

U.S. Showing 'Fatal Presumption' That Ruined Germany, Fulbright Says

By a Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, April 28—

The United States is showing some signs of "that fatal presumption" that brought ruin to Napoleonic France and Nazi Germany, Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) said tonight.

In a speech to the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee warned against "self-appointed missions to police the world, to defeat all tyrannies, to make their fellow men rich and happy and free."

The speech drew a chilly response from the publishers, who applauded in cursory fashion.

The Vietnam war, Fulbright said, can only accelerate the overextension of power and mission. "If the war goes on and expands," he said, "if that fatal process continues to accelerate until America becomes what it is not now and never had been, a seeker after unlimited power and empire, then Vietnam will have had a mighty and tragic fallout indeed."

He also saw a danger in the war snuffing out the American social revolution envisioned by the Great Society. "The inspiration and commitment have disappeared," he said.

"They have disappeared in the face of our deepening in-

volvement in Vietnam, and although it may be contended that the United States has the material resources to rebuild its society at home while waging war abroad, it is already being demonstrated that we do not have the mental and spiritual resources for such an effort.

"In concrete terms," Fulbright said, "the President simply cannot think about implementing the Great Society at home while he is supervising bombing missions over North Vietnam."

Fulbright's speech to the publishers was a continuation of the critical dialogue he has carried on for months with the White House and the advocates of a "hard line" in Asia.

"There is a kind of madness," he said, "in the facile assumption that we can raise the many billions of dollars necessary to rebuild our schools and cities and public transport and eliminate the pollution of air and water while also spending tens of billions to finance an 'open-ended' war in Asia."

Even if the money can be raised, he said, the spirit for social reform is being crushed under a rising "war fever" that could ultimately lead us into a global war.

Moreover, said Fulbright, the

damage from America's present "arrogance" in Vietnam is spreading outside our borders, corrupting U.S. relations with Eastern and Western Europe, and "reducing whatever hope there may have been for a general nuclear test ban and a nonproliferation agreement with the Soviet Union."

Finally, he said, the war is destroying the Nation's sense of humanity as the enemy becomes an abstraction — a "communist son of a bitch" — rather than a man.

"Under normal circumstances," the Senator said, "most people would immediately and instinctively say 'no' if asked whether they were proud of their country's ability to kill and destroy. But in a war, all that changes and in the course of dehumanizing an enemy . . . a man dehumanizes himself."

At a morning "press conference in reverse," New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and California's Gov. Edmund G. Brown put questions to a panel of publishers.

Rockefeller offered New York State cooperation with the Publishers' Association to relocate or retrain employees displaced by the merger of three newspapers here, combined because they were losing money.