Secret Funding for C.I.A. Held Illegal by Law Study

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12-An analysis in the Yale Law Journal has concluded that the current procedures for Congressional financing of the Central Intelligence Agency cannot be justified by national security and therefore "are unconstitutional and should be replaced."

Under present procedures, members of the House and Senate approve a C.I.A. budget so secret that its total is not known and its various components are provided by transfer from other agencies. Much of the C.I.A. budget, which is estimated at \$750-million, is believed to be hidden among the multibillion-dollar disbursements in the Pentagon budget.

The secret financing system has been under increasing criticism from Congress in recent years, but the article in the Yale Law Journal apparently provided the first published review of the issue since the C.I.A. was organized under the National Security Act of 1947. There were these other developments, today in connection with the C.I.A. spying controversy:

President Ford's "blueribbon" commission on the alleged spying was scheduled to open its deliberation tomorrow. David W. Belin, the Iowa law-

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Continued From Page 1, Col. 5 yer who is expected to be named its executive director, was quoted as saying he "will leave no stone unturned until I find the truth."

William E. Colby, Director of Central Intelligence, told Newsweek magazine that examples of C.I.A. wrongdoing were "few and far between." He also called for better legis-lation to protect "our secrets."

The Senate Appropriations Committee became the fourth Congressional group to announce hearings into the C.I.A.'s domestic activities. Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, said that the subcommittee on intelligence had summoned Mr. Colby and his predecessor, Richard Helms, now Ambassador to Iran, to a closed hearing on Wednesday. Mr. Colby is already scheduled to testify before the House in-telligence subcommittee, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Constitution Quoted

The article in the January issue of the Yafe Law Journal concluded that the current Congressional procedures for handling the C.I.A. Budget violated Article I, Section 9 of the Constitution that provides: "No money shall be drawn

from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the

statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be pub-lished from time to time." The Law Journal said, "Vir-tually all of the funds which the C.I.A. receives and expends are treated as confidential, as if they were for purposes which require secrecy—and the certificate of the director [of the C.I.A.] serves as a suffi-cient accounting for their ex-penditure." Because of the stringent

penditure." Because of the stringent secrecy, said the article, which was prepared by a third-year student, Elliot E. Maxwell, "Neither Congress nor the pub-lic can determine whether the expenditures have been made in compliance with the C.I.A.'s enabling legislation or with

in compliance with the C.I.A.'s enabling legislation, or with the Constitution, and whether they have been made without waste or corruption." It added: "Neither Congress nor the public can weigh C.I.A. spend-ing against that of other agen-cies; the C.I.A.'s internal order-ing of priorities cannot be ing of priorities cannot be analyzed."

analyzed." Because of this, the law jour-nal article concluded, "The appropriations requirement and the reporting requirement [in the Constitution] are both vio-lated, to the point where they are almost rendered meaning-less."

Lack of Debate Cited

Lack of Debate Cited The article reviewed the Congressional debate at the time the C.I.A. was initially authorized and said that failure of the committees involved to provide detailed information on the legislation and the lack of floor debate about the require-ments for regular accountings "create considerable uncertaint-ly whether Congress carefully analyzed the requirements of pational security, the proce-dures necessary for the suc-cossful operation of the C.I.A., and the commands." of the Constitution.

Constitution. The law journal noted that other intelligence units, such as the Defense Intelligence

Agency, have been able to operate with secrecy although their specific budget compo-nents and their totals are known. "It is nearly impos-sible," the article said, "to con-ceive of any scenario in which sible," the article said, "to con-ceive of any scenario in which open lump-sum appropriation to the C.I.A. and an accounting for the gross sum expended by the agency would substantially enhance any danger" to nation-al security. It added: "There are too many links in the long chain between a figure

"There are too many links in the long chain between a figure as large as the estimated \$750-million the C.I.A. spent in 1973 and the particulars an enemy might want to know — the whereabouts of an agent, the details of tactics, even the board outlines of strategy." Senate Bars Disclesure :

Senate Bars Disclesure Senate Bars Disclesure Last year the Senate voted 55 to 33 against legislation of-fered by Senator William Prox-mire, Democrat of Wisconsin, that would have required the C.I.A. to disclose its annual budget.

budget. Similar legislation will be of-fered in both the House and Senate this session. The Supreme Court, by a 5-to-4 vote last year, rejected a suit that called for disclosure of all C.I.A. expenditures. The Court did not rule on the con-stitutional issued involved, but said that the plaintiff lacked standing as a taxpayer to force publication. Mr. R. Belin's published com-

ments came in an interview with The Des Moines Register, his hometown newspaper. The 46-year-old lawyer, who served with the Warren Commission, which investigated President Kennedy's assassination, was quoted as saying that he had demanded a "first-rate, inde-pendent" staff. "I've heard people say there is a gray area in this matter," Mr. Belin further was quoted as saying. "My own feeling is, if there is any doubt, that doubt is resolved against the agency."