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**POLITICS & GOVERNMENT**


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but for auto and fire insurance as well. With health care costs (estimated at \$15 billion in 1977) approaching 1 percent of the gross national product, Powledge predicts increasing public support for proposals that would place more of the costs of health-damaging behavior on the individual rather than on society as a whole.

It has been suggested, for example, that health insurance rates might be scaled according to a person's weight, smoking and drinking habits, and driving record. Even injuries resulting from certain risky sports (e.g., hang-gliding, skiing, and football) might ultimately be excluded from the group of health costs society will be willing to shoulder. Lest this seem far-fetched, says Powledge, the Carter administration is said to be seriously considering a "vice tax" on tobacco and alcohol to help pay for national health insurance.

### *The Unresolved Abortion Issue*

"The Supreme Court, Abortion Policy, and State Response: A Preliminary Analysis" by Jeanne Bell Nicholson and Debra W. Stewart, in *Publius* (Winter 1978), Center for the Study of Federalism, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. 19122.

On June 20, 1977, the Supreme Court held that states were not required to subsidize elective abortions as a condition to receiving Medicaid funds and that state laws could prohibit nontherapeutic abortions at publicly-owned hospitals. This and a subsequent Court decision clearing the way for implementing the 1976 congressional provision restricting *federal* abortion funding to cases of "life endangerment" have shifted the abortion struggle from the federal courts to state and local decision makers.

The wide-ranging effects of this shift are only just beginning to show up, say Nicholson, assistant professor of government and politics at George Mason University, and Stewart, assistant professor of political science at North Carolina State University at Raleigh.

Thirty-five states have decided to stop all funding of abortions except when a woman's life is endangered. Three states (Idaho, New York, and Pennsylvania) continue to fund "medically necessary" abortions. The remaining 12 states (including California) and the District of Columbia have chosen to assume the financial burden and offer full abortion services under Medicaid. New York and California together account for close to 50 percent of the Medicaid abortions performed nationwide.

The most obvious result has been the shrinking number of legal abortions performed nationwide (as many as 274,000 poor women obtained abortions with the help of federal-state funding programs in 1976). Shifting responsibility to the states is expected to result in an increase in regulatory legislation (already introduced in every state and passed in Maine, California, and New York) requiring that a second physician be in attendance during hospital abortion procedures for the express purpose of sustaining the life of the aborted fetus if possible.

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The authors also predict that the politics of abortion will involve more and more citizens, with coalitions forming on both sides. For example, fundamentalist church leaders, particularly in the South, have become a new and dynamic factor in the predominantly Roman Catholic pro-life movement.

The abortion controversy is not going to subside quickly, say Nicholson and Stewart. Like school desegregation, the abortion rights issue is too fundamental to be resolved by a single Court decision.

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**FOREIGN POLICY & DEFENSE**

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*The Enigma  
of Ultra*

“The Historical Impact of Revealing the Ultra Secret” by Harold C. Deutsch, in *Parameters* (vol. 7, no. 3), U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pa. 17013.

Publication of *The Ultra Secret* by Group Captain F. W. Winterbotham in 1974 stunned historians by revealing the extent to which the Western Allies had enjoyed access to the most secret communications of the German High Command during World War II. The revelations, says Deutsch, a political scientist at the U.S. Army War College, seemed to demand “immediate and wholesale revision” of historians’ assumptions about the factors that determined the course and outcome of the struggle.

However, assessing the importance of Ultra (code name for the entire British effort of deciphering, evaluating, and exploiting the German radio traffic) is not easy. With the notable exception of the 1944 landing in Normandy (where Ultra allowed Allied officers to listen in on high-level German debates on where the invasion should be expected) it was probably only at the middle stage of the war (Summer 1940 to Summer 1943) that Ultra’s role was decisive.

During the 1940 Battle of Britain, Ultra often supplied information (confirmed by radar) about the targets and approach routes of German bombers. It also told London when Hitler abandoned his invasion plans, permitting Churchill to send reinforcements to the Middle East. In the spring of 1941, during the Battle of the Atlantic, the British captured code books, wireless logs, and a German “Enigma” decoding machine that permitted them to destroy the Germans’ system of supply ships for their U-boats and, for a two-month period, to reroute some 50 convoys to escape submarine attack. In North Africa, Ultra provided details of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel’s plans and allowed Allied aircraft to destroy many of his vital supplies.

But as Deutsch points out, when one side is clearly weaker, the best intelligence cannot turn the tide. The Allies knew all the essentials of the German order of battle during the disastrous campaign in Norway