

Quotes from the Framers of U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 and Others Involved

Arthur Goldberg

My name is Arthur Goldberg and I was the United States ambassador to the UN when Resolution 242 was passed. I was one of the people who helped write it.

Before the vote was taken, it was determined by an unofficial count that not only the members of the Security Council but also Israel, Egypt, and the other Arab states did not object to the resolution. Resolution 242 was adopted unanimously after a minimum of speech making.

The resolution does not explicitly require that Israel withdraw to the lines that it occupied on June 5, 1967, before the outbreak of the war. The Arab states urged such language; the Soviet Union proposed such a resolution to the Security Council in June 1967. But those views were rejected.

The notable omissions in language used to refer to withdrawal are the words *the, all,* and the *June 5, 1967, lines.* In other words, there is lacking a declaration requiring Israel to withdraw from *the* (or *all the*) territories occupied by it on and after June 5, 1967.

Lord Caradon

My name is Lord Caradon and I was the British ambassador to the UN when Resolution 242 was passed. I was one of the people who helped write it.

It would have been wrong to demand that Israel return to its positions of June 4, 1967 because these positions were undesirable and artificial. After all, they were just the places where the soldiers on each side happened to be on the day the fighting stopped in 1948. They were just armistice lines. That's why we didn't demand that the Israelis return to them, and I think we were right not to.

Much play has been made of the fact that we did not say "the" territories or "all the" territories. But that was deliberate. I myself knew very well the 1967 boundaries and if we had put in the "the" or "all the" that could only have meant that we wished to see the 1967 boundaries perpetuated in the form of a permanent frontier. This I was certainly not prepared to recommend.

Eugene Rostow

My name is Eugene Rostow and I was the American Undersecretary of State, working for President Johnson when Resolution 242 was passed. I was also one of the people who helped write it.

Resolution 242 calls on the parties to make peace and allows Israel to administer the territories it occupied in 1967 until "a just and lasting peace in the Middle East" is achieved. When such a peace is made, Israel is required to withdraw its armed forces "from territories" it occupied during the Six-Day War--not from "the" territories nor from "all" the territories, but from some

of the territories, which included the Sinai Desert, the West Bank, the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip.

Resolutions calling for withdrawals from "all" the territories were defeated in the Security Council and the General Assembly. Speaker after speaker made it explicit that Israel was not to be forced back to the "fragile" and "vulnerable" Armistice Lines, but should retire once peace was made to what Resolution 242 called "secure and recognized" boundaries, agreed to by the parties.

Lyndon Johnson

My name is Lyndon Johnson and I was President of the United States when Resolution 242 was passed. I had to approve what the US was going to say and propose in the UN.

Israel should not have to withdraw its forces to the pre-June 5 armistice lines. This is not a prescription for peace, but for a renewal of hostilities. It is clear that a return to the situation of June 4, 1967, will not bring peace. There must be secure and there must be recognized borders.

Arthur Goldberg:

This is Arthur Goldberg again, former US ambassador to the UN.

Resolution 242 specifically deals with free passage through international waterways. which includes the Gulf of Aqaba.

A notable omission in 242 is any reference to Palestinians, a Palestinian state on the West Bank or the PLO. The resolution addresses "achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem." This language presumably refers both to Arab and Jewish refugees, for about an equal number of each abandoned their homes as a result of the several wars.

Lord Caradon

This is Lord Caradon again, former British ambassador to the UN.

The Resolution, while calling for a solution of the problem of the refugees did not speak of Palestinian self-determination. But it is very necessary to remember that when we drew up Resolution 242 we all took it for granted that the occupied territory would be restored to Jordan. I give my testimony that everyone, including the Arabs, so assumed. It was not until after 1967 that the Palestinians advanced their claims.