Contents
List of Illustrations ix
List of Maps xi
A Note on Sources xix
A Personal Note xxi
Introduction xxv
A Note on Occupation xxxiii

PART ONE
The First Decade, 1967-1977
1 West Bank and Jerusalem 3
2 Gaza Strip 56
3 Golan Heights 71
4 Sinai 86

PART TWO
The Second Decade, 1977-1987
5 Likud Years 101
6 Black December, 1987 131

PART THREE
War and Diplomacy, 1987-2007
7 Intifada 145
8 Gulf, Madrid, Oslo, 1991-1995 164
9 Missed Opportunities, 1995-1999 186
10 Golan First, 1999-2000 201
11 Camp David II, 2000 217
12 Al-Aqsa Intifada, 2000-2001 247
13 Sharon and Arafat, 2001-2004 268
14 Unilateralism and Its Rewards, 2004-2007 289
Into a Fifth Decade of Occupation 305

Select Bibliography 309
Notes 317
Index 347

Illustrations
Photographic acknowledgements are given in parentheses.
1. (a) Three Israeli paratroopers look up at the Wailing Wall (David Rubinger/epa/Corbis); (b) Moshe Dayan meets Palestinians near Jerusalem after the Six Day War (Micha Bar Am/Magnum Photos).
2. (a) Syrian refugees flee the mountains with their possessions (Micha Bar Am/Magnum Photos); (b) The Golan Druze community allowed to remain on the Golan use megaphones to call to those on the Syrian side (Micha Bar Am/Magnum Photos).
3. (a) The Israeli army erects checkpoints across the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (AFP/Getty Images); (b) Collaborators help the army by fingerising suspects (Micha Bar Am/Magnum Photos).
4. (a) Tensions grow between the settlers and local Palestinians (AFP/ Getty Images); (b) The Israeli army erects a barrier across the West Bank (Larry Towel/Magnum Photos).
5. (a) Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat (Popperfoto/Getty Images); (b) Israeli troops remove Jewish settlers in the Sinai (Peter Marlow/Magnum Photos).
6. (a) A Palestinian boy throws stones at an Israeli tank (Reuters/Corbis); (b) Palestinian suicide bombers (Abed Omar Qusini/Xo 1203/Reuters/Corbis).
7. (a) Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat sign the Oslo Accords (Gary Hershorn/Reuters/Corbis); (b) The bullet that killed Rabin (AFP/Getty Images); (c) The Song of Peace text which Rabin carried in his coat (Time Sc Life Pictures/Getty Images).
8. (a) Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon (Getty Images); (b) Arafat is evacuated by helicopter from the West Bank (Ammar Abdullah/Reuters/Corbis).
Inside cover

In a move that would forever alter the map of the Middle East, Israel captured the West Bank, Golan Heights, Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula in 1967's brief but pivotal Six Day War. *Cursed Victory* is the first complete history of the war's troubled aftermath - a military occupation of the Palestinian territories that is now well into its fifth decade.

Drawing on unprecedented access to high-level sources, top-secret memos and never-before-published letters, the book provides a gripping and unvarnished chronicle of how Israel's promised 'enlightened occupation' quickly turned sour, and the anguished diplomatic attempts to bring it to an end. Bregman sheds fresh light on critical moments in the peace process, taking us behind the scenes as decisions about the fate of the territories were made and, more often, as crucial opportunities to resolve the conflict and end the occupation were missed. As the narrative moves from events on the ground in the occupied lands to New York, Oslo and Cairo, and from the late 1960s to the present day, *Cursed Victory* provides vivid portraits of the key players in this unfolding drama, including Moshe Dayan, King Hussein of Jordan, Bill Clinton and Yasser Arafat. Yet Bregman always reminds us how diplomatic and back-room negotiations affected the daily lives of millions of Arabs, and how in turn their resistance to the occupation shaped political developments.

As Bregman concludes, the occupation has become a dark stain on Israel's history, and has seen international opinion of the country shift decisively. *Cursed Victory* is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand the origins of the ongoing conflict in the region.

AHRON BREGMAN is the author of four books about Israel and the Arabs: *The Fifty Years War, Israel's Wars, A History of Israel* and *Elusive Peace.* He teaches at the Department of War Studies, King's College, London.

Back cover

'This is a meticulously researched and compelling account of a strategic tragedy, drawing on important new documentary evidence as well as interviews. Ahron Bregman shows how even as Israeli leaders came to appreciate how mistaken it had been to occupy Palestinian land, they could not find a way out.'

Sir Lawrence Freedman, Professor of War Studies, King's College, and author of *Strategy: A History*

A Note on Sources

Some of the material I have used in this book, particularly in chapters 9-14, includes 'Top Secret' memos, letters and reports which have never been seen before and are unlikely to be made public in the foreseeable future. Chapter 10, in particular, includes direct quotes from transcripts of telephone conversations between Syrian officials, negotiating in the US, and their masters back home, as well as quotations from telephone conversations between the President of the United States and world leaders, all secretly recorded by Israeli agents, using various electronic devices. However, in order to protect my sources, I often avoid specific references to them. Likewise, the identities of several people have been disguised in order to protect them.

Throughout the book, I have drawn on scores of personal interviews conducted over the last two decades, particularly during the course of my work as an associate producer and academic consultant on two major BBC/PBS television series: the six-part *The Fifty Years War: Israel and the Arabs* and its three-part sequel, *Israel and the Arabs: Elusive Peace.* Full transcripts of these interviews are now available to the public at the Liddell Hart archives, King's College London.