

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-82170-4 — Heisenberg in the Atomic Age
Cathryn Carson
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Heisenberg in the Atomic Age

The end of the Second World War opened a new era for science in public life. *Heisenberg in the Atomic Age* explores the transformations of science's public presence in the postwar Federal Republic of Germany. It shows how Werner Heisenberg's philosophical commentaries, circulated in the mass media, secured his role as science's public philosopher, and it reflects on his policy engagements and public political stands, which helped redefine the relationship between science and the state. With deep archival grounding, the book tracks Heisenberg's interactions with intellectuals from Heidegger to Habermas and political leaders from Adenauer to Brandt. It also traces his evolving statements about his wartime research on nuclear fission for the National Socialist regime. Working between the history of science and German history, the book's central theme is the place of scientific rationality in public life – after the atomic bomb, in the wake of the Third Reich.

Cathryn Carson is Associate Professor of History and Director of the Office for History of Science and Technology at the University of California, Berkeley. She is coeditor, with David A. Hollinger, of *Reappraising Oppenheimer: Centennial Studies and Reflections* and chair of the editorial board of *Historical Studies in the Natural Sciences*.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-82170-4 — Heisenberg in the Atomic Age
Cathryn Carson
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

PUBLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

Washington, D.C.

Edited by
Hartmut Berghoff

with the assistance of David Lazar

The German Historical Institute is a center for advanced study and research whose purpose is to provide a permanent basis for scholarly cooperation among historians from the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States. The Institute conducts, promotes, and supports research into both American and German political, social, economic, and cultural history; into transatlantic migration, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and into the history of international relations, with special emphasis on the roles played by the United States and Germany.

Recent books in the series

Matthias Schulz and Thomas A. Schwartz, editors, *The Strained Alliance: U.S.-European Relations from Nixon to Carter*

Michaela Hoenicke Moore, *Know Your Enemy: The American Debate on Nazism, 1933–1945*

Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*

Manfred Berg and Bernd Schaefer, editors, *Historical Justice in International Perspective: How Societies are Trying to Right the Wrongs of the Past*

Carole Fink and Bernd Schaefer, editors, *Ostpolitik, 1969–1974: European and Global Responses*

Nathan Stoltzfus and Henry Friedlander, editors, *Nazi Crimes and the Law*

Joachim Radkau, *Nature and Power*

Andreas W. Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin*

Jonathan R. Zatlin, *The Currency of Socialism: Money and Political Culture in East Germany*

Peter Becker and Richard F. Wetzel, editors, *Criminals and Their Scientists: The History of Criminology in International Perspective*

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-82170-4 — Heisenberg in the Atomic Age
Cathryn Carson
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Heisenberg in the Atomic Age

Science and the Public Sphere

CATHRYN CARSON
University of California, Berkeley

GERMAN HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

Washington, D.C.
and



Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-82170-4 — Heisenberg in the Atomic Age
Cathryn Carson
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521821704

© Cathryn Carson 2010

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2010
First paperback edition 2014

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data
Carson, Cathryn.

Heisenberg in the atomic age : science and the public sphere / Cathryn Carson.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-82170-4 (hardback)

1. Heisenberg, Werner, 1901-1976 — Philosophy. 2. Physics — Philosophy.
3. Science — Philosophy. 4. Heisenberg, Werner, 1901-1976 — Political and social views.
5. Science and state — Germany (West) 1. Title.

QC16.H45C37 2009

530.092—dc22 2009009616

[B]

ISBN 978-0-521-82170-4 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-43695-4 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page</i>	xi
<i>Archival Abbreviations</i>		xiii
PART I: INTRODUCTION		
1. Science and the Public Sphere	3	
Strategy and Approach	7	
Outline	11	
2. Tracking Heisenberg	19	
PART II: CULTURE		
3. The Scientist as <i>Bildungsbiirger</i>	31	
<i>Bildung</i> and Science	33	
Performing <i>Bildung</i> : Theory	37	
Performing <i>Bildung</i> : Praxis	39	
Enter Heisenberg	42	
First Lectures	44	
Transformations in the Foundations	48	
Accommodating Culture to Politics	51	
Public and Private	54	
World Pictures and Public Roles	58	
4. Physics as Philosophy	60	
Early Work: Fabricating Quantum Mechanics	63	
Making Sense of a Theory	70	
The Hidden Meaning of Quantum Field Theory	75	
The Philosophy of the Fundamental Length	79	
Revisiting Helgoland	81	
A Theory of Science	83	
Quantum Theory after 1945	91	
The Philosophy of the Future Theory	92	
Philosophy and Science in a World-Historical Moment	97	

5.	The Culture of the Event	102
	Mechanics: Securing the Speaker	103
	Performance: Science and <i>Bildung</i> (1949)	106
	Mechanics: Staging	108
	Performance: World Pictures on Display (1953)	109
	Mechanics: Amplification	113
	Performance: World Formulae (1958)	115
	Mechanics: Defining a Frame	121
	Performance: Goethe (1967)	122
	Mechanics: Multiple Meanings	126
	Performance: Religion and Science (1973)	127
	Science as <i>Bildung</i> : Cultural Constancy	133
6.	<i>Bildung als Konsumgut</i> : Dilemmas of the Literary Public Sphere	136
	Publishing: Brave New World	137
	The Media Complex: Stars and Spectacles	141
	The Memoirs	145
	Countercultural Resonances	155
	Science in the Public Sphere	156

PART III: POLITICS

7.	Science, Politics, and Power: Initial Orientations	161
	The Research System	162
	The Scientist	165
	Heisenberg on the Spot	171
	The Atomic Age	173
8.	A New Research System	177
	Postwar Boundary Conditions	178
	Inside the Institute	183
	The Max Planck Society	187
	National Science Policy	192
	International Relations	206
	The Postwar Settlement	215
9.	Science Policy in the Atomic Age	218
	Boosting Atomic Physics	220
	Starting on a Reactor	223
	Industry, the State, and the Max Planck Society	227
	Uncooperative Partners and the Problem of a Site	232
	Decisions, Mechanisms, and Consequences	237
	Roles, Responsibilities, and Political Concerns	243
	Science Policy in the Small	249
	Atomic Physics and Political Order	252

Contents

ix

10.	Expansion and Uncertainty	256
	Not an Institute Director in the German Sense	256
	Structural Transformation: The Max Planck Society	260
	The MPG and Its Funders	266
	Hopes for Reform	272
	Supporting Science: Budget Growth and Budget Cuts	277
	Public Relations	281
	Planning: Accelerator Physics	284
	Projecting a Future: Conflict and Avoidance	287
	The End of Physics?	293
	Out of Heisenberg's Era	301
	Governance: Some Conclusions	304
	Science Policy and the Postwar Order	308
11.	Politics in the Public Sphere	310
	Postwar Beginnings	311
	Göttingen: Small Public	313
	The Nuclear Threat	317
	The Göttingen Manifesto	320
	Looking beyond Adenauer	330
	Scientists and Intellectuals	333
	To 1968 and Beyond	340
	A Scientist in the Public Sphere	344
12.	Speaking of the Third Reich: Denazification	351
	Denazification	353
	“Aryan Physics”	359
	Aside: “Resistance”	362
	Reconstructing Public Life	364
	Reconstructing Speech	366
13.	Speaking of the Third Reich: War Work	370
	Farm Hall: Discussing	371
	Farm Hall: Drafting	373
	The <i>Naturwissenschaften</i> Report: Narrative	375
	The <i>Naturwissenschaften</i> Report: Conclusion	379
	Readings at Home	381
	Readings Abroad	383
	Things Said and Unsaid	389
	Talking with Bohr	391
14.	Speaking of the Third Reich: Into the Public Sphere	397
	Into the Public Sphere: Jungk	398
	Not Talking with Bohr	408
	Opening Up	412
	War Work in Context? Speaking of the Third Reich	416

x

Contents

Writing the Memoirs	418
Situating the Memoirs	425
The World-Historical Frame	428
PART IV: SCIENTIFIC REASON IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE	
15. The Public Reach of Reason after 1945	435
Predicting, Controlling, and Mastering Nature	437
Politics in the Scientific-Technical World	440
Limits to Progress, Limits to Reason	444
Science and the Self	452
The Problem of Values	455
Interpreting Scientists and Interpreting Science	457
Epilogue	459
<i>Bibliography</i>	463
<i>Index</i>	521

Illustrations follow page xvi.

Acknowledgments

Conventional public exercises need not exclude living commitment. Expressing indebtedness is one of those exercises. This book began as a dissertation under my graduate teachers, among whom I can count Peter Galison, Gerald Holton, and Sam Schweber; the influence of other Harvard faculty, especially Anne Harrington, and fellow students in the history of science will be obvious throughout. But whether I should have chosen this outcome or not, the book's development has taken it far past the dissertation it once was. Along the way I owe much to the communities that welcomed me in the Deutsches Museum in Munich, the Program for History and Philosophy of Science at Stanford, and the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. At Berkeley I have been more than fortunate in my colleagues. Roger Hahn and Jack Lesch helped me stay anchored in history of science; Peggy Anderson, Paula Fass, Gerald Feldman, David Hollinger, Marty Jay, and Tom Laqueur helped with my forays beyond it. My obligations to my department chairs, especially Jon Gjerde and David Hollinger, are hard to put into words. That Gerry Feldman and Jon Gjerde passed away so early leaves me with a profound sense of loss.

In all this I am hoping I may thank some individuals by name without leading others to feel that I underestimate my debts. For ongoing conversations I owe much to Mitch Ash, Richard Beyler, Olivier Darrigol, Matthias Dörries, Francis Everitt, Paul Forman, Karl Hall, Dieter Hoffmann, Ed Jurkowitz, David Kaiser, Jochen Kirchhoff, Alexei Kojevnikov, and Molly Sutphen. I wish I could have thanked Max Dresden, too, before he passed away. On crucial points Finn Aaserud, Thomas Broman, Catherine Chevalley, Dietmar Cramer, Michael Eckert, Andy Jewett, Jeff Lewis, Daniel Morat, David Moshfegh, Albert Presas i Puig, and Helmuth Trischler pushed me to figure out what I meant; so, too, Ethan Pollock, Peter Westwick, and Jim Williams of our editorial collective on physicists in the postwar political arena. In Heisenberg circles I am particularly grateful for exchanges with Jeremy Bernstein, David Cassidy, Klaus Gottstein, Jochen and Irene Heisenberg, Martin and Apollonia Heisenberg, Maria and Michael Hirsch, Christine Mann, Helmut Rechenberg, Mark Walker, and Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker. That is true even, especially, if none may agree with what I have written.

There are also thanks that go back to the sheer possibility that this book could be written. Standing in for all archivists, Roswitha Rahmy, formerly of CERN, Marion Kazemi of the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, and the indefatigable staff of the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz have my gratitude – as does Helmut Rechenberg in his other role as guardian of the Werner-Heisenberg-Archiv in Munich. The helpfulness and patience of my interview subjects repeatedly surprised me. Without research assistance from Kurt Beyer, Molly Clay, Rolando Montecalvo, Samuel Moyn, Heidi Norland, and Priya Saytia important parts of the book would be missing. Michael Gubser started out as a research assistant but became a collaborator, and I thank him for his fortitude. Much practical help was provided by the Deutsches Museum and the Max-Planck-Institut für Physik in Munich and by the Department of History and the Office for History of Science and Technology in Berkeley, while research funding over the project’s long haul came from Harvard University (a Merit Fellowship), the Krupp Foundation (through Harvard’s Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies), the American Philosophical Society (the John Clarke Slater Fellowship), the Mellon Foundation (graduate and postdoctoral fellowships), the University of California (the Center for German and European Studies and Berkeley’s Committee on Research), the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, the Institute for Advanced Study, the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, and the National Science Foundation (a graduate fellowship and Grant SES-9810433), none of them to be construed as endorsing my views. Katherine Livingston helped me tune the prose of several chapters. Finally, my Cambridge editor, Lew Bateman, has had an encouraging faith in things unseen. His savvy management has made it possible for this book to appear.

For permission to consult the papers of Wolfgang Gentner, I am grateful to Prof. Konrad Mauersberger of the Max-Planck-Institut für Kernphysik; for Ernst Jünger, to Dr. Liselotte Jünger; for Friedrich Georg Jünger, to Dr. Johannes von Reumont; for Franz Josef Strauß, to the Strauß family; and for Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, to Prof. von Weizsäcker.

I feel more debts than I can mention. Here conventional limitations of space are reinforced by a memory so poor that it should have kept me from becoming a historian. Still, over the years I have racked up a particular obligation to my parents and sister and to Meredith Golomb. The book itself is for Tim Herron, who has been so patient, joined by Rachel, who has not.

Archival Abbreviations

AHQ ^P	Archive for History of Quantum Physics microfilms, AIP and elsewhere
AIP	Niels Bohr Library, American Institute of Physics, College Park, MD Collections listed separately
ASK	Nachlass Albert Speer, BAK, N1340
ASM	Nachlass Arnold Sommerfeld, Deutsches Museum, Munich, NL 89
BAK	Bundesarchiv Koblenz
	B102 Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft
	B116 Bundesministerium für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Försten
	B136 Bundeskanzleramt
	B138 Bundesministerium für Bildung und Wissenschaft
	B196 Bundesministerium für Forschung und Technologie
	B227 Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft
	ZSg. Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlungen Nachlässe listed separately
BAL	Bayer-Archiv, Leverkusen
BA-MA	Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, Freiburg
BayASK	Bayerische Akademie der Schönen Künste, Archiv, Munich
BayHStA	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation Written Archives Center, Reading
BRM	Bayerischer Rundfunk, Fernseharchiv or Historisches Archiv, Munich
BSC	Bohr Scientific Correspondence, AHQP
BSC-Suppl	Bohr Scientific Correspondence – Supplement, Niels Bohr Archive, Copenhagen
CFWB	Sammlung Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, MPGB, III/ZA 54
CJBB	Nachlass Carl Jacob Burckhardt, Universitätsbibliothek Basel, NL 110

DAF	Degussa-Archiv, Frankfurt, Bestand Prentzel
DDEA	Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, KS
DICP	David Irving, Records of the German Atomic Research Programme (microfilm), AIP, MI40
DLAM	Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach
DPGB	Archiv der Deutschen Physikalischen Gesellschaft, Magnus-Haus, Berlin
DRA	Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Frankfurt
FJSM	Nachlass Franz Josef Strauß, Büro BMVg, Archiv für Christlich-Soziale Politik, Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, Munich
GMB	Nachlass Georg Melchers, MPGB, III/75
HFF	Hoechst Firmengeschichte, Frankfurt
HMLM	Nachlass Heinz Maier-Leibnitz, Deutsches Museum, Munich, NL 111
HRF	Hessischer Rundfunk, Archiv, Frankfurt
HRK	Nachlass Hermann Reusch, Rheinisch-Westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv zu Köln, Abt. Gutehoffnungshütte (130), 401014
HStASt	Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart
IRW	I. I. Rabi Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, DC
JFC	James Franck Papers, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL
KfK	Kernforschungszentrum Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Bestand 69
	GF Geschäftsführung
	INR Institut für Neutronenphysik und Reaktortechnik
KPS	Karl R. Popper Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, CA
KWK	Nachlass Karl Wirtz, Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe
LMC	Lise Meitner Papers, Churchill Archives Centre, Cambridge
LRK	Nachlass Ludwig Raiser, BAK, N1287
MBB	Nachlass Max Born, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
MDP	Max Delbrück Papers, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, CA
MLB	Nachlass Max von Laue, MPGB, III/50
MPGB	Archiv zur Geschichte der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft, Berlin II/1A Generalverwaltung
	Nachlässe listed separately
NDRHam	Norddeutscher Rundfunk, Schallarchiv, Hamburg
NDRHan	Norddeutscher Rundfunk, Landesfunkhaus Niedersachsen, Archiv, Hannover
NSHStAH	Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hannover
OHB	Nachlass Otto Hahn, MPGB, III/14A
PA-AA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Bonn

Archival Abbreviations

xv

PHR	Paul Harteck Papers, Rochester Polytechnic Institute, Archives and Special Collections, MC 17
PJB	Nachlass Pascual Jordan, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
PLC	Pauli Letter Collection, CERN Archive, Geneva
PRO: FO	Foreign Office, Public Record Office, Kew, London
RB	Radio Bremen, Schallarchiv
RMD	Nachlass Richard Merton, Hessisches Wirtschaftsarchiv, Darmstadt, Abt. 2000
RPO	Rudolf Peierls Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford
SBSA	Nachlass Siegfried Balke, Archiv für Christlich-Demokratische Politik der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Sankt Augustin
SDRS	Süddeutscher Rundfunk, Historisches Archiv, Stuttgart
SGCP	Samuel Goudsmit Papers, AIP, AR30260
StAK	Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe
THK	Nachlass Theodor Heuss, BAK, N1221
UAG	Universitätsarchiv Göttingen
WBB	Nachlass Walther Bothe, MPGB, III/6
WDRK	Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Schallarchiv, Cologne
WGB	Dienstzimmernachlass Wolfgang Gentner, MPGB, III/68A
WGM	Nachlass Walther Gerlach, Deutsches Museum, Munich, NL 80
WHM	Werner-Heisenberg-Archiv, Max-Planck-Institut für Physik, Munich

NOTE ON CITATIONS FROM THE
WERNER-HEISENBERG-ARCHIV

As there is no archiving system or finding aid for the Heisenberg Nachlass, the citation format used in this book follows the collection's major groups of papers:

Citation: document identification, WHM.

Main series 1946–1976, in folders alphabetically (for the most part) by correspondent's name or other rubric, not always indicated by a folder label.

Citation: document identification, WHM *year* (two-digit).

Correspondence 1941–1953, in binders by year or group of years, within each binder by correspondent's name or other rubric.

Citation: document identification, WHM 50s.

Correspondence 1954–1957, in folders by date (roughly).

Citation: document identification, WHM *label*.

Other material in folders, binders, boxes, and drawers with special labels. Most labels reproduce those in the archive. For the rest, the following key-words are used:

CFvW	Prof. Dr. C.F. v. Weizsäcker, Korresp.
H	Heisenberg
MSs	drawer of drafts and manuscripts
New	stacks of folders located in a storage closet in 1996
Pauli	special Pauli folder (outside the main series, which has a similar rubric)
PI	Politik und Institutionen
PP	Physik und Philosophie
Presse	Presse, 1953–1958 (outside the main series, which has a similar rubric)
WA	Fremde wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen
ZG	Zuschriften auf die “Göttinger Erklärung”

Citations from material on the Deutscher Forschungsrat include the keyword “DFR” even when it is missing from the label in the archive.

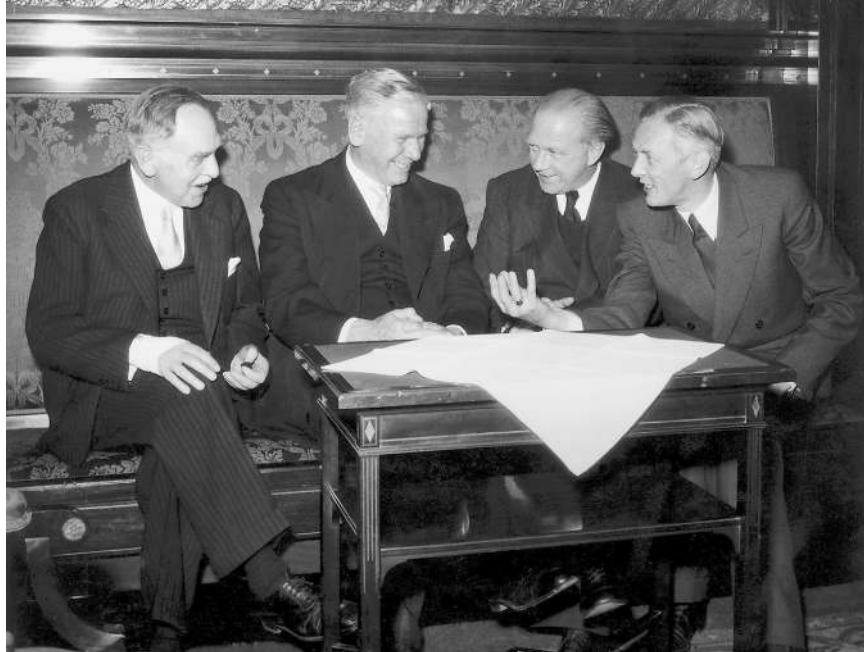
If the designation “under” is appended to any of these forms of citation, the material is to be found filed under that rubric rather than the name of the author or correspondent.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-82170-4 — Heisenberg in the Atomic Age
Cathryn Carson
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



1 Heisenberg shows Federal President Theodor Heuss around the Max Planck Institute for Physics in Göttingen in 1951, with Karl Wirtz looking on. *Source:* Max-Planck-Institut für Physik, courtesy AIP Emilio Segré Visual Archives.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-82170-4 — Heisenberg in the Atomic Age
Cathryn Carson
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



2 Max Planck Society Nobel laureates at the Society's 1952 annual assembly in a photo op with Hamburg mayor Max Brauer. From left to right: Otto Hahn, Brauer, Heisenberg, and Adolf Butenandt. *Source:* ullstein bild / The Granger Collection, New York.



3 Federal Atomic Minister Franz Josef Strauß addresses the inaugural meeting of the German Atomic Commission in 1956. Across the table from Strauß are, from left to right, Heisenberg, Otto Haxel, and Otto Hahn. *Source:* ullstein bild / The Granger Collection, New York.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-82170-4 — Heisenberg in the Atomic Age
Cathryn Carson
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



4 At the dedication of the new Max Planck Institute for Physics in Munich in 1960, Otto Hahn, Ludwig Biermann, and Heisenberg listen to the greeting of State Secretary Staudinger, representative of the Bavarian state. *Source:* Max-Planck-Institut für Physik.

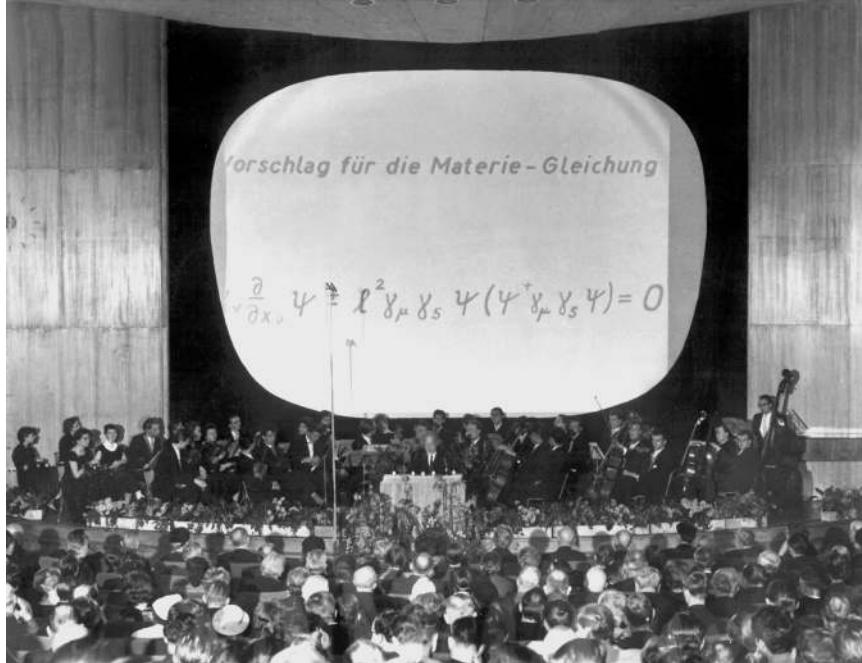


5 Wolfgang Gentner, Otto Hahn, Atomic Minister Siegfried Balke, Adolf Bute-
nandt, and Heisenberg at the 1962 dedication of Gentner's new Max Planck Institute
for Nuclear Physics in Heidelberg. *Source:* Max-Planck-Institut für Kernphysik,
Heidelberg.

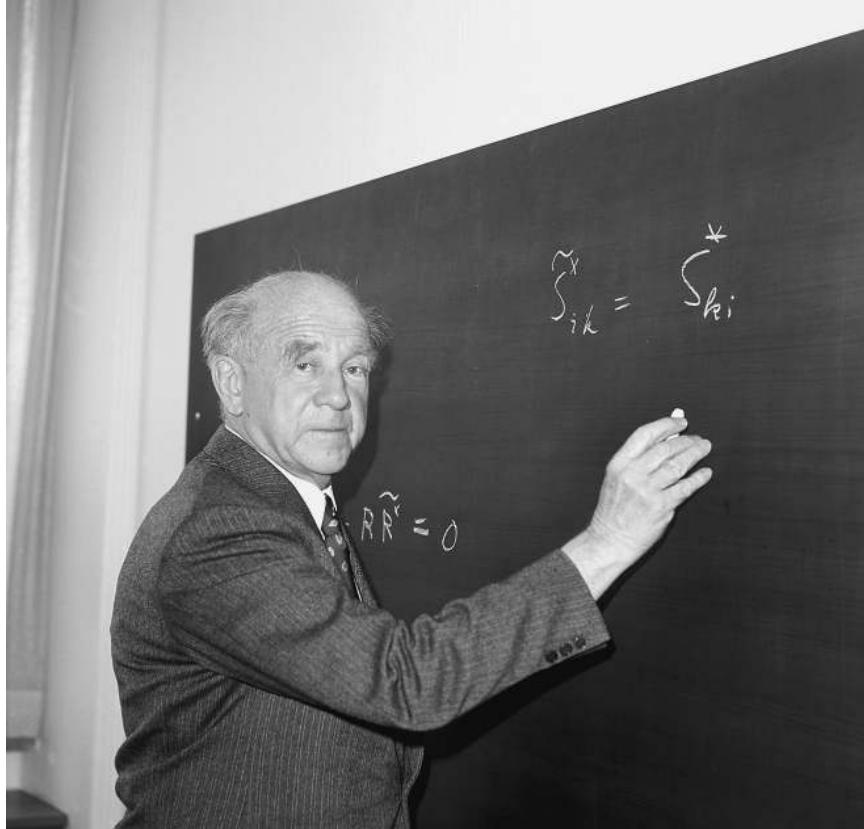
Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-82170-4 — Heisenberg in the Atomic Age
Cathryn Carson
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



6 Heisenberg in conversation with Ernst Jünger before Martin Heidegger (holding papers) speaks on “The Question Concerning Technology” at the 1953 symposium “The Arts in the Technical Age.” *Source:* Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, New York.



7 The 1958 Planck celebrations in West Berlin's Congress Hall as Heisenberg displays the basic equation of his unified field theory (popularly the “world formula”), as he was then writing it. *Source:* picture-alliance / dpa.



8 Heisenberg posed at the blackboard writing equations in the 1960s. Source: picture-alliance / dpa.