

stories, Braden complained, grew up to “assume that . . . ‘Peace’ and ‘Freedom’ and ‘Justice’ must also [mean] Communism.”

By the early 1950s, Wisner had implemented his plan and “owned” respected members of the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, CBS, and other communications vehicles, plus stringers, four to six hundred in all, according to a former CIA analyst. Each one was a separate “operation,” requiring a code name, a field supervisor, and a field office, at an annual cost of tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars—there has never been an accurate accounting. Some of these journalists thought of themselves as helpers of the Agency, some simply as patriots who wanted to run stories that would benefit their country; some did not know where their information was going, or did not know that the information they received was “planted” with them. The Agency considered all of them to be operatives.

Philip Graham’s name has been conspicuously absent from recent debates on the question of the CIA and the press, except for a brief reference to him in a long article by Carl Bernstein entitled “The CIA and the Media,” written after the Watergate era, when Bernstein had resigned as a reporter from the *Washington Post*. The piece gave a close, detailed view of the relationship between the CIA and such major news organizations as CBS News and *Time Magazine*. Of Phil Graham and the *Post*, Bernstein quoted a former deputy director of the Agency as saying, “‘It was widely known that Phil Graham was somebody you could get help from. Frank Wisner dealt with him.’”^{*} Of course Wisner did not want to insult Phil by suggesting that he lend his own reporters to MOCKINGBIRD, so he “dealt with” him in such a way that he believed he was not compromising himself. Over a period of months, at the Graham salon and other meeting places, as a former Agency man who attended those meetings recalls,

^{*} Bernstein, “The CIA and the Media,” *Rolling Stone*, October 20, 1977.