joan W. Nowicke, pollen specialist at the Smithsonian Institution, and Julian P. Robinson, arms control specialist at the University of Sussex, England.

The report did not dispute that high levels of a fungal poison, *tricothecene mycotoxins*, have been found in six of the nine known rock, leaf and water samples of "yellow rain" and in the blood, urine and tissues of Southeast Asian war refugees who said that they had been in chemical attacks.

But their analysis did show that all nine of the non-human samples contained pollen. One sample that contained mycotoxins and pollen also contained a bee hair, the scientists said.

The scientists suggested at least two theories of how bee excrement could be involved.

• The first theory would support the notion of Soviet

chemical warfare. It supposes that first bees eat large quantities of pollen as usual and excrete it within 50 yards of their hives as yellow droplets on leaves, houses and perhaps food. Then chemical warfare attacks occur in the area, and the toxins adhere to the yellow spots.

The second theory seemingly contradicts the position of the U.S. government. In it, fungus spores land on the yellow spots of feces, take hold and grow, producing the mycotoxins naturally. The poisons are consumed or touched by people, who then become ill.

A third hypothesis was offered by government officials in interviews with The Washington Post. In it, pollen is either an inadvertent contaminant or a deliberate element of a chemical weapon. It could perhaps be used to help the toxin stick to leaves.

The U.S. government has been investigating the presence of pollen in "yellow rain" samples since the phenomenon was discovered by a Canadian scientist in early 1982.

Its position that mycotoxins are being used as a chemical warfare agent in Laos, Cambodia and Afghanistan is not directly contradicted by the bee excrement theory.

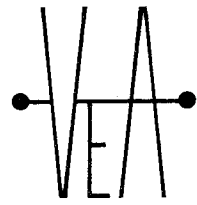
Nonetheless, one State Department official said that he is skeptical of the new hypothesis because it leaves open too many questions and ignores too much evidence from both intelligence sources and refugees.

Among the evidence consistent with it, the scientists said, are the yellow color and uniform appearance of the spots, the high pollen count of all the spots, bee hair in pollen spots and the possibility that the pollen comes from southeast Asian plants.

Among the evidence that they said is not explained by the theory are refugee reports of illness and death connected with yellow rain, refugee reports of attacks by plane or artillery and evidence of mycotoxins on gas masks reportedly found in Afghanistan.

Evidence not mentioned by the scientists includes intelligence information from captured pilots and soldiers, pictures of Soviet chemical warfare equipment in Asia and radio intercepts that suggest that Soviet chemical warfare specialists are in Laos, Cambodia and Afghanistan, government sources said.

Swyter, H.



VAN E S ASSOCIATES a corporation

3301 New Mexico Avenue, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20016 • (202) 362-7500

August 12, 1983

Dr. Matthew S. Meselson  
Dept. of Biochemistry & Molecular Biology  
Harvard University  
7 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Matt:

Thanks for sending the material you presented to the AAAS.

I admire you for persisting. You must at times find it a strain.  
I want you to know at least two citizens appreciate your important  
persistent effort.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Han Swyter

HS/am

Snyder

2/27/84

Matt Meselson

Mr. Hormats must be wrong. Surely our government would not claim the use of chemicals if it were not true, if the evidence were more valid for see dropping, or would they?

Harvey Snyder

8/1/85

Matt Meslow

AUG 6 1985

It was sure good  
seeing you.

Herb Scoville died. Thought  
you'd like to know

Howdy

Swyter  
9/9/90

Dear Matt,

I'd like to see you the morning  
of Thursday October 4 at 10:30 am  
in your office. Is that convenient?

Please let me know promptly.  
I'll be in Cambridge for a Business  
School Review. Please let me  
have your office phone number  
and walking instructions for Harvard  
~~Square~~ to your office, and its exact  
address.

my home 703-845-1126

my office 703-931-7500

Hope this fits your schedule.

Best  
The Swyter

Jay = Jay

2000?

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF MOLECULAR AND CELLULAR BIOLOGY

Matthew Meselson  
Thomas Dudley Cabot Professor  
of the Natural Sciences



7 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, MA 02138  
Tel: (617) 495-2264  
Fax: (617) 496-2444  
msm@wjh.harvard.edu

Dear Han,

How pleasant to have  
spoken with you on the  
tel phone just now!

Here is Jennie's account  
of the Sverdlovsk anthrax  
investigation we undertook  
in the 1990's after at last  
being allowed to go there.

With all good wishes,

Mat.



Matthew Meselson &lt;msmeselson@gmail.com&gt;

---

**Hi, Matt**

1 message

---

**John Wheeler** <wheelerusa@usa.net>

To: msm@wjh.harvard.edu

Fri, Aug 26, 2005 at 11:44 AM

Matt, Hi

It is Jack Wheeler -- you may recall long ago I worked in OSD Systems Analysis on Biological and Chemical weapons, with Ivan Selin and Han Swyter. We met when I prepared a paper that went to the NSC and the President. You took me to the faculty club. As life went on, I served in Vietnam, went on to Yale Law School and served in the Reagan administration. I chaired the group that built the Vietnam Veterans Memorial -- the Wall -- in DC. I may join the Bush Administration soon in the national security area, and I wanted to touch base. Do you still provide advice to DoD or the NSC on WMD matters?

I hope this finds you well. I would look forward to seeing you again, in Cambridge or DC.

Warmly,

Jack

917-312-4507



Matthew Meselson &lt;msmeselson@gmail.com&gt;

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**Re: Hello Jack!**

1 message

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**Matthew S. Meselson** <msm@wjh.harvard.edu>

Fri, Aug 26, 2005 at 12:45 PM

To: John Wheeler &lt;wheelerusa@usa.net&gt;

Dear Jack,

How nice to hear from you. Do come by whenever you might find yourself in the Cambridge area. No, I am not in any USG advisory position at present. My last stint was in the Clinton era, as a member of the State Dept's Arms Control and Nonproliferation Advisory Board. I remain interested in CBW, especially BW matters, mainly in the context of the KFK's Belfer Center for Science and International Security where I am the so-called Chair for CBW matters and also with the NAS Committee on International Security and Arms Control, with which my wife and I are about to leave for China to discuss nuclear and cbw interests with a counterpart committee of the Chinese academy of sciences. As a side trip we will visit Harbin and Ping Fan, where there is now a museum and archive with materials about the 1940s Japanese BW activities there. Actually it is my wife, Jeanne Guillemin, who is really active in this area, having just had her book "Biological Weapons" published by Columbia University Press. A few years ago her book "Anthrax: Investigation of a Deadly Outbreak" was published by U of California Press. It describes our on-site investigations in Sverdlovsk in 1992 and 1993 that established beyond doubt (previously I had considerable doubt) that the outbreak resulted from an aerosol release originating at a closed military compound within the city, killing about 70 people and also killing sheep and cattle downwind to a distance of about 50 km.

Like everyone else, I too found the Wall to be extremely moving and am not suprised to learn that someone like you had been guiding its creation. I had been in RVN only as a civilian, mainly outside Saigon, for six weeks in 1970, but enough to make the Wall all the more meaningful.

I haven't seen Han for a few years but think of him often and receive notes from occasionally.

Give me a call whenever you like or, better, come by. Anything I can do to help out, especially as concerns bio, let me know.

Best regards,

Matt

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---

Matthew Meselson



Matthew Meselson &lt;msmeselson@gmail.com&gt;

---

**Re: Hello Jack!**

1 message

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**Matthew S. Meselson** <msm@wjh.harvard.edu>  
To: John Wheeler <wheelerusa@usa.net>

Fri, Aug 26, 2005 at 12:45 PM

Dear Jack,

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I haven't seen Han for a few years but think of him often and receive notes from occasionally.

Give me a call whenever you like or, better, come by. Anything I can do to help out, especially as concerns bio, let me know.

Best regards,

Matt

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Matthew Meselson

HAN SWYTER

1462 South Greenmount Drive, Apt 406 Alexandria, Virginia 22311 (703) 820-5245

February 21, 2011

Matt Meselson and Jeanne Guillemin

Dear Jeanne and Matt,

So good to enjoy Matt's company. Glad I can help your search for information about the story of Mr. Nixon's decision to abolish biological warfare offensive capability. Next time a recorder.

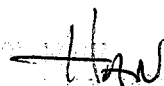
I called Randy Revelle. He'll call back eventually, but this is legislative season, an exhausting time. Lobbying the Washington State legislature on behalf of the Washington State Hospital Association is one of his tasks as a senior WSHA executive. Lucky fellow is still working.

I told Jai, my medical anthropologist, about Jeanne's experience as I understood it with neonatology: the neonatologists urged the parents to authorize "do everything that can possibly be done" (for my very premature baby). I remarked to Jai that Jeanne's experience seemed so different than Jai's (at Georgetown University Hospital neonatology unit ca 1983). Jai said, "The doctors (she observed) would do everything if parents really wanted that" and, then, ever the scientist, "I would have to see Jeanne's data" (to comment further). My memory of Dr. Siva, who led that team, was a humanist in the humanitarian sense devoted to working with parents at a crisis time in their life on behalf of their baby. I'm adding Mixed Blessings to my list to search used books. It'll be a treat when I succeed.

Jeanne's role at the AAAS meeting impressed me. Congratulations on being recognized. I am proud of your accomplishment in the biosecurity field.

Professor Pauling was right. For a long, healthy life, hold the handrail. I will. Thanks for the anecdote.

All the best 'til next time.



Han Swyter Monday February 21, 2011 Old Ebbitt's Grill lunch

DPM = Draft Presidential Memorandum

From Systems Analysis to Sec Def to President

Produced in late summer or early autumn as part of budget process

Swyter, Randy Revelle (editor, went to high school with HS), Wayne Smith (Senior editor) to Ivan Selin to Alan Enthoven, to OSD.

HS at DoD from 1965 until early April 1969. Note this means that logic for ending BW program was developed and transmitted During Johnson. Sec Def was McNamara then Clifford. Nixon administration started January 1969.

Clifford not much interested in longer horizon.

Mort Halperin was in DoD International Security Affairs, not involved with DPMs. Went over to Kissinger in 1969. [MM recalls that he had said that CBW matter was in HAK in box from Johnson administration.]

Revell has a set of DPMs. Is in contact with HS.

HS and MM recall that they first met when MM walked into HS office unannounced. Would have been 1967 or early 1968. Possibly because MM had gone to see Selin on advice of Jeremy Stone who had high regard for Selin.

HS office initially in C ring near SecDef in E ring. Then all of SA moved to O ring, with view of dumpster and mall where Macy's now is. MM recalls a small office.

HS worked with John Eisle. Eisle died in 19770s.

HS wrote the BW part of DPM. There could have been two or more DPMs dealing with BW. , the conclusions were in the second one.

Han's replacement may have updated the conclusions regarding BW.

Enthoven is still at Stanford.

Selin Welcome Center at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

HAN SWYTER

---

1462 South Greenmount Drive, Apt 406 Alexandria, Virginia 22311 (703) 820-5245

September 23, 2011

Dr. Matthew Meselson  
Molecular and Cellular Biology  
Harvard University  
16 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Matt:

Your note with the list of DPMs arrived while I rushed toward a deadline. I apologize for the delay.

Obtaining the list was a coup. Now we have the formal names of each DPM. No FOI will be needed. In which DPM is the section explaining (recommended) policy on biological offensive capability? What OSD Systems Analysis had to say, writing in the Secretary's shoes, would fit in about half a page. I guess as follows, if this topic was addressed at all, it was addressed in order of likelihood in:

- Tab D theater nuclear, or
- Tab C strategic, or
- Tab A nato, or
- Tab H land forces, or
- Tab F general purpose forces.

John Wilson's note says he saw nothing on "CB weapons" when quickly scanning (did he scan all? just Tab C?) Sanitizing could turn a paragraph or a page into a blank.

Each copy would cost about \$15. I suggest starting with two, D theater nuclear and C strategic. In the meantime, I have already mailed the memo and list to Randy Revelle in Seattle. I hope they will stimulate his memory or his search of the room in his weekend house. Randy was Alain Enthoven's editor, the junior of two. Randy remembers packing the DPMs in a rush to send to the White House in January 1969.

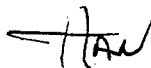
Dr. Matthew Meselson

September 23, 2011

I would like a copy made on your copier if permitted of theater nuc DPM for old times sake. That's the one I worked on a long time ago in autumn 1966, 1967, and I assume 1968. I remember being involved in CB in summer 1968 because an "intern," Jack Wheeler, worked on chemical capability for me then. I took on another task before I left OSD in April 1969 and might not have worked on the theater nuc DPM in autumn 1968. However, I remember well Ivan Selin explaining to me his simple logic about biological offensive capability and my trying to write it concisely. Logically, of course, that paragraph or two could have been inserted in several DPMs. I list above my guess of which DPM if any in order of likelihood.

I'll let you know what turns up from Randy Revelle.

All the best,



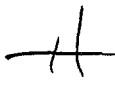
Han Swyter

P.S. I'm often away for 3-8 weeks with Annalies. My 703-820-5245 has an answering device. When I'm away, that number rings without end.

Enclosure

\\HsMisWdA\LmMeselson 92311.doc

In that case, you know I'm away. I am in touch with Tai while away. If you leave a message with her 703 845-1126, I'll get the message and call with some days delay.



## Ropper, Sandy

---

**From:** John Wilson [john.wilson@nara.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, August 31, 2011 1:35 PM  
**To:** Ropper, Sandy  
**Subject:** DPMs  
**Attachments:** Document (4).pdf

Dear Ms. Ropper,

Attached is a list (copied from Papers of Alain Enthoven, box 4, Draft Presidential Memos, 1968-1969, tabs A-F) of the last set of DPMs we have, with their declassification status noted by me. While they are all from January 1969, none are from January 20th, and the folder does not contain anything directly from Clifford. From an earlier conversation (perhaps with Ms. Montgomery) I recall it is the DPM on *Strategic Offensive and Defensive Forces* that is of interest to you. It is available in sanitized form. As fair warning I think I should tell you the sanitizations are rather extensive, and in a quick scan I did not see any information on chemical or biological weapons. You can order a copy, and request another declassification review if you wish. It was reviewed just a few years ago, so a new review may not release anything new. Photocopies by mail cost \$.30 per page, plus shipping and a \$2.00 handling fee.

DECLASSIFIED

~~TOP SECRET~~

ATOMIC ENERGY ACT 1954

Authority: DOD Directive 5200.30

By: *McGregor*, NARA, Date: *9-9-04* DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL MEMORANDUMS

This document consists of *516* pages

Copy No. *1* of *1* copies, Series *A*

- TAB A *SANi*  
DPM on NATO Strategy and Force Structure, dtd. 1/7/68(U). SECRET 22p.
- TAB B *SANi*  
DPM on Asia Strategy and Force Structure, dtd. 1/2/69 (U). SECRET 23p.
- TAB C *SANi*  
DPM on Strategic Offensive and Defensive Forces, dtd. 1/9/69 (U). TOP SECRET 38p.
- TAB D *SANi*  
DPM on Theater Nuclear Forces, dtd. 1/15/69 (U). TOP SECRET RESTRICTED DATA. 29p.
- TAB E *SANi*  
DPM on Nuclear Weapons and Materials, dtd. 1/17/69(U). TOP SECRET 30p.
- TAB F *declassified*  
DPM on General Purpose Forces, dtd. 1/15/69 (U). SECRET 12p.
- TAB G *declassified*  
DPM on Logistic Guidance for General Purpose Forces, dtd. 4/10/68 (U). SECRET 12p.
- TAB H *declassified*  
DPM on Land Forces, dtd. 1/11/69 (U). SECRET 17p.
- TAB *declassified*  
Army and Marine Corps Land Forces-Planning and Control Memo., dtd. 1/11/69 (U). SECRET 49p.
- TAB I *SANITIZED*  
DPM on Tactical Air Forces, dtd. 1/13/69 (U). SECRET 37p.
- TAB J *sample*  
DPM on Anti-Submarine Warfare Forces, dtd. 1/15/69 (U). TOP SECRET 33p.
- TAB K *declassified*  
DPM on Escort Ship Forces, dtd. 1/6/69 (U). SECRET 22p.
- TAB L *declassified*  
DBPM on Amphibious Ship Forces, dtd. 1/10/69 (U). SECRET 27p.
- TAB M *declassified*  
DPM on Naval Replenishment and Support Forces, dtd. 1/4/69 (U). SECRET 24p.
- TAB N *declassified*  
DPM on Mobility Forces (U). SECRET 36p.
- TAB O *declassified*  
Secretary of Defense Guidance Memo on Indirect Support Aircraft, dtd. 1/3/69 (U). SECRET 31p.
- TAB P *declassified*  
Secretary of Defense Guidance Memo on Manpower, dtd. 1/17/69 (U). SECRET 27p.
- TAB Q *declassified*  
Secretary of Defense Guidance Memo on Pilots and Navigators, dtd. 1/8/69 (U). SECRET 24p.
- TAB R *declassified*  
Secretary of Defense Guidance Memo on Shipbuilding (U). CONFIDENTIAL 14p.

If enclosures are withdrawn or not attached the classification of this correspondence will be cancelled.

PRESERVATION COPY

1

~~TOP SECRET~~

MAND CONTROL NO. *TS-864*

~~TOP SECRET~~

10

FOR INTERNAL USE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ONLY

Tentative  
Record of Decision

January 15, 1969

RESTRICTED DATA  
ATOMIC ENERGY ACT, 1954  
AS AMENDED

DRAFT PRESIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

on

THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES

SANITIZED

Authority NLJ 04-270

By SAW, NARA, Date 12/7/07

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SA Control 9-0133

Page 1 of 29 pages  
Copy 208 of 240 copies

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~~TOP SECRET~~

January 15, 1969

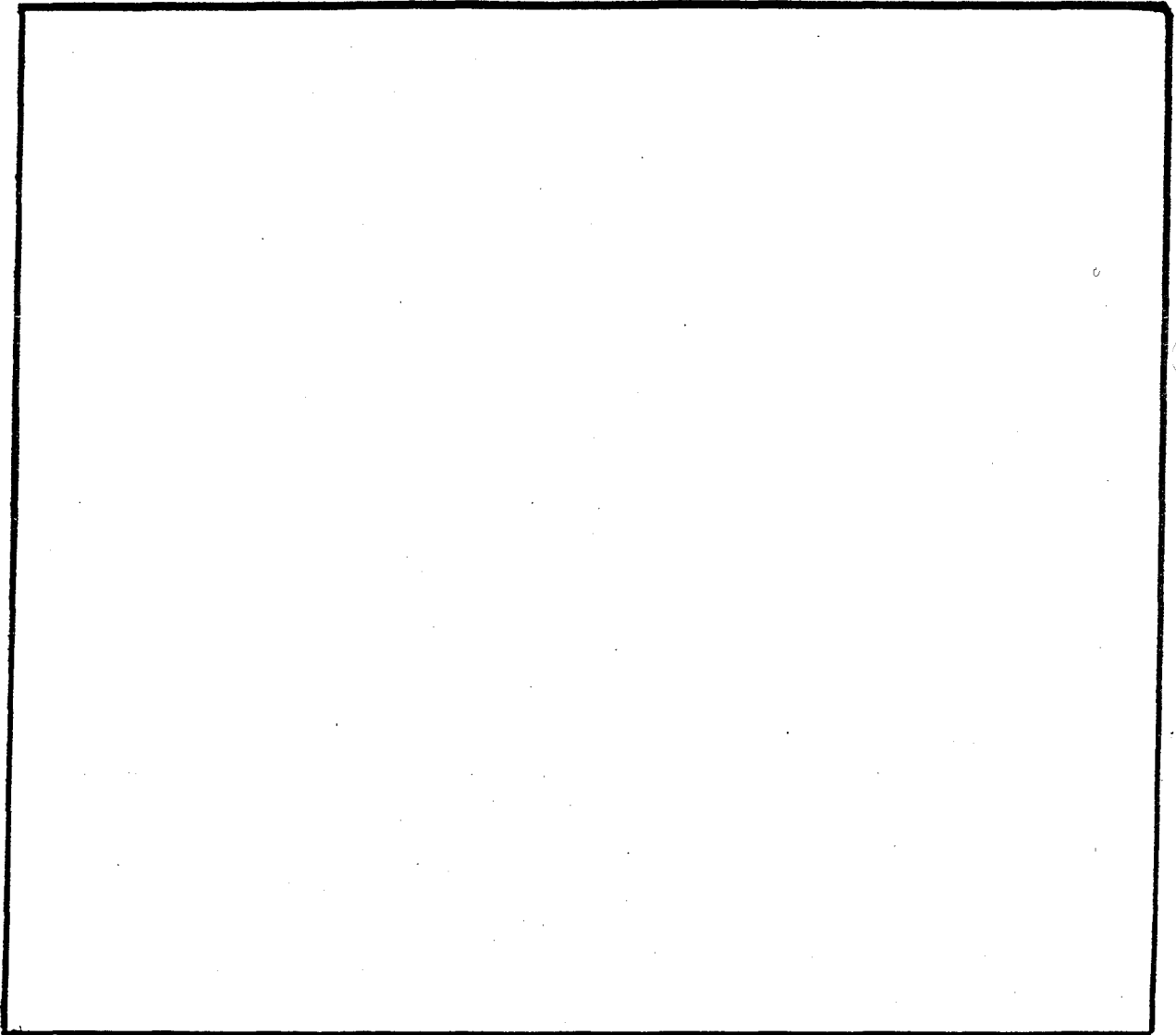
DRAFT

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Theater Nuclear Forces (U)

Our continuing review of theater nuclear and related chemical and biological forces leads us to the following major conclusions:

1. We buy theater nuclear forces primarily to deter limited nuclear war. If deterrence should fail, these forces give us options to fight such a war. Our recommended forces are generally appropriate in number and mix for the tasks we have identified.



3.3(b)(5)

7. Pending further study, our present stockpile of lethal and incapacitating biological agents appears to be appropriate in size and mix.

6.2(a)

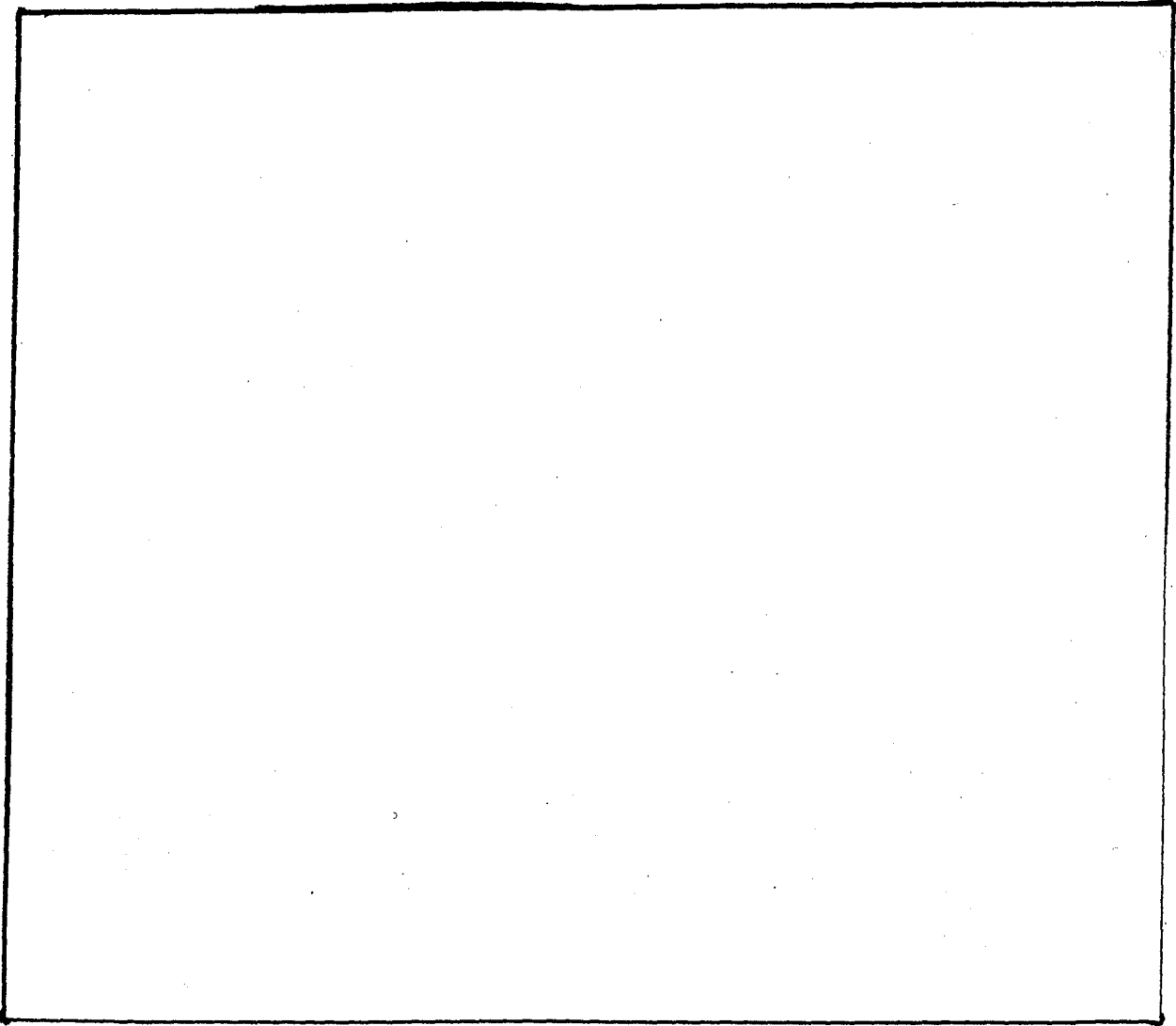


IV. CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE FORCES

A. Lethal Chemicals

Lethal chemicals can kill many unprotected troops quickly. Casualties are very low against protected troops, but the combat effectiveness of troops in protective clothing is degraded.

3.3(b)(1/5)

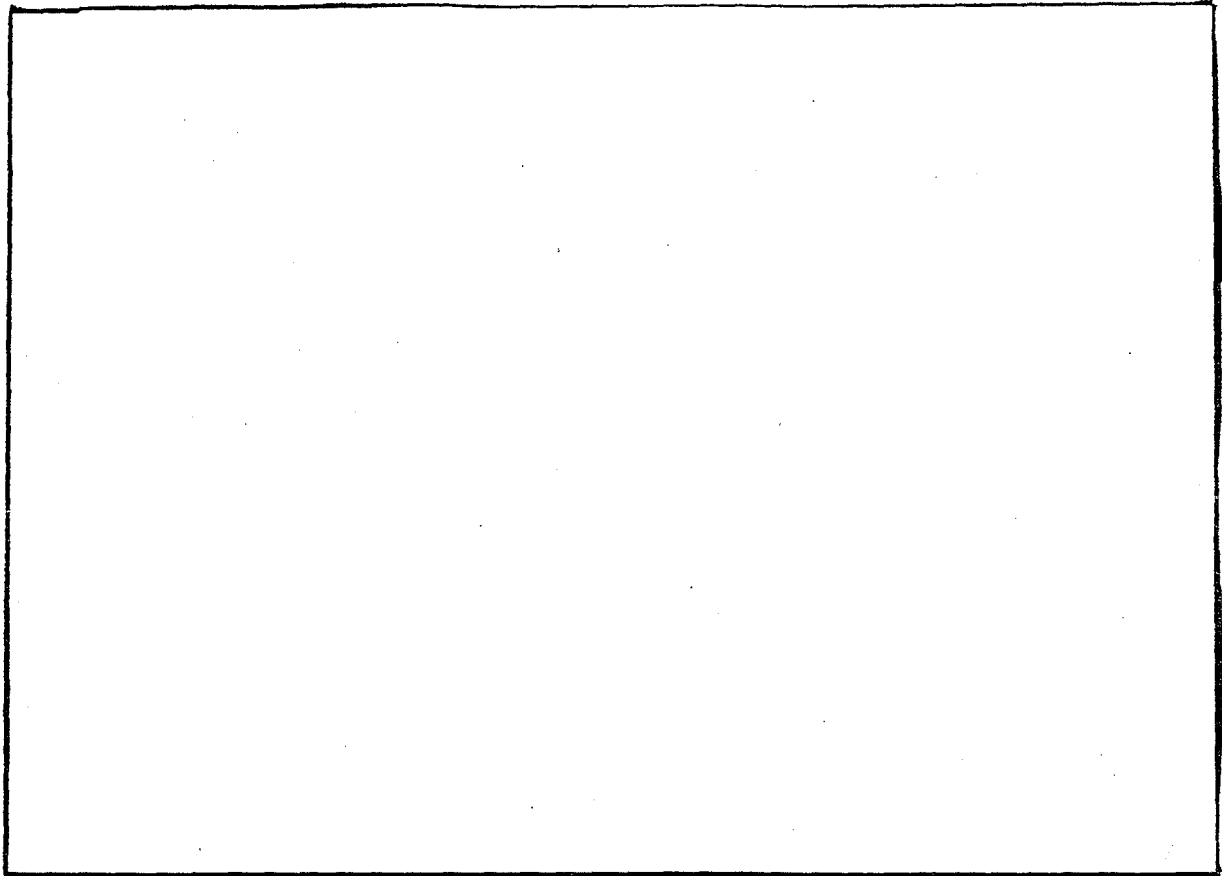


For NATO's Center Region, the approximate additional 10-year costs for equipment and munitions (above our current inventories) to provide a lethal chemical deterrent, which would give us some war-fighting capability, are shown in the next table.

Capability	Additional 10-Year Cost a/ (In \$ Millions)
Defensive Protection for 11 U.S. Division Forces (DFs) and 5 Forward Air Bases	\$ 400
Offensive Capability for the U.S. and Allied Sectors	140
Total Costs	\$ 540

3.3(b)(5)

a/



3.3(b)(5)

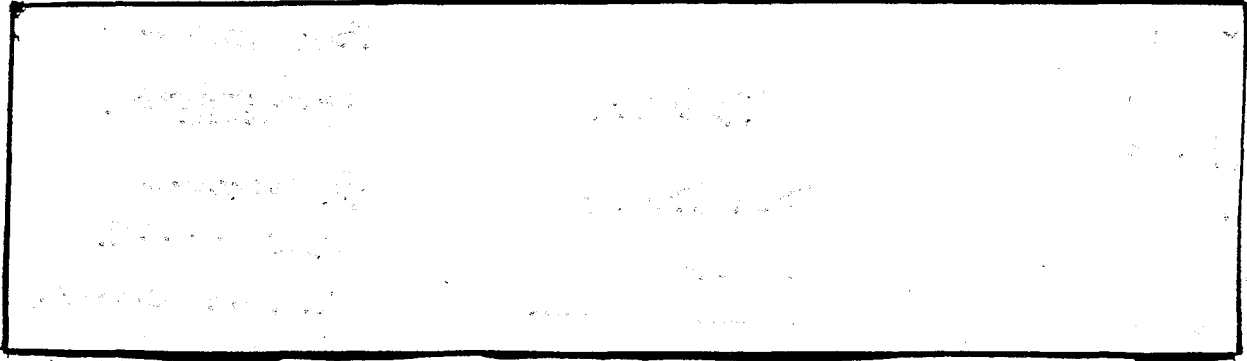
We recommend disapproving the JCS proposal to buy a chemical incapacitating capability for all land and air forces at a 10-year cost of \$440 million (excluding costs for research, development, and operations in Vietnam).

C. Lethal and Incapacitating Biological Weapons

Lethal biological agents are essentially strategic weapons in that they can kill a high percentage of people over a large area. Biological warfare would be hard to limit, there is little defense against it, and detection of the source of the attack might be impossible. If we were willing to publicize a biological capability, we might be able to buy lethal biological weapons

January 15, 1969

rather than nuclear weapons as a deterrent to strategic war. However, since we already have a strategic nuclear Assured Destruction capability, we do not need lethal biological weapons now. Pending further analysis of this issue, we recommend disapproving the JCS proposal to stockpile a lethal biological capability.



3.3 (b)(5)

U.S. STOCKPILE OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL AGENTS a/

FY 68

FY 69

*See RASD*

~~See memo~~ CHEMICAL AGENTS

Incapacitating

- CS (Tons)
- BZ (Tons)
- PG-2 (Pounds)

Lethal

- HD (Tons)
- VX (Tons)
- GB (Tons)
- XR
- TZ

BIOLOGICAL AGENTS

Incapacitating

- MN (Gallons)
- FX (Gallons)
- TD (Pounds)

Lethal

- ZZ (Pounds)
- TR-2 (Pounds)

Anti-Crop

- TX (Pounds)
- LX (Pounds)

SPECIAL DEVICES e/

Small Area Coverage Devices

- M4 Disseminators (15 grams)
- M5 Depositor (150 grams)
- M32 Generator (700 grams)

Individual Devices

- M1 Missile (1 Milligram)
- M2 Cartridge (75 Milligrams)

*DDMI*

*Sci Def #*

*JCS*

*ISA mem  
Int Affairs*

*IS. noticed  
CBW 66-67.*

*Visited Detroit.*

*Met R. Schickel.*

*a voice for us*

*Dep. Asst. Sec.*

*Saw in kitchen*

*= mess.*

*Defense had  
for BW*

*if Rep's*

*BW pan  
Lynne*

*Genl (LtG)*

*Robt. Pursley*

*3.3(b)(5)*

*age 28*

*Sum 64*

*Dir g*

*Card Atl Info*

*Systems*

*Intel*

*electronic*

*Asst Defense*

*66*

*Dep Asst Sec*

*Spec Forces*

*Pharm - Nuc*

*Forces*

*incl CBW*

*How long*

*in Nuc or*

*missile just*

*CBW*

*Alan Easton*

*Fred Hoffmann*

*Always in*

*Spec Asst.*

*Bob Anthony*

*Comptroller*

*Be there 2200 hrs.*

- a/ Excluding herbicides and defoliants.
- b/ Excludes stocks and pipeline for Vietnam.
- c/ Up to several hundred pounds stored in special devices.
- d/ A few grams stored in special devices.
- e/ Shows the numbers of devices in the stockpile. The average quantities of chemical or biological agent (PG-2, XR, TZ, TD, ZZ, or TR-2) per device are shown in parentheses.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
DEPARTMENT OF MOLECULAR AND CELLULAR BIOLOGY

Matthew Meselson  
Thomas Dudley Cabot Professor  
of the Natural Sciences



16 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, MA 02138  
Tel: (617) 495-2264  
Fax: (617) 496-2444  
msm@wjh.harvard.edu

12 October 2011

Dear Ham,

Here is the entire set of DPMs  
we received from the Johnson Presidential  
Library. They are heavily redacted,  
including the pages with non-redacted  
mention of C. or B. We will request  
"mandatory review" of those particular  
pages for possible declassification. After  
all, it is a long time ago and we  
no longer have any offensive C or B. Meanwhile,  
could you let me know to the best

Of your memory what was  
said in the boxes at

- ) Page 2 of the DPM on "Thermer Nuclear Fuel"
- ) Pages 22, 23, 24, 25
- ) 23
- ) 24
- ) 25

These pages all have colored tabs —

Now, I will be in D.C. over the week end  
of October 22. If you think it would  
be good to get together any time Saturday  
please let me know at phone listed above —

As ever,

Mark

HAN SWYTER

1462 South Greenmount Drive Apt 406

Alexandria, Virginia 22311

703-820-5245

*Jeanne and Matt,*

Christmas 2014

Dear Friends,

2014 was a good year of staying in touch and making new connections with people and places.

I was in Holland in April and May mostly to be with Annelies. While there I enjoyed days with the two remaining members of my parents' generation, my father's youngest sister and my mother's youngest first cousin. Annelies took me to Rome and Rotterdam.

Rome was a first for us. Its 2000 year old buildings next to 200 year old ones next to 2 year olds were lovely to walk among in six sunny spring days. Rome is eye popping like its pictures. Its awful traffic is just as in the movies.

Rotterdam is now a modern city. My mind's eye kept its image of my first visit in 1948. Nearly as far as my young eyes could see were streets without buildings, their rubble removed, only curbs remained. In April 2014 Annelies and I walked the downtown from the just finished central railway station to the river's new bridges. Many office and residential buildings were recently completed. We saw vibrant retail areas. Neighborhoods that were spared war's destruction were renovated in their pre-war styles. However, I do not know that the attractive area through which we walked is the same flattened one I saw soon after the war.

In June, friends from Manila visited. I studied with them half a century ago in Boston and we stayed in touch. Weeks later, a distant cousin and his college-age nephew visited. Their father years ago helped identify our common ancestor. He came from a village on the North Sea coast in East Friesland and moved in 1831 to Amsterdam. 160 years later my father's youngest sister visited the village and returned home with a family tree showing one branch back to 1600. Those ancestors were then farmers and dike keepers. Their descendants who live in the village still are.

In August I spent twelve exhilarating days near Puget Sound and on the San Francisco Peninsula with friends and family. At my Anacortes High School class 55<sup>th</sup> reunion picnic I listened to a classmate, with whom I had never spoken, tell his story. He owns a commercial fishing boat and raises race horses. His crew and boat were at work off the California coast while he talked to me. Later in Seattle I caught up with another classmate and college roommate. He is continuing an illustrious academic career in bio-engineering and served as provost and then president of the University of Washington. Another friend devoted her career to teaching talented youngsters who also benefit from individual attention but often get less in school than children with special needs at the other end of the spectrum. These three and others are enjoyable people whom I first met during my high school years. It's good to be in their company.

On the Peninsula I liked getting to know better my nine year younger sister and meeting for the first time the special man now in her life. I met for the first time my 3 year old grand niece and 1 1/2 year old grand nephew. I reconnected with their parents whom I last saw together six years ago in Ann Arbor. I also enjoyed time with my niece and met for the first time the special man now in her life. In between I had good visits with friends, some old, some new.

Annelies came to Alexandria in the autumn for five weeks mostly to work with me. We shrank by 75% the floor area used for storing my business records in a rented storage space. First we sorted. Then a shredding company loaded its truck with my unwanted filing cabinets filled with paper, shredded it and disposed of the cabinets. I was lucky to have Annelies's help with this unpleasant task. We also made time for fun. For example, we took a forty minute Potomac River narrated boat tour from Alexandria to Georgetown waterfronts seeing and hearing about the monuments and other well-known Washington sights. I had never seen them from the river, which I have lived near for 48 years. It was a new, delightful experience in wonderful company.

Best wishes for the holidays,

*Han*

HAN SWYTER  
1462 S. GREENMOUNT DR. APT. 406  
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22311  
703-820-5245

March 3, 2015

Dear Jeanne and Matt,

I'd like to visit you at your home while in Boston for a class reunion. Are you available on Thursday <sup>May 28</sup> at about 1:30 P.M.? Sunday May 31 is an alternate but I prefer Thursday.

Please telephone me promptly at the number above and give me your telephone number.

I am leaving in mid-March for three months in The Netherlands and will fly to Boston from there. If I or my answering device do not answer when you call, please leave a message with Jai at 703 845 1126. Her answering device is always on to screen calls and she will answer you when she's home. I will receive your message from her when she and I talk twice per week when I travel.

Looking forward to seeing you.

HAN Swyter

Christmas 2015

Dear *Jeanne and Matt,*

The Dutch stamp on the envelope shows you where I mailed this letter. I also wrote it in the house in Bussum where Annelies lives with Cousco, our genuine Maine Coon cat. Her brick house, built in the late 1930s as an early part of a subdivision development, is a fancier "3 under 1 roof" of which hers is the center unit, with basement, ground and second floors, and attic. Houses built later were traditional row houses. Annelies moved to this house for the first time in 1955. Her parents rented it. Annelies bought it in 1973, a major accomplishment then for a single working woman. Over the decades, she renovated the house in parts, most recently the kitchen last spring. She has yet to re-carpet and re-paint the living and dining rooms. My contribution recently has been help with renovation design.

In the spring this year Annelies and I took two trips, one to West Sussex in South England and one to Vienna. We went to West Sussex mainly to visit my cousin, who has known Annelies for decades as a family friend. I have wanted for years to visit my cousin and husband in their lovely home. Our delightful visit was all I imagined. While in West Sussex, Annelies and I spent two days in London. Walking at a brisk pace from Victoria Station, we saw many of London's tourist sights. Our last stop was Harrod's, an impressive experience. London was memorable.

To get to West Sussex, Annelies drove us to Dunkirk. There we took the car ferry to Dover. Annelies drove us the rest of the way on the wrong side of the road as the English are said to do. She is courageous. I saw her do it before in South Africa. The white cliffs of Dover visible from the ferry were lower than my memory of seeing them from a passenger ship in June 1948 sailing through the English Channel. In my memory of a boy of six making my first visit to Holland, the white cliffs were larger than they looked now.

Vienna was a first for us. It makes the most of its connection to empire in exhibits, shows, museums, galleries, and buildings. We caught a Vienna Opera performance of Madame Butterfly one evening and a medley of 18<sup>th</sup> century song and dance in costume featuring music of Strauss on another evening. The Symphony was sold out. We settled instead for a guided tour of the building including the Golden Hall. After six days there, we want to return.

I learned a lesson this summer about sitting for hours, in my case in an airplane seat during the nine hours returning from Holland. Having tolerated long distance air travel for six decades without adverse effects, I drank little fluid and hardly moved about the cabin, contrary to suggestion. Two months later, suspecting a persistent microbe, I went to my doctor with a mild cough that lingered and unusual-for-me shortness of breath after climbing four flights. With the help of an emergency CAT scan, she diagnosed blood clots in one lung. As a logical guess, she linked the clots in the lung with likely clots in the legs that probably began on the return trip from Holland. I am now strongly motivated to move about while flying, drink much water, and wear support socks.

My friend Bill and I now try for an annual visit. In October, Bill and Kay arrived in their motor home on their way home to Los Angeles after a summer in Albany near two grandchildren. Bill and I met as economics undergraduates. We discovered many common attitudes and interests. 55 years later I continue to enjoy his insight and wisdom and to learn from and about him. For example, only now did he tell me he was first in his MBA class at Stanford Business School, an admirable accomplishment.

Best wishes for 2016,

*HAN*  
Seeing Matt in May was a genuine pleasure. I am so glad that Matt continues to do original research. We should all be so lucky to have the interest and stamina. Keep it up.