John F. Kennedy in Hessen
1963/2013

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Volker Bouffier  
Hessischer Ministerpräsident
Einleitung


Die Texte und Bilder dieser Ausstellung finden sich im vorliegenden Begleitheft wieder, das über das Hessische Hauptstaatsarchiv beziehbar ist.


Unter dem Decknamen "Unternehmen Barbarossa" begann am 22. Juni 1941 der deutsche Vernichtungskrieg gegen die Sowjetunion.

Josef Stalin (1878 – 1953) war von 1927 bis zu seinem Tod Diktator der Sowjetunion.

Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882 – 1945) war von 1933 bis zu seinem Tod der 32. Präsident der USA.


Die Keimzelle des Kalten Krieges liegt in dem unüberbrückbaren weltanschaulichen Gegensatz zwischen der kommunistischen Sowjetunion und den kapitalistischen USA. Bereits im russischen Bürgerkrieg intervenierten die USA zwischen 1918 und 1922 gegen die Rote Armee. Die Aufnahme diplomatischer Beziehungen zwischen beiden Staaten erfolgte erst 1933 mit dem Amtsbeginn des amerikanischen Präsidenten Franklin D. Roosevelt. Im gemeinsamen Kampf gegen das nationalsozialistische Deutschland überwanden die Sowjetunion einerseits, die USA und Großbritannien andererseits, vorübergehend Misstrauen und gegenseitige Abneigung.


Diese „containment policy“ wurde in den 1950er Jahren außenpolitisch ergänzt durch die offensive Strategie des „roll-backs“, also der aktiven Zurückdrängung des Kommunismus in den Ländern, die im Machtbereich der Sowjetunion lagen.

Unter den strategischen Vorzeichen von Eindämmung und Zurückdrängung zogen die USA als UN-Führungsmacht 1950 in den Koreakrieg.

Dieser erste aus einer Reihe von Stellvertreterkriegen zwischen den beiden Machtblöcken kostete neben 940.000 Soldaten rund 3 Millionen Zivilisten das Leben und endete 1953 mit einem militärischen Patt.
1 Winston Churchill (1874 – 1965) charakterisierte die Abschottung des Ostblocks in Europa als „Eisernen Vorhang“, 1946

2 Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890 – 1969) setzte sich als 34. US-Präsident für die aktive Zurückdrängung des Kommunismus ein

3 Die Sowjetunion und China unterstützen Nordkorea im Koreakrieg, chinesisches Propagandaplakat mit Stalin und Mao, 1953


Ein deutlicher Dissens zwischen den westlichen Alliierten und der Sowjetunion hinsichtlich der Neuordnung Deutschlands zeichnete sich bei der Potsdamer Konferenz vom Juli/August 1945 ab.

Unter den Vorzeichen des aufbrechenden Ost-West-Konflikts verlor die Besatzungspolitik der Westmächte und der UdSSR rasch ihre ursprünglich beabsichtigte gemeinsame Basis. Die Westalliierten gingen schrittweise dazu über, in ihren Besatzungszonen demokratisch legitimierte Länder zu errichten, die sich schließlich im Mai 1949 mit der Annahme des Grundgesetzes zur Bundesrepublik Deutschland vereinigten.

Aus der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone entstand mit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (DDR) ein sozialistischer Einparteienstaat stalinistischer Prägung. Die Demarkationslinie bildete die Nahtstelle des Kalten Krieges und trennte für vier Jahrzehnte die Deutschen voneinander.

1 Gründung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 7. Oktober 1949 in Ostberlin
2 Verkündigung des Grundgesetzes durch Konrad Adenauer als Präsident des Parlamentarischen Rates, 23. Mai 1949
1 Deutschlandkarte mit den vier Besatzungsgebieten, 1946

2 Mit dem Marshallplan halfen die USA Westeuropa zwischen 1948 und 1952 beim wirtschaftlichen Wiederaufbau


In einer bislang beispiellosen Aktion versorgten daraufhin die Westalliierten bis Mai 1949 die Bevölkerung der Westsektoren Berlins auf dem Luftweg. Danach blieb Berlin eine geteilte Stadt.

Nach der Gründung beider deutscher Staaten 1949 proklamierte die DDR Ost-Berlin als ihre Hauptstadt; West-Berlin wurde faktisch zu einem Land der Bundesrepublik und blieb ein politischer Zankapfel der beiden Supermächte.


Brandenburger Tor, 1963
1 Bau der Berliner Mauer, August 1961

2 Eine „Kampfgruppe der Arbeiterklasse“ vor dem Brandenburger Tor zur Absicherung der DDR-Staatsgrenze während des Mauerbaus, 14. August 1961

Im August 1945 zündeten die USA über den japanischen Städten Hiroshima und Nagasaki Atombomben. 


Bei den Atomwaffen gelang es den Sowjets zwar 1949, das anfängliche Nuklearwaffenmonopol der USA zu brechen. Doch gestützt auf ihren Rüstungsvorsprung kündigten die USA für den Fall eines Angriffs auf ihr Land oder das eines NATO-Bündnispartners eine sofortige massive Vergeltung durch Nuklearwaffen an.

Diese Strategie eines „Alles oder Nichts“ begann ihre Bedeutung zu verlieren, als die Sowjetunion seit 1957 über eigene, mit Atomsprengköpfen bestückte Interkontinentalraketen verfügte. Die USA konnten nun selbst Opfer eines atomaren Erstschlags werden. Um die Schwelle für einen Nuklearkrieg zu erhöhen, der mittlerweile die ganze Welt mit dem „Overkill“ bedrohte, wechselten die USA unter John F. Kennedy zur Militärstrategie der „flexible response“.

Diese Verteidigungsstrategie der flexiblen Erwiderung, durch die Atomwaffen nur in letzter Konsequenz zum Einsatz kommen sollten, schuf ein höheres Maß an militärischen Handlungsoptionen.
Zu keinem Zeitpunkt des Kalten Krieges stand die Welt so dicht vor dem Abgrund eines alles vernichtenden Atomkrieges wie während der Kubakrise vom Oktober 1962.


Seit dem Spätsommer hatten die Sowjets heimlich Atomraketen und rund 42.000 Soldaten auf die mit ihnen verbündete Karibikinsel geschafft – einerseits, um den sozialistischen Bruderstaat vor einer befürchteten Invasion durch amerikanische Truppen zu schützen; andererseits, um den atomaren Vorsprung der USA zu verringern.

Nach Bekanntwerden der sowjetischen Geheimaktion erwies sich Kennedy nicht als politisch schwach, wie von der Sowjetführung vermutet. Vor allem um das außenpolitische Prestige der USA zu wahren, reagierte er scharf auf diese Provokation.
Kennedy zeigte militärische Stärke: Mit der Errichtung einer Seeblockade isolierte er Kuba und befahl die militärische Mobilmachtung, u. a. der strategischen Luftstreitkräfte für einen Nuklearkrieg gegen die UdSSR.

Allerdings gab er dem Drängen der „Hardliner“ aus seinem Beratungsstab nicht nach, mit einem sofortigen Militärschlag die Raketenbasen zu zerstören, was unweigerlich einen atomar geführten Weltkrieg mit der UdSSR ausgelöst hätte.


Je mehr aber das von den USA unterstützte Südvietsnam unter kommunistischen Druck geriet, desto mehr schien sich die von Kennedys Vorgänger Eisenhower 1954 verkündete Dominotheorie zu bewahren: Sollte ein Stein fallen, also ein Staat kommunistisch werden, so würden die angrenzenden Steine zwangsläufig mit umgerissen, also auch die Nachbarstaaten dem Kommunismus anheimfallen.


Der Vietnamkrieg forderte enorm hohe Opfer unter der Zivilbevölkerung, hier eine südvietnamesische Mutter mit zwei Kindern auf der Flucht vor Söldnern des Ngo-Dinh-Diem-Regimes, Juli 1963
1 Amerikanischer M113 Trans- 
portpanzer als US-Militärhilfe 
für die südviertnamesische 
Armee im Kampf gegen die 
kommunistischen Vietcong, 1963

2 Die offene militärische 
Intervention der USA in den 
Vietnamkrieg begann im 
März 1965, hier GIs im 
Kampfeinsatz in Südvietnam
Während seiner Präsidentschaft vollzog Kennedy einen deutlichen außenpolitischen Wandel.

Anfangs konzentrierte er sich wie seine Vorgänger auf die Eindämmung und Zurückdrängung des Kommunismus weltweit. Die Kubakrise führte ihm, aber auch dem sowjetischen Staatschef Chruschtschow, deutlich vor Augen, wie schnell ein Konflikt zwischen den Supermächten entgleiten und in ein atomares Desaster führen könnte. Der Weltfrieden stand auf Messers Schneide und ein Krieg hätte nur Verlierer hervorgebracht.

Aufgrund eigener Erfahrung als Soldat im 2. Weltkrieg misstraute Kennedy der militärischen Logik seiner Generäle ohnehin. Nachdem die Kriegsgefahr gebannt war, ergriff er die Initiative zu einer Entspannungspolitik gegenüber dem Ostblock.

Zunächst wurde mit der Einrichtung des „heißen Drahtes“ die Kommunikation für den Krisenfall zwischen den beiden Staatsführern deutlich verbessert.


Obgleich das Wettrüsten damit nicht zu einem Abschluss kam, schlug Kennedy damit einen Weg ein, der in die spätere Entspannungs- und Abrüstungspolitik mündete.


WOHL KAUM EIN POLITIKER DER ZEITGESCHICHTE HAT DIE MENSCHEN ZU LEBZEITEN UND DARÜBER HINAUS SO FASZINIERT WIE JOHN F. KENNEDY. DIES LAG SICHERLICH AUCH IN SEINER HERKUNFT BEGRÜNDET. DER SOZIALE AUFSSTIEG DER KENNEDY-DYNASTIE SEIT DEM 19. JAHRRHUNDERT VON ARMEN IRISCHEN EINWANDERERN ZUR GESELLSCHAFTLICHEN SPITZE DER USA WIRKTE WIE DIE IDEALTYPISCHE REALISATION DES "AMERICAN DREAM", WOANCH SICH JEDES INDIVIDUUM MIT EIGENER KRAFT UND EISEREM WILLEN VOM "TELLERWÄSCHER ZUM MILLIONÄR" HOCHARbeiten KÖNNTE. DER POLITISCHE AUFSSTIEG DES 1917 GEBORENEN JFK ZEIGTE ABER AUCH, DASS TALENT UND FLEiß FÜR DIE VERWIRKLICHERUNG DES "AMERICAN DREAM" ALLEIN NICHT AUSREICHEN, SONDERN DASS REICHTUM UNBEDINGT FÖRDERLICH IST.

IN KINDHEIT UND JUGEND GAB KENNEDY ZU NÄCHST WENIG ANLASS ZU DER ANNAHME, ER WÜRDE SPÄTER EINMAL PRÄSIDENT DER USA WERDEN. ER BESUCHTE ZWAR EXKLUATIVE PRIVATSCHULKEN UND ABSOLVIerte EIN STUDIUM AN DER HARVARD-UNIVERSITÄT, DICH WAR ZU NÄCHST SEIN ÄLTERER BRUDER JOE VOM VÄTERLICHEN FAMILIENOBERRICHT AUSSERKOREN WORden, DIE ERFOLGSGESCHICHTE DER KENNEDYS AUF POLITISCHER EBENE FORTZUSCHREIBen. ERST NACH DEM KRIEGSTOD DES BRUDERS 1944 GING DIESE BESTIMMUNG AUF JFK ÜBER. NUN ERHIET DIESE DIE UMFASSENDE FINANZIELLE UND FAMILIÄRE ÜNTERSTÜTZUNG SEINES CLANS, DERER ES BÜRDET, UM EINE STEILE POLITISCHE KARRIERE ALS JÜNGSTER IN SEIN AMT GEWÄHLTER AMERIKANISCHER PRÄSIDENT DER GESCHICHTE ZU KRÖNEN.

NEBEN DEN PRIVILEGIERTEN RAHMENBEDINGUNGEN, DIE KENNEDYS AUFSSTIEG IN DAS MÄCHTIGSTE POLITISCHE AMT DER WELT BEFÖRDERTEN, BESÄBEN AUCH SEINE CHARISMATISCHE PERSÖNLICHKEIT UND SEIN LEBENSTIL ETWAS FESSELNDES. WIE KEINER SEINER VORGÄNGER BESTACH JFK DURCH SEIN ÄUSSERES SO WIE SEINEN CHARME UND SEINE LÄSSIGKEIT; SEIT 1953 ZUDEN MIT SEINER GLAMOURÖSEN EHEFRAU JACKIE AN DER SEITE. SEINE SCHATTENSEITEN – NAMENTLICH SEINE SCHWEREN KANKERNITEN UND SEINE ZAHRLICHEN FRAUENGESCHICHTE –, DIE DIESES MEDIAL VERSTÄRKTE BILD HÄTTEN TRÜben KÖNNEN, VERBARG ER VOR DER ÖFFENTLICHKEIT. IM WAHLKAMPF UND SCHLÜSSEL ALS PRÄSIDENT BOT KENNEDY SICH DEN AMERIKANERN ALS HOFFNUNGSTRÄGER FÜR DAS MODERNE FORTBESTEHEN DES AMERIKANISCHEN TRAUMS DAR. MIT HOHEM SENDUNGSBEWUSSTSEIN VERSUCHTE ER SEINE LANDSLEUTE MITZUREIßEN UND AUF DIE GRÖBEN ANFORDERUNGEN IN DER INNEN- UND AUßENPOLITIK VORZUBEREITEN. ZUM ZEITPUNKT SEINER ERMORDUNG KNAPP DREI JAHRE NACH AMTSANTRITT WAR JEDOCH DIE BILANZ VON KENNEDYS PRÄSIDENTSCHAFT DURCHWACHSEN. IN DER AUßENPOLITIK HATTE ER NACH EINEM VERUNGLUCKTEN START MIT DEM SCHWEINEBUCHT-DESASTER 1961 IN DER KUBAKRISSE UND IN DER BERLINKRISSE DEUTLICH AN FORMAT GEWONNEN, WENNGLEICH ER MIT DEM AUSBAU DES MILITÄRISCHEN ENGAGEMENTS IN VIETNAM EIN NACHHALTIGES RISIKO EINGING. INNENPOLITISCH JEDOCH HATTE KENNEDY WENIG ERREICHT – WAS VIEL AMERIKANER AUF EINE ZWEITE ATMsÄITEN HOFFEN LIEß. WEGEN SEINER ERMORDUNG KONNTE JFK IN EINER EVENTUELLEN ZWEIEN ATMsÄITEN DIESE POLITISCHEN DEFIZITE NICHT MEHR AUSGLEICHEN. VIELE HOFFNUNGEN UND WÜNSCHE, DIE ER BEI AMTSANTRITT GEWECKT HATTE, BLIEBEN DURCH SEINEN FRÜHEN TOD UNERFÜLT. DASS ER IN DER WAHRNEHMUNG SEINER LANDSLEUTE TROTZDEM HEUTE ZU DEN GRÖßEN PRÄSIDENTEN DER USA ZÄHLT, VERDANKT ER DAFER WENIGER SEINEN OBJEKTVEN LEISTUNGEN, ALS VIELMEHR DEM MYTHOS, DER SEITDEM UM SEINE PERSON GESTRICHT WURDE. JFK IST IM KOLLEKTIVEN GEDÄCHTNIS DER HEUTIGEN MENSCHHEIT UNSTERBLICH GEWORDEN.


Bis heute haben die Mitglieder des Kennedy-Clans in der Demokratischen Partei Einfluss auf die Politik der USA.

Durch seine charmante und lockere Art gewann Jack leicht Freunde und war bei den Mitschülern sehr beliebt.


"Wir haben versucht, Jacks akademisches Interesse dahingehend zu entwickeln, dass es seiner natürlichen Intelligenz, Liebenswürdigkeit und Popularität entspricht."

(Aus einem Empfehlungsschreiben des Internatsdirektors an die Zulassungsbehörde der Universität Harvard, 1935)
1 Joe und Rose Kennedy mit ihren Kindern in Hyannis Port im September 1931; John 2. v.l.

2 Die Kennedy-Familie vor ihrem Feriendomizil in Hyannis Port, 1948 (John F. links)

John in seiner Dexter Academy Footballuniform, 1926

Nach Beendigung seines Studiums meldete sich John F. Kennedy freiwillig zur Marine, wo er zunächst beim Nachrichtendienst tätig war.

Der Angriff der Japaner auf Pearl Harbour am 7.12.1941 führte zum Kriegseintritt der USA, und Kennedy wurde ab Juli 1942 für den Dienst zur See ausgebildet. Im folgenden Frühjahr übernahm er das Kommando des Schnellbootes PT 109, welches am 2. August 1943 im Südpazifik von einem japanischen Zerstörer versenkt wurde. Bis auf zwei Besatzungsmitglieder wurde die Mannschaft, die zu einer nahegelegenen Insel geschwommen war, nach
sieben Tagen gerettet. In der amerikanischen Presse wurde Kennedy zum Kriegshelden stilisiert und mit verschiedenen militärischen Auszeichnungen geehrt.

Nach einigen weiteren Wochen des Kriegseinsatzes äußerte er jedoch im Spätherbst Zeichen von Kriegsmüdigkeit sowie starke Kritik an der militärischen Führung der USA, die er als „unfähige Bürokraten“ einschätzte. Wegen akuter gesundheitlicher Probleme wurde er Ende 1943 in die Heimat zurückversetzt und diente im darauffolgenden Jahr, unterbrochen von verschiedenen Klinikaufenthalten, in der PT-Basis in Florida.


POLITISCHER AUFSTIEG

Während seines Studiums und seiner Militärzeit deutete kaum etwas darauf hin, dass John F. Kennedy einmal zum mächtigsten Mann der Welt aufsteigen würde. Erst der tragische Kriegstod seines älteren Bruders Joe im August 1944 führte zu einer Weichenstellung in die große Politik.

Joseph Kennedy, das dominante Familienoberhaupt, hatte eigentlich seinen ältesten Sohn dazu ausersehen, später einmal das zu erreichen, was ihm allem wirtschaftlichen Erfolg zum Trotz verwehrt geblieben war: Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zu werden.


Zum einen ebneten ihm das Vermögen und der politische Einfluss seines Vaters den Weg; seine Familie, insbesondere sein jüngerer Bruder Robert, unterstützte ihn im Wahlkampf. Zum anderen bewies Kennedy selbst Ehrgeiz und Zähigkeit beim Kampf um die Wählergunst. Vor allem die weibliche Wählerschaft ließ sich von seinem Charme und seiner blühenden Ausstrahlung in den Bann ziehen.

1 Im Verlauf seiner politischen Karriere musste JFK zahlreiche Krankheiten und gesundheitliche Rückschläge erdulden, hier wegen seines Rückenleidens während des Kongress-Wahlkampfs 1952 auf Krücken

2 Familiäre Unterstützung im Wahlkampf, hier eine Tea-Party mit einer Ansprache von Kennedys Mutter Rose, 1952


Trotzdem schlug ihm im Wahlkampf nicht nur Begeisterung entgegen, sondern auch Skepsis. Diese richtete sich gegen seine – bezogen auf das Präsidentenamt – Jugendlichkeit, vor allem aber gegen
DAS ZIEL: PRÄSIDENTSCHAFT

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sein Religionszugehörigkeit. Kennedy war Katholik, was vielen der mehrheitlich protestantischen Amerikaner Anlass zur Sorge gab, ein katholischer Präsident könnte ein Werkzeug des Papstes werden. Mit großem politischem Geschick entkräftete Kennedy die weit verbreiteten Vorbehalte wegen seines katholischen Glaubens.


Kennedy war der erste katholische und zugleich der jüngste direkt in sein Amt gewählte Präsident der USA. Mit ihm hatte eine junge Generation von Politikern ihren Führungsanspruch durchgesetzt. Seine berühmte Antrittsrede an die Nation steckte mit ihrer visionären Aufbruchs-rhetorik die politische Richtung seiner Präsidentschaft ab und gipfelte in der Aufforderung an seine Mitbürger: „…fragt nicht, was euer Land für euch tun kann – fragt, was ihr für euer Land tun könnt."

Seine nur 1036 Tage währende, letztlich unvollendete Präsidentschaft hatte begonnen.


2 Die Kennedy-Regierung setzte sich innenpolitisch für die Aufhebung der Rassentrennung in den USA ein, hier ein Treffen von Justizminister Robert Kennedy (4.v.l.) und Lyndon B. Johnson mit Bürgerrechtsaktivisten um Martin Luther King (3.v.l.), 22. Juni 1963

Ankunft der Kennedys auf dem Ball zur Amtseinführung, 20. Januar 1961
1 Mitglieder der Bürgerrechtsbewegung auf dem legendären Marsch auf Washington, Martin Luther King (6.v.r.), 28. August 1963

2 Im technologischen Wettbewerb mit der Sowjetunion verkündete JFK im Mai 1961 das Vorhaben der ersten bemannten Mondlandung, hier mit dem Astronauten John Glenn vor der „Friendship 7“ Raumkapsel, 23. Februar 1962

3 Kennedy und Vizepräsident Johnson gemeinsam mit dem aus Deutschland stammenden Raketenkonstrukteur Wernher von Braun vor der Trägerrakete Saturn C-1, 1962
Von seinen Amtsvorgängern unterschied sich Kennedy nicht allein durch sein jugendliches Alter, sondern auch durch seine öffentliche Selbstdarstellung. Mit seiner blühenden Ausstrahlung, einer für ihn typischen Mischung aus Charme, Lässigkeit und Sexappeal assoziierten viele Zeitgenossen eher einen Filmschauspieler als einen Politiker der alten Schule. Mit der schönen und stilvollen Ehefrau Jackie an seiner Seite präsentierte sich der Weltöffentlichkeit ein glamouröses Traumpaar.

Von großer Bedeutung bei dieser Selbstinszenierung erwies sich dabei das Massenmedium Fernsehen, mit dem die telegenen Kennedys fast die gesamte Nation erreichten und ein positives Bild von sich vermittelten. Bereits im Wahlkampf spielte das Fernsehen die wahlentscheidende Rolle für Kennedy, als er im erstmals durchgeführten Fernsehduell auf seinen blass und unsicher wirkenden Kontrahenten Richard Nixon traf.


Im Herbst 1963 war John F. Kennedy fest entschlossen, sich bei der anstehenden Präsidentschaftswahl 1964 der Wiederwahl zu stellen. Eine seiner ersten Wahlkampfreisen führte ihn im November nach Texas, wo er auf große politische Vorbehalte wegen seines Einsatzes bei der Durchsetzung der Bürgerrechte für farbige Amerikaner stieß.


Um 12.30 Uhr durchbrachen plötzlich Schüsse den Jubel der Menschen. Ein Schuss traf Kennedy in den Hals, ein weiterer durchschlug seine Schädeldecke. Um 13.00 Uhr wurde er für tot erklärt.

Die Reaktion auf dieses Attentat waren Entsetzen und Fassungslosigkeit – die Hoffnungen auf einen politischen Aufbruch, die sich mit Kennedys Person verbunden, brachen jäh in sich zusammen. Weltweit, insbesondere in Deutschland, gedachten die Menschen des Ermordeten.


Den von ihm bei Amtsantritt angekündigten politischen Wandel vollzog John F. Kennedy auch in der Europapolitik. Bis weit in die 1950er Jahre hinein waren die USA gegenüber den europäischen Staaten nicht allein militärisch, sondern auch wirtschaftlich die dominante Führungsmacht. Erst auf der Basis dieser wirtschaftlichen Leistungsfähigkeit auch im Außenhandel mit Westeuropa war eine Politik als international agierende Supermacht möglich.

Doch aufgrund zunehmender eigener wirtschaftlicher Schwierigkeiten, aber auch wegen des starken Wirtschaftswachstums in der Europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft (EWG) mit Frankreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland an der Spitze, geriet dieser ökonomische Pfeiler der amerikanischen Außenpolitik ins Wanken.


Diese Vision Kennedys scheiterte allerdings am entschiedenen Veto Frankreichs. Dessen machtbewusster Staatspräsident Charles de Gaulle betrieb dagegen die Politik eines „Europa der Nationen“ mit der Hegemonialmacht Frankreich an der Spitze und verhinderte die Aufnahme Großbritanniens in die EWG.

Die Vision Kennedys von einer „atlantischen Partnerschaft“ scheiterte am entschiedenen Veto Frankreichs. Dessen machtbewusster Staatspräsident Charles de Gaulle betrieb dagegen die Politik eines „Europa der Nationen“ mit der Hegemonialmacht Frankreich an der Spitze und verhinderte die Aufnahme Großbritanniens in die EWG.
1 Unterzeichnung der Römischen Verträge zur Errichtung eines gemeinsamen europäischen Binnenmarktes in Form der EWG, 25. März 1957

2 Die Boeing B-52G Stratofortress war als Nuklearwaffenträger einer der tragenden Pfeiler der US-amerikanischen nuklearen Abschreckungsstrategie


Erst in der Endphase der Regierungszeit von Adenauer begann sich dieses enge außenpolitische Verhältnis zu verschlechtern. Diese zunehmenden Dissonanzen zwischen der USA und der Bundesrepublik entstanden einerseits aufgrund des unterschiedlichen Verhältnisses beider Staaten zu Frankreich. Um die Erbfeindschaft zum westlichen Nachbarstaat zu begraben, wandte sich Adenauer nun stärker Frankreich zu.

Der zwischen 1949 und 1963 regierende Bundeskanzler Konrad Adenauer wusste diesen Beitrag geschickt zu nutzen. Er betrieb eine konsequente Politik der Westbindung, die bis 1958 vorrangig atlantisch, d.h. auf die USA ausgerichtet war. Auf diesem Wege verschaffte er der Bundesrepublik Freiheit, Frieden und Wohlstand – nicht jedoch die immer wieder postulierte Einheit Gesamtdeutschlands.

Die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen

1 Der NATO-Beitritt der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und die damit verbundene „Wiederbewaffnung“ stieß innerhalb politisch auf starken Widerstand vor allem im linken politischen Lager

Gemeinsam mit dem französischen Staatspräsidenten Charles de Gaulle führte er die deutsch-französische Aussöhnung herbei. Da sich aber de Gaulle seinerseits zusehends gegenüber den USA abgrenzte und für ein unabhängiges Europa unter französischer Führung eintrat, geriet die Bundesrepublik zwischen die Machtinteressen Frankreichs und der USA.


Die Krise, in die die deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen bis zum Deutschlandbesuch von Kennedy geraten waren, spiegelte sich in der Bundesregierung selbst wider.

Auf der einen Seite standen die „Gaullisten“ um Adenauer, die sich für eine westeuropäische Integration stark machten und der Nukleargarantie der USA wachsendes Misstrauen entgegenbrachten, auf der anderen Seite die „Atlantiker“ um Wirtschaftsminister Ludwig Erhard, die unerschütterlich an der engen sicherheitspolitischen Bindung zu den USA festhielten.
Kennedys Deutschlandbesuch fiel keineswegs zufällig in die Phase zunehmender Meinungsverschiedenheiten zwischen der Bundesrepublik und den USA. Seine Staatsvisite war als zentraler Bestandteil einer präsidialen Europareise, die ihn auch nach Italien und Irland führen sollte, seit Januar 1963 geplant. Angesichts der rasch zunehmenden Spannungen zwischen den USA und Frankreich kam der Bundesrepublik eine Schlüsselrolle in der amerikanischen Europapolitik zu.


Kennedys Verhältnis zu Deutschland vor seinem Staatsbesuch wird als eher distanziert beschrieben. Er hatte Deutschland zuvor wenige Male besucht und dabei nicht immer positive Eindrücke gesammelt, so z.B. bei einer Stippvisite nach München im August 1939, wo er einen vor Selbstbewusstsein und Arroganz strotzenden Nationalsozialismus erlebte.

Kennedys Deutschlandbesuch war ein Akt öffentlicher Diplomatie, der für die Bundesrepublik beispiellos war und auch geblieben ist. Kein Staatsgast hat seitdem solche frenetischen Begeisterungsstürme mehr ausgelöst; kein Staatsbesuch hat sich ähnlich tief in das kollektive Bewusstsein der deutschen Bevölkerung eingebrannt.

Dieser vielfach an Ekstase grenzende Jubel, den Kennedy bei der deutschen Bevölkerung auslöste, machte auch der politischen Klasse der Bundesrepublik unmissverständlich klar, wie es um die öffentliche Sympathie für die USA im Allgemeinen und ihren Präsidenten im Besonderen stand. So gesehen besaß der Kennedy-Besuch einen durchaus plebiszitären Charakter.


An diesem militärisch „heißen“ Ort des Kalten Krieges vermittelte der US-Präsident den rund 500 mitgereisten Pressevertretern und damit der Weltöffentlichkeit die Botschaft der defensiv ausgerichteten militärischen Stärke. Diese Botschaft richtete sich an die atlantischen Bündnispartner, insbesondere die Bundesrepublik, indem sie die unbedingte Bündnistreue und militärische Einsatzbereitschaft der USA in Westdeutschland, wo über 250.000 US-Soldaten stationiert waren, unterstrich.


Frankfurt nahm im Programm von Kennedys Deutschlandbesuch die zentrale Stellung ein, da er dort seine Zukunftsvision von einer atlantischen Partnerschaft in einem symbolischen Akt verkünden wollte.

Obgleich die deutschen Sicherheitsbehörden den US-Präsidenten als „nicht gefährdeten Staatsmann“ einstuften, mussten immerhin rund 2.700 Polizisten aufgeboten werden, um Schutz und Sicherheit des Staatsgastes zu garantieren.

Um den Römer abzusperren und Kennedys Fußweg zur Paulskirche zu sichern, beschaffte die Stadt Frankfurt für 20.000 DM zusätzliche transportable Absperrgitter. Neben zahllosen organisatorischen Einzelheiten waren auch protokollarische Fragen zu klären, z. B. auf welcher Seite des Goldenen Buchs Kennedy seinen Eintrag machen sollte und wie der Einband dabei abzustützen sei.

Um 15:15 Uhr traf ein zwar angestrengter, aber auch gut gelaunter US-Präsident auf dem Römerberg ein; 60.000 Menschen empfingen ihn mit frenetischem Jubel. Oberbürgermeister Werner Bockelmann nahm Kennedy vor dem Römer in Empfang und geleitete ihn in den Kaisersaal, wo er den Präsidenten begrüßte. Dieser trug sich in das Goldene Buch ein und wandte sich dann von einem kleinen Podest vor dem Römer mit einer Ansprache an die Frankfurter Bevölkerung.

Kennedy krönte seinen Hessen-Besuch mit seiner politischen Rede in der Paulskirche.

Dieser zwischen 1789 und 1833 errichtete Zentralbau ist geschichtlich untrennbar verbunden mit seiner Funktion als Tagungsort der Nationalversammlung in der deutschen Revolution von 1848/49. Trotz und auch wegen des Scheiterns dieses demokratischen Aufbegehrens gilt die Paulskirche bis zum heutigen Tage als nationales Symbol für die Freiheit und als Wiege der deutschen Demokratie.

Mit der Wahl dieses Ortes hob Kennedy die demokratische Geschichte Deutschlands hervor und stellte die Bundesrepublik in diese Traditionslinie. Zugleich wählte er die Paulskirche aufgrund ihrer Symbolik für die universellen Werte von Freiheit und Demokratie als Stätte für seine Ansprache an die deutsche und die Weltöffentlichkeit.

In der vollbesetzten Paulskirche selbst trat Kennedy dann vor über 900 Zuhörer, darunter die politische Elite der Bonner Republik einschließlich der Mitglieder des Bundestages.


Um den US-Präsidenten auf seinem Weg vom Steuben-Hotel zum Kurhaus gebührend willkommen zu heißen, beschaffte die Landesregierung 100.000 Fähnchen zum Winken, auf der Vorderseite mit dem Sternenbanner, auf der Rückseite mit den Farben der Bundesrepublik oder Hessens bedruckt.

In den Tagen vor dem Präsidentenbesuch herrschte in Wiesbaden eine hektische Betriebsamkeit; die Stadt wurde gleichsam von einer fiebrigen Erregung ergriffen.
Niemand konnte die ungeheure Begeisterung erahnen, die Kennedy dann am 25. Juni in der Landeshauptstadt entgegen brandete. Es hätte der Mobilisierung der Wiesbadener Schüler ab dem 7. Schuljahr zur Bildung eines Jubel-Spaliers entlang der Anfahrtstrecke zum Kurhaus wahrlich nicht bedurft.


Nach einer kurzen Ruhepause und einem Gespräch mit Vizekanzler Erhard im Steuben-Hotel startete gegen 19:30 Uhr ein sichtlich erschöpfter, aber auch beglückter US-Präsident im offenen Lincoln seinen Triumphzug durch die Gasse der gut 100.000 jubelnden Bürgerinnen und Bürger entlang der Friedrich-Ebert-Allee und Wilhelmstraße.
Mit Eintreffen des Präsidenten spielten sich vor dem Kurhaus, wo sich noch einmal 30.000 Menschen drängten, tumultartige Szenen ab. Nur ein verstärktes Polizeiaufgebot und der Einsatz berittener Polizei vermochten ein Durchbrechen jeglicher Absperrungen durch die begeisterte Menge zu verhindern.


Im Anschluss an die Willkommensansprache von Ministerpräsident Zinn, dem Eintrag ins Wiesbadener Goldene Buch und zahllosen „Shake-Hands“ verließ Kennedy gegen 20:30 Uhr „seinen“ Empfang in Richtung Steuben-Hotel; nicht ohne ein abschließendes Bonmot als Krönung des Abends: Wenn er einmal das Weiße Haus verlassen werde, wolle er seinem Nachfolger einen Brief hinterlassen, den dieser in der Stunde größter Depression öffnen möge. Darin stünde Kennedys persönlicher Rat: „Besuchen Sie Deutschland!“


Unter den Augen einiger tausend Amerikaner auf dem Flugplatz und zahlreicher Wiesbadener Zaungäste wurde Kennedy nach seinem Eintreffen um 8:25 Uhr mit militärischen Ehren verabschiedet.

Das ganze Zeremoniell einschließlich der über das Flugfeld donnernden Paradeformationen der Staffeln amerikanischer Militärflugzeuge dauerte nur wenige Minuten.

Gegen 8:45 Uhr bestieg Kennedy seine Sondermaschine, winkte noch einmal kurz zum Abschied von der Rolltreppe herab und startete auf seine Reise in die geteilte Stadt.

Medial begleitet von Fernsehen und Rundfunk, steigerte sich die emotionale Erregung derjenigen, die Kennedy leibhaftig sehen wollten, von Besuchsstation zu Besuchsstation. Die Jubelstürme, die Kennedy bei seinem Deutschlandbesuch ausgelöst hatte, blieben als Ganzes gesehen bis zum Fall der Berliner Mauer ein einzigartiges Ereignis in der deutschen Nachkriegsgeschichte.

Andere Deutungsansätze dafür, dass die Welle der Begeisterung immer größer wurde und sich in Berlin schließlich förmlich überschlug, sprechen dem Kennedy-Besuch den Charakter eines riesigen öffentlichen Happenings oder auch Straßentheaters zu.


Kranzniederlegung vor der Frankfurter Paulskirche am 25. November 1963
In Frankfurt blieben am Tag nach dem Mord die Theater geschlossen; in Wiesbaden verlieh Oberbürgermeister Georg Buch der Bestürzung der Wiesbadener Bevölkerung mit einer öffentlichen Erklärung Ausdruck. Spontan kamen die Menschen zu Trauerkundgebungen zusammen.


In den nächsten Jahren verschmolzen die Freude über den Präsidentenbesuch und die Trauer über seine Ermordung zu einem gemeinsamen Gedenken, das in unterschiedlichen Variationen – z. B. Gedenkfeiern, Platzkonzerten oder Ausstellungen – begangen wurde.

1 Trauerfeier für Kennedy auf dem Frankfurter Römer, 25. November 1963

2 Salut der US-Streitkräfte in Frankfurt zu Ehren des ermordeten Präsidenten


1 Jam-Session in Lippmanns Hotel Continental, Frankfurt am Main, 1945
2 Mit ihrem vielfach lockeren, eher zivilen als militärischen Habit fanden die US-Soldaten rasch Zugang zu Jugendlichen und Kindern, hier US-Soldat mit Kindern in Schwanheim, Sommer 1945
Mit dem Besuch von John F. Kennedy erreichte die deutsch-amerikanische Freundschaft ihren glanzvollen Höhepunkt. Doch schon bald begann diese Faszination für die Politik und Lebensart der USA in eine anti-amerikanische Stimmung umzuschlagen.


1 Auflösung einer Demonstration von Frankfurter Studenten gegen den Vietnamkrieg durch die Polizei, 1965

2 Anti-Vietnam-Flugblatt, Frankfurt am Main 1967

3 Studentendemonstration, die in heftige Krawalle vor dem US-Generalkonsulat eskalierte; 5.v.r. der Studentenführer Rudi Dutschke, Frankfurt am Main, 5. Februar 1968
Namentlich im linken politischen Spektrum der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und bei der jungen Generation nahm die kritische Haltung gegenüber den USA zu. In westdeutschen Universitätsstädten machten Studenten ihrem Unmut über die US-Weltpolitik in Form von Demonstrationen, Sitzstreiks und Protesten Luft.

Neben Berlin war Frankfurt am Main eine Hochburg der anti-amerikanischen Studentenbewegung. An der dortigen Universität war die legendäre „Frankfurter Schule“ um Max Horkheimer und Theodor Adorno beheimatet, die auf hohem intellektuellen Niveau eine Fundamentalkritik am liberal-kapitalistischen System übte und damit insbesondere den akademischen Nachwuchs in ihren Bann zog. Bei vielen Studenten, die durchaus Sympathien in breiten Kreisen der deutschen Bevölkerung genossen, galt Amerika nun nicht mehr als Befreier, Beschützer oder Garant der Demokratie. Sie sahen in den USA eine brutale imperialistische Macht. Die auch in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft zunehmende Kritik an der Außenpolitik und Kriegführung der USA steigerte sich in Deutschland letztlich zu einer prinzipiellen Ablehnung des „Dollar-Imperialismus“ und der amerikanischen „Massenkultur“.


1 NATO-Verteidigungsabschnitte entlang der deutsch-deutschen Grenze; Hessen wurde im Norden vom III. Korps der Bundeswehr und im Süden vom V. US-Korps gesichert

2 Fünf Jahrzehnte nutzten die US-Streitkräfte das IG-Farben-Haus als Sitz zentraler Militär-Verwaltungsstellen, u. a. seit 1952 als Hauptquartier für das V. Korps, hier eine Momentaufnahme von 1981


Mit Amtsantritt von Michail Gorba-
tschow als Staats- und Parteichef der
UdSSR im März 1985 trat der Kalte Krieg
in seine letzte Phase. Nicht zuletzt auf-
grund der enormen Lasten, die sich die
Sowjetunion im Rüstungswettlauf auf-
erlegte hatte, brach sie bis Dezember 1991
in sich zusammen. Bereits rund zwei Jahre
zuwie, am 9. November 1989, war die
Berliner Mauer spektakulär gefallen; die
deutsche Teilung konnte nach über vier
Jahrzehnten mit der Wiedervereinigung
vom 3. Oktober 1990 endlich überwunden
werden.

Für die US-Streitkräfte in Hessen
bedeutete dieses glückliche, unblutige
Ende des Kalten Krieges eine Zäsur. Die
eigene hochgerüstete Streitmacht verlor
mit dem Wegfall der äußeren Bedrohung
durch den Kommunismus in Europa
schlagartig an Bedeutung.

Ähnlich wie nach dem Ende des
2. Weltkriegs reagierten die USA auf diese
neue weltpolitische Lage mit einer drasti-
schen Reduzierung ihrer Truppen. Kampf-
einheiten wurden nun zurück in die Staaten
verlegt oder demobilisiert. Truppenstand-

1 Als symbolischen Abschluss
des Truppenabzugs überreicht
General Rutherford eine Standarte
des V. Korps an den Frankfurter
Oberbürgermeister von Schoeler,
15. November 1994

2 Das frühere Camp Lindsey
in Wiesbaden gilt heute als
städtetbaulich gelungene
Rüstungskonversion, hier die
Volkshochschule im heutigen
„Europaviertel“
orte wie Hanau, Friedberg oder Gießen, die auf eine mittlerweile jahrzehntelange Tradition zurückblicken konnten, wurden aufgegeben und die Militärgemeinden aufgelöst.

Zugleich änderten die USA ihre Militärstrategie. Aus der fest stationierten, mit schweren Panzern und Artillerie bewaffneten Verteidigungsarmee ging eine verkleinerte, nun aber flexible und hochmobile Interventionsarmee hervor. Die letzte verbliebene Supermacht nutzt dabei insbesondere die wenigen deutschen Standorte mit ihrer gewachsenen militärischen Infrastruktur als Stützpunkt und Drehzscheibe für Militäreinsätze über den Nahen Osten bis nach Afrika und Zentralasien.

The 1960s were years of upheaval characterized by confidence. At the same time, they were years of confrontation between the West and the East Blocs and of tension. Like no other person, American President John F. Kennedy epitomized the optimism and the political determination of the West at that time. When Kennedy visited Germany in 1963, it became clear that the people saw themselves as citizens of a democratic country that united confidence in the future with the fight for freedom. They expressed their attitude through the cheers experienced by Kennedy during his public appearances and on his journeys.

The mood that prevailed during his visit to Frankfurt, Erlensee, and Wiesbaden, as well as during the other stations of his trip, namely to Berlin, is so vivid that it is not difficult for us to recognize the enthusiasm. Beyond this perception, however, we would also like to understand why the people reacted so strongly to Kennedy’s visit in June of 1963. This attractively presented exhibition, which recalls the Hessian part of his trip and documents Kennedy’s life and works, was assembled with great care by the Hessian State Archives (Hauptstaatsarchiv) and wants to make a contribution towards this understanding.

Volker Bouffier
Hessian Minister President
The state visit to Germany by John F. Kennedy, the 35th President of the United States, is generally linked with his legendary speech at the city hall for the Berlin borough of Schöneberg on June 26, 1963. To communicate US solidarity with Berlin, which was threatened by Communism, to the world, he spoke the sentence that has been retained in the collective memory of the Germans ever since, namely “Ich bin ein Berliner.”

On the previous day, John F. Kennedy’s attention focused on the German state of Hesse. At Langendiebach, one of the military “hot spots” of the Cold War, he viewed a parade in his role as Commander in Chief of the US Armed Forces stationed in Germany. This was an unmistakable gesture of military strength and presence. The Hessians gave the charismatic American President an enthusiastic reception in Hesse as well. More than one million people lined the streets and filled the squares to hear what Kennedy had to say. As the political highlight of his visit to Germany, the President held a keynote speech at the Paulskirche in Frankfurt – the German symbol of democracy and freedom – on the cooperation between the USA and Western Europe. Wiesbaden, the last stop of his visit to this German state, ultimately transformed itself into a “bubbling cauldron of enthusiasm”, the likes of which had never been seen before.

This exhibition on “John F. Kennedy in Hesse 1963-2013” will once again increase public awareness about the fact that this part of Kennedy’s visit to Germany was just as important and multifaceted as his trip to Berlin. However, the exhibition does not solely deal with the events of June 25, 1963. The first block of topics describes the underlying political conditions for John F. Kennedy’s presidency, namely the Cold War. In a section on his biography, the life and death of the most powerful politician of his times becomes tangible once more. A chapter on the history of Americans in Hesse from the end of World War II until the buildup of the new US Army Headquarters in Wiesbaden brings us to the present.

The texts and images of this exhibition are reproduced in the accompanying booklet, which is obtainable through the Hessian State Archives. The Hessian State Archives thank all of the persons and institutions that contributed visual images to this exhibition. On the one hand, our special thanks are extended to numerous Hessian citizens who have responded to the call of the Hessian State Chancellery for materials by submitting their private photos. On the other hand, the Hessian State Archives are indebted to in particular the German Federal Archives and the archives of the cities of Frankfurt, Cologne and Wiesbaden, the Hessischer Rundfunk and the JFK Library in Boston, Massachusetts for their friendly support. And last but not least, the Hessian State Archives thanks the Hessian State Chancellory for their exemplary cooperation and for their financial contribution.

Finally, the Hessian State Archives wishes all visitors a pleasant stay at the “John F. Kennedy in Hessen 1963-2013” Exhibition and hopes they will enjoy reading the accompanying booklet.
The reason for Kennedy's visit to Germany is understandable only against the background of the Cold War. The Cold War between the two power blocs led by the United States of America and the Soviet Union followed a “hot” phase, namely World War II. The joint defensive struggle against Nazi Socialism had previously welded the USA and the USSR into a military alliance. After the victory over Hitler Germany, the ideological contrasts between these allies increasingly became visible. The USA countered Soviet desires for expansion through its strategies of containment and rollback. As a result, Germany, which had been liberated from the Nazi dictatorship, was now caught in the middle of the brewing East-West confrontation, under the auspices of which two separate German states were founded by 1949. The Cold War reached the next level of escalation with the Korean War in 1950, a conflict that ended with the partition of this country as well, which has endured until now. Berlin, which was administered jointly by the four occupying powers after World War II, remained a constant source of conflict during the Cold War, with the second Berlin crisis in 1958 and the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. At the beginning of his presidency that lasted for 1036 days, John F. Kennedy persisted in a foreign policy of strict anti-Communism. From a political sense of mission, Kennedy spoke of a “new boundary” which had to be drawn against systems opposing democracy. As the leading Communist power, the Soviet Union had to be put into its place through a policy of military strength. The fields of conflict during the Cold War shifted away from Europe and towards the Third World. The USA became increasingly entangled in the Vietnam War. During the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962, the two world powers, namely the USA and the Soviet Union, ultimately confronted each other directly and brought the world to the brink of a nuclear war.

After the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962, Kennedy carefully advocated nuclear disarmament. This reorientation in his foreign policy was only partly contradicted by the enormous increase in the US military budget. Kennedy turned against the prevailing military doctrine of an “everything or nothing” nuclear war and argued in favor of limited warfare, if necessary, with conventional weapons, if possible, in order to remain below the threshold of a nuclear war. Shocked by the almost derailment of the Cuban missile crisis, both Kennedy and Communist Party leader Khrushchev attempted to achieve a détente in bipolar Europe. The USA's European allies were absolutely skeptical about this policy of détente, because as they were at the interface between East and West, they feared a weakening of the nuclear shield against the Eastern bloc.
THE END OF THE ANTI-HITLER COALITION

The nucleus of the Cold War lies in the irreconcilable ideological contrast between the Soviet Union, a Communist country, and the USA, a capitalist country. Already during the Russian Civil War, the USA had intervened against the Red Army between 1918 and 1922. The assumption of diplomatic relations between the two nations only occurred in 1933 when American President Franklin D. Roosevelt commenced his term of office. In the joint fight against Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union on the one hand and the USA and Great Britain on the other, temporarily overcame their distrust and mutual aversion. Once it was clearly manifest that they were going to be victorious in the war against National Socialism in 1944, the conflicting interests of the Western victors, namely the USA, Great Britain, and France on the one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other, especially with regard to the treatment of Germany after the war ended, were clearly revealed. In order to satisfy their own security interests, Stalin engaged in the establishment of Communist people’s republics in the countries occupied by the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the USA secured its sphere of interest by actively promoting the establishment of liberal democracies and, as of 1947, supported economic reconstruction, inter alia, with the aid of the Marshall Plan. As a result, the Anti-Hitler Coalition finally shattered.

OUTBREAK OF THE COLD WAR

Under President Harry S. Truman, Roosevelt’s successor, the USA completed a political change of course against the Soviet Union as of 1945. From the Western perspective, the latter’s foreign policy was both aggressive and expansive in nature. The Western allies reacted with an ever more intransigent policy. In view of this entrenched situation, former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill spoke in March 1946 of the “Iron Curtain” separating the spheres of influence of the free West and the Communist East. The new American President countered the threat of Communism with his “Truman Doctrine” as of March 1947. As the global peacekeeping power, the USA allowed its foreign policy to be guided by the principle of containing the Soviet thirst for power. In the 1950s, this containment policy was augmented by an offensive rollback strategy, i.e. the active repression of Communism in those countries located within the Soviet Union’s sphere of influence. Under the strategic auspices of containment and rollback, the USA, as the leading Western member of the United Nations, went into the Korean War in 1950. This first of many proxy wars between both blocs cost about 3 million civilians their lives, together with those of 940,000 servicemen and women and ended in 1953 with a military stalemate.
THE PARTITIONING OF GERMANY

The division of Germany was both an outcome and an expression of the East-West conflict. With the collapse of the German Reich in mind, the Western allies and the Soviet Union decided to partition Germany into occupation zones at their Yalta war conference held in February 1945. Berlin was to be divided into four sectors. The Allied Control Commission, comprising the military commanders-in-chief of the victorious powers, was to have its seat in Berlin to centrally and conjointly regulate the chief questions affecting Germany as a whole. A noticeable disagreement between the Western allies and the Soviet Union regarding the reorganization of German loomed at the Potsdam Conference of July and August 1945. Under the auspices of the erupting East-West conflict, the occupation policies of the Western powers and the USSR quickly lost their originally intended common basis. The Western allies moved step by step towards establishing democratically legitimized states in their occupation zones, which were ultimately merged into the Federal Republic of Germany with the adoption of the “Basic Law” (the constitution) in May of 1949. The Soviet occupation zone became the German Democratic Republic (GDR), a Stalinist socialist one-party state. This demarcation line formed the interface of the Cold War and separated Germans from one another for four decades.

THE BERLIN CONFLICT

After the collapse of the Third Reich, the victorious powers divided Berlin into sectors – thus mirroring the occupation zones of Germany – jointly governed by the Inter-Allied Governing Authority. In this four-sector city, the diverging political interests of the Western allies and the Soviet Union led to the first battle of the Cold War in 1948. As a reaction to the implementation of the currency reform in the Western occupation zones, the USSR blocked access to the western sectors of Berlin by land as of June 23, 1948. In an unprecedented action, the Western allies thereupon flew supplies to the population in the Western sectors of Berlin until May of 1949. After that, Berlin remained a divided city. After the foundation of both German states in 1949, the GDR proclaimed East Berlin as its capital; West Berlin de facto became a German
state of the Federal Republic of Germany and remained a political bone of contention for both superpowers. In 1958, Khrushchev, the Soviet Party leader, threatened to terminate the city’s four-power status and issued an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of allied forces from West Berlin. John F. Kennedy countered this demand with his “three essentials” in July of 1961. He herewith reinforced the political rights of the Western powers and of the citizens of West Berlin. In August 1961, the GDR began to build the Berlin Wall, with Khrushchev’s consent, in order to permanently lock in its numerous citizens who wanted to emigrate to the West. At the same time, this lethal border wall literally cemented the political status quo of Berlin into place until its fall on November 9, 1989.

\[\text{page 13}\] US transport aircraft for the Berlin Airlift, i.e., the “Candy Bombers”, on the runway of the Rhein-Main Air Base at Frankfurt on July 26, 1948
\[\text{page 14}\] Brandenburg Gate, 1963
\[\text{page 15 / 1}\] Construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961; 2 A “combat group of the working class” at the Brandenburg Gate to secure the state border of the GDR during the building of the Wall, August 14, 1961; 3 West Berlin mayor Willy Brandt, former US General Lucius D. Clay, and US Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson during an address to the people of West Berlin during the building of the wall, August 19, 1961 (l. to r.)
\[\text{page 16+17}\] Combat-ready American tanks at Checkpoint Charlie (Berlin), October 27, 1961

**THE ARMS RACE**

In August 1945, the USA detonated atomic bombs over the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The first deployment of this devastating nuclear weapon in a war marked the beginning of the arms race between the two superpowers and the military alliances led by them during the Cold War. Both global political adversaries engaged in an unprecedented arms build-up with conventional and nuclear weapons. Both the NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact countries were under constant pressure to ensure that their opponents would not be able to achieve a strategic advantage with regard to the development of new weapons systems. That was why extensive economic and scientific resources were mobilized on both sides for the arms build-up. Although the Soviets were able to break the initial monopoly on nuclear weapons held by the USA in 1949, yet the USA threatened immediate and massive retaliation through nuclear weapons in the event of attack on America or one of its NATO allies. This “everything or nothing” strategy began to lose importance, once the Soviet Union had intercontinental missiles armed with nuclear warheads of its own as of 1957. As of that time, the USA itself could become a victim of a nuclear first strike. In order to raise the threshold of a nuclear war, which threatened the whole world with nuclear overkill capacity in the meantime, the USA under John F. Kennedy moved towards a military strategy known as “flexible response”. This defense strategy by which nuclear weapons were only supposed to be used as a final option, created a broader range of military courses of action.
THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

At no time during the Cold War did the world come as close to the brink of a nuclear war that could annihilate everything as during the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962. For the first time, the two superpowers mutually threatened each other with the deployment of their enormous military potential for destruction. The immediate reason for this conflict was the discovery of missile launching ramps on the Caribbean island of Cuba by US reconnaissance aircraft. Since the late summer of 1962, the Russians had secretly dispatched nuclear missiles and about 42,000 soldiers to their Caribbean ally – on the one hand, to protect their Socialist fraternal state against a feared invasion by American combat units; and on the other, to reduce America’s nuclear advantage. After this secret operation became known, Kennedy did not prove to be as politically weak as the Soviet leadership had assumed. He reacted sharply to this provocation, in particular, to preserve America’s foreign-policy prestige. Kennedy showed military strength: With the establishment of a sea blockade, he isolated Cuba and ordered a military mobilization, inter alia, of the strategic air forces to prepare for a nuclear war against the USSR. However, he did not give in to the urges of the hardliners among his advisors to destroy the missile bases with an immediate military attack, which would have unavoidably triggered a nuclear world war with the USSR. After a week of hope and fear, Khrushchev, the Soviet leader, ultimately backed down on October 28, 1962 and ordered the withdrawal of the missiles.

THE VIETNAM WAR

After the establishment of a Communist country in China under Mao Zedong in 1949 and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the USA reinforced its commitment in Southeast Asia as well. Thus, after World War II, they initially supported France in the attempt to restore its colonial rule in Indochina. After a devastating military defeat of the French in 1954, Vietnam was divided into a south with an authoritarian government and a Communist north. The more that South Vietnam, which was supported by the USA, fell under Communist pressure, the
more the “domino theory” proclaimed by Kennedy’s predecessor Eisenhower in 1954 seemed to be vindicated; if one stone fell, i.e., if a state went Communist, then the adjacent stones would automatically fall as well, that is, the neighboring states would also turn to Communism. During Kennedy’s presidency, Vietnam played a key role in the Cold War. Kennedy strictly maintained the containment policy which was being pursued against the Communists worldwide. He could not afford a defeat in this proxy war with the Soviet Union and China, either in terms of domestic or foreign policy. To a rapidly growing extent, the USA supported the corrupt and unpopular regime in South Vietnam with military supplies and advisors. However, Kennedy was able to avoid sending American combat units to Vietnam, thus staving off direct military intervention in this conflict.

BEGINNING OF THE DÉTENTE POLICY

During his presidency, Kennedy implemented a clear change in foreign policy. Like his predecessor, he initially concentrated on containing and rolling back Communism worldwide. The Cuban missile crisis quickly made him, but also the leader of the USSR, realize how quickly a conflict between the superpowers could derail and lead to a nuclear disaster. World peace was touch and go and a war would only have resulted in losers. Due to his own experience as a serviceman during World War II, Kennedy distrusted his generals’ military logic anyway. After the threat of war had been averted, he grabbed the initiative to introduce a policy of détente with regard to the Eastern bloc. First of all, direct communication between the leaders of the United States and of Russia was significantly improved with the introduction of the “red telephone” to be used during a crisis. In his legendary speech on peace on June 10, 1963, Kennedy appealed to the nation to critically review its attitude towards the Cold War.

With his initiative for a nuclear test-ban treaty, which was concluded in August of 1963, Kennedy did justice to his intent to direct attention to what the superpowers had in common instead of focusing on their differences. Even though the arms race did not come to an end, Kennedy adopted a course which led to the later policy of détente and disarmament.
Almost no other politician in recent history has fascinated people the way that John F. Kennedy has. This was also surely due to his origins. The rise of the Kennedy dynasty as of the 19th century, from poor Irish immigrants to the peak of society, seemed to be the realization of the American Dream, i.e., advancing from “dishwasher to millionaire” through one’s own strengths and iron will. The political rise of John F. Kennedy (born in 1917) also showed that talent and hard work alone were not enough to make this dream come true, wealth helped as well.

In his childhood and youth, there weren’t many reasons to believe that Kennedy would once become President of the United States. Although he attended exclusive private schools and graduated from Harvard University, his father had chosen his older brother Joe to continue the family’s success story in the political arena. Only after Joe’s death in 1944 did this destiny pass to John F. Kennedy and he received his clan’s full financial and family support needed to crown a rapid political career as the youngest elected US President in history. Besides a privileged background that promoted Kennedy’s rise to the most powerful political office in the world, his personality and lifestyle were also enthralling. Unlike his predecessors, John F. Kennedy was captivating due to his appearance, his charm, and his nonchalance; since 1953, he had his glamorous wife Jackie at his side as well. He concealed his dark sides, namely his severe illnesses and his numerous affairs, from the public.

During the political campaign and later as President, Kenney offered himself to Americans as their hope for a modern continuation of the American Dream. With a high sense of mission, he understood how to inspire people and prepare them for major challenges in domestic and foreign policy. When he was assassinated three years after taking office, his scorecard was mixed, however. After an unsuccessful start with the Bay of Pigs disaster, he grew in stature during the Cuban crisis and the Berlin crisis in 1961, even if he took on a big risk by expanding US military engagement in Vietnam. In terms of domestic policy however, Kennedy did not achieve much – so many Americans placed their hopes in his second term of office.

Due to his assassination, Kennedy was unable to compensate for these political deficits; many hopes and wishes for his presidency remained unfulfilled. Even so, the fact that Americans still regard him as one of their greatest presidents is not really due to his objective achievements but to the myth created about him. In the collective memory of mankind today, John F. Kennedy has become immortal.
THE "KENNEDY DYNASTY"

John F. Kennedy’s ancestors emigrated from Ireland to the United States during the biggest famine in the middle of the 19th century. They settled in Boston, which was dominated by Puritans of English ancestry and mostly very prosperous residents. Irish-Catholic migrant families had to fight hard for survival and recognition. With indefatigable ambition, the later President’s grandfathers, Patrick J. Kennedy (1858–1929) and John F. Fitzgerald (1863–1950) managed to move into the middle class as businessmen and politicians affiliated with the Democratic Party. Joseph P. Kennedy (1888–1969), John F. Kennedy’s father, became the manager of a bank at the tender age of 25. In 1914, he married Rose Fitzgerald (1890–1995); their nine children were raised, from the very beginning, to achieve success and prosperity through a tenacious effort of will. Within three generations, the Kennedys had become one of the richest and most powerful families in America. Joseph P. Kennedy, who was the American Ambassador to London from 1937 to 1940, was obsessed by the idea of one of his sons becoming the first Irish-Catholic President of the USA. Even his younger sons Robert and Edward held high political offices, the former as US Attorney General (1960–1964) and the latter as Senator (1962–2009).

Even today members of the Kennedy clan in the Democratic Party influence the policies of the USA.

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was born on May 29, 1917 in Brookline, Massachusetts, as the second of his parents’ nine children. He grew up under the privileged circumstances offered by a wealthy family, and between 1924 and 1935 he attended various exclusive private schools. “Jack” as he was known in family circles, was primarily interested in politics and sports. However, his achievements at school tended to be lackluster. Health problems and various hospital stays throughout his childhood and youth contributed to the fact that he stood in the shadows of his brother Joe (born in 1915), who was two years older and more successful and who tended to be more capable of coping with the constant pressure to achieve exerted by his father. Joseph P. Kennedy began to plan a political career for Joe from very early on.

Due to his charming and more relaxed manner, Jack easily made friends and was very popular with his schoolmates. He had a close relationship with his grandfather John F. Fitzgerald, who introduced his grandson to political topics when the latter was still quite young. Together with the sons of the most influential families in America, John F. Kennedy became a student at Choate, a Protestant prep school in Connecticut, as of 1931. He graduated from
there in 1935. After he had enrolled at Princeton University, he had to abandon his studies for health reasons after a very short period of time.

After graduating from high school, John F. Kennedy first traveled to England in order to enroll for a degree in economics at the London School of Economics. However, he returned to the USA for health reasons and began studying political science at Harvard University in 1936. His father, who was the US Ambassador in London in 1937, helped him to obtain a job at the American embassy in the summer of 1938. During this period, he also attended numerous events of the English aristocracy.

Under the impression of other cultural and educational trips (including to France, Spain and Germany), his interest in international relations grew, and he established his first personal contacts with Western diplomats and American Members of Congress. During this period, he also intensified his studies. In 1939, the speech given by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill to Parliament on the occasion of the outbreak of World War II inspired him to take British appeasement policy as the subject of his senior thesis. It was published in 1940 under the title of “Why England slept” and became a bestseller through his father’s protection. This thesis was intended to serve as a warning to the United States to learn from the foreign-policy mistakes made by the British and to mobilize the requisite resources for the defense of the democratic form of government.

After completing his studies, John F. Kennedy voluntarily joined the U.S. Navy, where he initially worked in naval intelligence. Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 led to the USA entering the war, and as of July 1942, Kennedy underwent naval training. The following spring he assumed command of PT 109, a torpedo boat, which was sunk by a Japanese destroyer in the South Pacific on August 2, 1943. Two crewmen did not survive, but the rest swam to a nearby island and were rescued after seven days. Kennedy was made out
to be a hero in the American press and was honored with various military awards. After a few additional weeks at war, he exhibited signs of combat fatigue in late autumn and was very critical of US military leadership, which he characterized as “incompetent bureaucrats”. Due to his acute health problems, he was transferred home at the end of 1943 and served at the PT base in Florida in the following year, interrupted by various hospital sojourns. In March of 1945, he ended his service in the U.S. Navy. After his older brother Joe lost his life during the explosion of a reconnaissance aircraft over the English Channel in 1944, his father hoped that John, as his second-oldest son, would now make his ambitious political plans come true.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

In September 1953, young Senator Kennedy married journalist Jacqueline Bouvier, who was twelve years younger. She also came from a prestigious Catholic immigrant family like him. Jackie, who was very well educated and multilingual, and who had studied history, literature, art and French, captivated everyone with her radiance and her fashion elegance. In the 1960s, she became a much imitated fashion icon with her chic Chanel costumes and matching pill-box hats. Jacqueline and her husband understood how to present themselves to the public as the perfect American couple.

After John F. Kennedy was elected President, his wife dedicated herself to redesigning the White House, which from then on shone once again in the style of the 19th century through antique furniture and valuable paintings, and she drew attention to herself through cultural events, such as concerts, balls and banquets. Their daughter Caroline was born in 1957; their son John F. Kennedy Jr. was born three years later. Even though the image of a happy young family was demonstrated outwardly, yet there were areas of tension in the relationship after only a few years. Whereas the President complained about his wife’s expensive and luxurious lifestyle, she suffered under his frequent absences and his numerous, barely concealed affairs.
POLITICAL ASCENT

While he was at the university and during his military service there was nothing to indicate that John F. Kennedy would once rise to become the most powerful man in the world. Only the tragic war death of his older brother Joe in August of 1944 led to his switch to politics.

Joseph Kennedy, the dominant patriarch, had actually chosen his oldest son to become what he himself could never be, despite his economic success, namely President of the United States of America. After the war, John F. Kennedy briefly worked as reporter. He willingly assumed the role of his deceased brother in 1946 and kicked off his rapid political career at the age of 29. On the one hand, his father’s wealth and political influence smoothed the way; and his family, especially his younger brother Robert, supported him during the electoral campaign. On the other, Kennedy proved to be ambitious and tenacious when striving for popularity with the voters. The fact that he was really a severely ill man physically behind his glowing façade was something that Kennedy hid from the public. He first won a seat in the House of Representatives in 1946. In 1952, he moved into the Senate. Despite relapses to his health and the related frequent absences from his senatorial duties, moving into the White House was the declared goal which Kennedy stubbornly pursued.

THE GOAL: THE PRESIDENCY

John F. Kennedy publicly announced his candidacy for the highest office in the country on January 2, 1960. The systematic preparation for this career step had already begun many years previously: Together with his younger brother Robert, he had established a countrywide network of supporters since the previous election for President in 1956. At the same time, he pulled together a first-class team of advisors who supported him in the development of his political talent. During these years between presidential elections, Kennedy single-mindedly increased his public popularity.

So that he would not only be perceived as an extremely attractive famous person, but as a politician to be taken seriously, he committed himself to key issues of domestic, defense, and foreign policy in the Senate. Moreover, Kennedy succeeded in profiling himself as an intellectual. His book called “Profiles in Courage” was published in 1956 and proved to be a bestseller, which was honored with the sought-after Pulitzer Prize. Nevertheless, he was not only welcomed with enthusiasm during the election campaign, but also with skepticism. The
latter concerned his youthfulness – with regard to the office of President – but especially his religious affiliation. Kennedy was a Catholic, which gave rise to concern for Protestant Americans who were in the majority; they felt that a Catholic President would be a tool of the Pope. With great political skill, Kennedy was able to dispel the widespread reservations concerning his Catholic faith.

Kennedy’s candidacy occurred during a period of political and social upheaval. Internationally, the USA had lost a considerable amount of its military and technological dominance compared to the Soviet Union, the leading Communist power, during the era of his predecessor Dwight D. Eisenhower, and this had shaken the nation’s self-confidence. In terms of domestic policy, a storm was brewing with regard to the issue of civil rights. With his campaign slogan of “Leadership for the 60’s” Kennedy heralded a new era. In contrast to his Republican opponent Richard Nixon, he positioned himself as a charismatic leader who would lead the country to a better future in defiance of the dangers.

GOAL ACCOMPLISHED: THE PRESIDENCY

Kennedy ultimately won the presidential election on November 8, 1960 with a razor-thin majority of 113,000 votes or 0.1% of the voters. He was sworn in as the 35th President of the United States on January 20, 1961. Kennedy was the first Catholic and the same time, the youngest directly elected President of the USA. With him, a young generation of politicians had asserted their claim to leadership. His famous inaugural address to the nation defined the political orientation of his Presidency with its visionary rhetoric of change and culminated in the appeal to his fellow Americans “…ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country”. His ultimately unfinished Presidency, which only lasted for 1036 days, had begun.
CAMELOT

Kennedy distinguished himself from his predecessors not only because of his youthful age, but also because of his public image. Many of his contemporaries tended to associate his charisma, a mix of charm, nonchalance and sex appeal typical of him, with a movie actor instead of an old-school politician. With his beautiful and stylish wife Jackie at his side, a glamorous dream couple presented itself to the world public. Television, as a media for the masses, proved to be of great importance to this self-dramatization, allowing the telegenic Kennedys to reach almost the whole nation and to communicate a positive image of themselves. Already during the campaign, television played a crucial role for Kennedy in the outcome of the election, when he faced his pale opponent, Richard Nixon, who appeared to be insecure, in the first ever televised duel. Kennedy then staged his presidency like a bourgeois monarchy. The inauguration on January 20, 1961 was more like a coronation. With his legendary inaugural speech, but also in later TV addresses to the nation, Kennedy urgently appealed to his fellow Americans and tried to arouse enthusiasm for his political visions. Jackie began renovating and tastefully furnishing the White House with élan, accompanied by television, of course. The national elite class from the world of the arts and culture gladly gathered at the White House and thus gave their host the desired glamour. A few days after the assassination of her husband, it was Jackie, who shaped the Kennedy myth from this presidential image. In an interview with opinion leader Life Magazine, she compared the White House of the past three years symbolically with Camelot – the court of legendary King Arthur, who gathered the most courageous and clever men of his kingdom around him in order to fight against the evil powers of his time.

ASSASSINATION AND FUNERAL

In the autumn of 1963, John F. Kennedy was firmly determined to run for re-election in the upcoming presidential campaign in 1964. One of his first campaign trips took him to Texas in November, where he was faced with major political reservations due to his efforts to enforce the civil rights of colored Americans. On November 22, Jackie and he visited Dallas. The route that his convoy of cars would be taking was publicly known. About 200,000 had come out in sunny weather to prepare an almost unexpectedly friendly welcome for the President. At 12:30 p.m. shots suddenly rang out in the cheers of the crowd. One shot hit Kennedy in the
neck, another penetrated his skull. At 1:00 p.m. he was declared dead. The reaction to this assassination was horror and bewilderment – hopes for political change, which had been associated with Kennedy personally, collapsed abruptly. People everywhere, particularly in Germany, commemorated the assassinated President.

The alleged perpetrator was purported to be Lee Harvey Oswald – a former Marine who had temporarily emigrated to the Soviet Union between 1959 and 1962 and had married a Russian woman there. Before Oswald’s guilt could be established indisputably, nightclub owner Jack Ruby shot and killed him as he was being transferred to another prison. For this reason, Kennedy’s murder has – to this day – not been cleared up with absolute certainty. This uncertainty gave an enormous boost to conspiracy theories alleging that Kennedy had possibly been the victim of his arch-enemy Fidel Castro or of the Mafia.

On November 25, 1963, Kennedy was carried to his grave. Jackie prevailed with her wish to have her assassinated husband buried after a state funeral at Arlington National Cemetery. In an act replete with political symbolism, the ceremony for John F. Kennedy was a recreation of the one for President Abraham Lincoln, who had been assassinated in 1865.
John F. Kennedy also implemented the political transformation that he had announced upon taking office in his European policy as well. Until the late 1950s, the USA had been the dominant military and economic leading power vis-à-vis the European nations. Only on the basis of this economic performance, including foreign trade with Western Europe, was a policy as a global superpower possible. Due to increasing economic difficulties within the USA, but also due to the strong economic growth in the European Economic Community (EEC), led by France and the Federal Republic of Germany, this economic pillar of American foreign policy began to totter. At the beginning of his presidency, Kennedy had, therefore, urged the European NATO allies to provide some military and economic relief to the USA and he propagated the strategic concept of an Atlantic Partnership to Western Europe. Through a economic, military, and political merger, the "United States of Europe", with Great Britain, France, and Germany at the core, was to become a partner of the United States of America – with an equal distribution of the military burdens, but also with an offer to build up a multilateral nuclear armed forces under a joint command. However, this vision of Kennedy foundered due to France's determined veto. France's power-conscious President Charles de Gaulle prevented the entry of Great Britain into the EEC while pursuing a policy of a “Europe of nations” led by France as the hegemonic power.

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

The Federal Republic of Germany, which was founded in 1949, was initially unable to pursue a sovereign foreign policy. Upon emerging from the detritus left by Nazi tyranny, West Germany was powerless to pursue its own foreign policy and was under the control of the victorious powers. Only in 1955 did the allies release West Germany from this tutelage so that the German Federal Republic was able to achieve foreign sovereignty in addition to internal sovereignty. With the signing of the Paris Pacts on October 23, 1954, West Germany, which was located at the interface of the East-West conflict, joined NATO, the Western security pact, in 1955 and began to build up the German Armed Forces.

West Germany’s rapid development from a nation that was powerless to pursue its own foreign policy to one that was rapidly gaining in importance was directly related to its relationship with the USA. During World War II, the United States had become a global superpower. The USA helped its former enemy to rebuild a government, and to establish a free
and social market economy and a liberal democracy. At the same time, the USA, as the leading power, offered military, in particular, nuclear protection. Once the Cold War began, but by no later than the outbreak of the Korean War, West Germany had become important, including as a partner in the conflict with Communism. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who ruled between 1949 and 1963, knew how to make the most of this support. He pursued a consistent policy of ties with the west which were primarily oriented across the Atlantic, i.e., to the USA, until 1958. In this way, he obtained freedom, peace and prosperity for the German Federal Republic, but not the repeatedly postulated unity of Germany as a whole.

Only during the end phase of Adenauer’s term of office did this close foreign-policy relationship begin to deteriorate. On the one hand, the increasing dissonances between the USA and West Germany arose due to the different relationships of both nations with France. At that time, Adenauer turned more strongly to France in order to end the hereditary enmity with Germany’s neighbor to the west. Together with Charles de Gaulle, the French President, he brought about German-French reconciliation. As however, de Gaulle visibly distanced himself from the USA and advocated an independent Europe under French leadership, German was caught between the power interests of France and the USA. On the one hand, Adenauer feared that President Kennedy could come to an arrangement with the Soviet Union during the course of his policy of détente and thus decrease US military protection for West Germany and Berlin. Kennedy’s restrained reaction to the building of the Berlin Wall in August of 1961 had already given a boost to these doubts concerning Germany’s Atlantic ally.

The crisis into which the German-American relations had fallen prior to Kennedy’s visit to Germany was reflected in the German federal government as well. On the one side, there were the “Gaullists” around Adenauer, who campaigned for West European integration and were becoming increasingly distrustful of the nuclear guarantee provided by the USA, on the other side, there were the “Atlanticists” who remained committed to close security-policy ties with the USA.
KENNEDY’S VISIT TO GERMANY

During a phase of increasing differences of opinion between the Federal Republic of Germany and the USA, President Kennedy’s visit to Germany was definitely no accident. As a key component of a presidential trip to Europe taking him to Italy and Ireland, his state visit had been planned since January of 1963. Given the rapidly growing tensions between the USA and France, West Germany came to play a key role in America’s European policy. The rapprochement between France and Germany, which was symbolically expressed by the embrace of de Gaulle and Adenauer on the occasion of the signing of the Elysée Treaty on January 22, 1963, elicited more suspicion than joy in Washington. Moreover, de Gaulle had visited West Germany in September of 1962 and had been received with enthusiasm by the populace. With his trip to Europe, Kennedy primarily pursued the intention of once again tightly forging the bond between the European allies, which had fallen into disarray if necessary, without France, which tellingly had been excluded from the plans for this trip. In particular, West Germany was to be brought into line with his concept of an Atlantic Partnership with the USA and Great Britain. Just prior to his trip to Europe internal racial unrest in America began assuming threatening proportions and the visit to Italy had become doubtful due to a government crisis there and the death of Pope John XXIII on June 3, 1963; yet this did not stop Kennedy from proceeding with his plan to travel to Germany.

Kennedy’s relationship with Germany prior to his state visit is described as being somewhat distanced. He had visited Germany a couple of times previously and had not always been positively impressed, e.g., during a quick visit to Munich in August of 1939, where he experienced Nazi Socialists bristling with self-confidence and arrogance. In his sojourn as a news correspondent in Germany immediately after the war ended in 1945, he described the catastrophic consequences of Nazi barbarism. Later during his political career in the House of Representatives and the Senate, he focused his attention on Berlin, the constant hot spot of the Cold War. Kennedy’s visit to Germany was an act of public diplomacy, which was and has remained unprecedented for the Federal Republic of Germany. Since then, no other state guest has ever triggered such frenetic waves of enthusiasm; no other state visit has buried itself deep into the collective consciousness of the German people. Although discussions with Adenauer, Erhard, and other political representatives of the Bonn-based democracy were on the program, yet these meetings played a subordinate role, especially because the personal relationship between Kennedy and Chancellor Adenauer, who was more than 40 years his senior, were regarded as strained, and it was already clear that the next Chancellor would be Ludwig Erhard. The public sessions, which had the character of a political demonstration by the charismatic American President, had priority. The almost ecstatic jubilation with which the German people greeted Kennedy also made it unmistakably clear to the German political class how much public sympathy there was for the USA in general and for the US President in particular. In this sense, the Kennedy visit also was a kind of plebiscite.
In September 1962 French State President Charles de Gaulle visited the Federal Republic of Germany and was received with enthusiasm; here with Konrad Adenauer in the city center Bonn, September 1962; The legendary embrace of Chancellor Adenauer and President de Gaulle after the signing of the Élysée Treaty on German-French friendship, January 22, 1963

JFK at the Cologne Town Hall and entry into the Golden Book, on his left: Konrad Adenauer, on his right; Lord Mayor Theo Burauen, June 23, 1963; JFK gives a speech in front of the Cologne Town Hall; June 23, 1963

JFK during his address in front of the Town Hall of Bonn, June 23, 1963; JFK at his famous “I am a Berliner” speech in front of the Schöneberg Town Hall, June 26, 1963; JFK gains an impression of the Berlin Wall near the Brandenburg Gate, June 26, 1963

Kennedy during his visit to Berlin on June 26, 1963; on his right Willy Brandt and Konrad Adenauer
During his trip to Germany, John F. Kennedy paid a visit to Hesse on June 25. The fact that Kennedy was even going to come to Hesse emerged fairly soon after his travel plans had been announced in January of 1963. The focus of this trip was on the Rhine-Main region. On the one hand, the President wanted to combine a visit to American troops with a visible military demonstration. On the other hand, the Paulskirche (St. Paul’s Church) in Frankfurt had been selected in the spring of 1963 as a historically symbolic site for a programmatic keynote address to Germans and to the world. Kennedy wanted to use a visit to Wiesbaden, which was of secondary importance both politically and in terms of its duration, at the end of the day to mingle with the crowd in a way that would generate a lot of publicity. Moreover, the state capital of Hesse offered the opportunity for another visit to US military personnel stationed in Germany.

Kennedy’s day in Hesse began with an impressive military parade. At the Hanau-Langendiebach Army Airfield, located in what is now part of Erlensee, more than 15,000 American soldiers with the latest military equipment, including nuclear rockets, lined up before their Commander in Chief. After this longest part of his visit to Hesse, Kennedy traveled to Frankfurt in a state limousine provided by the German Federal government together with Hessian Minister-President Zinn and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer’s designated successor, Economics Minister Ludwig Erhard. Hundreds of thousands lined the streets and prepared a rapturous, triumphant reception for the US President in Frankfurt, a former Free Imperial City. With the speech that Kennedy gave at the Paulskirche, the symbolic German site of freedom and democracy, he made a case for his vision of a transatlantic partnership with a strong and democratic Germany in the center of Europe. Kennedy’s subsequent excursion to Wiesbaden was less important politically speaking. In view of the chorus of cheers by the stirred up crowds, he was once again able to cast himself as a charismatic leader.

The varied reactions to Kennedy’s assassination show that joy and sorrow are never far apart. The jubilation of June 25, 1963 was followed by horror on November 22 and 23 of the same year. The mourning, which also occurred in Hesse, impressively demonstrated the emotional proximity that the crowds of people had felt for the American President in June of 1963.

VISIT TO THE US AIRBASE AT LANGENDIEBACH

After two days of public appearances in Cologne and Bonn and talks with senior officials, Kennedy’s trip was given a military accent with his appearance as Commander in Chief of the US Armed Forces. On June 25, 1963, Kennedy reviewed the troops at Hanau Army Airfield. The former Langendiebach German Airfield (now in Erlensee), had been opened in 1939 for the
Wehrmacht until its destruction in late 1944. After being rebuilt, US Armed Forces were stationed there because of its strategic location. NATO military strategists expected hostile armies coming from Thuringia to pass through the “Fulda Gap” on their way to Frankfurt in the event of a war with the Warsaw Pact. US military units concentrated there would have had to stop, or at least delay, a front-line attack, together with the German Federal Armed Forces.

At this hot spot of the Cold War, the President communicated the message of a defensively oriented military strength to about 500 press representatives in his entourage, and thus to the world public. This message targeted the Atlantic allies, especially West Germany, and emphasized absolute loyalty to the Alliance as well as America’s willingness to engage in military action in West Germany where more than 250,000 US servicemen were stationed. Thus Kennedy made it unmistakably clear to the Soviet Union that his offer of a peaceful coexistence of both systems was not to be misunderstood as an expression of military weakness.

This visit demonstrated Kennedy’s tough stance to the American public in the dispute with Communism— an important foreign-policy positioning in the upcoming presidential election campaign. Preparations for this visit had begun three months previously; 15,000 soldiers with the latest weapons, including 700 tanks, anti-tank weapons, aircraft, radar units, and nuclear rockets, lined up to welcome the Commander in Chief. After a 21-gun salute due him as President, Kennedy first inspected an honor guard of American, German, Canadian and French soldiers and the weapons on display. Then JFK addressed his soldiers, thanking them for helping to secure the peace. Kennedy, a highly decorated veteran of World War II, had lunch with 300 soldiers at the Officers Mess.

After his helicopter landed at the air base, JFK was welcomed by US Generals

The President concluded the review of the troops with an address to his soldiers

Inspection of the troops by the President in the presence of General Freemann; 2 Menu for the luncheon with the President; 3 Attendance at the lunch with the President was considered to be a great honor

KENNEDY ON HIS WAY TO FRANKFURT ...

After saying farewell to his troops, Kennedy continued his triumphal procession in Germany by heading for Frankfurt. The President had chosen this metropolis on the Main River because he wanted to make a significant foreign policy speech at the historic Paulskirche. Frankfurt came to play a key role during this visit because Kennedy wanted to announce his vision of an Atlantic partnership in a symbolic act there.

In May of 1963, Pierre Salinger, the White House Press Secretary, came to Frankfurt to prepare for the visit. He inspected the “Römer” Town Hall with its Emperors’ Hall and went to the Paulskirche, which he enthusiastically described as “a beautiful setting”. Once the program had been outlined, extensive preparations were made. Even though German security
agencies had classified the President as “a statesman who was not at risk”, about 2700 police officers helped to ensure the protection and safety of this state visitor. The city procured additional portable barricades for DM 20,000 to block off the Römer and to safeguard Kennedy’s walk to the Paulskirche. Certain protocol issues also had to be clarified, such as on which page Kennedy was to sign the Golden Book and how it was to be supported during this ceremony.

... AND AT THE RÖMER

Kennedy traveled from Hanau to Frankfurt accompanied by future Chancellor Ludwig Erhard and Hessian Minister-President Georg August Zinn. Standing in the car most of the time, Kennedy waved to the cheering crowds. The crowds grew denser and denser along the way; about one million Germans were said to have been present in Frankfurt alone. An exhausted, but cheerful President arrived at the Römerberg and was greeted by 60,000 persons with frenetic cheers. Lord Mayor Werner Bockelmann welcomed Kennedy. In the Emperors’ Hall Kennedy signed his name in the Golden Book and then spoke to the citizens of Frankfurt from a podium outside the Römer. Minister President Zinn had wanted to make a short speech, too, but impatient “Kennedy, Kennedy” choruses thwarted this intent. Once again, Kennedy demonstrated his rhetorical talents and heightened the crowd’s exuberant enthusiasm with a casual joke. He said that in the car, Minister President Zinn had told him who belonged to the Social Democratic Party, while Vice-Chancellor Erhard explained who the members of the Christian Democratic Union were. He himself had been unable to see any difference, he said, because he did not see any parties, he only saw friends.

KENNEDY AT THE PAULSKIRCHE

Kennedy crowned his visit to Hesse with a speech at the Paulskirche. This church was erected between 1789 and 1783 and is important historically as the site of the National Assembly during the German Revolution of 1848 – 1849. Despite, but also because of, the failure of this democratic revolt, the Paulskirche is still deemed to be a national symbol for freedom and the cradle of German democracy. By coming here, Kennedy emphasized Germany’s demo-
cratic history and placed the German Federal Republic in line with this tradition. He also chose this site for his speech to the German audience and the world public because of its symbolism regarding the universal values of freedom and democracy.

Kennedy walked from the Römer Town Hall to the Paulskirche. During this continuation of his triumphal procession through Frankfurt, he was swept away by the enthusiasm of the masses. To the horror of his Secret Service agents, Kennedy deviated from protocol and approached the cheering citizens of Frankfurt to shake their hands. Barricades were knocked over in the frenzy and the President briefly disappeared into the crowd. With every seat taken in the church, Kennedy spoke to 900 listeners, including the political elite from Bonn, the capital at that time, and members of the Bundestag (Federal Parliament).

This speech contained numerous historical references and was a flaming appeal to defend freedom and to secure the peace in the sense of Kennedy's idea of an Atlantic partnership between America and Western Europe. Kennedy decisively distinguished himself from the separate path taken by France as a nation state. At the same time, the President drew a line to his legendary Peace Speech of June 10, 1963. In a time of international and mutual interdependence, he called upon everyone to seek common solutions to the world's problems, in military, economic, and political terms.

KENNEDY IN WIESBADEN

With his spectacular speech at the Paulskirche in Frankfurt, John F. Kennedy concluded the political part of his visit to Hesse. However, this eventful day came to an impressive end in Wiesbaden. The visit to Wiesbaden was actually intended to be for the US armed forces stationed here. The preliminary program from early May had merely called for a visit to the USAF Headquarters and an overnight stay at the USAF General von Steuben Hotel, now known as the Dorint Hotel, which had been built in 1956.

The Hessian state government was, however, able to convince their American counterparts to agree to a reception at the Kurhaus in Wiesbaden. In order to duly welcome the President on his way from the Steuben Hotel to this historic landmark, the Hessian state government procured 100,000 little flags for people to wave, with the star spangled banner on the front and the colors of the Federal Republic of Germany on the back. In the days prior to the President's visit, there was a frenzy of activity in Wiesbaden; at the same time, the city was smitten by a feverish excitement.
No one could have divined the tremendous enthusiasm with which Kennedy was met in Wiesbaden on June 25. There really had been no need to mobilize Wiesbaden’s schoolchildren from the 7th grade on to line the street heading toward the Kurhaus with a cheering crowd. As if the residents of Wiesbaden wanted to outdo their neighbors in Frankfurt, an unparalleled chorus of cheers from the 10,000 people waiting there broke out upon the landing of the President’s helicopter in front of the Steuben Hotel at 6:20 p.m. Wiesbaden proved to be a “seething cauldron of enthusiasm” according to the Wiesbadener Kurier, a local newspaper. The normally more reserved residents of this spa city, who are not known for emotional exuberance, displayed a previously unknown aspect of their personalities. After a short break and a discussion with Vice Chancellor Erhard at the Steuben Hotel, a visibly fatigued, yet happy President set off on his triumphal procession along the Friedrich-Ebert Allee and the Wilhelmstrasse, which were lined with at least 100,000 cheering citizens.

When the President arrived at the Kurhaus, tumultuous scenes were observed in front of this historic building where another 30,000 people were waiting. A breakthrough of the barricades by the enthusiastic crowd was only able to be prevented due to police reinforcements and the deployment of police on horseback. In view of this massive, ecstatic rapture, the Presidential reception at the Kurhaus, which had been decorated with 20,000 flowers for this occasion, proved to be almost unnecessary. The more than 400 invited guests, including 76 high-ranking Americans from the military, the US government, and business, were only able to enjoy their proximity with the President for about 30 minutes. Following a welcome address by Hessian Minister-President Zinn, the signing of Wiesbaden’s Golden Book, and innumerable handshakes, Kennedy left “his reception” at about 8:30 p.m. and headed for the Steuben Hotel, but not without a final bon mot to crown the evening. He stated that upon leaving the White House, he was going to leave behind a letter for his successor which the latter should only open if greatly depressed. This letter would contain Kennedy’s personal advice: “Visit Germany!”

KENNEDY’S DEPARTURE FROM HESSE

After a short night at the General von Steuben Hotel, Kennedy set off for Berlin on June 26, 1963. To continue his tour of Germany, he used an US Air Force airplane from the Wiesbaden-Erbenheim Airbase in order to pay his respects to the US Armed Forces personnel stationed there. The President’s stop at Erbenheim Air Base was also meant to serve as a political
reminder. With this visit, Kennedy symbolically reaffirmed the guarantee that the USA would remain in Berlin; after all it was on that very day precisely 15 years previously that the Berlin Airlift had commenced from this location.

Since 1945 the city of Wiesbaden had played an important role as a base for American military forces in Germany. The US military government of Hesse initially resided here. A few years later, USAFE, US Air Forces in Europe, established their headquarters at Lindsey Air Station in Wiesbaden. USAFE was considered to be the hardest-hitting command of the US Air Force outside the USA; geographically, its huge remit ranged from Scandinavia via Western Europe and North Africa to Pakistan.

Under the eyes of thousands of Americans and numerous spectators from Wiesbaden, Kennedy was welcomed with military honors after his arrival at 8:25 a.m. The whole ceremony, including the parade formations of the squadrons of American military aircraft thundering across the airfield, only lasted a few minutes. At about 8:45 a.m. Kennedy boarded his special plane, briefly waved goodbye from the top of the stairs, and started off on his trip to the divided city of Berlin.

A rousing reception for the American President had been expected everywhere during his journey through the Federal Republic of Germany and to Berlin. In the days prior to Kennedy's arrival, the authorities had appealed to the German population to prepare a proper welcome for this distinguished visitor. But no one had expected such rapturous mass hysteria. Accompanied by television and radio reporters, the emotional excitement of those who wanted to see Kennedy live increased from stop to stop during his visit. The riotous cheers that Kennedy had elicited during his visit to Germany remained a unique event in German history for the most part, until the fall of the Berlin Wall.

This fascination on the part of the Germans for the most powerful politician in the world was surely due to the man himself to a large extent. With his good looks, age, lifestyle and values, Kennedy refreshingly set himself apart from the political class in the Federal Republic of Germany. Kennedy was a female heartthrob in Germany as well. Many women went into raptures upon seeing him. Other interpretations of this ever-growing wave of enthusiasm that finally came to a head in Berlin gave Kennedy's visit the character of a huge public happening or even street theater.
The almost intoxicating mass euphoria and ecstasy displayed during Kennedy’s visit elicited not only joy in some observers; on the contrary, it triggered skepticism and discomfort. The Nazi dictatorship with its totalitarian mobilization of the masses was barely one generation ago; the worshipful veneration of the American President by the Germans triggered increasingly unpleasant memories of the personality cult around Adolf Hitler in both Americans and Germans.

SHOCK AND GRIEF

When Kennedy was assassinated at 12:30 p.m. on November 22, 1963, it was early evening in Germany, due to the six-hour time difference. People quickly learned about this perfidious assassination on that Friday evening through television and radio broadcasts. The sudden death of the American President triggered dismay and disbelief. In Hesse too, the news was a big blow to many people who had frenetically cheered the President only five months previously. The initial shock was quickly followed by mourning. The intensity of this grief once again made it clear how close Kennedy had come to the German people emotionally through his visit in June of the same year and how great the feeling of loss was. In Hessian cities too, flags were flown at half staff as a sign of public mourning.

On the day after the assassination, the theatres stayed closed in Frankfurt; in Wiesbaden Lord Mayor Georg Buch expressed the dismay of the people of Wiesbaden in a public declaration. People gathered spontaneously to mourn together in public. Among the 640,000 letters of condolence that reached Jackie Kennedy, numerous letters came from Germany. Condolence lists were placed in city halls; alone in Wiesbaden more than 8,000 persons entered their names in these lists. Kennedy’s funeral on November 25, 1963 was a day of farewell from a political idol in Hesse too. That evening, thousands of children, adolescents, and adults bore witness to their commiseration by participating in a kilometer-long funeral march through downtown Wiesbaden.

In the next few years the joy regarding the President’s visit and the sorrow regarding his assassination merged into one common commemoration which took many forms, such as memorials, open-air concerts, or exhibitions.
After they successfully crossed the Rhine River near Oppenheim in the night from March 22 to 23, 1945, American soldiers began with the conquest of Hessian territories. US Armed Forces met with little opposition from German units. Only one week later, all of the Rhein-Main region and the Wetterau region were occupied. On April 9, i.e., one month prior to the capitulation of the Third Reich, the final resistance to the advance of the GI’s on Hessian soil collapsed in northern Hesse and so Hesse was liberated from the Nazi dictatorship.

Immediately after their combat units began marching into Hesse, the Americans started building up their military administration. On September 19, 1945, the US military government proclaimed the formation of the state of “Greater Hesse”. The state military government in Hesse chose Wiesbaden, a big city which had suffered the least destruction, as its headquarters. After stabilizing public order, which had been the first priority, the occupying power began with denazification, i.e., the systematic removal of Nazi activists from the government and with the buildup of demo-cratic institutions in the government and in society. As early as September 1945, the state military government permitted the formation of democratic parties and installed a German civil government under the leadership of Karl Geiler as Minister President in October 1945. At the same time, Wiesbaden was declared the state capital. The buildup of democracy was consummated step by step with local elections from January 1946 until the referendum on the adoption of the Hessian State Constitution and the election of the first Hessian State Parliament on December 1946, quasi from bottom to top.

In March/April 1945, a new lifestyle entered Hesse together with the victorious Americans. Well-equipped and in noticeably good physical condition, the GI’s impressed the German population while they marched into Germany. In everyday life under an occupying power, former enemies soon became friends and neighbors. Despite the initial “ban on fraternization”, contacts between US soldiers and the German populace began, particularly with German women. These interpersonal relationships were augmented by the re-education program. With targeted measures in the area of education and culture, e.g., with youth work or the establishment of an ‘Amerika Haus’ in major West German cities, the USA assumed the function of a cultural role model which decisively contributed to the German society’s shift
away from Nazi ideology and towards a liberal democratic culture. In the early 1950s, the social orientation to the West paralleled the political ties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the West. Especially in Hesse, where numerous American soldiers had been stationed since the beginning of the Cold War, the German people increasing adopted American thought patterns and behaviors. Thus Frankfurt became a citadel of jazz in postwar Germany; and Rock’n’Roll flourished in Hanau. In particular the “teens”, mostly young laborers, lived out their form of the American way of life; with their conduct and their external appearance, they provoked the adults, who still held on to the middle-class virtues of hard work, punctuality, and orderliness.

ANTI-AMERICANISM

German-American friendship reached its splendid peak with John F. Kennedy’s visit. However, this fascination for the politics and the lifestyle of the USA quickly changed into an anti-American mood. The violent racial unrest in the USA produced the first cracks in American moral credibility, even among the German public. It was however, primarily the Vietnam Conflict that tended to trigger this transformation from a love of all things American towards a negative image of America. The escalation of the Vietnam War since the USA entered the war disappointed the high expectations that people had of this superpower, which had been aroused by Kennedy himself. Particularly in the left-wing political spectrum of the Federal Republic of Germany and among the young generation, a critical attitude towards the USA took hold. In West German university cities, students vented their displeasure in the form of demonstrations, sit-ins, and protests. In addition to Berlin, Frankfurt am Main was a stronghold of the anti-American student movement. The university was the home of the legendary “School of Frankfurt” around Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno who exercised fundamental criticisms against the liberal-capitalistic system on a high intellectual level and thus cast their spell over young academic scholars in particular. Many students, who definitely had the sympathy of broad circles in the German population, no longer considered America to be the liberator, protector, or guarantor of democracy. They saw the US as a brutal, imperialistic power. Criticism of the USA’s foreign policy and conduct of war, which was also growing in American society, ultimately led to a basic rejection of “dollar imperialism” in Germany and of American “mass culture”.
HESSE AS THE SITE FOR US MILITARY FACILITIES DURING THE COLD WAR

From an American perspective, West Germany was the NATO “outpost” in Europe during the Cold War. Hesse bordered the territory of the GDR, a member of the enemy Warsaw Pact and deployment zone for the massive and menacing Soviet armed forces. Due to this exposed position along the seam of the Cold War, the USA utilized Hesse in particular as the site for its military facilities. Immediately after World War II, US armed forces under General Eisenhower requisitioned the IG Farben building in Frankfurt to serve as their European headquarters there. Between 1945 and 2005 the U.S. Air Force maintained the Rhein-Main Air Base located south of Frankfurt Airport. An important role as a military site was also played by Wiesbaden, where the state military government had its seat between 1945 and 1949 and where the U.S. Air Force based its European headquarters until 1976. In addition to military administrative agencies, the USA also maintained hard-hitting combat units in Hesse, especially in Hanau and in Friedberg. As part of the NATO forward defense strategy, these military formations were supposed to stop or at least delay an attack by the huge superior forces of the Soviet tank formations coming from Thüringia through East Hesse towards the Rhein-Main area, i.e., through the so-called Fulda Gap. However, the size and composition of the US military in Hesse varied considerably during the Cold War. Immediately after the Second World War, the USA rapidly reduced its tactical units, but redeployed them during the Korean War. With the change in military strategy from “massive retaliation” with nuclear weapons to a “flexible response” since the presidency of John F. Kennedy, the conventional armed forces were considerably reinforced and reached their nominal peak in 1962.
The Cold War entered its last phase when Mikhail Gorbachev took office as head of state and General Secretary of the Communist Party in the USSR in March of 1985. The Soviet Union collapsed by December 1991 due to its enormous self-imposed burdens during the arms race. The Berlin Wall fell on November 9, 1989; with the reunification of Germany on October 3, 1990, the division Germany finally ended after more than four decades.

This happy and bloodless end to the Cold War was a turning point for the U.S. military. These well-equipped troops abruptly became less important with the loss of the external threat due to Communism in Europe. Once again, the USA reacted to this new geopolitical situation with a drastic reduction in troop numbers. Combat units were redeployed to the USA or demobilized. Military sites such as Hanau, Friedberg or Giessen, where US troops had been stationed for many decades, were relinquished and their military communities were dissolved. At the same time, the USA revised its military strategy. Instead of a permanently stationed army with heavy tanks and artillery for defense purposes, the focus was now on smaller, but flexible and highly mobile organizations capable of intervening in external conflicts. The last remaining superpower utilized the few German locations with their existing military infrastructure in particular as the staging area and hub for military missions across the Near East down to Africa and Central Asia. In particular, Wiesbaden has benefited from this strategic realignment; after all, the European headquarters of the U.S. Army is currently being shifted to this city.

page 80 / 1  As the symbolic conclusion of the troop withdrawal, General Rutherford gives Frankfurt Lord Mayor von Schoeler a standard of V Corps, November 15, 1994; 2 The former Lindsey Air Station in Wiesbaden was successfully converted to urban use; here the Adult Education Center in today’s “Europaviertel”

page 81 / 1  The “General John Shalikashvili Mission Command Center” of the U.S. Army in Europe was built on the premises of the General Lucius D. Clay Kaserne in Wiesbaden-Erbenheim for about 90 million euros; 2 Naming ceremony for the new Mission Command Center on June 14, 2012; here the address by Lt. General Mark Hertling

page 82  German-American couple in a dance restaurant, June 1947

page 115  Kennedy in Wiesbaden, Konvoy and Escort, 1963
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Heinrich August Winkler: Der lange Weg nach Westen, 2. Band: Deutsche Geschichte vom „Dritten Reich“ bis zur Wiedervereinigung


Impressum / Publisher’s imprint

Veranstalter der Ausstellung und Herausgeber des Begleitheftes
Organizer of the exhibition and publisher of the accompanying booklet
Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Mosbacher Straße 55, 65187 Wiesbaden

Konzeption und Projektleitung / Concept and project management
Dr. Johann Zilien

Texte / Texts
Albina Mayer-Hungershausen und Dr. Johann Zilien

Textredaktion / Text editing
Prof. Dr. Klaus Eiler und Susanne Straßburg

Bildrecherche / Picture research
Stephanie Höflich

Bildbearbeitung / Picture processing
Frederik Thelen

Filme in der Ausstellung / Films in the exhibition
Alexandra Fox

Das vorliegende Begleitheft ist über das Hessische Hauptstaatsarchiv beziehbar.
This accompanying booklet is obtainable through the Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv.

Ausstellungsdesign + Gestaltungskonzept Broschüre / Design concept & artwork
Nina Faber de.sign, Wiesbaden

Übersetzung / Translation
Barbara Mueller-Grant, BDÜ, Wiesbaden

Katalogdruck / Catalogue printing
ColordruckLeimen GmbH, Leimen

Partner

Medien

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