

KATHARINE THE GREAT

Post men had played in creating consent for government policies was one that they continued to play at the *Post*, with class consciousness but without self-consciousness. They were so completely the products of the information theories that they could see the world no differently, let alone explain their system of thinking to Katharine Graham. Alfred Friendly from ECA, Chalmers Roberts from the Pentagon, Russell Wiggins from the Intelligence School at Harrisburg, understanding themselves to be the elite, ran a newspaper that had a startling coincidence of interest with the government, a situation augmented by their ownership of nonvoting *Post* stock, which Phil had offered to eighteen executives in 1952 in place of a pension plan. The stock had encouraged them to think of the *Post* as their company. Their dedication, despite the low salaries, had enabled Phil to build the *Post* into the money-making corporation that it was when he died; but it also put Katharine in the position of confronting a group of near-millionaires with the claim that the *Post* was hers, not theirs, while they jealously guarded their prerogatives as owner-managers.

The *Post* was in many ways like other "companies," as Walter Lippmann called the news organizations, fighting deadlines, living uneasily with unions, suffering with "technical conditions [that] do not favor genuine and productive debate." But the *Post* was also unique among news companies in that its managers, living and working in Washington, thought of themselves simultaneously as journalists, businessmen, and patriots, a state of mind that made them singularly able to expand the company while promoting the national interest. Their individual relations with intelligence had in fact been the reason that the Post Company had grown as fast as it did after the war; their secrets were its corporate secrets, beginning with MOCKINGBIRD. Philip Graham's commitment to intelligence had given his friends Frank Wisner and Allen Dulles an interest in helping to make the *Washington Post* the dominant news vehicle in Washington, which they had done by

assisting with its two most crucial acquisitions, the *Times-Herald* and WTOP radio and television stations. The *Post* men most essential to these transactions, other than Phil, had been Wayne Coy, the *Post* executive who had been Phil's former New Deal boss, and John S. Hayes, who had replaced Coy in 1947 when Coy was appointed chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

The acquisitions of the *Times-Herald* and WTOP had been accomplished by men dedicated to Philip Graham's vision of journalism. Hayes had been commander of the Armed Forces Radio Network ETO (European Theater of Operations) and in that capacity had made intelligence connections all over Europe. He had come to the *Post*, after turning the network to the service of the Marshall Plan, with the title of vice-president for radio and television. In Washington he had become friendly with Frank Wisner, father of *MOCKINGBIRD*, and with Allen Dulles, an OSS man who was named the second director of the new CIA in 1953. The relationship with Dulles was particularly important because of Dulles's ties to Wall Street, from which intelligence, industry, and government all draw their leaders, the men who form this country's ruling clique. Between 1937 and 1943, when he joined the OSS, Dulles had been a director of the Schroeder Bank, which, in Germany, had misjudged the oneness of corporate and national interests to the extent of helping to finance Hitler, because Hitler promised to stabilize the German economy. From his membership in the tiny merchant banking community which includes at any time only about a hundred active partners distributed among the Morgan, Lazard, Rothschild, Hambros, and Baring houses, Dulles had known and respected former Lazard partner Eugene Meyer. From his corporate law work at Sullivan and Cromwell, the preeminent foreign policy law firm in America, Dulles had become close to *Post* Company attorney Frederick S. Beebe at Cravath, Swaine, and Moore, another foreign policy firm. A quiet, thoughtful man, Beebe had been recruited out of Yale, 1938, by Cravath senior partner Roswell Gilpatric, later the assistant