Talk: "Emerging U.S. Industrial Innovation Policy in the Biden Administration"

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*November 7, 2022* 



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1945 – Postwar: U.S. focuses its government support for innovation on basic research stage

- U.S. in 1945 was the <u>world manufacturing leader</u> it didn't have to worry about manufacturing
- But it was <u>catching up on basic research</u>
- <u>Decision in 1945: government role is to support</u>
  <u>BASIC Research</u> leave applied and development to industry – <u>innovation system: no focus on mfg.</u>
- "<u>Pipeline</u> theory" of technology development
- Separates science as a <u>separate player</u> from other innovation actors – against integrated model for science

---> U.S. postwar model institutionalizes the "Valley of Death" between research and later stage development

The Valley of Death

Applied

Political picture of the "gap"

Basic

Research;

Invention



"Valley of Death"

### U.S. Manufacturing Decline – since 1970

- <u>After WW2, US was world manufacturing leader</u> developed massive mass production system
- Focused innovation system on R&D not manufacturing
- <u>US: research-led innovation</u> pipeline model
- <u>Other countries: manufacturing-led innovation</u> (Germany, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, China)
- US lost one-third of its manufacturing jobs, shut down 60,000 factories between 2000 and 2019
- US and China have traded manufacturing places
  - China produced 28.7% of world manufacturing output in 2019 while the US produced 16.8% - reversal of 15 years before
  - Manufacturing is 30% of China's total economic output and a \$4 trillion sector compared to US where mfg. is 11% of GDP and a \$2.3 trillion sector

# Manufacturing decline created major social disruption in the U.S.:

• We have increasing inequality, not economic convergence – a festering problem for 15 years.



- Above: the "Barbell" problem identified by economist David Autor
- The U.S. has famous IT companies (Google, Apple, etc.) but quite limited employment in the U.S.

The Wage Gap: for Median Income and Non-Supervisory and Production Workers:



Source for image: MIT final report on, "The Work of the Future: Building Better Jobs in the Age of Intelligent Machines"

### What has evolved since this decline?

Models reaching further down the pipeline, requiring connections between R&D and implementation

• [See: W.B. Bonvillian, Encompassing the Innovation Panoply, *Issues in Science and Technology*, Winter 2022]

# How far down the innovation pipeline does the Federal Government role go? ... The DOD parallel universe



#### THE INNOVATION PIPELINE: <u>Research->Dev->Prototype->Demo->Testbed->Production->Market</u>



DOD has a "Connected System"

# US has had Five Periods where it has tried to better connect science and technology:

- <u>Period 1 Postwar</u> Moved from "connected" innovation system in WW2 to "disconnected" system with federal research role paramount
- <u>Period 2 Sputnik</u> DOD reconnected its innovation system DARPA model (also NASA):
  - "right-left", use basic research capability to enable upfront" research visioning"
  - Take advantage of launching innovations into Defense innovation system-joins Risk/Innovation - Connected – DOD is <u>a parallel universe</u> to disconnected civilian science
- Period 3 80s Competitiveness
  - Series of models to better connect R&D to "back-end" MEP, SBIR, Bayh-Dole, ATP, Sematech, R&D Tax Credit
- Period 4 Energy Challenge
  - ARPA-E model DARPA Plus approach deeper into implementation
  - Expanded EERE, EFRCs, HUBs, Adv'd Mfg. Office, Tech Trans. Off., Cyclotron Rd., Loan Office
- <u>Period 5? Advanced Manufacturing</u>
  - 16 Manufacturing Institutes industry/univ./gov't collaboration testbeds around adv'd mfg. technologies plus workforce ed

Defining Industrial Policy in terms of the stages of innovation advance:

- Industrial *innovation* policy <u>define in terms of the</u> well-known stages through which a technology must advance:
  - research, development, technology prototyping, testing, demonstration, product development, production financing, market entry, and expanded market creation.
  - Industrial innovation policy, then, <u>entails</u> <u>government intervention in one or more of these</u> <u>stages</u> in order to <u>further a technological advance</u>.

### Emerging Industrial Innovation Policy Approaches

- <u>US has long had industrial economic policy elements</u> ex's: agriculture (price controls, irrigation systems, land grants, extension agents), energy (hydropower, nuclear, fossil and renewable subsidies, power regulation), health (Medicare, Medicaid) – but limited in the *industrial <u>innovation</u> policy* area
- Industrial Innovation policy
  - Definition: focus on post R&D stages: late stage development, prototyping, testing and demonstration, production prototype, production, initial market creation
  - the US has long avoided it
  - Neo-classical economists in the US oppose it as gov't interference in markets
- But three new drivers:
  - Technology competition with China
  - Climate change new energy technologies required
  - Pandemic
  - But barriers: Vannevar Bush organized US civilian science in the pipeline model for basic research only
  - Although in parallel: Defense research, alternative system, reaches all stages through market creation



A CONTRACTOR A





#### U.S.-CHINA TECHNOLOGICAL "DECOUPLING"

A STRATEGY AND POLICY FRAMEWORK

JON BATEMAN With Foreword by Eric Schmid

## The New Geopolitical Driver

- Moving into a new International system, with consequences for innovation policy – <u>de-globalization is underway</u>
  - Covid lessons for-domestication of supply chain, national supplier systems -- Heightened by growing int'l conflict
  - Old ideas on organizing industry just in time inventory, core competency - are being replaced by resiliency, more vertically integrated firms
- Now: another period where <u>democratic governments appear to be</u> <u>challenged by autocratic governments</u>
  - Reality: the Ukraine War, China' support for Russia in that war, and ongoing potential threats to Taiwan
- <u>Unstable situation</u> underscored view in the U.S. about need to reestablish supply chains and manufacturing leadership.
- <u>Technology leadership drives national security leadership</u>.
- <u>Manufacturing is the crossroads between national security and economic</u> <u>security</u> and the three are interdependent.

#### 2020-22: Six major US industrial innovation policies:

- <u>Operation Warp Speed: Most important of all</u> massive intervention into vaccine development – guaranteed production contracts to industry, portfolio approach for range of vaccine technologies, technology certifications (EUAs), integration of federal officials into companies to speed development, control of distribution systems
- <u>The CHIPS Act</u> restore US semiconductor leadership US SC firms falling behind Intel behind TSMC, Samsung – new funding for US fabs and foundries, advanced R&D, funding for mfg. and packaging technologies, SC workforce ed - \$52B billion
- Infrastructure bill in 2021: Energy tech demonstration centers for carbon capture and sequestration, hydrogen, adv'd nuclear, critical minerals, renewables - \$20 billion – new Technology Demonstration Office
- <u>Assuring Domestic Supply Chains</u> June '21 WH plan, updated Feb. '22 for pharmaceuticals and ingredients, advanced batteries, critical minerals, semiconductors – financing and supply chain rebuilding
- Inflation Reduction Act of 2022 \$375B for new energy/climate challenges tax and consumer incentives for implementation of efficient technologies, new lending to co's
- Endless Frontier/CHIPS and Science Act funding for semiconductors, new authorization for applied science programs at NSF

## <u>Case Study 1</u>: Operation Warp Speed

- <u>Picked winners</u> OWS selected 2 co's leading in 4 vaccine technologies
- <u>Guaranteed Contracts</u> start production while vaccines being developed
- <u>Technology Certification</u> FDA's "Emergency Use Approval" assured immediate market entry
- Flexible contracting
  - Defense Production Act- compel supplies for emergency needs
  - Other Transactions Authority fast contracting outside of normal procurement regs
- Mapped supply chains
- <u>Supported production scale up</u> at factories
- Integrated federal personnel into co's to speed regulatory compliance
- <u>Undertook national distribution</u> to states and localities
- Classic example of industrial innovation policy (took advantage of prior R&D)
- Saved millions of lives

#### Case Study 2: Where did Tesla Come From

- Market value in 2021 of 1.06 trillion larger than the top 5 auto manufacturers combined, and \$53 billion in profit in 2021
- *Policy:* Gov't wanted EV's gov't role:



- Gov't R&D for developing and improving Li-Ion batteries
- \$7500 tax incentives to consumers for purchasing EVs market creation
- \$465 million loan saved Tesla from bankruptcy approved 2009, repaid 2013
- Charging station support \$7.5B in 2021 Infrastructure bill
- State of California clean air regs pushed EV's Calif. law protected by EPA
- Covid hit auto sector in 2020 but California "zero emissions credits" sent \$428m from other auto co.'s to Tesla keeping it in the black and scaling up
- State gov't support so far: \$2.4B- includes \$1.3B for Nevada Gigafactory, \$750m in NY solar panel factory, etc.
- On the way: advanced battery support, gov't support on EV supply chain,<sup>15</sup> etc.

Different models for industrial innovation policy:

- <u>Top Down</u> <u>Operation Warp Speed</u> gov't selected portfolio of winning co's, and supported them
  - Outcome: saved millions of lives
- <u>Bottom Up</u> <u>Electric Vehicle support Tesla</u> gov't supported a network of incentives to scale electric vehicles
  - Up to companies to take advantage of them; Tesla saw the opportunity
  - Outcome; Telsa has driven all of the major world car co's to shift from internal combustion fossil fuel engines to electric vehicles

#### Case Study 3:

### The "Endless Frontier"/"CHIPS & Science" Act ---

- Bipartisan cosponsors \$200 billion <u>authorized</u> (current & new programs)
- Core Idea: U.S. technology history is littered with <u>technologies innovated here in the</u> U.S., that did not scale-up here, and were produced there.
- A core goal of this bill is to <u>get the new critical technologies into industry acceptance in</u> <u>the U.S.</u> The new technologies require de-risking to get into the scope of risk and corresponding costs so industry can absorb and implement them.
- Intense competition for critical tech leadership with <u>China</u>
  - Will pass the US in gov't R&D support soon
  - Has industrial subsidies and Guidance Funds over \$400 billion/year (2022 CSIS)
- Who will lead on <u>AI, quantum, new high performance computing, robotics</u>, <u>biotechnology</u>, cybersecurity, advanced materials, energy tech - top technologies in bill
- <u>Full \$52 billion funding for the CHIPS Act</u> included in the bill R&D and implementation (fabs/foundries)

# Endless Frontier/Chips and Science Act – science provisions - has <u>many</u> of the follow-on stages to research:

- **New applied Technology Directorate at NSF**, the broad-based US basic science agency
- new agency within an agency Must move through: research, development, prototype, testing, demonstration, scale-up/piloting, initial market, full production.
  - •<u>**R&D** in 10 critical technology areas</u> "translational" research to be supported at the <u>new Directorate for Technology, Innovaton and Partnerships</u> - \$20 billion over <u>5 years</u> "Societal, National, Geopolitical" goals
  - •<u>Societal goals</u> added Directorate to aid underperforming regions, broadening innovation. etc.
  - •*Development and prototyping* at *Translation Accelerators* run by industryuniversity consortia
  - •<u>Testing and demonstration</u> <u>test beds</u> to prove and demonstrate the new technology so they can get into the risk range that industry and other kinds of capital can work with.
  - <u>Regional Innovation Engines/Hubs</u> NSF already undertaking for spreading innovation capability (has no background in regional innovation)
     <u>Scale-up</u> Funding for Semiconductor Fabs but broad financing provision - dropped

#### Gaps in the 6 new initiatives:

#### • Scale Up Financing

- Venture Capital does not support scale up outside software and biotech hardtech takes too long (10/15 years to scale) and too risky
- Still scattershot: funding in CHIPS Act and expanded Energy Dept. Loan Programs Office (\$40B) in Inflation Reduction Act – missing in other initiatives

#### Support for Manufacturing stage

- Technologies to scale must be manufactured US not adopting adv'd mfg.
- Manufacturing Institute Program is not operating at sufficient scale

#### Cross Agency Collaboration

- Combined, cross-agency effort needed for many of the new technologies, but these are hard to established in the decentralized US R&D system
- "Interagency collaboration is a contradiction in terms"

Is a New US Era of Industrial innovation Policy beginning?

- Defense Dept. has always done industrial policy but now reaching into other critical areas of the economy
- Driven by Climate Change demands and China's technology acceleration challenge
- Bipartisan support for some of this
- <u>Requires completely new thinking by</u> <u>scientists/engineers</u> –
  - They have to learn the new system, from science through production

### Industrial Innovation Policy Factors:

#### Need to build a new infrastructure for industrial innovation policy:

- Change agents
- Connections across research institutions
- Integration between agencies, industry and universities committed firms
- Rebuild Manufacturing foundations
- Map Supply Chains and filling supply chain gaps
- Technology Testing and Demonstration
- Technology certification and validation
- Flexible contracting mechanisms Def. Prod. Act, Other Trans. Authority
- Apply gov't procurement programs to scale up new technologies
- Technology scale-up financing

Thank you!