

SIEBEL

"Well since you have been here since '65, do you know Dave Christianson?" (yes) "He thought it would be interesting for us to talk to you, because he was under the opinion that you could give us some comparisons between the Saturn program manufacturing and engineering and some of your past experiences, I know you've written a couple of things about manufacturing and engineeringand the Saturn program. And we stillhave to find out more about those things maybe trace them down more o completely.Can you tell us a little more then what you did before you got into the Saturn program and maybe make some comparisons about engines?"

"Well I was in heavy industry in England and then heavy engineering and then I joined a company which makes components for the other space industries . I haven't really been involved at all before I came here, been involved manufacturing operations all my life but not in rocketry."

"Did you replace somebody that w as here or \$\$\$\$ were you brought in specifically, to inject something new into the manufacturing operations?"

"It's very hard to find people who are interested in opemations and manufacturing and have a reasonable technical background at the same time. And I had a great falling out with the company I worked with before and I was looking for something and specifically Dave C., Isaked im if there was anything going in Huntsville, he gave the situation I was in called available, to alot of people and of course preceede me here ... looking for a deputy."

"What did you/ think of the manufacturing operatiosn when you came here, did you think it was up to what you'd seen in private industry or behind, were there special techniques that were unusual because of the space program , you want me to turn it off?"

"I think it8s not comparable to private industry because this is really a research development operation, really large scale, your objectives are different. And certainly the standards of the product are extremely high. The manufacturing operations have the opportunity for producing the high quality product and everything is geared to that, you have the facilities available and its a multi-purpose research facility of this scale which you just wouldnn't find. Inta that way it's different , the skills of course, the individual skills of the operators are very high.

"Do you find it interesting?"

"Oh yes, I find it fascinating."

"Where do the operators come from? You speak of the operating skills of the individuals, do they just kind of work into it over a long period of time in the space program?"

"I think so, they have a high demand for skills, part of this is their training. As you see in the sky-line program now th sophisticated thatwe move for from a launch vehicle into various scientificpayloads like the ATM for the people we haven't been able to recruit anyone. This proves the quality.

Did you have the responsibility too of monitoring from the manufacturing operations of the contract?"

All the manufacturing contractors and 6

"Is it possible to make some mistakes about the styles of the seperate manufactures? Was boeing different, for example than North American? Was North American different Bessel?"

Each company has it own style. I don't think it is necessary

to assign personnal to a company, we need to talk about , to xape speak North American, talk about space and get an idea about what is the space mission division. It is different from the Lockheed, the North American is cold.

"Are you thinking of rocketdine division?"

Rocketdine division is also diffierent from the, I thinking of the main manufacturing. The Los Angles dividion. They are completely different. They carry, so with Los Angles an old town manufacturing mat plant which has very great longivity for the people, they have all worked together for a long time and they are use to one operating code. As an idea it was a new organization, specfically created for the program. Completely different character.

"Wasn't one of the problams with that division, especially in the Parker's leadership that he got to put the whole thing togetherfrom other...."

I think most of the problems ...

"companies and keep people off the street as well?"

Maybe some of the problems were associated with the rapid build up, but that applied to everybody. I don't really know.that There were problems with the space program manugacturing in all companies really with the fact that you have a very rapid build up , very rapid decline. It is very difficult to have a team which is built up as you would for example, on a line of effort production, you build several hundred, so you have to have a very close, a very intamite relationship between engineering and manugacturing and testing and there is other operationed parts of the company. These relationships are built up over a period of time and they very hard to organize then. The space program generally suffers . They hold on to the samll contracts like smaller satellites that is relatively easy to put together a project team which would be stabler in size, so it is truly a team for the first unit, but if youget into a thing like one of the main stages of the Saturn or the command module and any of the other hearts of the mx program, it's so vast that a team of several thousand people is very difficult to form that rapid becasue this takes time. I guess of all the unique things of the Marshall Center, it's got a long continouous history of working relationships, of well established. Everybody knows with whom they can work and so daxwe truly have a team here, which has been established through many programs , continuity and that's the reason for the success of the Saturn.

"Isn't that team getting pretty old now though?"

Yes it's getting old. The team, a team isn't necessaily all minimizes the same people. A team can be replentishied by recruiting and I think one of the prejudices is that we haven't been able to recruit meaningfully and in large quanitude. I must be one of the last recurits.

"Why is that?"

Well, the angencies have been under pressure. Planning something no new **EDEX** emissions, no new editions. I think the manufacturing **has** proven its interest in challenge because, for a number of reasons. One is that you go to drive the first time which means that you a reasonable amount of propieatory work,-which-shews to make sure your process is working including works, designers produce and all those things. And secondly because it is so important that the first unit

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works so you can have, implement programs as insurance against fialure, increasurable in paradell with the many aspects of the program we there example the have to insultation for the doubtful area. So the first 8 will produce the honeycombing insultation experiment that followed the S29 and <u>the construction crew was very formal</u>. Its very firms form developement took place in paralell with the production of the stages just in case. Our S28B other insultations also pretty good but we changediders over increasure because correction on relaibility. On may may programs these back up solutions are implemented and again the inhouse capibility gives us the possiblity of doing the propieatory work which I mentioned, also in paralell withother insurance work so that we can have paraellels, paralell programs which could be implemented with the first approach mf by the contractors and doesn't work.

"Is this inhouse kind of thing unique rather to Marshall or is this a....."

I think to the best of my knowledge.

"It's not the necessarily a thing that you would find in a rather large ... "

Not a large part of the programs, setting of Houston and the Cape. We've done alot of work for Houston and the Cape and these type of things.

"Could you comment on your relationships with HO^Uston and the Cappe? Primarily Houston?"In the differnt **xeles** velocities **intok** of inhouse contracrs?"

I don't to much about Houston cpaibitlity. Houston is also ;;;

but I can say that I had resident people, contractors for the Appartie Apollo program whose mission is was to make sure that all the available technologies were applied by all the contractors. If Boeing had a problem that could go to Douglas with that. That was also an unique achievement. All of this work on the mission. It worked very well. We had joint manufacturing meetings with the prime contractors. Not only our Saturn contractors, but also the Apollo contractors. We had resudent people, Houston contractors as well as having the Marshall contractors and they communicated very well with Houston and Houston welcomed us because they didn't have any compolicated abliity. We are now beginning to build it up allitle bit by the appointment of Dr. Burlington, to work with produce ablility aspects and the manufacturing apects of the Shuttle. Thise two people were very imtamily regiment peoble. involved in our own relationships xarrangement. Our regiment people were not resident contractors, to solve problems. They were there to make sure that attention was given to the problems by the contractor. Then they made help availible if needed by makeing the technology, by finding out where the technology boosted, whether another contractor for expamle whether it boosted inhouse at Marshall. With this working together, many costs were avoided.

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"Bid it happen very often? Or maybe I misunderstood you, that if Boeing had a problem they we go go down to Douglas and say give us the help and Doglas would very easily"

Oh yes. Took alitle time to get it going but it worked fine. McDonald and Grummond and North American all on the project, welding problems, insulation problems, wirign problems, manufacturing management problems, they all worked together. It was a real manufactuing xtem, team. It really was quite remarkable.

"Quite a national porportion that ... "

Yea. It even appeared in the reports to Congress. Northmellows report to Congress.

"When you came into the program, did you find that you had to develope or there were in exsistance certain processes for machines that were unique and exoctic and did you have to, even after '65, press the state of the art in manufacturing techiniques, machines and processes?"

Oh yes. When the uniqueness may not be so much in the, well uniquness of scale rather than of kind I think. The uniqueness of scale, of coure, produces the uniqueness of kind becasue, for example welding we have a conference. You better **basis** make 100 feet of weld to get around. That 100 feet of weld has to be without flaw. I don't think anybody ever made any weld 100 feet long continously without flaw. So you say OK everybody knows how to weld. But how do you weld with that degree of wor relaibility.

"How did you develope the reliablity?"

By careful preperation, attention to detail, we did some research contract on what causes flaws ans what causes cracks, the perfection of weld, what can be tolerated and what can't be tolerated and developing causes parralities. We have a research division with prime A to time for this are of development and process assumption, "B" to develope process controls, automatic controls so that the processing is controlled to within the limits.

"Did you have any particular problems in reading X*Rays of welds for example?"

Well yes, there were an intrepatation of those X-rays. What we didn't take X-rays we recaluculated. There was a long learning probe between the design module, quaility and our goal. What could be tolerated and what could not. Any weld has a little conservative blister in it. If that blister harms it or not, the weld two boding edges may not be exactally aligned, this may fly an offset. How much offset can im we tolerate? These kind of things have to work out over a long period. What is perfect, nothing is ever 100% perfect, but our requirements were very high. Over a long period again we see team work gradually iron out what a really good weld looks like. This took alot of experience, a lot of work, a lot of test examples, **xixux** a lot effort.

"So your appro ach was to try and aron out these procedures and techniques and transfer it to the contractors work."

Sometimes. We told the contractors to dothings. For example the common bulkhead on the S2, that was a contract to develope the thing. We encouraged it and we made funded it. There were studies made on these common blukhead, we found a considerable study on how to build them.

"Didn't you also, at the same time, found another study? Paralell developement?"

Yea, It was part of the Douglas. The reagons and methods of

building common bulkheads.

"I think Marshall was thinking of laughing at..." There were three ways of doing it.

"Laughing arivaity."

blotting bonded Not arivaity. Bonding and then putting a population duffler over it."

"As we go through this, I've found that I8ve tried to write in some of these things, you rread And Report that they put in the ______ or maybe they joined the aft dinner faces and you wonder how they do it. And we really don't know."

"To get back to the Orbit Count Dock History, Marshall felt that the N. Amereixan design the one that is curently used, wouldn't be successful. And the parallel development which they asked N. American to use they sij simply funded under a different contract?"

"No, that isn't true, N. American method was developed w## there was a sucking about it and so the larger side decided in dropping it on, it was a joint development between us in the beginning of the program. The bulkhead where we did do thorough studies was the Douglas S4B rocket. It was the I8 ft. bulkhead where three approaches were tried one was the standard approach, with two face sheets put together, anoth er was withone welded face sheet and segmented face sheets on the hydrogen side with bonded dopplers, and the third was completely segmented bulkhead unit with the honeycomb between the face sheets in segments like slices of pie and welded, welded pie pieces together top and bottom and that didn't work nohow."

"That's what N, American ended up doing."

"N. American machined the honey comb and tried to make the homey comb perfect and dropped the, they had to welded skins applied to the _____. They made a mistake when they welded them and then when they had a complete dome and put it on, the other thing is you make complete pieces with skins on them and then you weld them together after you've got the honey comb dome between the stages."

"Ddid you do a lot of development of work using programmed machines or melling and tooling things of this type?"

"Well they came in more and more during the program. Most of the . . . I don't think that inm $m\phi st$ / the stages there was that much. There was quite a lot MC machining in thrust propulsion areas like that, but mostly skins were meld using tracer machines."

"And something else too, the magnetic hammer."

"Ah yes, the magnetic hammer."

"Could you tell us alittle bit about the magnetic hammer, how it came about, howit was developed, w how it was used?"

"It's stupid, it's got no place in this."

"Well why not we'd love to hear it."

"When I was still in England there wasth this large steel company and one of the tasks I had, I worked for one to these vice presidents you call them here in charge of production. One of the tasks there, when somebody came in witha weird invention I was sent forth to see if it was any good and applicable to our business. There was some nut, who had a big blanket combustion in his basement and by charging the cha of this combustion through the crandk case coil,he could apply a truckload to a plunger which would then blank out small parts but the rocketry and rythmitudes blanked out so fast that it didn't have time to crank and they thought it was a great idea. He even showed me with g his cranking coil that 10 upside down he could flip a copper disc int the air and it wouldn't come down for 20seconds

or so. So he showedme a great deal of impact with this coil and

I said, gee that is very curious and nice, but we're not in the electronics business so were not interested in blacking out small plastic parts rythem #/e@e\$/## a nd sa for throwing copper discs in the air were not interested in that either. And so we dropped the whole thing.And then the next thing I knew I was here and we were discharging big banks of plastic ______. The problem was nobody until after the was who was developing the radar *effil* could switch lodge currents in a short time, you nieed a electronic switching device. Swithe the current from the capacity discharger rocketry through something, and this was an independent development here , when it was applied to metal forming, which of course we could have used anyway. That thing was very useful to us in getting rid of imperfections in welded structures which tend to buckle."

"You could control it \$\$\$\$\$\$\$ from large wrinkles downto small wrinkles ."

"What you want to do, a wrinkle is present for a very simple reason, it's like a picture you get a wrinkle when there is more than paper of the frame will allow, the only place for the paper to go is to wrinkle up. So the way to get rid of the wrinkles is to stretch the frame which every painter does with those little wedges in the corner. And so what you do with this hammer, is by applying this impact you cause the metal to stretch a little and so pull out wrinkles. And in welding you get wrinkles so what you put th through the weld is the frame of the picture, the weld shrinks and wh you get wrinkles inside the weld area and so by hammereing the weld you can stretch the weld a little if notiget rid of the wrinkles. But that hammer was very waf useful and also you could, well there's all kinds of things you can look at as wrinkles. But the other we originally used we had the suction lines tunnels of suction lines tanks

through the ______ they were made by off the nozzle process and they c turn out to be ______ were not exactly the right size they were about a quarter inch too large. By making a coil around them they were reduced in size, sufficiently to fit the fittings and so could be welded, so this way we saved the program untold amounts of money and time."

"OK, you used that on all stages?"

"On the early ones mainly. The techniques did get perfected, we used decreasing I think it was on the SIC it was certainly used right up to the end."

"Do you have as much large hunks of material as that?? Was that a unique Marshall development that hammer?"

"Alas."

"Were there any other unique tools like that, that you recall being used effectively in the manufacturing?"

strap clamps

"Yes, certainly the so-called strep-tonsil welding, which is soft tooling. You weld two cylinders together like in stagee space you chuld have two cylinders two feet long build up the stage as you make the cylinders you don't end up with same diameter each time, very high accuracy so what you ned to do is to compress one cylinder slightly and expaned the other one slightyl and you can do this w with heavy hard tooling which would $\cancel{4/2}$ be expensive and hard to use and generally undesirable. Or you could use itwith local little clamps which e were developed here, which are very ingenious, are very neat.

"Are these the little clamps that just kind of snap in with the drill ?"

"No, no they got a little stainless steel strip you screw this in fact two jaws are held basically by this strip which goes through the gap between the two cylinders and draws this together and the cylinders are lined and you do this all the way aroundand then you make tacklers and thenyou break the little strap which then comes apart, you can then weld all the way around. And you've got y the thing aligned you don't need heavy tooling."

"This concept of rotating the stage around the was that formed in the B 70 program? Do you know?"

"No I don't."

"Did they ever plan this kind of work before' did you ever rotate the object to be welded before a fe fixed weld pad?"

"WellI'm sure that you do know later we were welding small cylinders, glass blowers do it. But to do an Olympic stage nobody ever builds these big stages. JUst a rotating turn table, accurately speaking, so there was no problem."

"When did that come into the program?"

"___ I C the first table was used."

"And then NN. American h just picked up that technique?"

"No, they started and they had all kinds of problems and ultimatily the table was made available to them and they stole it."

"I s that government equipment."

"I think it was takenout of my chute, I forget where it came from. I forget how it was done if you want I can find out. Oh there were a lot of things, bulkhead welders, domes, how that was done is an interesting thing." "Can you explain it?"

Well, we had vacuum trucks to get hold the boding segments together. But the zg problem is that you get one side alittle hotter than the other so one segments lifts with respect to the other and there was a development th_zt was done here so the two would be zhow ductive together. ⁵o couldn't have, the two boding segments which you are trying to work together. The first machine sized to have a convex and a concave edge and then processed so this, in fact, machinacally was straight. This again did away with our need for hot tooling. A very ingenius method developed here.

"Do you have anymore like that?"

I can't think of any at the moment.

"Guess what I8m treating is how you transfer this technology then or how it is useful to the manufacturers. Did they say that you a circular and say, Hey we have a new way of doing this?"

"But you couldn't convince then to take up two vice presidents down here."

"who are these vice presidents? Did you have to bring Parker

down here?"

Um

"Yea, we brought him and talked to him when we were out there but he was away at some meetings."

We talked to Ralph. He's a real grown.....Ummm.

"He was with the L.A. division wasn't he?"

Yea, but he was transferred to the S2 program when they developed some trouble.

"Can you list some of the reasons that the S2 program got in trouble?"

Well I think the S2, that's a purleyimpossible thing. The S2 I think is the most elegant design of any built. And an elegant design heracute is physical to gold. I don't think enough attention has been paid to its ablities such an elegant design. Once it was built it was a very light stage. Structurally light, good mass fraction. It worked very well. Can't say any against the S2. The old stories that manufacturing people, just I din't recognize the problem, or to what consultant to confirm to. There are also other problems of this thing like contracotal requirements, the crimes to go to small business and subcontractors. They chose small business and subcontractors.

"They think they've granted that touble with the insulation." That's right.

"They just rubbed their hands and siad to the small contractors to just go away, we can't build you any. I didn't know that was a requirement of the contractor and the small business to get into it."

Also the trouble with the skin mill, the mill skins is also a part of the skins. And they tried to be milled and they couldn't. "that was what, the Douglas?"

No.

"North American. Didn't they end up mlling them over at L.A.?"

Yea. I think. Yea, I think they did. Falling, they are falling problems.

"Yea. Didn't they do their own explosive forming down at El Tora?"

Yea. But that was also drawing developement. It is that makes what can be formed, what wan be explosively formed, what needs to be break formed. How the design and parts....

"It was my feeling that explosive forming can in just because North American didn't have a big enough **xtreek** stretch breath. What kind of equipment."

I don't think that is the whole story. You can always make two peices and weld them together and you gain weight.

"I was under the impression that explosive forming kind of grew out of the Army technology that they have been"

Explosive forming is was know because of the very large part. You can explosive form filler parts that you can streth first.

"Do that again know, what you can explode thinner forms?"

can use an explosive form, if you want a pickup part you go to that

stretch place.

"Didn't they start off using some explosive forming, you know, on that heavy part of the bottom of the bulkhead up till when they welded that first part and the rest is stretched breasted isn't it?"

thicker

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Yea. The other way around. The **minimum** part can be explosive form, particularly is it has a waffle patern and the thinner part can be stretth breasted.

"They stayed in **Tlight** with the waffle pattern in them. They put them in gorge segments, put them underwater and explosive formed then. Then welded the rest of it up on the outside."

Correct.

"And Marshall had a part in that devleopement."

Yes, they wanted, North American initally wanted to explosive \mathbf{x} form the whole common bulk head. The two \mathbf{x} skins.

"The whole thing in one piece?"

Again this was the form I felt **advikik** a little whoozy on it. "Of course **a** little whoozy on the basic provesses that's why. Our background isn't into it at all."

We have quite a developement in stretch press. All the problems is the grips. So you get an even tension. Push and Pull. Mou need to correct the edges with the hard material. It's knd of difficult to grip.

"I can see why this would be more disireable then others."

Other things you had a mill-traddle had to be developed _____ form which changed its shape.

"did you get into production technology in the engines as well as structures?"

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Some. For example, when we were in ____.

"But never Saturn engines as such."

main Yea. Weh had a resident at the Deholder and welding. Not really, we didn't have very much...

"Did the _____ have a seperate resident of people in different in addition to all this program management who had people like **B**on Bott**e**n out there and..At North American?"

Roberton?

"Yes."

I don't know who, we had one there. But I don't know ...

"But out at your layout."

Yea, there was one there.

"Did other layouts have that pratice to so you would have a representative program ... "

I think so. Yea. I don't know specifially. The engine program generally, they had more people than we did generally. But with different missions.

"Now did you want go, better curves for that mater, did you get out into the field, where you examined the problems ?"

Oh yes. Of course I spent also of time on the S2. Again we x spent some time out there and I might have____.

"You know I had a question I had to ask but now I can't think of it. Oh. I realize that there are differnt kind of programs but do you think that in comparision with private industry or at least your other experiences, the Saturn manufacturing program was well ran or average a little, it could'be been less expensive or maybe they didn't go enough here. Could you genarlize?"

I could always generalize it in retrospect you could have done it better. I found that in rpivate industry, the president of the company always said to me, Gc you could have done it agree. cheaper, you could have done it better, and I always have to kerchreer. But under the circumstances it was a fantastic acheivement. A clever achievement, I don't see how, under the circumstances, at the time it was done, that it could have been done different.

"Do you keep in contact with some of your former colleages in England about, have you talked about the differen kinds of

No. They have been away too.

"What would you have done differently, you said looked back you might have done something differently?"

I think I would've, another trend in engineering in general. In the, rather than trend in manufacturing in the areospace industry which you see had several companies. Where there is more aggressive engineering talent introduced into the manufacturing operations. ^That is true that most of the areospace manufacturers, some had it already and some are introducing it. I think this was the result of the Apollo program. It's the result of two things.

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One is the Apollo program and the other is the result of the fact that engineering talent is readily available to manufacturing beats today. The recognistion of manufacturing technology in general which covers everything from manufacturing management and interface with engineering down to the process developement and actual production. This is sufficiently technical now that one has to have a equal say with design engineering and consequently you have to have people who can talk manufacturing, talk sensibly to design engineering and evolving areospace industry you find this trend everywhere. This is, it should have come 10 years earlier and we might have avoided some of the problems that we had.

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"In some way it strikes me that you have found a unique viewpoint in the Saturn-Apollo program because you came in establishment, did you notice or ever hear any stories of fricton between the Von Brown team as Germans, as opposed to the other American engineers as Americans?"

No.

"They had developed a very close appreciation, understanding relationship?"

I haven't heard any. Frankly I was looking for it too.

"No, neither have I, at that time, but it is a question IEm sure John and I will be asked by some of the critical historical readers."

No more friction than in any two groups.

"how did you see the working relationship to the lab directors around here? Did they fight each other tooth and nail in the table of times, is it always harmony, how did it work?"

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"There was no harmony, the thing that was constructive, was discord if you like. If you share harmony then I guess nothing glets achievedyou know. There was s a certain amount of professional opinions, though not neccessisarily identical. While there was didcord, it was entirely constructive discord, it wasn't very political And Ithink this misunderstood by very many people, there are meetings, today maybe a our lab directors are as sharp as tooth and nail, but this doesn't mean that we hate each other. We all try to do the best we can and how you do the best you can isn't neccessisarily interperted the same way by everybody. In fact our work _____ are called "frank" discussions. "

"What about Von Braun, f can you make some comments about Von Braun administrative rule here at Marshall during your time here?"

"Well he had hes own st###. He has a very democratic style if you like, and any GS 9 could go to a meeting and say I don't agree and he ###, he'd be listening to them. And that was very good and I think Von Braun had a great genius for "systems engineering", making the whole thing jive somehow. "

"Well we've asked for an hourand we've had an hour, and thank you very e very much."

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