

which was by definition an act of war and which was regarded by Israel as an attack justifying her acting in self-defence under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.¹³ In the following week, the United Arab Republic had signed a defence agreement with Jordan and associated Iraq with it soon thereafter. By early June, Israel had been surrounded by vast armies on her borders in Sinai, the Syrian hills and the frontier with Jordan, subjected to Egyptian air reconnaissance and illegally blockaded from all its commerce with the eastern half of the world.

On 5 June 1967, when Egyptian forces moved by air and land against Israel's western coast and southern territory, the choice for Israel was to live or to perish. For five days Israel employed armed force alone and unaided in a just and righteous self-defence. Israel's Foreign Minister rejected totally the USSR description of Israel's resistance as aggression. What should be condemned, he said, was not Israel's action, but the attempt to condemn it. Israel had showed that even a small State had the right to live, which was the very essence of the Charter.

The Security Council, he added, had wisely rejected the backward step advocated by the USSR of returning to the situation as it was before 5 June 1967; such a course was totally unacceptable. The Assembly must not prescribe a formula for renewed hostilities, but a set of principles for the construction of a new and peaceful future in the Middle East, which would only be elaborated in frank and lucid dialogue between Israel and each of the neighbouring States. Peace and security, with their juridical, territorial, economic and social implications, could only be built by the free negotiation which was the true essence of sovereign responsibility. The only constructive course for the Assembly, Israel's spokesman considered, was to call upon the recent combatants to negotiate the conditions of their future coexistence. Israel would maintain the cease-fire which the Security Council had decided upon and would reject the course of a return to the situation of belligerency.

The President of Syria, the Deputy Premier of the United Arab Republic and the King of Jordan declared that the Arab people looked

to the emergency special session of the Assembly as a last hope for the triumph of law, reason and justice over the laws of the jungle and the logic of force, since the Security Council had been unable to discharge its responsibilities.

Among the points they made were the following: The aggression of 5 June by Israel, supported by imperialist powers, was but the latest in a long list of acts scarcely interrupted since 1948. Frequent condemnations, in many United Nations resolutions, had been persistently disregarded by Israel. An increase in the frequency and destructiveness of aggressive acts by Israel during the past year had culminated in its aggression against Syria on 7 April 1967. That had been followed in May 1967 and at the beginning of June 1967 by military and other Israel threats and provocations including, in particular, a troop build-up against Syria. The Arab countries, while trying to take the necessary precautions, had exerted themselves to keep the situation under control, taking—in Sinai, as well as elsewhere—a posture of defence and not of attack. On his visit to Cairo, the Secretary-General had been assured that it was their firm policy not to take the offensive. They had not spared any effort to avoid an eruption and had been in continuous consultations with many capitals in the world, including Washington. But Israel, despite its claim not to have any aggressive intentions, had launched its sneak attack on 5 June 1967, plans for which had long before been carefully prepared by Israel and its co-conspirators. Israel's invasion had been coupled with deliberate delaying tactics in the Security Council by the representatives of the United States and the United King-

¹³ Article 51 of the United Nations Charter states: "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security."