MEMORANDUM

(Second Revision, As of October 14, 1997)

April 16, 1996

To: Tim Wray

cc: Jeremy Gunn

Tom Samoluk Joan Zimmerman

From: Doug Horne

Subject: TEXAS TRIP (AND DALLAS MOTORCADE) PLANNING MILESTONES

Per your assigned tasking, this memo highlights all concrete actions, observable changes in planning status, and/or conclusions regarding planning for President Kennedy's Texas trip and or the Dallas motorcade. For the most part, only official documents, contemporaneous newspaper accounts, and the written statements or testimony of trip planning participants are cited. (Minimal use has been made of post-assassination interviews or anecdotal recollections.) Footnotes provide attribution, elaboration, or context (as appropriate) for key passages in the text. A condensed summary of the trip planning milestones deemed significant by the author is provided at the end of this memo for use in the search for new assassination records.

Milestone Date Planning Milestone, Event or Conclusion

April, 1963 Special Assistant to the President (Appointments Secretary) Kenneth

O'Donnell stated in his Warren Commission testimony that to his knowledge the origin of the trip came from a conversation between President Kennedy, Vice-President Johnson and himself 6 or 7 months prior to the actual visit in late November, 1963. He further elaborated that the trip had been discussed for some time between Vice President Johnson and Governor Connally. It seems likely (although it is not certain) that this JFK/LBJ/O'Donnell conversation took place prior to April 23, 1963 (see Milestone Date April 24.

1963 below).

¹WH 7, page 441.

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April 24, 1963 <u>Dallas Times Herald</u>, reporting on Vice President Johnson's remarks at an April 23, 1963 afternoon meeting with Dallas Times Herald and KRLD AM-FM and TV executives, reported the following: "President Kennedy may visit Dallas and other major Texas cities this summer, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson said during the whirlwind visit here. The Vice President said he hopes President Kennedy's schedule will permit him to attend a breakfast in Fort Worth, a luncheon in Dallas, an afternoon tea in San Antonio and a dinner in Houston on a one-day visit to Texas in the near future."

Analysis: This is the first known occasion when any definite trip plans appear in the public record. Although at this stage the trip is envisaged as only a 1-day event, and no mention is yet made of any motorcades, the structure of the trip in terms of cities visited and scheduled events is remarkably close to actual events as they transpired 7 months later:

April 24, 1963 DTH Events of November 1963

A Breakfast in Fort Worth; Occurred (Nov. 22)
A Luncheon in Dallas; Was Scheduled (Nov. 22)

Afternoon Tea in San Antonio; Occurred (Nov. 21)² A Dinner in Houston. Occurred (Nov. 21)

The timing of the trip mentioned by LBJ was the only principal aspect of this early report which was vague or not in step with later events (i.e., "this summer" and "in the near future" being the operative phrases used). Neither the Warren Commission Report, nor the Report of the House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA) mentions this newspaper article (which was the major front-page headline and lead story on April 24, 1963); both investigations seemed oblivious to Vice President Johnson's early and detailed awareness of President Kennedy's Texas trip plans. This article corroborates the Kenneth O'Donnell recollections of the origins of the trip discussed above.

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²Instead of an Afternoon Tea, the President ultimately attended the dedication of a USAF Aerospace Medical Center at Brooks Air Force Base.

June 5, 1963

JFK, LBJ, and Governor Connally meet in El Paso at the Cortez Hotel and discuss the forthcoming trip to Texas.³ (Vague discussions about a Presidential trip to Texas had been under discussion since an undetermined time in 1962⁴.) Contemporaneous newspaper accounts of the El Paso trip do not even indicate that the three men discussed a forthcoming trip to Texas, much less any details of the planning.⁵ However, Governor Connally

When Governor Connally testified before the Warren Commission on April 21, 1964 (WH 4, page 130) and was asked about the origins of the Texas trip, he did not mention the El Paso meeting at all; his first mention of trip planning was to say that "...in the fall of 1963 it was decided that he (JFK) definitely should come (to Texas)...," and then continued with discussion of his visit with President Kennedy in Washington in October to discuss the Texas trip. On May 20, 1964, however, LBJ aide Cliff Carter prepared an affidavit for the Warren Commission (WH 7, 474-475) in which he stated that the original conversations concerning the President's trip to Texas occurred on June 5, 1963 at the Cortez Hotel in El Paso, Texas. Carter stated that he and Navy Secretary Fred Korth were present when President Kennedy, Vice President Johnson, and Governor Connally met at the Cortez Hotel to discuss the forthcoming trip to Texas. Carter stated that he and Navy Secretary Korth left the room during the trip conversation, but that the part they overheard first suggested having the trip coincide with LBJ's birthday on August 27, 1963, but rejected that idea because it was too close to Labor Day; he then concluded his affidavit by saying: "President Kennedy's other commitments prevented him from coming to Texas any sooner than November 21st, which was the date finally set." Subsequent to the Cliff Carter affidavit, Connally discussed the El Paso meeting in great detail in the article he authored titled: "Why Kennedy Went to Texas," in the November 24, 1967 issue of LIFE magazine.

⁴In the <u>LIFE</u> magazine article by John Connally, dated November 24, 1967, page 86A, he says (speaking of President Kennedy): "For a year and a half he had sought the trip..."; on page 86B JBC states: "The urgings from Washington had continued through 1962...," without indicating which individual or individuals did the urging. With less precision, in his Warren Commission testimony (WH 4, page 130) Connally stated: "There was some thought given to it during 1962. The trip kept being delayed." Connally reveals on pages 86A, 86B and 100A of the 1967 <u>LIFE</u> article that he himself was the source of the delays in trip planning, resulting from the need to consolidate his new administration following his election as governor in the fall of 1962, and shepherd his program through the Texas state legislature during the first half of 1963.

⁵Dallas Morning News and New York Times for June 6, 1963.

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subsequently stated that during the El Paso meeting, President Kennedy requested that 4 fund-raising dinners or meetings be held in Houston, San Antonio, Fort Worth and Dallas. ⁶ JBC also stated that at the El Paso meeting President Kennedy encouraged him to begin serious trip planning. ⁷

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⁶<u>LIFE</u>, November 24, 1967, page 100A. The author knows of no contemporaneous documentary or anecdotal corroboration of Connally's claim that JFK wanted 4 separate fundraisers. However, his claim that JFK wanted to visit Houston, San Antonio, Fort Worth and Dallas finds independent corroboration in the April 24, 1963 DTH article cited above.

⁷*Ibid.*, page 100A: The President to JBC: "Well, let's get on with it. We've been talking about this for a year and a half or more. Let's get an agreement about what we are going to do and get together and start making our plans."

Analysis: If Connally's 1967 published account of the El Paso meeting is true, ⁸ JFK indicated to him his intention to visit the same four cities first mentioned in the April 24, 1963 DTH article, corroborating that by April 23, 1963 LBJ was in the forefront of trip planning efforts. (Regarding the timing of the trip, Connally writes in <u>LIFE</u> that President Kennedy himself suggested LBJ's birthday, August 27th, as a logical date and reason for the trip, but says "I'm sure Mr. Johnson appreciated as well as I did the futility of the early date...". ⁹ In his affidavit for the Warren Commission (WH 7, page 475), Cliff Carter states that the idea of visiting for LBJ's birthday on August 27th was abandoned at the El Paso meeting because of the proximity of Labor Day, and writes that once the idea of an August visit was abandoned, it was realized--without indicating when it was realized--that the President was precluded from visiting Texas until November 21, 1963 due to numerous other scheduled commitments.)

September 13, 1963

<u>Dallas Times Herald</u> states: "Still in the talking stage, the Presidential trip would be a one-day affair with a breakfast speech in Dallas, a luncheon in Fort Worth, an afternoon coffee in San Antonio, and a dinner in Houston...No date has been set."

Analysis: As reported in this article, the order of the first 2 stops has been reversed from what was reported in the April 24, 1963 DTH article quoted above. San Antonio is still an afternoon stop, and

⁹LIFE, November 24, 1967, page 100A.

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⁸In his Warren Commission testimony (WH 4, page 130), Governor Connally stated that the first mention about 4 fundraisers (raised by someone other than President Kennedy) was made at his October meeting with President Kennedy (and that the President was not in favor of that, preferring only one fundraiser, if any). In sharp contrast to his sworn testimony from 1964, in his November 24, 1967 article in <u>LIFE</u> (page 100A) Governor Connally wrote that President Kennedy himself asked for 4 fundraising events at the earlier El Paso meeting, and that he (Governor Connally) had to dissuade the President of this idea at their subsequent October meeting, telling JFK: "If you come down there and try to have fund-raising affairs in four cities on one trip, they are going to think you are trying to financially rape the state." In the 1967 <u>LIFE</u> article Connally clearly states that the President deferred to his judgment in substituting only one fundraiser for the original concept of four.

a dinner is still scheduled for Houston. The trip is still scheduled as a 1-day affair.

September 26, 1963

<u>Dallas Morning News</u> states (reporting from Jackson Hole, Wyoming): "White House sources told the DMN exclusively Wednesday night that President Kennedy will visit Texas Nov. 21 and 22...The final White House decision to make the trip to Texas came late Tuesday night, these sources said...it was considered likely that the President will visit Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, and Fort Worth."

Analysis: President Kennedy was embarked upon a 3-day, 11-state Conservation Trip of the Western United States and the Presidential party was spending the night on September 25, 1963 at Jackson Hole, Wyoming following an appearance earlier in the day at Billings, Montana. The "final decision" to approve the Texas trip made "late Tuesday night" indicates that decision came on September 24, 1963. The Texas trip has now expanded from a 1-day trip to a 2-day trip. The four cities being visited are still the same four cities first mentioned in the April 24, 1963 DTH article and repeated in the September 13 DTH article. The dates forecast are those actually implemented.

September 26, 1963

<u>Dallas Times Herald</u> states (reporting also from Jackson Hole, Wyoming): "White House sources told the Times Herald Thursday that...the schedule calls for the President to be in Texas Nov. 21 and 22. Likely cities on the itinerary are Dallas, Houston, Fort Worth and San Antonio. Only new development in the plans for the visit was the setting of tentative dates...Details are expected to be worked out when Governor Connally sees the President on a forthcoming visit to Washington."

Analysis: The DTH corroborates the DMN story of the same day that the Presidential visit is to be a 2-day trip now (vice one, as originally

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¹⁰Note that the Secret Service Protective Survey Reports in Box 6 (see SF 135 for record group no. 87, accession no. 87-75-4, dated August 7, 1974) which were destroyed in 1995 commence with trip files starting on this same date: September 24, 1963. *See* the author's memorandum on Presidential Trips in the United States dated March 20, 1996.

reported on April 24, 1963), and that it will occur Nov. 21 and 22, 1963. ¹¹

October 2, 1963

Governor Connally meets with what could be called the Dallas "power structure" to discuss plans for the President's trip to that city. Present, among others, are the Chairman of the Dallas Citizen's Council, President of the Chamber of Commerce, head of the Mercantile Bank, and chief executives of the 2 major city newspapers.

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¹¹It is interesting to note that three events--Oswald's departure from New Orleans on or about 24/25 September (September 23 is the last full day he can be firmly placed there by eyewitnesses, but there are some indications he may not have left until September 24 or 25), the "Leon Oswald"-Angel-Leopoldo visit to Sylvia Odio in Dallas on 26 or 27 September, and the Oswald visits to the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City on September 27-- all occur immediately after un-named White House sources report to the press that on September 24, 1963 a final decision was made to visit Texas on a 2-day trip scheduled for Nov. 21-22, 1963.

October 4, 1963

Governor Connally meets with President Kennedy in the White House to discuss the Texas trip. During this meeting JFK appears to have granted general trip-planning authority to JBC.¹²

Analysis: Whereas Governor Connally's public position following the assassination was that he never wanted President Kennedy to come to Texas, ¹³ JFK's candid remarks to his personal secretary following this October 4, 1963 meeting run contrary to Connally's subsequent public line. ¹⁴

October 5, 1963

<u>Dallas Morning News</u> reports: "Asked about reported plans for the President to attend a dinner in Houston honoring Congressman Al Thomas on the night of November 21, Connally said the White House would have to answer that question."

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The source for this impression, in each case, has been the statements of John Connally. The <u>Dallas Morning News</u> for October 5, 1963 states: "Connally said he had been asked to make recommendations on plans for the President's Nov. 21-22 visit to Texas...," and Connally himself, in his Warren Commission testimony (WH 4, page 130), stated: "He (JFK) said he would like to do whatever he could do that was agreeable with me; it was agreeable with me that he more or less trust me to plan the trip for him, to tell him where he would like to go." In <u>LIFE</u> (November 24, 1967) Connally reports on page 100A that he proposed visiting a fifth city (Austin), and in this connection proposed holding only one fundraiser in the state (in Austin, vice the 4 JFK had reportedly requested in the other 4 cities), and that the President had deferred to his judgement in these matters.

¹³<u>LIFE</u>, November 24, 1967, page 86A: "I might as well be blunt about this. I was not anxious for President Kennedy to come to Texas."

¹⁴Lincoln, <u>Kennedy and Johnson</u> (Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968), page 197: "He (JBC) sure seemed anxious for me to go to Texas. He attracts some people--money people who would never vote for me, but I have many supporters down there who are bitterly opposed to him. I think in the long run it would be more advantageous to him than for me. The one thing I noticed above everything else was his concern about Lyndon (LBJ) being on the ticket." (Context: this book recounts in considerable detail the evolution of the very public rumors in 1962 and 1963 about the possibility that LBJ would be dropped from the ticket in 1964, as well as JFK's eventual {and private} decision to do just that--replace Lyndon Johnson with a different vice-presidential running mate prior to the 1964 election.)

Analysis: This is the first public mention the author can find on the Al Thomas dinner in Houston. This event is important because two key Kennedy administration insiders, Kenneth O'Donnell and Lawrence O'Brien, both testified to the Warren Commission that they felt the Al Thomas dinner invitation was the pivotal event around which the timing for the trip to Texas, and the remaining events, were structured. Governor Connally testified to the Warren Commission (in WH 4, on page 130): "He (the President), on his own, had made a commitment to go to the dinner for Congressman Albert Thomas, which was being given the night of the 21st in Houston."

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Congressman Al Thomas, or his committee, that was giving him an appreciation dinner...I would think that probably had more to do with setting the actual definite dates of the 21st and 22nd." Lawrence O'Brien stated (in WH 7, on page 458), in response to a question as to whether the primary purpose of the trip had been political: "I would not say--in my belief it was not the substantial purpose. An invitation that had been extended by the Congressman Al Thomas' dinner committee, and I assume arrangements that were appropriate for that time for a dinner...contributed to the decision on that particular time for this trip...it presented to some degree an opportunity to make the trip at that time. He was particularly fond of Congressman Thomas...I am sure that was a contributing factor. He was most interested in attending this dinner to honor him." Larry O'Brien's opinion about the paramount motivation for President Kennedy's trip to Texas is in opposition to Governor Connally's frequently expressed opinion that the 2 primary reasons JFK went to Texas were: (1) to raise money for the 1964 campaign, and (2) to boost his dwindling support in Texas opinion polls.

October 20, 1963

Presidential "Advance Man" Jerry Bruno (Special Assistant to John Bailey, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee) was directed by Presidential Appointments Secretary Kenneth O'Donnell to come to the White House to discuss the President's forthcoming trip to Texas planned for November 21, 1963. When they meet in person on October 21, 1963, O'Donnell directs Bruno to meet with LBJ aide Walter Jenkins to get briefed on trip plans and Texas politics.

October 24, 1963

Jerry Bruno meets with LBJ Administrative Assistant Walter Jenkins to discuss plans for the Texas trip. Jenkins explains the Governor Connally vs. Senator Yarborough Texas political feud, which is the Conservative/monied wing of the Texas Democratic party vs. the Liberal, multi-ethnic wing led by Senator Yarborough (exacerbated by intense personal dislike). Jenkins relays to Bruno that the proposed stops are "...San Antonio, Houston overnight, Fort Worth, Texas Christian University, Dallas luncheon, and a fund-raising dinner at Austin." Jenkins suggests to Bruno that he go to Texas, see what the stops look like, and make recommendations to Kenneth O'Donnell. Motorcades, always an essential part of President Kennedy's trip planning, were discussed between Bruno and Jenkins and firmly anticipated for San Antonio, Houston, and Dallas. The trip plans presented to Bruno by

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¹⁶HSCA Deposition of Jerry Bruno of August 18, 1978 (pages 4-5).

¹⁷*Ibid.*, page 18.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, page 5.

¹⁹ See Bruno, <u>The Advance Man</u>, (Bantam Books, 1972). As explained in more detail on pages 86-93, the split in the Texas Democratic party was more accurately described as Connally-Johnson vs. Yarborough. Long-time associates and political partners Connally and Johnson led the conservative, monied wing of the party, and Senator Yarborough and new congressmen like Henry Gonzalez led the liberal wing of the Texas Democratic party (and were natural and enthusiastic supporters of President Kennedy).

²⁰HSCA Deposition of Jerry Bruno, page 10.

²¹*Ibid.*, page 10.

Jenkins were represented as Governor Connally's proposals.²²

October 28, 1963 Bruno arrives in Texas to do his advance work on the forthcoming Presidential trip to Texas.

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²²*Ibid.*, page 15.

October 29, 1963

Bruno lunches with Connally and aides, at which time Connally provides Bruno with a trip itinerary.²³ Bruno reports consistently in his book The Advance Man (Bantam Books, 1972) and in his HSCA Deposition of August 18, 1978 that Connally was extremely hard-nosed about all trip arrangements and insisted on having his way on all issues, exhibiting a "take-it-or-leave-it, it's my state" (author's paraphrase--check sources cited for more lengthy quotations) attitude²⁴ about all arrangements,²⁵ but in particular about the Dallas luncheon site. Original choices for the luncheon site in Dallas included the Statler Hilton, Dallas Memorial Auditorium, Graduate Research Center of the Southwest, the Women's Building at the State Fairgrounds, and the new Trade Mart near Stemmons Freeway. During his trip Bruno found out that the Bottler's Association refused to give up the Statler Hilton Ballroom for the President of the United States (thus eliminating that site), and the Dallas Memorial Auditorium was ruled out early by local authorities for security reasons.²⁷ The Graduate Research Center of the Southwest was visited and ruled out immediately because of its remote, barren location.²⁸ Thus, the Dallas luncheon site came down to a choice between the new Trade Mart (favored by the conservative, monied Connally wing of the Texas Democratic party) and the Women's Building at the State Fairgrounds (favored by the liberal, multi-ethnic Yarborough wing of the Texas Democratic party).

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²³*Ibid.*, page 14; Connally's itinerary included a Dallas motorcade, but this was as expected by everyone concerned, including the Kennedy administration trip planners (see page 52).

²⁴ See Bruno, The Advance Man, (Bantam Books, 1972), page 88.

²⁵Bruno, under oath, quoted Governor Connally as saying: "This trip is going to be controlled by us. I'm running this trip." (HSCA Deposition of Bruno dated August 18, 1978, page 44.)

²⁶This was surprising to Bruno, not just because it was insensitive to the President's wishes, but because LBJ aide Cliff Carter, who was a manager of a 7-Up bottling plant and a member of the Bottler's Association, was escorting Bruno while he was in Texas on his trip-planning mission. (See HSCA Bruno Deposition, page 23.)

²⁷HSCA Bruno Deposition, page 26.

²⁸*Ibid.*, page 43

October 31, 1963

Bruno meets with Connally political associates and speaks with Governor Connally by phone, and the Governor informs Bruno that the Board of Regents at TCU had voted against giving the President an honorary degree, thus canceling that part of the trip itinerary. In this same conversation, Connally pressed Bruno for a decision on the Dallas luncheon site. (It was common knowledge that Bruno had favored the Women's Building from the start of his trip to Texas, in opposition to Governor Connally's insistence on the Trade Mart.)³⁰

November 1, 1963

Bruno returns to Washington, DC. Prior to returning he talks to Governor Connally via telephone and confirms the cancellation of the President's honorary degree at TCU. Connally and Bruno agree on an overnight stay in Fort Worth on November 21 (vice Houston), followed by the Fort Worth breakfast the following morning on November 22. The Dallas luncheon site controversy is unresolved upon his return to Washington.³¹

November 4, 1963

Winston Lawson (SA, USSS White House Detail) is notified by ASAIC Floyd Boring, White House Detail, that he is being assigned to go to Dallas, Texas concerning a proposed Presidential trip and that by November 8, further information would be available as to details.³²

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²⁹*Ibid.*, page 16. It was Connally who placed the TCU honorary degree on the itinerary in the first place (see Bruno HSCA deposition, page 15).

³⁰Bruno's contemporaneous calendar notes from October 31, 1963 state: "Connally continued to insist that if the President would not speak at the Trade Mart, he would not come to Dallas." (*Ibid.*, page 45.)

³¹*Ibid.*, page 44.

³²CE 769 (WH 17, page 618): Written Statement of Winston Lawson dated December 3, 1963 regarding official duties from Nov. 4-Nov. 21, 1963 re: visit of President Kennedy to Dallas, Texas.

November 4, 1963

Forrest Sorrels (SAIC, Dallas Secret Service Office) received a phone call from Gerald A. Behn, SAIC, USSS White House Detail, informing him that the Trade Mart and Women's Building were both under consideration for the luncheon site, but that it (the Trade Mart) "...was apparently not as good as the Woman's (sic) Building at the State fair Grounds; that the Trade Mart had about sixty entrances and six cat walks; that these places should be inspected and that he be notified thereto." SAIC Sorrels and SA Steuart then visited the Trade Mart, nearby Market Hall just across Industrial Blvd. from the Trade Mart, and the Women's Building. SAIC Sorrels then called SAIC Behn (White House Detail) and reported that the Trade Mart had numerous security problems, the Women's Building had no security problems but was somewhat unsightly (support beams, low ceiling), and that Market Hall, although both satisfactory from the security standpoint and not unsightly at all, was unavailable when needed. "

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³³WH 21, page 546: Written Statement of Forrest Sorrels dated November 30, 1963 regarding his involvement in the President's trip and motorcade planning for the Dallas portion of the Texas trip.

³⁴*Ibid.*

November 6, 1963

Bruno meets Gerald Behn (Head, White House Secret Service detail) and recommends disapproval of the Trade Mart. (Bruno disapproved of the Trade Mart on both security and political grounds;³⁵ he used only the security argument in his discussions with Behn.) Behn agrees that the Trade Mart is insecure and tells Bruno "We won't go to the Trade Mart," and says he will discuss the matter with Kenneth O'Donnell.³⁶ Kenneth O'Donnell later confirmed to Bruno that Behn had indeed spoken to him and had disapproved the Trade Mart.³⁷

November 7, 1963

Bruno prepares a revised trip itinerary which includes the Women's Building at the Fair Grounds as the Presidential luncheon site for Dallas.³⁸

November 8, 1963

ASAIC Roy Kellerman (White House Detail) gives a tentative schedule for the President's Texas visit to SA Winston Lawson, to be used in his capacity as White House Detail Advance Agent for Dallas.³⁹

November 8, 1963

SA Winston Lawson, the designated White House Detail Advance Agent for Dallas, visits the Protective Research Section (PRS) of the Secret Service to find out if there is any adverse information in PRS files on anyone in the Dallas area who could be considered a threat to harm the President; he is

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³⁵HSCA Deposition of Jerry Bruno, pages 28-34. Bruno's security objections were that the Trade Mart's overhead catwalks and open balconies, combined with the multiple entrances to the complex, constituted a serious and unwarranted security risk to the President. His political objections were that it seated less people than the Women's Building (1500 vs. 4000), combined with the fact that the Trade Mart would limit access to the conservative, monied interests aligned with Connally, whereas the Women's Building would permit access to multi-ethnic and minority voters in the liberal wing of the Texas Democratic Party who were more likely to vote for President Kennedy in 1964 than the conservative wing of the party in Texas.

³⁶*Ibid.*, page 35.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸*Ibid.*, page 39.

³⁹CE 769 (WH 17, page 618).

informed by PRS that there were no subjects of record in the Dallas area. (SAIC Robert I. Bouck was head of the Protective Research Section in November, 1963, and had held this position since 1957.) (4)

November 8, 1963

<u>Dallas Morning News</u> states: "President Kennedy's Texas visit Nov. 21-22 will include five stops--in San Antonio, Houston, Fort Worth, Dallas, and Austin--Governor Connally announced Thursday...from San Antonio the President and his party will go to Houston for a dinner in the Rice Hotel that night, honoring Rep. Albert Thomas, veteran legislator from Houston...from Fort Worth the President will go to Dallas for a noon luncheon...Connally said the site is uncertain so far, because the Secret Service had not cleared the matter. Under consideration are the Trade Mart...and the Women's Building."

Analysis: Austin, as a fifth city to be visited, is mentioned publicly for the first time; a Dallas luncheon is confirmed; and it is clear that the choice for the Dallas luncheon site has been narrowed to either the Trade Mart, or the Women's Building. The order in which the five cities to be visited are mentioned in the article matches precisely the final trip plans later implemented.

November 8, 1963

<u>Dallas Times Herald</u> for this date reaffirms the information in the <u>Dallas Morning News</u> of the same date, and adds that the President will spend one night at the LBJ Ranch during his 5-city, 2-day visit.

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⁴⁰WH 4, page 321.

⁴¹WH 4, page 295.

November 12, 1963

U.S. Secret Service agent Winston Lawson arrives in Dallas to begin USSS (White House Detail) advance work in preparation for the Dallas trip. Traveling with him is Jack Puterbaugh, a civilian political "advance man" for the Democratic National Committee. 42

November 13, 1963

Winston Lawson and Jack Puterbaugh meet with SAIC Forrest Sorrels of the Dallas Secret Service Office and SA Steuart of the Dallas office, and begin a series of encounters over several days with various officials of the local Host Committee and Dallas Citizen's Council. (The Host Committee and Dallas Citizen's Council were firmly behind Governor Connally in his insistence upon selection of the Trade Mart as the Dallas luncheon site.) Sorrels, Steuart, Lawson and Puterbaugh first visit the Trade Mart site, followed by the Women's Building.⁴³

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⁴²Winston Lawson told the HSCA that Puterbaugh, who was responsible for motorcade political protocol, recommended the Trade Mart as the luncheon site (see Belford Lawson interview summary of January 31, 1978 interview of Winston Lawson, page 5).

⁴³WH 17, page 619; and WH 21, page 546.

November 14, 1963

Winston Lawson and Forrest Sorrels drive one of the proposed motorcade routes from Love Field to the Trade Mart. It is not known whether the route driven (and clocked) included the Main-Houston-Elm dog-leg. Lawson informed the HSCA that only Main Street had been tentatively identified as part of the route prior to November 14 (meaning that before that date the Main-Houston-Elm turn had not been part of any proposed motorcade route.) In any case, Lawson confirmed in his Warren Commission testimony that preparation of the motorcade route is the responsibility of the White House Detail Advance Agent, which is the role he was fulfilling in Dallas.

Analysis: Lawson clarified that the Main-Houston-Elm dog-leg in Dealey Plaza was added (or determined) on or after November 14, the day he and Sorrels first drove the motorcade route, and also acknowledged his responsibility for determining the motorcade route.

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⁴⁴Neither man was specific in his written statements (WH 17, page 619; and WH 21, page 546) about any details of this proposed route that was driven.

⁴⁵HSCA Volume 11, page 522.

⁴⁶WH 4, page 325.

November 14, 1963

Lawson and Sorrels meet with Dallas Chief of Police Curry and Assistant Chief of Police Batchelor. Curry and Batchelor are told that the motorcade route is not final, and that the location of the luncheon would be at either the Trade Mart or the Women's Building; however, the route read off to Curry and Batchelor by Lawson is the exact route ultimately used to go to the Trade Mart during the actual motorcade, with the exception that at the end of his description, the last street mentioned is Main Street; the Main-Houston-Elm dog-leg was not mentioned. Lawson requested that the DPD make no statement about the route since the route was not finalized, and told the officers that the announcement of the definite route would be made in the press by the Host Committee. Finally, arrangements were made for Assistant Chief Batchelor and Deputy Chief Stevenson to meet Lawson and Sorrels at the Trade Mart on Tuesday, November 19, at 10:00 A.M.⁴⁷

Analysis: Although Lawson and Sorrels carefully stressed that the luncheon site was not formally decided on, and that the motorcade route was therefore not final yet, the route they described to Dallas Police management officials was the one ultimately chosen in support of the Trade Mart site (minus the Dealey Plaza dog-leg), and presumably was the route driven by them earlier in the day when they clocked the route. Furthermore, for these two Secret Service agents to arrange a meeting with senior Dallas police officials at the Trade Mart for November 19 (five days hence) indicates that all of their trip planning at this point was focused on the Trade Mart, to the exclusion of the Women's Building.

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⁴⁷WH 21, page 563 (Stevenson Exhibit).

November 14, 1963

Kenneth O'Donnell caves in ⁴⁸ to Connally's pressure ⁴⁹ on the Dallas luncheon site (i.e., Trade Mart vice Women's Building), announcing to Bruno that the White House saw no way out of the problem other than to go with the Trade Mart site for the Dallas luncheon. ⁵⁰ O'Donnell tells Bruno that he will ask Bill Moyers (then Deputy Director of the Peace Corps), a man close to both Connally and Johnson, to settle the dispute for the good of the President and the party (by sending Moyers to Texas to serve as political "advance man" in the field in Austin, so as to be close to Governor Connally).

November 15, 1963

Sorrels and Lawson visit the Trade Mart again and confer with the manager; they then visit Dallas Police Headquarters and meet with Police Chief Curry, Deputy Chief Batchelor, Deputy Chief Fisher, and others. Possible motorcade routes were discussed, particularly from Love Field to the Trade

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⁴⁸In Warren Commission Exhibit No. 1360, a July 10, 1964 memo from James J. Rowley to J. Lee Rankin, Secret Service Chief Rowley writes that the decision to go with the Trade Mart over the Women's Building at the Fair Grounds for the November 22, 1963 luncheon "...was made known to SAIC Behn...by Mr. Kenneth O'Donnell, Special Assistant to the President. SAIC Behn in turn notified SA Lawson in Dallas of the decision on November 14, 1963."

⁴⁹In his HSCA Deposition of August 18, 1978 (pages 36-37) Jerry Bruno stated: "We got word that the local Secret Service agents there had looked at the site (Trade Mart), and this is coming from Governor Connally, and they saw no reasons not to go there...and this is very, very, unusual...it seems to me like...what happened was Governor Connally got to the local Secret Service agents and made them say this place is all right to go...Jerry (Behn) got word that the local agents claim that they could secure it and we were going to have to go with that." Mr. Bruno makes clear that this word was received prior to when USSS agent Winston Lawson arrived on November 12.

⁵⁰When HSCA Counsel Belford Lawson asked Jerry Bruno why the President and Kenneth O'Donnell finally surrendered to the demands of Governor Connally in regard to the Dallas luncheon site, Bruno responded: "...there was nothing they could do at this point...they were going to try to make the best of it..."; and when asked by HSCA Counsel Belford Lawson what the consequences would have been if the trip had been canceled, Bruno responded: "...it would have showed that the President had not provided the leadership within the Democratic Party to solve Party disputes. It would have showed that he was very weak in the South yet and I think the repercussions politically would have been very, very bad." (HSCA Bruno Deposition, pages 48-49.)

Mart.51

November 15, 1963

In Washington, O'Donnell and Bruno meet with Moyers, who tells them that Connally was unbearable and on the verge of canceling the trip. O'Donnell and Moyers concur during this meeting to let the Governor have his way on the Trade Mart luncheon site for the Dallas trip.⁵² The White House announces approval of the Trade Mart luncheon site for the Dallas leg of the Texas trip.⁵³

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⁵¹WH 17, page 620; and WH 21, page 546.

⁵²HSCA Deposition of Jerry Bruno, pages 47-49; also, *see* Bruno, <u>The Advance Man</u> (Bantam Books, 1972), pages 90-92.

⁵³HSCA Deposition of Jerry Bruno dated August 18, 1978, page 48.

November 15, 1963

Subsequent to the White House announcement approving the Trade Mart as Dallas luncheon site (see above), Sorrels and Lawson meet again with Dallas Host Committee officials and police officials at a luncheon at the Baker Hotel and resume discussions about the Dallas leg of the Texas trip, including the motorcade.⁵⁴

November 16, 1963

<u>Dallas Times Herald</u> announces that White House officials have given final approval to the Trade Mart luncheon site.

November 17, 1963

This is the approximate date when ASAIC Roy Kellerman (White House Detail) is given the assignment as Special Agent in Charge of the Texas Trip. ⁵⁵ ASAIC Kellerman stated in his sworn Warren Commission testimony that normally the PRS would have been asked to conduct a check for dangerous individuals about a week prior to the time he was appointed as SAIC of the Texas Trip; he did not know whom had asked PRS to check their files in support of the Texas trip, but he reported that in this case there was "no record" (of dangerous individuals), and agreed with Congressman Ford that this was unusual. ⁵⁶

November 18, 1963

Sorrels and Lawson, along with Deputy Police Chief Batchelor and Deputy Chief Lunday, drive the motorcade route from Love Field to the Trade Mart; the route is again clocked (the first time was on November 14), and general security precautions are discussed.⁵⁷ The complete motorcade route is believed to have been driven on this occasion.⁵⁸

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⁵⁴WH 17, page 620; and WH 21, page 546.

⁵⁵WH 2, 106; Kellerman did not reveal during this testimony who gave him the assignment, but by inference it must be Gerald Behn, the Head of the White House Detail and Roy Kellerman's direct supervisor.

⁵⁶WH 2, pages 107-108.

⁵⁷WH 17, page 621; and WH 21, page 547.

⁵⁸WH 4, page 326. Aside from Lawson's affirmative answer to John J. McCloy's question re: whether he had driven the entire route, the route could not have been clocked precisely without doing

so, which further argues that the route was completely driven and checked by Sorrels and Lawson on at least this one occasion, on November 18, if not also on November 14. Additional corroboration that the entire route was driven can be found in the Stevenson Exhibit (WH 21, page 564): "Our total running time for the route from Love Field to the Trade Mart was 38 minutes."

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November 18, 1963

Bill Moyers in Austin directs his Dallas political contact person, Ms. Elizabeth F. ("Betty") Harris (in response to her query this issue), to ensure that the motorcade route gets published in the Dallas papers. Ms. Harris, in turn, attends a confrontational meeting with Governor Connally, Robert Strauss and Sam Bloom (Connally associates), and Winston Lawson, in which she ultimately succeeds in convincing Sam Bloom (in charge of publicity for Connally) to publish the route prior to Friday, November 22, 1963 in order to help increase crowd size. (The Connally supporters had been against publishing the route early.)⁵⁹

November 19, 1963

Dallas Police officials Batchelor, Stevenson, and Lumpkin, and Battalion Fire Chief Burress meet Secret Service agents Sorrels, Grant, and Lawson at the Trade Mart as arranged on November 14. Luncheon security arrangements are discussed with the management of the Trade Mart.

November 19, 1963

Dallas Police Captain Perdue Lawrence is told by Assistant Chief Batchelor and Deputy Chief Lunday that he has been assigned traffic control responsibilities for the Presidential motorcade. He is instructed to prepare a traffic control plan for the motorcade which would include motorcycle escort.

November 19, 1963

<u>Dallas Morning News</u> publishes the motorcade route, including the following: "...Harwood to Main, Main to Houston, Houston to Elm, Elm under the Triple Underpass to Stemmons Expressway and on to the Trade Mart."

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⁵⁹HSCA Volume 11, pages 519-521.

⁶⁰Warren Commission Testimony of Captain Perdue Lawrence (WH 7, pages 577-78).

⁶¹Stevenson Exhibit (WH 21, page 567).

Analysis: The complete motorcade route is published for the first time, including the Main-Houston-Elm dog-leg. 62

November 19, 1963

<u>Dallas Times Herald</u> publishes the motorcade route also: "The motorcade will then pass through downtown on Harwood and then west on Main, turning back to Elm at Houston and then out to Stemmons Freeway to the Trade Mart."

Analysis: For the second time in one day (this time in the afternoon paper), the precise motorcade route through Dealey Plaza (which the Connally supporters did not want published until November 22) has been publicized.

November 19, 1963

Winston Lawson prepares and submits (to James J. Rowley, Chief, U.S. Secret Service) his Preliminary Survey Report on preparations for the Dallas trip. ⁶³ (Lawson's Final Survey Report on the Dallas Trip was submitted to Rowley on November 30, 1963.) ⁶⁴

November 20, 1963

<u>Dallas Morning News</u> publishes a slightly different version of the motorcade route, as follows: ""A security car will lead the motorcade which will travel

⁶³CE 767 (WH 17, pages 593-600).

⁶⁴CE 768 (WH 17, pages 601-617).

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⁶²The HSCA Deposition of Jerry Bruno (on pages 40-42) reveals that the Trade Mart luncheon site drove the motorcade route actually taken through Dealey Plaza, given that Love Field was the designated airport, a motorcade was a "given," and the best way to optimize the motorcade was to pass through the downtown business district during the lunch hour. If the Women's Building had been the luncheon site, Bruno is certain that the motorcade would instead have gone directly, via Stemmons Freeway, from Love Field to Dealey Plaza (in this case the entrance to, not the exit from, downtown Dallas) and would have entered downtown Dallas via Main Street (from Stemmons Freeway), traveling from west to east, first proceeding quickly through the middle of Dealey Plaza (on Main Street, not Elm) at 40-50 mph before slowing down to enter the beginning of the business district at the intersection of Main and Houston. Amplifying further, on pages 53-54 of his HSCA Deposition, Bruno states: "...at that point when the decision to go to the Trade Mart was made, then at that point they determined the route."

on Mockingbird Lane, Lemmon Avenue, Turtle Creek Boulevard, Cedar Springs, Harwood, Main and Stemmons Freeway."

Analysis: The Main-Houston-Elm dog-leg has been omitted from this version of the motorcade route. It is not known whether this is an error (i.e., an unintended simplification), obfuscation, or whether this represents a change in the route (i.e., the possible omission of the dog-leg).

November 20, 1963

Captain Lawrence meets again with Batchelor and Lunday and asks how the motorcade is to be escorted. In addition to various other details about motorcycle escort, Lawrence claims he is told that motorcycle escorts would be placed "alongside" the President's and Vice-President's cars. 65

November 21, 1963

Sometime between November 19 and November 21, 1963, 66 SA Clint Hill is informed by ASAIC Floyd Boring of the White House Detail that the President had requested during the Tampa trip on November 18, 1963 that agents not ride on either of the two rear steps of the Lincoln Continental Presidential Limousine. 67

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⁶⁵WH 7, page 579.

⁶⁶CE 1025 (WH 18, page 809).

⁶⁷WH 2, pages 136-137.

Analysis: The Warren Commission was interested enough in the March 9, 1964 sworn testimony on this matter by SA Hill for Chief Counsel J. Lee Rankin to request an explanation from Secret Service Chief James Rowley; on April 22, 1964 Rowley responded, forwarding the written statements of 5 Secret Service agents in which this general desire not to have agents ride on the steps on the rear of the limousine was either claimed as common knowledge, or attributed directly or indirectly to the President. 68 (In his subsequent written statement for Chief Rowley, SA Clint Hill contradicted what he had said under oath about Floyd Boring, writing in his statement that he did not know from whom he had received this information, but that it was from the administrative offices of the White House Detail, and not personally from President Kennedy.) In a startling development, in recent tape-recorded researcher interviews (circa 1992) of the two key Secret Service personnel who made these claims in writing to Chief Rowley in April, 1964 (Behn and Boring) they contradicted what they said in their April, 1964 written statements and told an independent researcher that President Kennedy never made any such statements prohibiting agents from being positioned on the back of his limousine. ⁶⁹ Thus, if true, these recent interviews of Gerald Behn and

Boring (in reference to the incident he wrote about--and told Clint Hill about--in Tampa on November 18, 1963): "He (JFK) actually-No, I told them...He didn't tell them anything...He just-I looked at the back and I seen these fellahs were hanging on the limousine-I told them to return to the car...(JFK) was a very easy-going guy...he didn't interfere with our actions at all (page 8)."

Author Palamara interviewed former Secret Service agent Robert Lilly also, who told him (in regard

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⁶⁸CE 1025 (WH 18, pages 803-809).

⁶⁹ See Palamara, <u>Third Alternative</u>, (Self-Published, 1993): Of the 5 agents whose written statements Chief Rowley passed to the Warren Commission on April 22, 1963, only two (Gerald Behn and Floyd Boring) attributed these prohibitions directly to the President. Author Palamara interviewed these two men in 1992 and quotes them as follows:

Behn: "I don't remember Kennedy ever saying that he didn't want anybody on the back of the car (page 4);" and

Floyd Boring cast considerable doubt on the popular historical accounts of this matter published in books by William Manchester and Jim Bishop, who only had Clint Hill's sworn testimony, and CE 1025 to rely on. The one thing that does seem clear is that Floyd Boring did make the statement to Clint Hill just prior to the trip to Texas, attributing this order to the wishes of the President.

Perusal of video and film footage of JFK motorcades often reveals

Perusal of video and film footage of JFK motorcades often reveals Secret Service agents standing on the rear of the Lincoln Continental limousine; the author has seen this himself in video footage of Berlin and Mexico City motorcades, for example.

November 21, 1963

A meeting is convened at the Dallas Police Department conference room at 3:00 P.M. involving numerous DPD management officials, and USSS agents Lawson, Sorrels, and Grant to discuss the entire operational plan for the President's visit to Dallas. The full motorcade route which was executed on November 22 (including the Main-Houston-Elm dogleg) was read off to all attendees by Chief Curry. Differing accounts appear in the record about what instructions were given by the Secret Service regarding the President's motorcycle escort. Details follow:

<u>Perdue Lawrence account</u>: A Secret Service Man "in charge of security for the Secret Service" (and undoubtedly Winston Lawson, from the context of his statement⁷¹) stated that the President did not want any motorcycle officers directly on either side of him, between

to Behn claiming in September 1992 that JFK never said anything about agents being removed from the limousine): "Oh, I'm sure he didn't. He was very cooperative with us once he became President. He was extremely cooperative. Basically, 'whatever you guys want is the way it will be'." Former agent Lilly also recalled that he and "Roy Kellerman rode on the back of the limousine all the way to the Presidential Palace" during a trip to Venezuela (page 8). Author Palamara concludes by quoting a 9/10/93 reply letter from Dave Powers in which the former Presidential aide said: "No, they (Secret Service agents) never had to be told to get off the limousine."

⁷⁰Stevenson Exhibit (WH 21, pages 569-571).

⁷¹WH 7, page 580.

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him and the crowd, but instead wanted them to the rear of the car. ⁷² Stevenson Exhibit account: After Lawrence states that there will be 4 motorcycles on either side of the President's car immediately to the rear of the vehicle, Mr. Lawson states that this was too many and he feels 2 on either side will be sufficient, about even with the rear fender of the car. ⁷³

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⁷²*Ibid.*, pages 580-581.

⁷³Stevenson Exhibit, WH 21, page 571.

Analysis: The HSCA March 1979 report on motorcade and trip planning seems to have found Captain Lawrence's explicit assertions, made under oath to the Warren Commission, more credible than the "vague" writeup in the Stevenson Exhibit. The HSCA concluded that whether Lawrence was correct (about motorcycle escorts being moved from "alongside" the limousine to a rearward distribution), or whether the Stevenson Exhibit account was correct (about a reduction of 50% in the number of escorts, but not in their placement), that in any case both versions corroborate one another in that they indicate a reduction in security protection for the President directed by the Secret Service.⁷⁴

November 21, 1963

SS-100-X and SS-679-X (the Presidential limousine and the Secret Service follow-up car) arrive at 6:15 P.M. at Love Field onboard an Air Force C-130 cargo plane, escorted by SA Kinney and SA Hickey.⁷⁵

November 22, 1963

<u>Dallas Morning News</u> publishes a map of the motorcade route on the front page which omits the Main-Houston-Elm dog-leg, showing only Main Street leading onto Stemmons Freeway.

Analysis: As in the case of the DMN November 20 article, it is not known whether this is error, obfuscation, or whether this is an indication of a change in the motorcade route.⁷⁶

⁷⁴HSCA, Volume 11, pages 527-528.

⁷⁵WH 17, page 608.

⁷⁶When this page was published by the Warren Commission as CE 1365 (WH 22, page 617), this map of the motorcade (along with some other material on the Presidential visit) was cropped out of the published picture.

November 22, 1963

Various Dallas Police Motorcycle Patrolmen were instructed on November 22, 1963 at Love Field not to ride alongside the President's car. Two examples of this are Motorcycle Patrolmen Baker⁷⁷ and Haygood. Haygood was told to move to the rear to prevent obstruction of JFK's view, and Baker was told that President Kennedy didn't want flanking motorcycles because of the noise they created.

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⁷⁷WH 3, page 244; HSCA Interview Summary of 10/25/77 interview (014899), page 1.

⁷⁸HSCA Interview Summary of 8-4-78 interview (014227).

Analysis: The HSCA made much of the Haygood and Baker incidents. ⁷⁹ Actually, a quick perusal of the Warren Commission's Lawrence Exhibit No. 2 (a listing of Captain Lawrence's original motorcycle escort assignments prior to the November 21 operational planning meeting) reveals that there were indeed 4 motorcycle escorts originally scheduled for the left side, and 4 for the right side, of the President's limousine. 80 The orders given at Love Field to change the assignments of Baker and Haygood were simply the implementation of the changes directed P.M. November 21, 1963 by Winston Lawson of the Secret Service.⁸¹ Other hearsay accounts that motorcycle patrolmen were also directed at Love Field to remain behind the rear wheels of President Kennedy's limousine⁸² would simply be implementation of the critical decisions made by Winston Lawson the night before at the meeting with Dallas Police officials. The rationale attributed to Winston Lawson by Captain Perdue Lawrence for keeping the motorcycle escort behind the rear wheels on the Presidential limousine was supposedly so that the solo motorcycle patrolmen could gun their motors and quickly get in between the limousine and anyone starting to rush toward the car. 83 The HSCA determined that the Dallas deployment of motorcycle escort around the Presidential limousine "may have been uniquely insecure," 84 citing the

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⁷⁹HSCA Volume 11, pages 528-529.

⁸⁰WH 20, page 489.

⁸¹*Ibid.*; the other two motorcycle patrolmen redirected to other spots in the motorcade on November 22, 1963 were H. B. McClain and J. W. Courson.

⁸² See Hill, The Last Dissenting Witness (Pelican, 1992), pages 112-113.

⁸³WH 7, page 581. The same rationale for this practice was given by Winston Lawson himself in his Warren Commission testimony (WH 4, page 338). In fact, on this same page (338) of his testimony Lawson also verifies the placement of four motorcycle escorts just behind the President's car in Dallas, thus lending further credence to Perdue Lawrence's sworn testimony that Lawson had moved the solo escorts from alongside to aft of the rear wheels. (*See* footnote 72.)

⁸⁴HSCA Volume 11, page 529.

fact that the Secret Service appears to have arranged much more rigorous motorcycle escort in Houston on November 21, when President Kennedy visited that city for the Congressman Albert Thomas memorial dinner. The author can provide additional corroboration that Dallas motorcycle protection was out of the ordinary for the Texas trip, having personally observed in 1995 videotape of the November 21, 1963 San Antonio motorcycle escort in which the limousine was flanked by a total of 18 motorcycles, 9 on each side (including some directly abreast of the Presidential limousine, on each side of the car).

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⁸⁵The USSS Final Survey Report dated November 30, 1963 for the Houston Trip of November 21, 1963 (HSCA No. 014979) states: "On all motorcade movements, six motorcycles flanked the Presidential limousine...in the downtown area of Houston, in addition to the six motorcycles flanking the Presidential limousine, 24 motorcycles flanked the President's limousine near the sidewalk (12 on each side)."

Since Winston Lawson was the White House Detail Advance Agent for Dallas, one logical comparison which any reasonable observer would want to make would be to compare the motorcade security for the Dallas motorcade with motorcade security for other Presidential trips which he had arranged, such as Billings, Montana (9/25/63) and Little Rock, Arkansas (10/03/63). Unfortunately, the Trip Files (Preliminary Survey Reports and Final Survey Reports) for those two trips were destroyed in 1995, which means that the only way to reliably study motorcade security (both solo motorcycle escort, and whether or not agents stood on the back of the limousine) for those trips would be to study photographs taken during those motorcades.

Summary:

This memorandum was prepared primarily in order to highlight key events and milestone dates in Dallas trip and motorcade planning which would be used in the search for other records, particularly military records, in the ongoing attempt to determine what role military intelligence played, if any, in preparation or support for the President's Texas trip. With that goal in mind, the author recommends that the key dates and milestones summarized below, condensed from the above study, be used in the search for possible military intelligence (and perhaps other) records:

Key Milestone Date

Event/Remarks

April 23, 1963

Vice President Johnson announces a four-city Texas trip which is remarkably prescient in the accuracy of its predictions, not only in terms of cities to be visited, but also in terms of the type of event/time of day each respective event is to be held in each city.⁸⁸

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⁸⁶WH 4, page 343.

⁸⁷ See footnote no. 10.

⁸⁸Equally intriguing is the speech Lyndon Johnson gave to approximately 2000 Texas Democratic Party supporters at the Baker Hotel following his trip announcement earlier that day in a meeting with newspaper and broadcasting executives. At the afternoon reception in the Crystal Ballroom of the Baker Hotel, Vice President Johnson flayed the critics of the Kennedy Administration's foreign policy, then closed with the following remarks (quoted in the April 24,

1963 edition of the Dallas Times Herald): "I sympathize with these few who are in the minority. If they think this country is in as bad shape as they say it is, if they think our government is stupid and disloyal, well, I wonder why they agree to stay here anyway?" The article continued with a paraphrase, saying 'He said the President of the United States is like a pilot and the election is when the nation picks an airplane and a pilot for the next four years.' Then, quoting Johnson directly again: "Once you pick him, and you're flying across the water in bad weather, don't go up and open up the door and try to knock him in the head. He's the only pilot you have and if the plane goes down, you go with it. At least wait until next November before you shoot him down." President Johnson later told journalist Hugh Sidey (as reported in A Very Personal Presidency, Atheneum, 1968) the following about his mind set during the first hours of his Presidency: "I entertained grave fears for our future...I sat in the plane and pictured it more or less as if something happened to the pilot who was flying us back. We were very much in the same shape as if he fell at the controls and one of our boys had to walk up there and bring in the plane, flying at seven hundred miles per hour with no plans showing how long the runways were, with no maps, no notes. We tried to bring it in and land there, and we went about it until about three a.m....(page 30)."

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September 24, 1963 White House sources on a western conservation trip tell the press in Jackson Hole, Wyoming on September 25 that the "final decision" to go to Texas for a two-day trip on November 21-22, 1963 was made on the evening of September 24, 1963. October 4, 1963 President Kennedy apparently relinquishes general trip planning authority to Governor Connally. October 5, 1963 The first public mention is made of the Congressman Al Thomas Memorial Dinner, the event which at the very least controlled the timing of the Texas trip, if not the decision to go in the first place. October 29-31, 1963 Governor Connally and Presidential advance man Jerry Bruno fight over the site for the Dallas luncheon (Trade Mart vs. Women's Building). November 6, 1963 Bruno recommends against the Trade Mart to Secret Service White House Detail Chief Jerry Behn; Behn agrees that the Trade Mart is unsafe and informs Bruno and O'Donnell that the Dallas luncheon will not be at the Trade Mart. November 14, 1963 Secret Service agents Lawson and Sorrels, by their actions on this date (clocking of the motorcade route, description of the motorcade route, and agreement to meet police officials at the Trade Mart on November 19), show a clear preference for the Trade Mart (or at the very least, a belief that the Trade Mart will be the ultimate site). November 14, 1963 Presidential Appointments Secretary Kenneth O'Donnell gives in to strong pressure from Governor Connally and directs the Secret Service to go with the Trade Mart site for the Dallas luncheon. This decision to go with the Trade Mart as site for the Dallas luncheon is what drives the motorcade through Dealey Plaza. November 15, 1963 The White House announces that the Trade Mart is the Dallas luncheon site. November 18, 1963 The motorcade route is finalized and again clocked by Lawson and

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Sorrels.

November 19, 1963

The complete motorcade route is published (over the objections of Connally's supporters).

November 21, 1963

SA Winston Lawson takes willful steps with Dallas police officials to alter DPD motorcycle escort plans which result in a reduction in security for the occupants of the Presidential limousine. Furthermore, by this date at least one Secret Service agent, Clint Hill, has been told that the President does not want agents to stand on the rear of the limousine anymore.

November 22, 1963

As the motorcade begins to depart Love Field to commence the Dallas motorcade, Secret Service agent Emory Roberts stands up in the Secret Service follow-up car and emphatically "waves off" an unidentified Secret Service agent who is trotting next to the right rear bumper of the Presidential limousine. One cannot avoid wondering whether this agent was about to mount the right rear step on the modified Lincoln Continental stretch limousine for the duration of the motorcade through Dallas--or perhaps more telling, whether this is what Emory Roberts believed he was about to do.

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⁸⁹Thirty five minutes after this incident took place when departing Love Field, in Dealey Plaza when the Presidential limousine came under fire, it was also Emory Roberts who ordered SA John Ready to return to the follow-up car, after he had jumped off and started running toward the Presidential limousine (as SA Clint Hill had already done). (See WH 18, pages 749, 750, and 734.)

⁹⁰The author viewed this videotape, described as WFAA-T.V. coverage, at a research symposium in 1995. The bafflement of the agent who is waved away from the limousine is clearly evident. This unambiguous and clearly observed behavior (i.e., the openly expressed incredulity of the agent who is waved away from SS-100-X) would seem to be corroboration that the change in security procedure which was passed to SA Clint Hill earlier in the week by ASAIC Floyd Boring of the Secret Service White House Detail was very recent, ran contrary to standing procedure, and that not everyone on the White House Detail involved in Presidential protection had been informed of this change.

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