

# Memorandum Submitted to the Government of the United States of America by the Jaffa and Districts Inhabitants Council Beirut, 11 April 1949

On 11 April 1949, Lowell C. Pinkerton, U.S. minister to Lebanon, sent a *communiqué* to Washington. It included an official memorandum that had been submitted to him by a number of former Jaffa residents, then refugees in Beirut. Pinkerton sent the enclosed materials to the American member of the Palestine Conciliation Commission, which was then discussing the urgent question of refugee repatriation. He also submitted the texts to the secretary of state in Washington, Dean Acheson. A notice on the cover letter indicates that the Department of State received the package two weeks later.

The documents contained in Pinkerton's *communiqué* are part of the record of Palestinian exile in 1948–49. With the exception of the 13 May 1948 surrender agreement imposed on Jaffa by the Haganah, which is cited but not quoted in its entirety in Benny Morris' study, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947–1949* (Cambridge University Press, 1987), the memorandum has not previously appeared in print.

As Pinkerton explained in his cover letter to Acheson, the memorandum had been submitted to him by the Jaffa and District Inhabitants Council. And as the members of that council indicated in their opening remarks, they spoke on behalf of the residents of Jaffa, Ramlah, and Lydda, together with other Arab villages that formed part of that district. Of the twelve men identified by Pinkerton, there was

a member of the Jaffa Chamber of Commerce, the Jaffa Municipality, the president of the Arab Farmers' Union of Palestine, an agronomist, landowners, and businessmen involved in the marketing of the region's prime crop, citrus fruit. There was also a member of the Jaffa National Committee, a member of the Arab Office in London and Washington, and a member of the Jaffa Emergency Council who had been one of the signatories of the surrender agreement of 13 May.

These "serious" men, as Pinkerton described them, the members of the commercial and political elite of Jaffa, appealed directly to the government of the United States with the hope that it would redress their grievances and use its influence to arrive at a just political settlement of the Palestine question. The appeal, broad as it was, focused on the situation of Jaffa, the conditions of its refugees, and the forced abandonment of land and property.

In part, the appeal of the Jaffa Council was based on the argument that the Israeli government had violated the surrender agreement of 13 May, according to which property was to be protected and the right of return, albeit highly conditional, was not rejected out of hand. As Morris' study indicates, the politico-military leadership of Israel had rejected repatriation and continued to do so in spite of pressures to do otherwise. Nearly a year later, the Jaffa Memorandum insisted that without repatriation there could be no peace. Invoking the larger issue of partition, the authors of this text claimed that partition might have been supported had it been fairer. Moreover, even as implemented, the Israeli government continued to violate its own commitments under international law. Land, funds and property, the future of the citrus plantations, the patrimony of Palestine, and the bleak future of its displaced youth were all reviewed in order to educate and persuade the government of the United States that its responsibility was to take action in the resolution of the Palestine question. There is a good deal more. Among other things there was the pointed warning, reflecting the thinking of this group and/or exploiting a theme sure to alert the Americans that despair fueled instability and that refugees would be "driven to espouse ideas and principles totally inimical to good order and social stability, and that unless they are effectively resettled in their own homes and lands, the peace sought for in this part of the world will never reign, even though it might appear on the surface that the trouble had subsided."

(The material that follows is to be found in the declassified U.S. government documents: U.S. State Department Central Files on Lebanon, 1945-1949.)

Irene Gendzier  
 Prof. of History and Political Science  
 Boston University

THE HONORABLE  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE,  
WASHINGTON.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose a copy of a memorandum submitted by "The Jaffa and District Inhabitants Council" which was appointed by those former residents of Jaffa and the surrounding territory, who now live in Beirut. The Council is a serious one composed of men who were responsible for much of the former commercial activity of Jaffa. Their names are:

Michel ABDELNOUR —Member, Jaffa Municipality; Landowner  
Ahmad ABDULRAHIM —Member, "Jaffa Emergency Council"  
Nazmi ANABTAWI —District Officer (Mandatory Government)  
Fareed AZAR —Landowner and Citrus Exporter  
Sa'eed BAIDAS —Member, Palestine Citrus Board; Member,  
Jaffa Chamber of Commerce; President,  
Arab Farmers' Union of Palestine.  
Abdel Raouf BARAKAT—Landowner and Citrus Exporter  
Salim BIBI —Landowner  
Asad HALABI —Landowner; Member, Jaffa National Commit-  
tee; Importer  
Francis JALLAD —Member, Citrus Marketing Board; Landowner  
Khalil MIKDADI —Agronomist; Landowner  
Khalil SHEHADI —District Judge (Mandatory Government)

SECRETARY: Akram Abdulrahim—Former Member, Arab Offices in  
London and Washington

Respectfully yours,

Lowell C. Pinkerton  
American Minister

## AGREEMENT

Between The Commander of the HAGANA, Tel-Aviv District (which  
includes Bat-Yam, Holon, and Mikva Israel);  
and The Arab population of the area enclosed by Tel-Aviv, Mikve

on 13th May 1948  
 at Headquarters, Hagana, Tel-Aviv District  
 Whereas the undersigned,

AHMAD EFFENDI ABU LABAN  
 SALAH EFFENDI EL NAZER  
 AMIN EFFENDI ANDRAUS  
 AHMAD EFFENDI ABDUL RAHIM

are the Emergency Committee of Jaffa;

And WHEREAS they are in Jaffa in order to direct the affairs of the Arab [sic.] in the area above defined, following their declaration that Jaffa is an undefended area;

AND IN ORDER TO preserve and maintain the peace and welfare of the Arabs in the area above defined;

THEY THEREFORE HEREBY solemnly declare and affirm that all Arabs in the area above defined are represented by them;

AND THAT they will carry out all instructions given and to be given by the Commander of the Hagana, Tel-Aviv District, and/or by any Officer designed and/or authorized by him, today and at any further date;

and they further solemnly declare and affirm that they have read the instructions given today by the Commander of the Hagana, Tel-Aviv District, to the Arab [sic.] in the area above defined, and have counter-signed these orders as a token that they have fully understood them and that they undertake full responsibility that the instructions will be properly carried out by the Arabs.

IT IS UNDERSTOOD that the Hagana always does respect and will respect the Geneva Convention and all International Laws and Usages of war.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF they affix their signatures this thirteenth day of May 1948, whilst at the Headquarters of the Hagana, Tel-Aviv District.  
 Ahmad Effendi Abu Laban

The Commander of the Hagana,

Salah Effendi El Nazer

Tel-Aviv District

Amin Effendi Andraus

Ahmad Effendi Abdul Rahim

We hereby testify and solemnly affirm the signatures of the above Ahmed Effendi Abu Laban, Salah Effendi El Nazer, Amin Effendi Andraus and Ahmad Effendi Abdul Rahim.

## *Instructions to the Arab Population*

by the  
COMMANDER OF THE HAGANA,  
Tel-Aviv District

Given on  
13th May 1948.

WHEREAS your representatives signed an Agreement today, I hereby direct as follows:

1. Any shot fired at a Jewish area or at a Jew or at any member of the Hagana, or any resistance to them, will be sufficient reason for the Hagana to open fire at the Offender.

2. All arms, ammunition, and military equipment of any kind will be stacked at a place and time which will be notified later, and handed over to my representative. Any person found in possession of any article of military equipment after that time will be severely punished.

3. Any person having any knowledge or information of the location of mines or booby traps or any similar devices, will at once submit such information to the nearest member of [sic.] representative of the Hagana. Any person disobeying this order will be severely punished.

4. (a) All males in the area defined in the Agreement will concentrate in the area between Feisal Street, Al Mukhtar Street, Al Hulwa Street and the Sea until everybody has identified himself under arrangements, the particulars of which will be notified later.

(b) During this time, any male found outside this area will be severely punished, unless in possession of a special permit.

5. After the termination of the identification, all persons with the exception of those defined in Paragraph 6 will be issued with a special identity-card and will be free to return to their former homes unless they live in an area which will be declared as a military enclosure.

6. All persons who may be dangerous to the peace and security of the area will be interrogated and, if necessary, be interned. The Representatives of the Arab population may attend in an advisory capacity during these proceedings.

The Commander of the Hagana declares that it is not his intention to detain and/or to intern the male population of the area defined, even if they or any of them did take part in the hostilities in the past. Only criminals or persons suspected of being a danger to the peace are liable to internment.

7. The number and the size of the military enclosures, i.e., areas out of bounds to civilians, will be limited and directed by military necessities only.

Outside those enclosures, normal life for all peaceful Arabs may continue in the whole area.

8. Any male wishing to leave may apply to my representative for a permit to do so; likewise any male Arab who left Jaffa and who wishes to return to Jaffa may apply for a permit to do so. Permits will be granted after their bona-fides have been proved, provided that the Commander of the Hagana is convinced that applicants will not, at any time, constitute a threat to peace and security. This will be done with the cooperation of the representatives of the Arab population, who will function in an advisory capacity.

9. All public Offices, Municipal and Government, must be kept intact and all documents and registers therein must be kept safely in good condition so that any claims of residents may be checked.

10. The removal or transfer of any property within the area defined must be previously authorized by my representative.

11. The [sic.] ensure that these and any further instructions will be carried out, I shall nominate a representative who will help restore law and order in Jaffa.

12. Public Health and other Public Utility Services of the Municipality of Tel-Aviv will endeavor to assist you until normal life is established in Jaffa.

Copied Verbatim.

### *Introduction*

1. The present memorandum is submitted by "The Jaffa & District Inhabitants Council," whose elected Executive Committee speaks on behalf of the people of Jaffa & District, and who are now living temporarily outside this District. Our intention is to put before the Government of the United States of America the just case for living-of these people [sic.].
2. The area "Jaffa & District" is defined as the towns of Jaffa, Ramleh, and Lydda, together with all the Arab villages that are a part of that District. It also includes all property belonging to owners residing in Jaffa or Ramleh or Lydda, but which lies under Jewish control outside the area defined as "Jaffa & District."
3. Now that the official views of the various Governments concerned have been heard by the world and by the United Nations, we submit that it is appropriate that the inhabitants of Palestine themselves, whose

personal and individual rights are vitally involved in the settlement to come, should now be able to make their views known.

4. We submit this memorandum in the conviction that it must be the aim of the United States of America to help to arrive at a fair settlement of the problem if peace is to prevail permanently. We also have a great hope, based on our knowledge of American generosity, that the Government of the United States would not withdraw from lending its real and sincere help to a people who have lost almost all understanding from the world, and who are now resorting at last to the American people and to living human conscience.

### *Submissions*

1. First we would draw the attention of the Government of the United States to the following important fact; namely, that the conflict did not originally include or involve such a question as the return of refugees; the population itself never envisaged such a possibility. On the one hand a large number of the people did not leave their homes voluntarily, but were expelled by order of the Jewish commanders when they entered their towns and villages (Ramlah & Lydda), and were prevented from taking any of their belongings with them. On the other hand, the conditions which prevailed shortly before the termination of the Mandate rendered it impossible for a large section of the people to remain in homes and lands. For, that would have meant the destruction of a large number of them, since they did not possess arms with which to defend themselves. The majority of them believed that the matter would be settled politically, not imagining for a moment that things would reach the stage of open and general war. They, as law-abiding civilians, had therefore failed to equip themselves with arms and ammunition even for self-defense. Many, too, placing their trust in the United Nations could not believe they would be left defenceless and helpless against attack. But all of a sudden, the people were faced with imminent danger to their lives and property, and they had no alternative but to take the drastic step of fleeing for the nearest refuge. Most of them made for the neighboring countries, where they found a sympathetic welcome as refugees. But legally speaking, they were (and still are) considered as aliens in these countries, and all the laws and rules that apply to foreigners applied to them as Palestinians.

The Government of the United States must be aware that a long time has now elapsed since the Arab population of a great part of Palestine was

scattered in the neighboring countries without adequate means or provisions. In many cases, the people had to leave so suddenly that they found no time to take with them any of their valuables. In many other cases, as stated earlier, they were expelled by the Jews and prevented from carrying away any of their belongings. We trust that the Government of the United States has learnt of the pitiful state of the refugees, and that it has been acquainted with the terrible loss of life that has occurred among them owing to lack of accommodations and nourishment, despite the efforts of the Red Cross, Red Crescent and other charitable societies that have nobly stretched a helping hand to reduce their misery.

2. It is an eternal truth that one evil cannot be removed by a worse evil. From this, it must follow that in its attempt to secure a home for the wandering and displaced Jew, the United Nations cannot permit the displacement of another people who have been settled in their homeland from time immemorial. It is also a historical fact that no nation, however primitive, will agree, or has ever agreed to being uprooted from its own land and flung away somewhere else, even if that somewhere else were Paradise itself, and no matter how great a pecuniary indemnity it might be paid for this displacement. The people of the United States are all members of a great nation, who know and appreciate the meaning of "homeland," and who have fought for their freedom and for the freedom of other nations.

3. For all these reasons the "Jaffa & District Inhabitants Council" wish to place before the Government of the United States the following requests, which it hopes will receive the good attention of the Government:

(i) That all the inhabitants of the area referred to, be permitted to realize their most earnest desire to return immediately to their homes and lands and be reinstated in them irrespective of and before any political solution is reached. They hold that their reestablishment in their homes freely is one of their inherent rights that cannot be affected by and must precede any political settlement. We firmly believe that the desire to return home is entertained by each and every Palestinian Arab without exception; and that any solution which does not provide for this cannot but fail. We beg and hope that the Government of the United States, when giving its voice in the shaping of the future settlement of the problem, bear in mind that the very idea of settlement in peace would otherwise be abortive.

And it is *essential* that the said inhabitants should be permitted to return to their homes *immediately*. On the one hand, it is their inherent right which cannot in any way be affected by any political settlement; a right which they have always had, regardless of any changes of rule, and which should so remain in the future. On the other hand, they should be

permitted to return home immediately because the conditions under which they are now living are appalling. In addition, their homes and properties are falling into a sad state of deterioration and decay owing to their absence; their return should be allowed immediately in order that they may repair the damage before it is too late. This applies in particular to the citrus plantations which we shall discuss later. It must be pointed out that the Jews are at present making new apparently innocent regulations which have it as their real objective, the destruction of Arab property or the destruction of their right to return to their properties. It is now known that the Jews have destroyed houses, and in some cases whole quarters, under the misleading and apparently innocent pretenses of making public gardens and other improvements; they have occupied Arab homes and used up everything that was left in them; they have deliberately destroyed water pumps in Arab orange plantations, so that the trees would go without irrigation and therefore die, thereby reducing the value of these plantations.

From a wider view, keeping the refugees in their present state has a very grave influence on their beliefs and allegiances. A hungry man cannot be expected to think with his mind. This state of being is already driving them into desperation, and they can no longer entertain faith in international justice. It is already obvious to many observers, that unless immediate steps are taken to end this condition of things, many of the refugees will be driven to espouse ideas and principles totally inimical to good order and social stability, and that unless they are effectively resettled in their own homes and lands, the peace sought for in this part of the world will never reign, even though it might appear on the surface that the trouble had subsided.

Furthermore, the United Nations Partition scheme of Nov. 29, 1947, provided for the complete safeguarding of Arab rights in the Jewish State. The entire scheme would be vitiated from the outset if this condition were to be violated. We firmly believe that the Government of the United States would not have accepted the Partition Scheme of the United Nations, if it was not sure that the protection of Arab rights and properties was safely provided for. The United Nations Partition Scheme certainly did not mean that the Arab inhabitants of the Jewish State should be thrown out of their homes and properties, nor that their homes and properties should be given to others. Again, it cannot be argued that by their rejection of Partition, the Arab inhabitants forfeited their rights in areas included in the Jewish part of Palestine.

There is evidence that even the Jews themselves understood this fully. On May 14, 1948, when the Jewish troops entered Jaffa town, they entered

the town after an agreement had been drawn up between the two parties. The agreement took two days to come to its final shape, and when it was signed a copy of it was sent to the United Nations. The agreement (copy of which is appended to this memorandum) specifically mentioned that the Jews pledged themselves to protect Arab life and property in Jaffa, and this fact made the Arab representatives of Jaffa sign the document. Two members who signed the document are now outside Jaffa. Later the Jews went back on their pledge and occupied Arab homes and properties in Jaffa. At this moment, we read in the news that the president of the "Jaffa Emergency Council" which originally signed the document on May 14 is bringing an action against the Israeli Government for this breach of pledge.

(ii)- The Government of the United States, we presume, has learnt of the fact that Arab monies have been frozen or blocked by the Jews, and that the banks, unjustifiably in our opinion, have complied with the request or order of the Jewish authorities, thereby piling injury on injury upon the Arabs, and depriving them of great funds which, not only would have relieved the owners of the money themselves, but many of their relatives also. We therefore beg the Government of the United States to use its influence with the Jewish authorities, and recommend to them the immediate release of these funds and that they be delivered to the owners concerned without delay; a step which would ameliorate their position, and reduce to a certain extent their misery. It is clear that there can be no argument against such a step at this stage when peace has ruled in Palestine.

(iii)- We also beg the Government of the United States to use its influence with the Jewish authorities concerned to recommend the return of all movable and immovable property to its owners, and that for such damage or loss as has resulted, adequate indemnity be paid. Each individual, having his lawful property thus restored to him would be in a fair position to consider any offer that may be made to him to part with his property against compensation, and should be free to accept or reject such offer. This in our opinion, is the only just and reasonable basis on which the question of compensation for the surrender of property can be dealt with.

(iv)- The citrus industry represents the greatest single item of Palestine's wealth. There are about 254,000 dunams of citrus plantations in Palestine, of which about 54% belong to Arab owners—or about 137,000 dunams. If we assume that each dunam of citrus [sic.] plantation produces 50 cases of fruit (which is a reasonable and conservative estimate), then the Arab areas alone produce annually approximately 6,850,000 cases or 6,850,000 sterling pounds at the rate of a net price for the fruit of one sterling pound a case. Now, already a year has elapsed since the people left their plantations,

and in this period these plantations have gone without irrigation or care. As the orange tree is a very delicate tree, it can safely be estimated that it has lost 50% of its vitality due to the past year's forced neglect. If it is attended to immediately now, the tree may regain its previous healthy condition in two years' time. The loss to the Arab owners then would be equivalent to two crops or 13,700,000 sterling pounds. If the trees are not given immediate attention in this spring, then most probably all the trees will have to be replaced, and the new trees will not bear fruit again for the lapse of at least six years. The loss to the Arab owners in this case would be equivalent to seven crops plus the cost of the new trees and the expense of replacement and care for six years starting from next spring:- or 47,950,000 sterling pounds plus 16,440,000 sterling pounds (at the rate of 20 sterling pounds per dunam per year). It must be mentioned that the above did not include the cost and expense of maintenance of the old trees which have been planted since many, many years, nor did it include the cost of the reinstatement of new water pumps in place of the great number of them that was either destroyed, damaged, or stolen.

In order to avoid all these definite losses, we beg the Government of the United States to use its influence with the Jewish authorities concerned to recommend the immediate return of the owners of these plantations with enough workers in order to be able to do the required work. The Jewish authorities must also be asked to permit those owners who have remained in Palestine under Jewish control to be allowed to do freely all what they can to achieve the same end, with the help of the authorities who have been responsible for the present state of the citrus plantations.

4. Aside from the previously-mentioned four requests, all of which call for immediate solution, we should like to give our views concerning other phases of the problem touching on the final political settlement for the Problem as a whole.

It must be made clear at once that when the United Nations Partition Scheme of 29th, November, 1947 was adopted, a great many Arabs rejected it only because, as a Partition Scheme, it was not fair. Had the United Nations recommended a scheme based on a fair and just Partition of the country, there is no doubt that it would have received the acceptance and support of many people. We have a firm belief that the Government of the United States, which was one of the chief supporters of the Scheme, would not knowingly agree to any scheme that would entail the uprooting of the Arab Population from their homes, because that would be contrary to everything American.

The basic assumption and aim of any partition scheme must be to divide a country topographically, economically, and socially in a way which would provide the fairest possible opportunities in all these fields, for both parties to the conflict. It is a basic principle of partition that both parties to a conflict shall share the benefits as well as the disadvantages of partition equally, and that where one party gets more of one benefit, the other party must either get more of another benefit or be compensated fairly for such benefit as was gained by the other party. Other things being equal, geographically, each party to the conflict should get equally with the other, the same quantity of irrigable lands, rivers, mountains, deserts, and plains. Economically also, both parties should share equally to the fairest possible degree, all the sources of wealth in the country. And lastly, a fair partition must see to it that the partition does not affect seriously, much less destroy, the social unity of each one of both communities or parties.

Bearing the above principles in mind, any person possessing a good knowledge of Palestine's affairs will easily find out that the United Nations Partition Scheme of 29 November 1947, is an unfair partition. In it, the aim of the partition was based not on the ACTUALLY EXISTING SITUATION in Palestine, but rather on the RESERVING OF SPECIAL ADVANTAGES TO ONE PARTY (THE JEWS) in order to fulfill the distant dreams of this party. The Jews argued then, that the boundaries of the Jewish Part of Partitioned Palestine, should be not those that would satisfy the needs of the Jewish community living in Palestine at the time, but rather those boundaries that would satisfy the needs of a much larger Jewish community to be built later in the future. Strangely enough, this sort of twisted reasoning was accepted by the Members of the United Nations Commission on Palestine, and their Partition Suggestion turned out to be a fulfillment of the above reasoning. The Jewish Community which numbered then only about 30% of the total inhabitants of the country, was allotted well over 70% of the total area of Palestine. In the Jewish Part was included about 95% of the irrigable lands of Palestine, leaving only about 5% to the Arabs; the Arabs were given instead, the arid mountains which do not have enough drinking water for the people in the summer, not to speak of agriculture. Almost all the citrus belt was included in the Jewish Part, although as stated earlier in this memorandum, the Arabs owned about 54% of the total citrus plantations. Whereas the Jews were allotted almost all the coastline of Palestine, the only outlet of commercial importance left to the Arabs, was very limited, and its connection with the Arab Part was limited to a trifle road which however, belonged to the Jews, who condescended to all Arab traffic to pass through it. All the Negeb area

with its large industrial possibilities, was allotted whole and parcel to the Jews; the area of the Negeb alone is approximately equal to the area of the rest of all Palestine.

From the social angle, the unity of the Arab Community was almost destroyed; all the people deriving their livelihood, their position and connections, from the sea, Ports or coastline, were now rid of it completely, and were now asked to start a new life, with new connections different from those that were theirs traditionally for hundreds of years. Further, the Jewish State under the United Nations Scheme included in it an Arab minority almost as large as the Jewish majority, and it was stipulated that the Arab inhabitants of the Jewish State should be entitled to equal rights with any other Jewish citizen.

What of the present situation now. The Jews, who reiterated time and again since the outbreak of violence between the two parties that they only intended to carry out the word of the United Nations and never to step outside the boundaries allotted to them by the U.N., these same Jews have now utilized their temporary political and military advantages and grabbed what they could grab of the country. At present all the irrigable lands, all the citrus belt, all the important sea outlets, all the plains, almost all the roads and railways, all the Negeb, are in Jewish hands. The Arabs on the other hand, are piled in the thousands in the arid mountain areas where they have no proper shelter or nourishment. Most important of all, the Jews are claiming now that they do not want any Arabs to live in their State (although they previously accepted this under the United Nations Partition Scheme), and they have already occupied and inhabited their homes, used their properties, and have stolen millions of pounds worth of movable property. In short, the total actions of the Jews as viewed by any neutral observer now, are nothing but a complete encroachment on all Arab rights.

It is to be asked at this juncture: Are there in existence international laws which bind people and Governments to behave well with others, or are there no international laws at all? The United Nations Organization is an international organization, and the United Nations Partition Scheme of 29 November 1947, is an international law calling for the partition of Palestine in a definite fashion, and demanding of the two communities in question, to respect this Document in all its details, including human rights.

If the United Nations Organization has proved so far so weak as to be unable to force the Jews into behaving in accordance with international law, it is enough reason for people like us to come to you, the Government of the United States for help. We feel that it would do no good saying that the Jews just would not listen to anyone. Many U.S. and World leaders

have often proclaimed on many occasions, that all the countries of the world have become so interrelated together, that every one member nation should be responsible for the behavior of other nations, and this in the interests of world peace. In particular, most of the small countries of the world look to the United States as the all-powerful generous nation, which has been and still is prepared to defend the rights of man and the freedom of peoples. We feel therefore, that it would be most honouring for the United States and its people, to defend the rights of a people who have become homeless and stateless as a result of very sad circumstances, and of a rarely unjust treatment by their fellow men.

### *Conclusion*

We trust that the views and facts we have presented to you will receive the consideration which we believe they justly deserve. The case we have put before you rests on the clearest principles of justice and is moreover greatly reinforced by the gravest considerations which wisdom and expediency can suggest in the interests of lasting peace and stability.

11.4.1949