

“Spatial Shaping”, the Ross Agenda and Proposals for a Partial Settlement Freeze

March 2013

In our recent [analysis](#), we demonstrate that Netanyahu's government has been pursuing unilateral policies that are creating a coherent base-line border between Israel and "Palestine" which are incompatible with any reasonable interpretation of the two-state solution.

The strategic thrust to determine a new, base-line border between Israel and "Palestine" has been dubbed by Israeli authorities as "Spatial Shaping".

-  Bypass Roads
-  Route of the Barrier
-  Old City
-  Green Line
-  Israeli Built-up Area Beyond Green Line
-  Palestinian Built-up Area



Spatial Shaping creates a new, base-line border by:

* delineating that border by means of the barrier;
and

* consolidating that border by means of
settlement expansion; and

* neutralizing the Palestinian presence by
creating Palestinian enclaves; and

* creating infrastructures that integrate the
newly defined areas into sovereign Israel while
containing movement from the Palestinian
enclaves in sealed roads, and diverting
Palestinian movement outside of these areas by
means of bypass roads.

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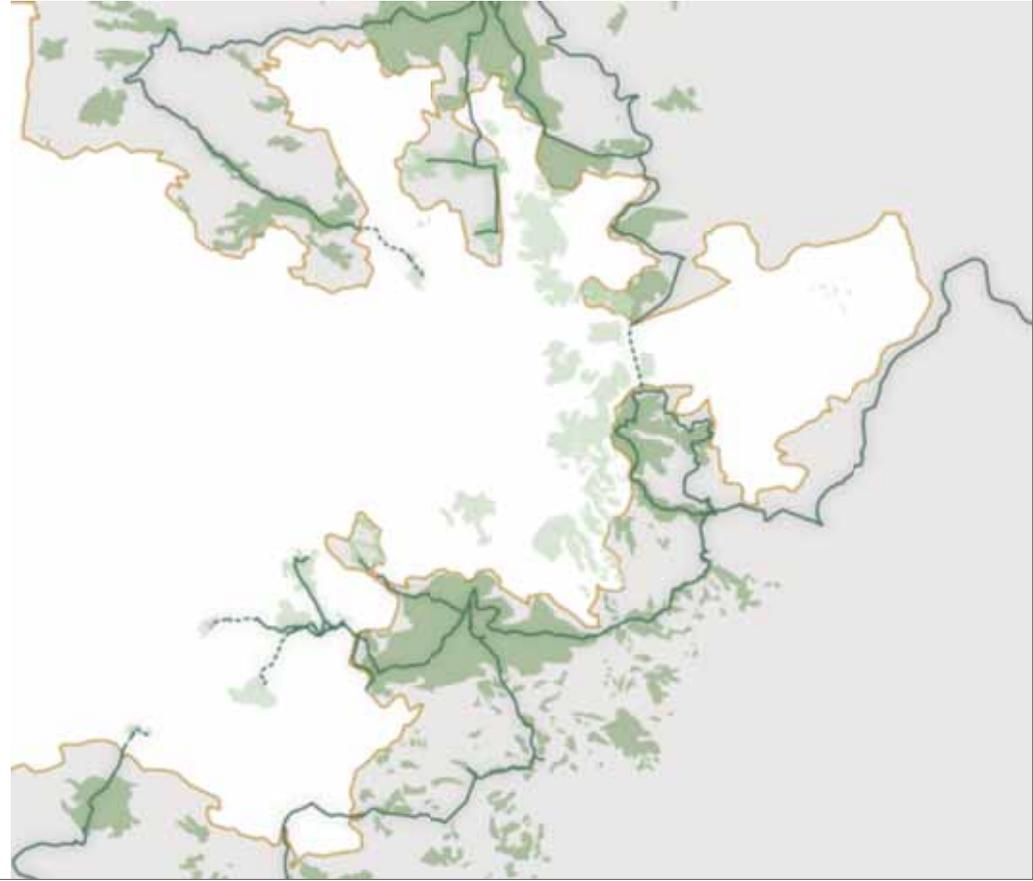
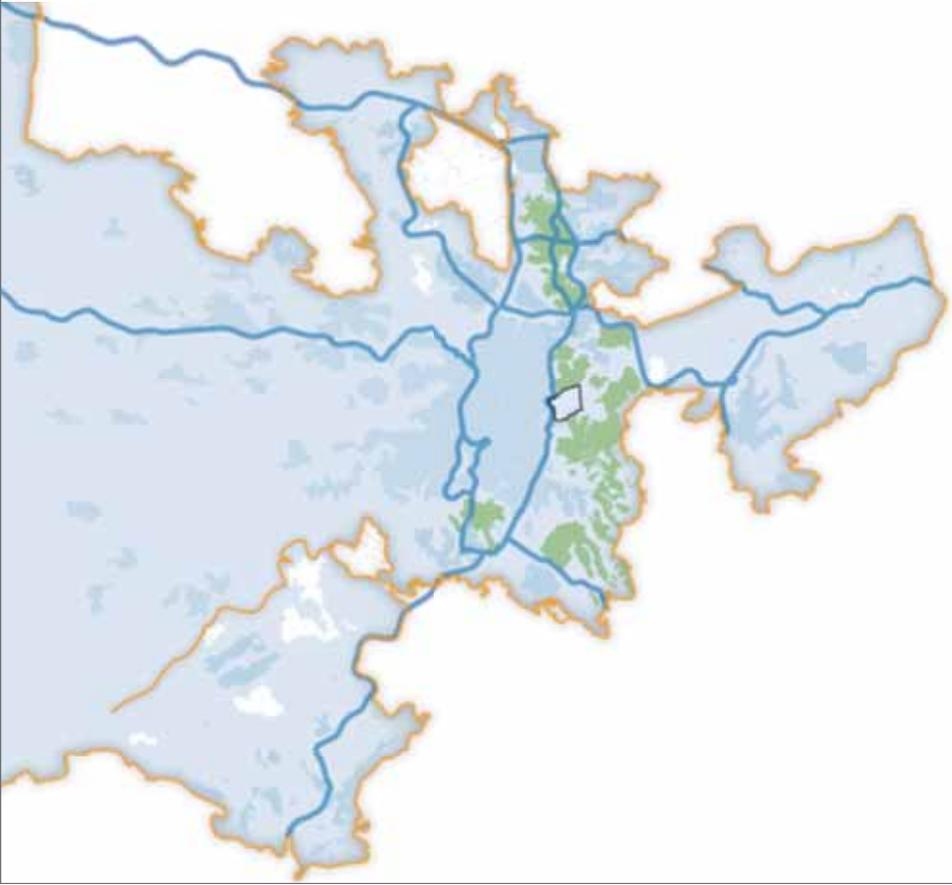


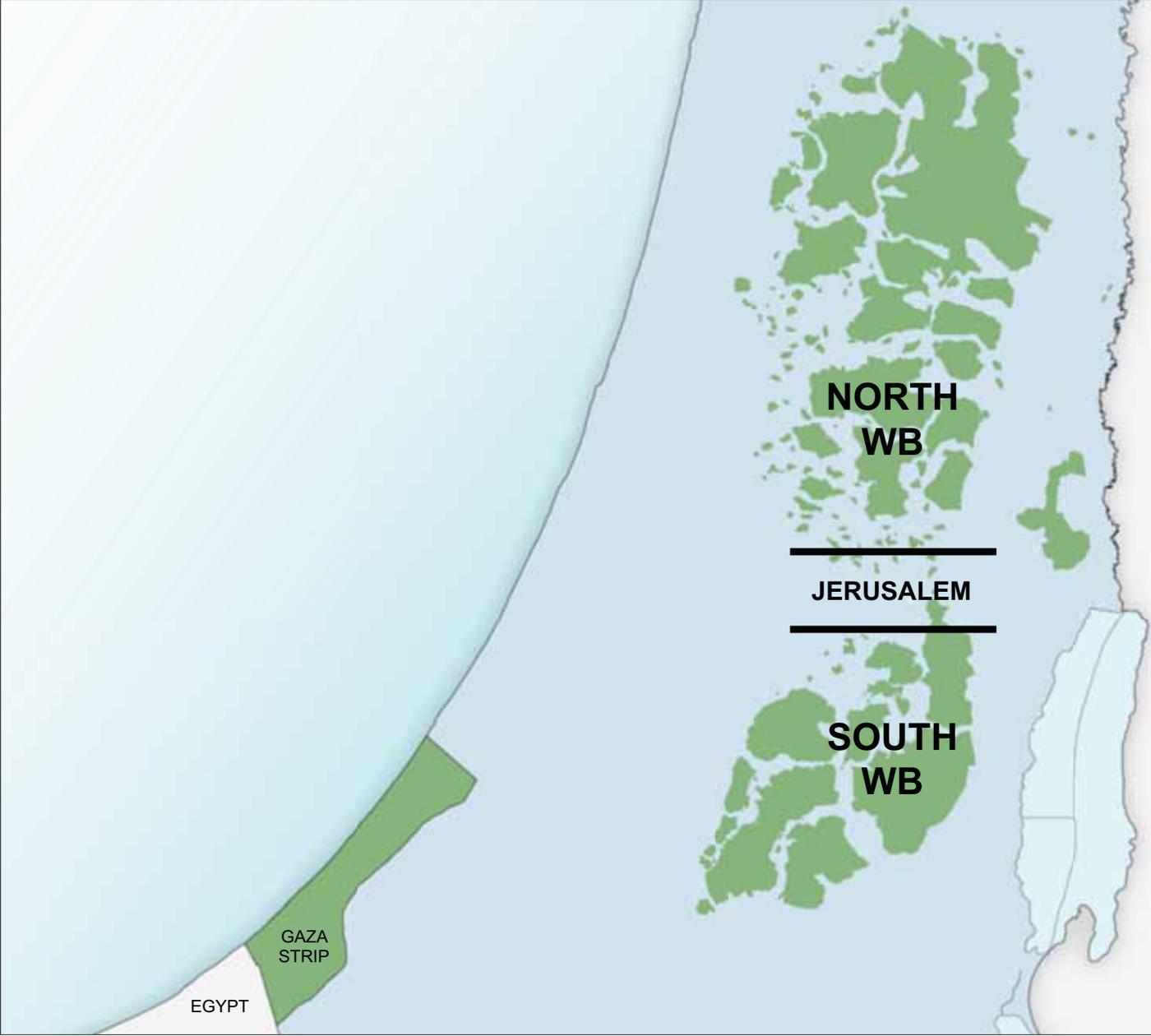
The new base-line border creates:

A large area in East Jerusalem and its environs in the West Bank, virtually indistinguishable from Israel proper, with a large Israeli population, and a Palestinian population limited to East Jerusalem

VS.

A fragmented, discontinuous Palestinian "State", dismembered into cantons and enclaves and with no connection to East Jerusalem





The base-line border being created in Jerusalem and its environs is antithetical to the requisites of any contiguous, viable Palestinian State, and the borders envisaged by the Clinton Parameters and the Geneva Initiative will no longer be possible.

Once these de facto borders are created - and we are talking in terms of months, not years - **the two-state solution will be a virtual impossibility.**

In March 2013, a number of proposals were made that purport to allow for the resumption of the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians:

***On March 2, 2013, Dennis Ross published his [14-point agenda](#) for the resumption of an Israeli-Palestinian political process.**

*** The Ross agenda was echoed in a series of Israeli proposals for a partial settlement freeze in the West Bank, including a [trial balloon](#) floated by PM Netanyahu's office.**

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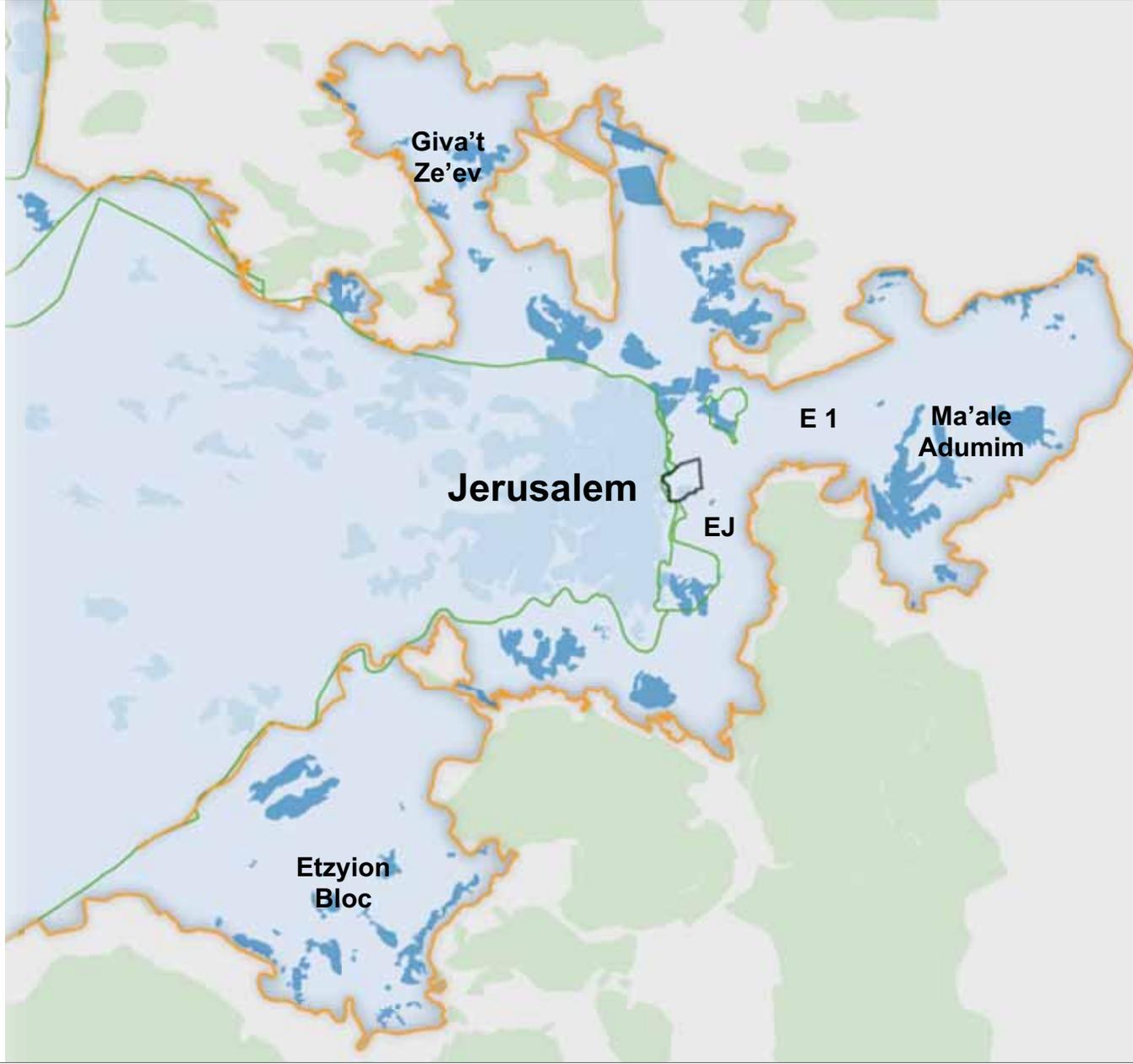


Whether the Ross agenda and any of the Israeli proposals plans were coordinated or not, there is little substantive difference between them.

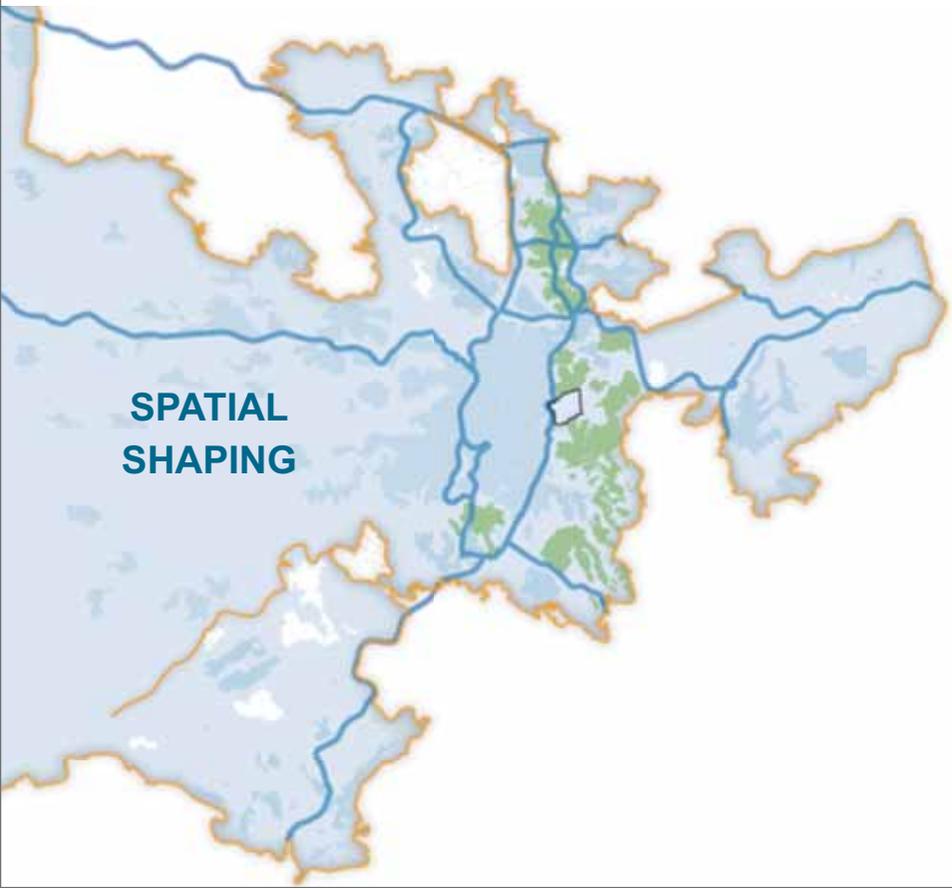
Insofar as the Ross agenda is the most detailed and most clearly articulated of these schemes, we will direct our attention to it, as emblematic of the other proposals

And it is our conclusion that, If implemented, Ross proposal would not stop the policies of “Spatial Shaping”. On the contrary, the Ross proposal not only would allow for the continued creation of a new base-line border between Israel and Palestine that is incompatible with the two-state solution, they would legitimize these policies.

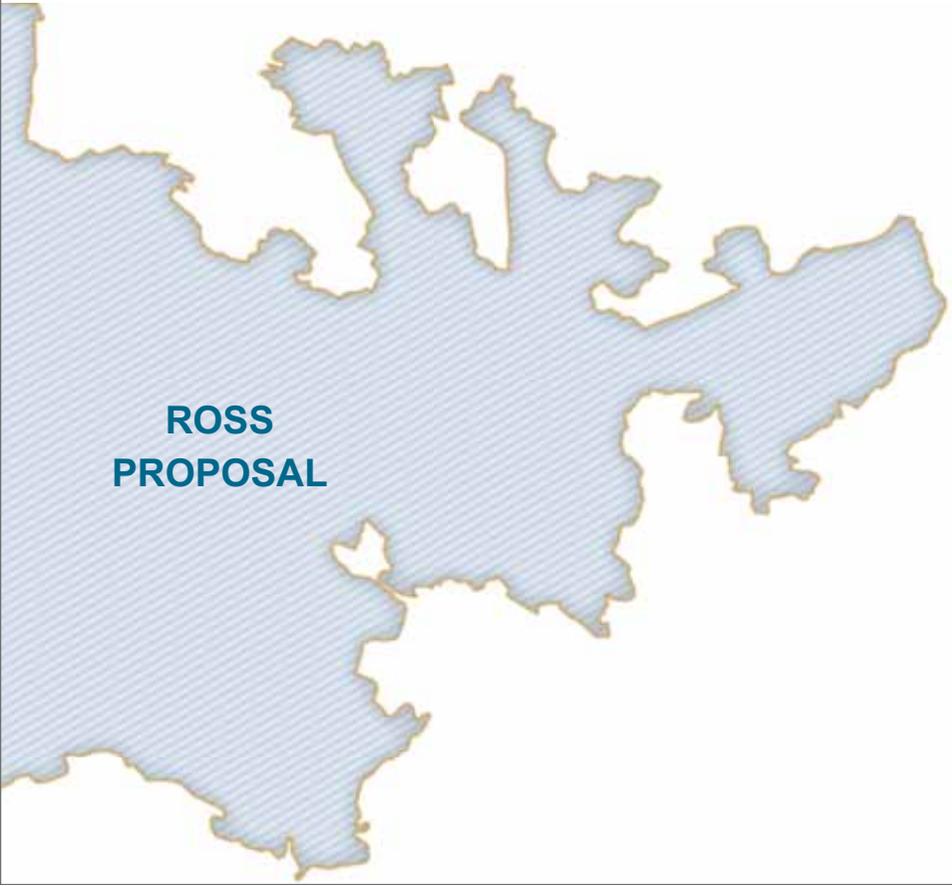
-  Route of the Barrier
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“Spatial Shaping” creates a new base-line border for Israel.



The base-line border of Israel in “Spatial Shaping” and the de-facto Israeli border in Ross’ proposal are one and the same.

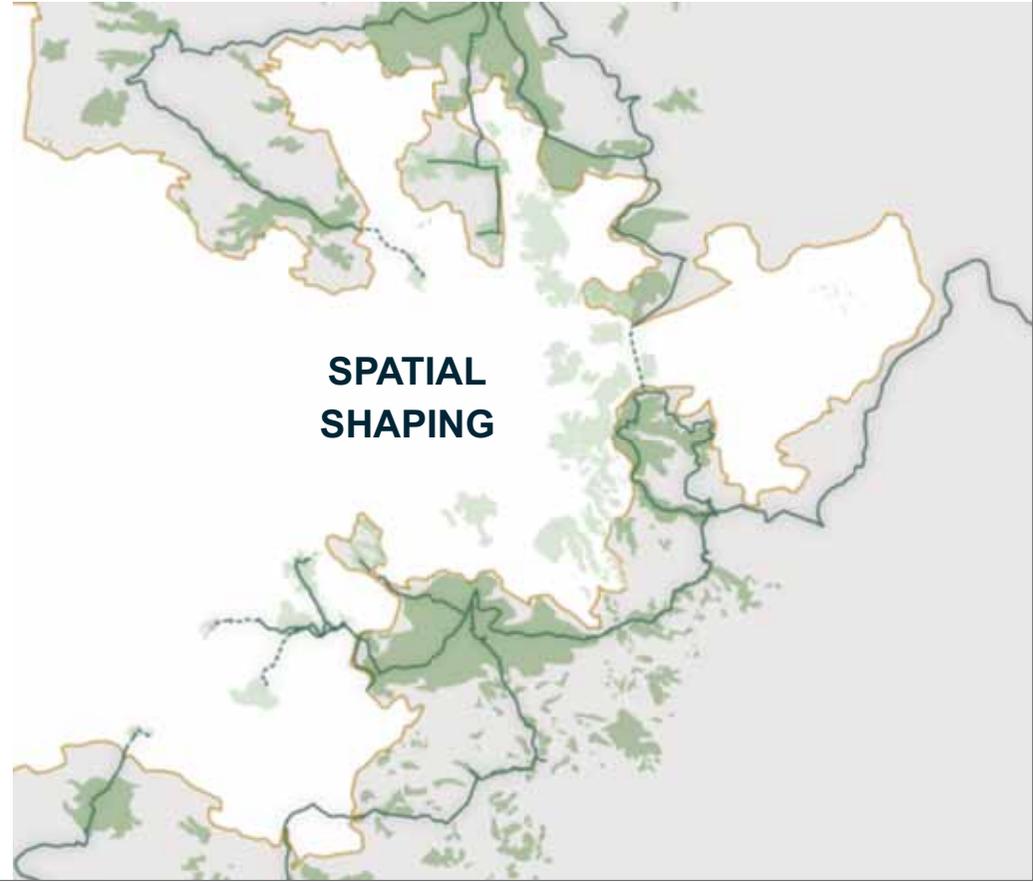


Ross 14-point agenda provides for:

“Israeli Steps:

- 1. Declare that Israel will build new housing only in settlement blocks and in areas to the west of the security barrier...*
- 2. Be prepared to offer compensation to any Israeli settler ready to relocate to Israel or to designated blocks.*
- 3. Commit to beginning the construction of housing within Israel or the blocks for all those settlers ready to relocate”.*

“Spatial Shaping” creates the boundaries of a fragmented Palestine.



Ross' 14-point agenda

provides for:

"Israeli Steps:

- In 'Area A', which accounts for 18.2 percent of the West Bank's territory and in which the Palestinians have civil and security responsibility, the Israel Defense Forces still carry out incursions for security reasons. ...The I.D.F. could specify clear security criteria, which,...would end the incursions.
- In 'Area B', which covers 21.7 percent of the West Bank and in which Palestinians have responsibility for civil affairs and for law and order ... the presence of Palestinian police and security forces...would be allowed to increase.
- In 'Area C' which represents 60.1 percent of the West Bank's territory and in which Israel retains civil and security responsibility, Palestinians would be permitted economic access, activity and ownership.



A



B

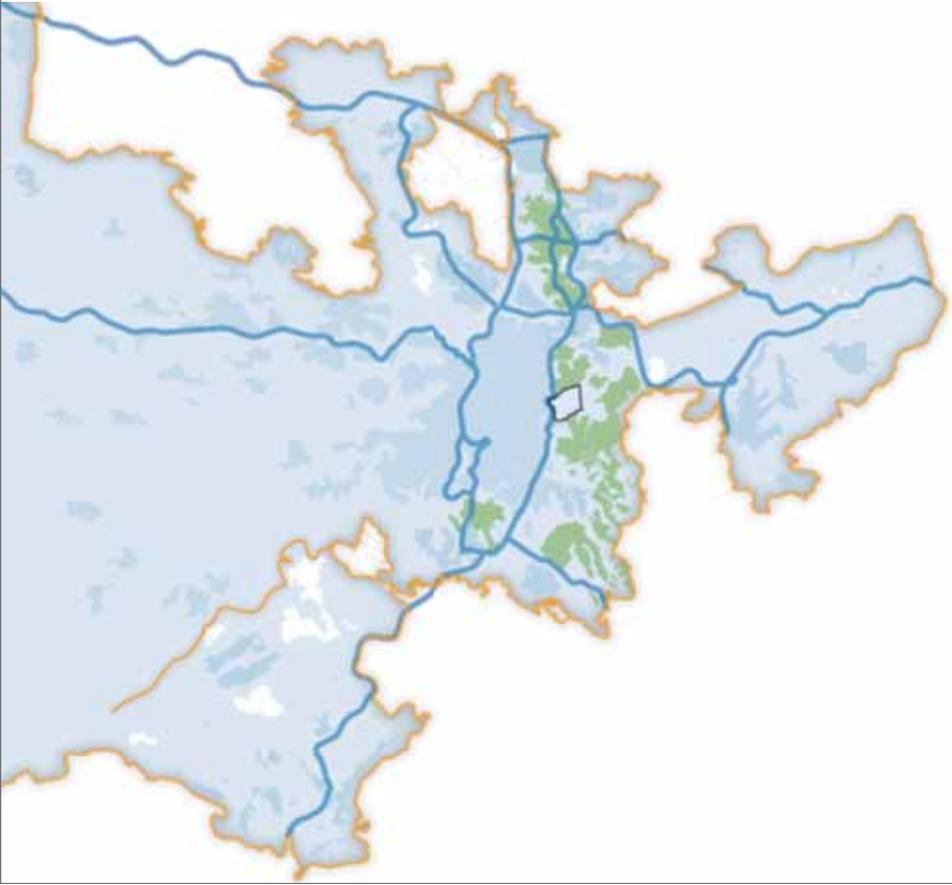


C

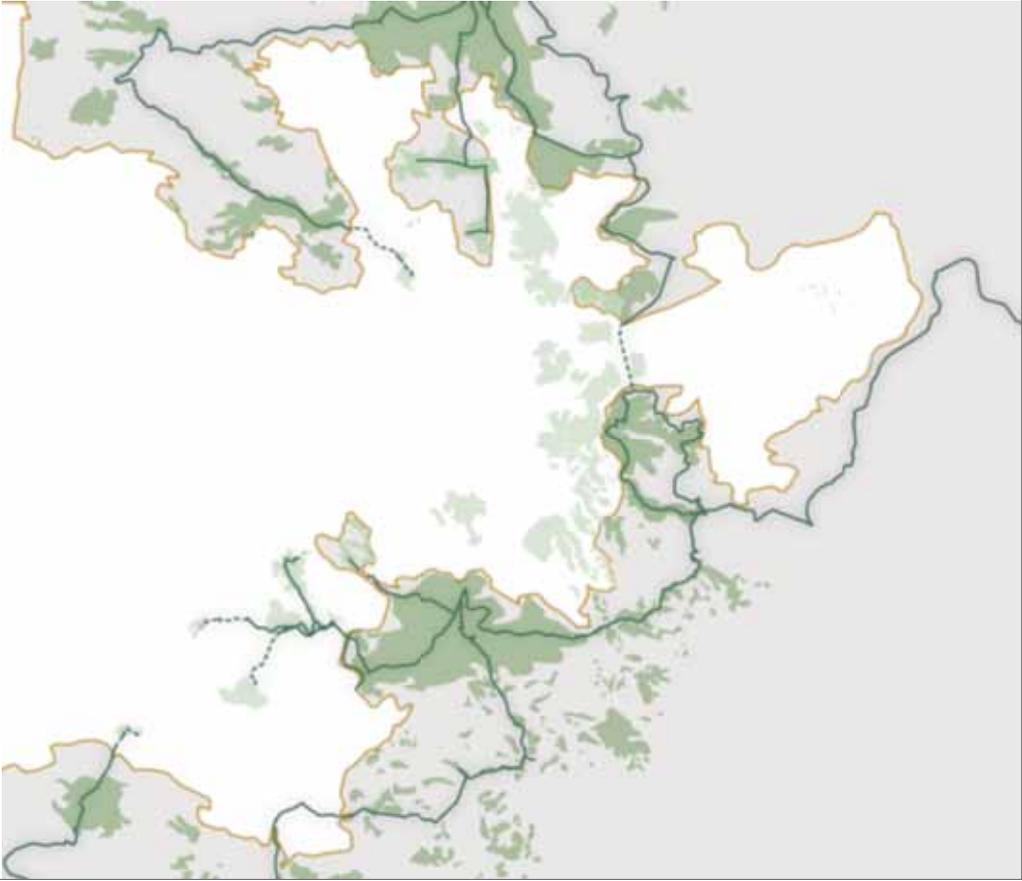
The base-line border of a fragmented Palestine in "Spatial Shaping" and the border in the Ross proposal are one and the same.



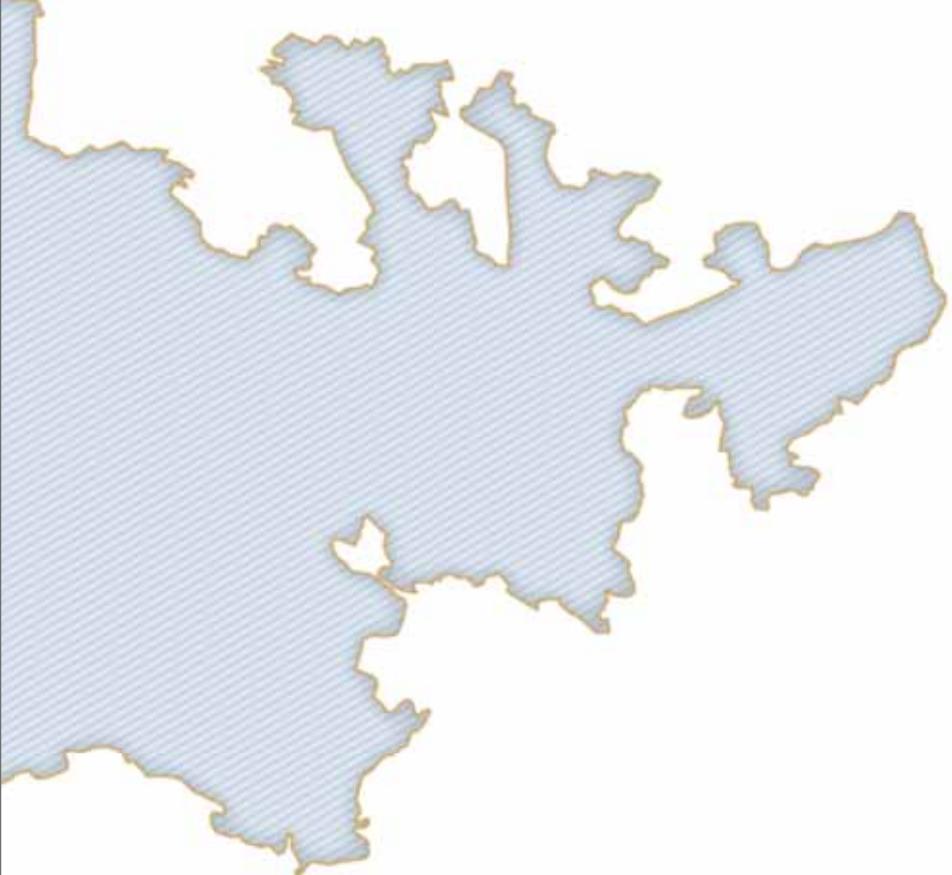
The policies of “Spatial Shaping” create a new base-line border between Israel and Palestine that is incompatible with any reasonable interpretation of the two-state solution.



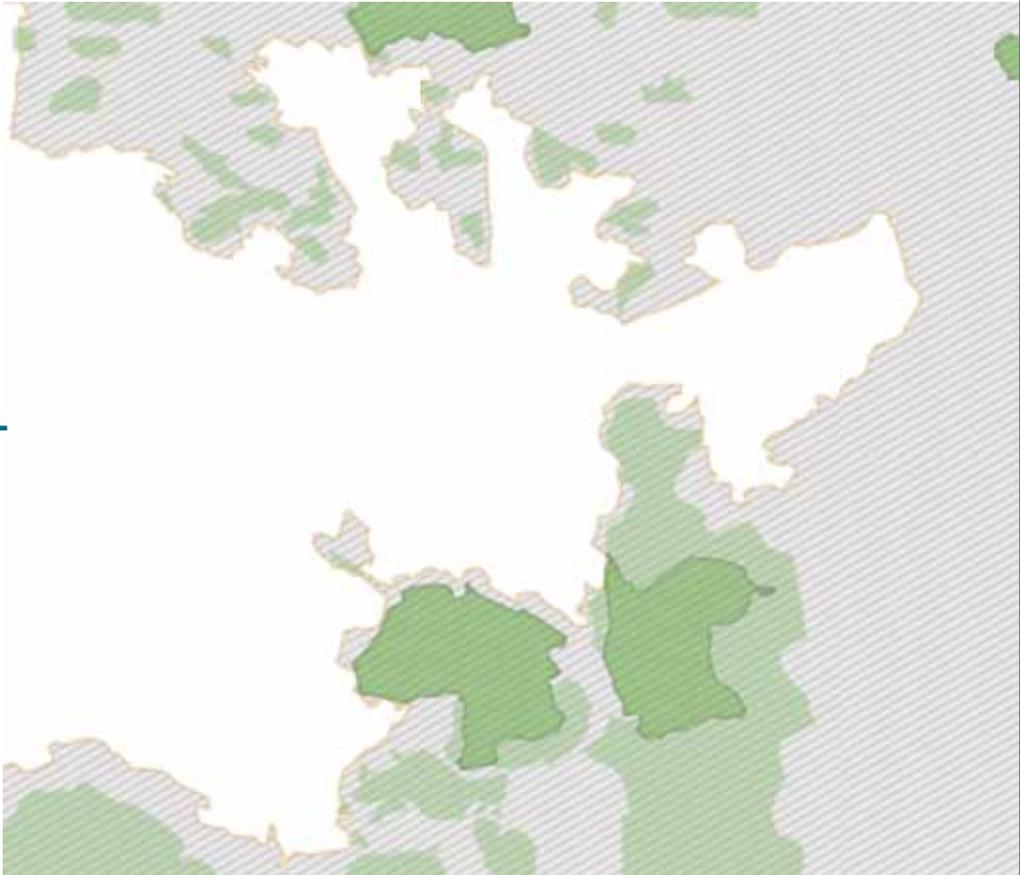
**SPATIAL
SHAPING**



The maps created by the Ross proposal are identical to that created by the policies of “Spatial Shaping”, and if implemented, these proposals will destroy, rather than promote the two-state solution.



**ROSS
PROPOSAL**



The implementation of the Ross agenda will create a new geopolitical reality within a 20 km. radius of Jerusalem's Old City, one that is incompatible with the creation of a viable, contiguous Palestinian State.

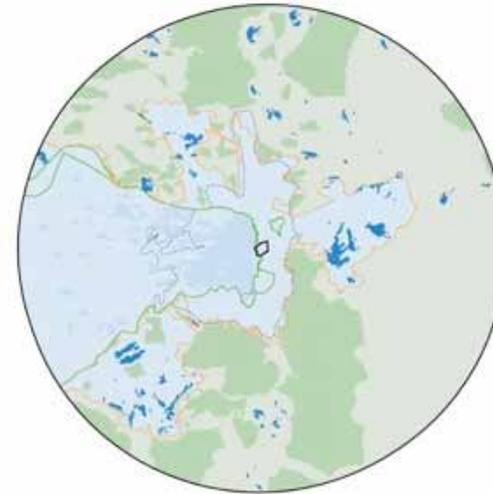
Pre-1967 metropolitan Jerusalem was:



17% Israel, including West Jerusalem

83% West Bank, including East Jerusalem

The new, baseline borders create a reality which is:



39% Israel, including "united Jerusalem" and three large settlement blocs

22% Palestinian West Bank

39% undetermined, and subject to future spatial shaping or negotiations

Conclusions

The Ross agenda and its sister proposals in Israel would create new, unprecedented terms of reference which are incompatible with the two-state solution.

These are:

*** For the first time since 1967, tacit or explicit international legitimacy would be extended to Israeli settlements beyond the Green Line.**

*** These proposals determine that the new base-line border, not the Green Line, would be the basis for future negotiations.**

-  New base-line Israel (Pre-'67 Israel, East Jerusalem and Settlement Blocs in Area C)
-   New base-line Palestine (Areas A and B)
-  Area C - (excluding East Jerusalem and settlement blocs in Area C)



Conclusions

In essence, the Ross proposal and the similar plans being floated in Israel entail the following deal:

In exchange for a settlement freeze in the isolated settlements beyond the settlement blocs, Israel would receive tacit or explicit international consent to continue settlements within its new, base-line border, with devastating impact on the very possibility of creating a viable Palestinian State.

-  New base-line Israel (Pre-'67 Israel, East Jerusalem and Settlement Blocs in Area C)
-   } New base-line Palestine (Areas A and B)
-  Area C - (excluding East Jerusalem and settlement blocs in Area C)



Conclusions

You will be told: “A partial settlement freeze is better than none”.

Wrong.

International engagement challenging Israeli settlements, including within East Jerusalem and the settlement blocs, is critical to keeping the two-state solution alive. This remains true even when such engagement appears to have limited effect.

Accepting the Ross proposal, or anything similar, would almost certainly lead, in short order, to the demise of the two-state solution.

-  New base-line Israel (Pre-'67 Israel, East Jerusalem and Settlement Blocs in Area C)
-   New base-line Palestine (Areas A and B)
-  Area C - (excluding East Jerusalem and settlement blocs in Area C)





Terrestrial Jerusalem

www.t-j.org.il

By Daniel Seidemann

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