

donations to pay for the stations' programming. Wisner's dream had been realized in 1949 when Wayne Coy in his capacity as FCC chairman, had attended the World Administrative Radio Conference in Paris, where he negotiated to set up early stations for Free Europe and Liberty in Germany and Portugal. While in Paris, Coy had lived at the elegant Hotel Continental, temporary home of many Americans working for the Marshall Plan, and he and Phil Graham had carried on an interesting correspondence. "I am glad to hear that you are getting the Post," Phil wrote in July of that year "and I shall pass this information along to our efficient—— the CIA agent who delivered the *Post* to Coy daily]. Your suggestion about destruction of the files when parties are found loyal is probably theoretically all right, but practically I think perpetuation of the files, for some time at least, is one of the evils inherent in a world where Communist conspiracy exists." In 1950 Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty established headquarters in Munich and began broadcasting to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. In 1976 the board of directors of the two stations appointed as its chairman former Post Company vice-president for radio and television John S. Hayes.

Hayes had been able to contribute to Post Company broadcasting largely because of his wartime acquaintance with Colonel William S. Paley, the founder and chairman of the board of CBS. Paley was a businessman who believed that the commercial media, as well as the military, must develop "all manner of propaganda" to help in the war effort; Hayes was the director of a radio network that was the military extension of Paley's commercial network. When Hayes came to the *Post*, which then owned only one local radio station, he looked to Paley, who owned a Washington outlet, as the company's entrée into national broadcasting.

Paley's own friendship with Allen Dulles is now known to have been one of the most influential and significant in the

KATHARINE THE GREAT

communications industry: he provided cover for CIA agents, supplied out takes of news film, debriefed reporters, and in many ways set the standard for cooperation between the CIA and the major broadcast companies which lasted until the mid-1970's. But in 1948, despite the mutual intelligence connections, when Hayes and Graham asked to buy WTOP-CBS radio, Paley had refused to sell. Within a year, though, an arrangement had been worked out, Dulles having spoken of Graham and Hayes to Paley, and 55 percent of the WTOP stock was transferred to the Post Company. Wayne Coy at the FCC approved the license reassignment, and CBS and the *Post* began sharing their Washington news staffs (reporters then worked interchangeably for print and broadcast) In 1950 Phil then bought a small Washington television station, license approved by Wayne Coy, and changed its call letters to WTOP-TV, it became a CBS affiliate. That year he and Hayes hired a news analyst who for two years after the war had been chief correspondent for United Press International in Moscow, a man who had experience with American intelligence and was also endowed with a good television presence; the man's name was Walter Cronkite. He soon worked his way onto the network staff.

Paley sold the remaining WTOP stock to Phil in 1953, a year before Wayne Coy died, giving the *Post* complete control over the CBS radio and television outlets in Washington, which it would retain until required by law to sell the television station in 1977. The *Post* men continued to see Paley and Cronkite every Christmas at a dinner given by Allen Dulles at a private club called the Alibi. The club is in an old, dark red brick townhouse in the middle of downtown Washington, the only house on a block of office buildings. It bears a simple brass plaque and brass doorknob; membership is limited to men in or close to intelligence and is by invitation only.

There was no need for Katharine, who believed the