# FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE

### ALFRED K. MANN

# For Better or for Worse

THE MARRIAGE OF SCIENCE AND GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES



Columbia University Press Publishers Since 1893 New York Chichester, West Sussex

Copyright © 2000 Columbia University Press All rights reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Mann, Alfred K. For better or for worse : the marriage of science and government in the United States / Afred K. Mann p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index. ISBN 0–231–11706–X (cloth: alk. paper) 1. Science and state—United States—History—20th century. I. Title Q127.U5 M36 2000 509.73—dc21 00–060120

 $\odot$ 

Casebound editions of Columbia University Press books are printed on permanent and durable acid-free paper.

Printed in the United States of America Designed by Audrey Smith

 $c \ 10 \ 9 \ 8 \ 7 \ 6 \ 5 \ 4 \ 3 \ 2 \ 1$ 

To my wife, Jayne, who did not live to see this book published, and to our children, Stephen, Cecile, David, and Brian, who helped me to see it through to the end.

Contents

*List of Illustrations* ix

List of Tables xiii

Preface xv

- CHAPTER 1. Introduction 1
- CHAPTER 2. Love at First Sight: 1939–1945 7
- CHAPTER 3. Courtship: 1945–1955 43
- CHAPTER 4. Marriage: 1955–1965 99
- CHAPTER 5. End of the Honeymoon: 1965–1975 131
- CHAPTER 6. Estrangement and Reconciliation: 1975–1985 151
- CHAPTER 7. Golden Anniversary: 1985–1995 179
- CHAPTER 8. The Future: 2000 and More 203

Notes 217

References 221

Index 225

#### List of Illustrations

- 2.1. National Defense Research Committee; the Committee on Medical Research. 15
- 2.2. The S-1 (Uranium) Executive Committee; start-up of the first self-sustaining chain reaction. 21
- 2.3. One of the production plants at the Clinton Engine Works; Leslie R. Groves and J. Robert Oppenheimer. 25
- 2.4. The uranium bomb; the plutonium bomb. 28
- 2.5. Henry Stimson. 30
- 2.6. Conference on the Smyth report. 31
- 2.7. Title page of the Smyth report; schematic diagram of a chain reaction. 32-33
- 2.8. Roosevelt and Churchill in Quebec. 38
- 2.9. Title page of *Science: The Endless Frontier*. 40
- 2.10. Vannevar Bush. 41

- x List of Illustrations
- 3.1. AEC commissioners at Berkeley, August 1947; General Advisory Committee visit to Los Alamos. 61
- 3.2. Laboratory directors of the AEC with the general manager; "incredible mismanagement" hearings begin, May 1949. 65
- 3.3. Builders of the Bevatron; celebrating a milestone at the Cosmotron. 69
- 3.4. Organizational chart: Office of Naval Research, October 1946; Alan Waterman, first director of the NSF. 81
- 3.5. Cassius J. Van Slyke, first chief of the NIH'S DRG; Ernest M. Allen, second chief of the DRG. 82
- 3.6. NIH director Dyer with DRG chief and study section heads; Surgeon General Thomas Parran. 88
- 4.1. National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics (NACA) team at research, 1929; NACA wind tunnel, 1931. 103
- 4.2. NASA's seven original astronauts; Kennedy Space Center in mid-1960s. 106
- 4.3. Captain Rickover and others planning nuclear-powered ships; submarine thermal reactor, mark 1. 111
- 4.4. Shippingport Atomic Power Station. 114
- 4.5. DRG table of organization, May 1958. 121
- 4.6. Presidential visit to the NIH, 1967; postwar development of NIH programs. 126
- 4.7. NSF obligation trends by account in current-year dollars; NSF obligation trends by account in constant FY 1988 Dollars. 130
- 5.1. Mechanism for handling spent fuel elements; U.S. energy consumption patterns. 136
- 5.2. DRG growth rates. 145
- 5.3. Armstrong and Aldrin on the moon. 148
- 6.1. Three Mile Island (тм1) nuclear power plant. 157
- 6.2. TMI twenty years later: news item. 158
- 6.3. Viking montage of photos of Mars, 1980. 167
- 6.4. *Landsat 4* spacecraft photograph of New York City, 1983; cutaway illustration of shuttle orbiter. 169

- 6.5. James B. Wyngaarden, director of the NIH, 1982–1989; Antonia C. Novello, surgeon general, USPHS, 1990–1993. 175
- 7.1. Texas governor Clements and Secretary of Energy Herrington with artist's version of the ssc; artist's schematic outline of the ssc. 186
- 7.2. Launch of space shuttle *Discovery*, 1988. 192
- 7.3. Photograph of Hubble space telescope. 194
- 7.4. Schematic outline of radiochemical solar neutrino telescope; photograph of the very large array of radiotelescopes at the National Radio Astronomy Observatory. 197
- 7.5. NSF trends in categories of support in current year dollars; NSF trends in categories of support in constant FY 1988 dollars. 201
- 8.1. Distribution of R&D funds and federal science and technology funds, 1995. 207
- 8.2. Research: public and private; trends in discretionary and R&D outlays. 211
- 8.3. Physics doctorates awarded by U.S. universities, 1920–1992. 214

List of Tables

- 2.1. Cumulative costs in the Manhattan Project. 34
- 3.1. Budget estimates for the NRF. 50
- 3.2. Members of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the General Advisory Committee. 72
- 7.1. Science advisers to the presidents of the United States. 200

## Preface

Early in the twentieth century, when funds from wealthy individuals and private foundations ceased to meet the needs of modern science in the United States, the federal government began to invest in a national scientific infrastructure. This was done tentatively at first and then in World War II on the largest scale imaginable. The investment was so successful that it virtually demanded to be continued when peace came. So began the development of an American science establishment, today an amalgam of scientists, engineers, universities, industrial laboratories, and federal science agencies. The establishment is a remarkable achievement in its own right, distinct from the science and technology it has helped to produce but an integral part of them. It has been held together for a half century by a federal government determined to foster the benefits of science and technology for its citizens. The government has achieved this using public money to underwrite the cost of the science establishment despite the intrinsic fluidity and ungovernable nature of both the science and the establishment.

By chance, my career coincided with the emergence and growth of the science establishment. In the words of Dean Acheson, I was "present at the

creation." My early impression of the establishment as a loose patchwork of federal agencies and private institutions underwent a significant change as time passed. I once thought them to be independent fieldoms connected only by a common interest in the federal budget. That perception was replaced by an awareness of their joint dedication to encouraging and supporting science and technology for the benefit of the nation.

The science establishment is not usually acknowledged as a separate entity in what is written about science and technology. I hope to compensate for that omission in this book, which is an overview of the science establishment and its relationship with the federal government. I have traced the development of the four nonmilitary federal science agencies that have been and still are the principal supporters of basic scientific research and technology in U.S. universities, where most of the fundamental research in the nation takes place. I believe that the essential features of the science establishment as a whole appear clearly in this description of the evolution of the individual federal science agencies.

This book is not a scholarly history with any claim to completeness. Instead, it attempts to tell the story of the complex relationship between science and government in the United States as one might tell the story of a marriage between two people. This analogy is not, I think, too finely drawn and helps to make the changing fortunes within the union easier to follow.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the kindness of individuals who suggested reference material and in many instances furnished it to me. These were the historians: George Mazuzan at the National Science Foundation, Victoria Harden and Sam Josaloff at the National Institutes of Health, Marie Hallion at the Department of Energy, and Stephen J. Garber at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. In addition, D. Allan Bromley, Richard Mandel, and Sanford P. Markey encouraged me and sent valuable material.

The science editor at Columbia University Press, Holly Hodder, her assistant, Jonathan Slutsky, and the copyeditor, Sarah St. Onge, eliminated occasional awkwardness in my presentation and corrected egregious errors with tact and forbearance. With a sharp eye for mistakes and ever-present good humor, Jean O'Boyle has typed the many drafts it has taken to achieve a finished manuscript.

# FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE