

Kashmir

Good morning/afternoon/evening my name is _____ from _____ and we are conducting a survey of public opinion to find out what the people of Jammu and Kashmir believe needs to be done to bring lasting peace and stability to the region.

The Research is being carried out by the staff of the Cvoter Foundation in Delhi and Dr. Colin Irwin from the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool in collaboration with 'THE WEEK'.

The Questions were collected during a month of interviews undertaken by the research team in Ladakh, Jammu (including Kashmiri Pandit camps) and the Kashmir Valley and now we would like to find out what other people in Kashmir think about these topics.

The Results will be made available for public access on the Internet, in the local newspapers and in reports that will be given to all the political parties in Kashmir, India and Pakistan as well as all the major international organisations working in the region.

The Survey involves interviewing two thousand people from all parts of Jammu and Kashmir to complete a representative sample in terms of age, gender, social class, political and ethnic affiliation and geographical area.

Topics covered include the range of problems faced by the people, their politicians and the international community in the region, a range of solutions to deal with these problems and finally some questions that tell us where you fit into our sample.

All your answers will be kept completely confidential.

1. The Problems

People from different communities often hold very different views about the problems at the centre of a conflict. Here is a list of some of the problems given to our research team from the different regions of Jammu and Kashmir. Which problems do you consider to be ‘Very significant’, ‘Significant’, ‘Of some significance’, ‘Of little significance’ or ‘Of no significance at all’.

	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance at all
1. India and Pakistan talking for 20 or 30 years with no result					
2. Pakistan and India are using the Kashmiri people for their own interests					
3. No consensus for a solution in India					
4. The PM does not include people from both sides of Kashmir in the Round Table Talks					
5. The PM’s Round Table is compromised by previous commitments not being fulfilled					
6. Kashmir Separatist leadership will not negotiate					
7. Violence instigated by domestic Mujahidin					
8. Violence instigated by Pakistan					
9. Violence instigated by international Jihadists					
10. Violence instigated by the Indian Army					
11. The <i>rebel fighters</i> * who give up the armed struggle are harassed by the security forces					
12. India is not showing any flexibility on demilitarization					
13. The Government’s rejection of the United Jihad Council’s offer for a ceasefire					
14. The <i>rebel fighters</i> disregard for Human Rights					
15. Pandit refugees unable to return home in fear of life, property and honour of women					
16. The government claims to speak on behalf of the Pandits					
17. The political leadership of Kashmir is divided					
18. Religious identity politics in J and K will have a negative impact on the rest of India					
19. The people of J and K are separated by language, religion, culture and geography					
20. Politicians discriminate against minorities					
21. Kashmir politicians discriminate against Ladakh and Jammu					
22. Ineffective State Human Rights Commission					

* The term *rebel fighters* is used in this questionnaire in place of the two more commonly used terms ‘Mujahidin’ and ‘Militants’ except in question 7 and 9 above where a clear distinction is to be made between domestic and international fighters.

23. Denial of democratic rights					
24. Non-cooperation and separation leads to the deepening of the conflict					
25. 20,000 applications pending for bus to Azad Kashmir					
26. Failure to settle the Kashmir issue prevents large inward investment such as Hydro-electric					
27. Economic development has been politicised					
28. The vested interests of all the groups involved in keeping the conflict going					
29. Corrupt administration					
30. Poor quality of infrastructure and services					
31. High levels of unemployment					
32. Poor quality of education					
33. Our culture, language and religion is threatened by modern development					
34. Our children are confused by so much change coming from outside					
35. If Government do not take advantage of the current desire for peace then the opportunity for peace may be lost					
36. The problem is only in the Valley					
37. Independence will not bring safe borders with Kashmir's neighbours					

Choosing your options for peace and stability in the region

Most of the remainder of this questionnaire will present you with various options on what could be done to improve the prospects for peace and stability in the region. For each option you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' and for the purposes of this poll 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' mean:

'Essential' – You believe this option is an extremely necessary part of a secure, stable and better future for the region and should be fully implemented.

'Desirable' – This option is not what you would consider to be 'Essential', but you think this option, or something very similar to it, is a good idea and should be put into practice.

'Acceptable' – This option is not what you would consider to be 'Desirable', if you were given a choice, but you could certainly 'live with it'.

'Tolerable' – This option is not what you want. But, as part of a secure, stable and better future, you would be willing to put up with it.

'Unacceptable' – This option is totally unacceptable under any circumstances. You would not accept it, even as part of a secure, stable and better future for the region.

You may use each of the terms 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' as many times as you wish in each question.

2. Economic solutions

With regards to the future peace and stability of Kashmir please indicate which of the following economic options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Effective independent Commission to deal with corruption					
2. Build infrastructure and communications					
3. Develop herbal medicines, horticulture and forestry					
4. Develop hydro electric power to reduce dependency					
5. Safeguards against external economic invasion					
6. Restrict external investment in property to leases of no more than 99 years					
7. Open trade between India and Pakistan					
8. Joint strategies for economic development between the 2 Kashmirs					
9. Telephone links between the 2 Kashmirs					
10. Start trade across the LoC					
11. Open roads of ancient silk route between Leh, Tibet and Pakistan					

3. Education solutions

With regards to education please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Student exchange programmes between ethnic groups					
2. New textbooks on good governance and human rights					
3. Education should be secular					
4. Improve the education for all disadvantaged people in J and K					
5. Inspectorate of schools to monitor standards					
6. Madrasas should be licensed by Government					
7. Pandits should be given intellectual space in existing institutions of higher education					
8. All students in J and K should be educated together					
9. Preserve and teach the Bhoti (Ladakh) language for both Shias and Budists					
10. The Bhoti (Ladakh) language should be included in Schedule 8 of the Indian Constitution					

4. Security solutions

With regards to security please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. The violence should stop from all sides					
2. <i>Rebel fighters</i> and the Indian Army should cease all hostilities					
3. Pakistan should stop supporting <i>rebel fighters</i> in Jammu and Kashmir and close all training camps					
4. Pressure from the International Community to get camps closed					
5. Pakistan and India should work together for a ceasefire					
6. Government should open up channels of communication with <i>rebel fighters</i> to establish a ceasefire					
7. Discussions of security at the central, state, regional and sub-regional levels					
8. Negotiate and agree all aspects of Indian Army activity in J and K					
9. Reduce the Indian Army presence in J and K					
10. Demilitarise civilian areas					
11. Demilitarise places of higher education					
12. Army should provide a peace building service as they have in Tangdhar					
13. Peace Building and Human Rights training for all security services working in civil areas					
14. Serious abuses of Human Rights by the security services should be prosecuted to the full extent of the law					
15. Detainees should be kept in jails where their families can visit them					
16. All Detainees should be released					
17. All reports concerning missing persons should be made public within 30 days					
18. Investigate all killings of who killed whom					
19. All cases of murder, loot and rape should be prosecuted					
20. Pandits need their own homeland for security					
21. Those who give up the gun should be allowed to pursue a free life without harassment from the security services					
22. The Indian forces should completely withdraw from J and K					
23. Forces of both India and Pakistan should withdraw from both sides of Kashmir					
24. Resolve the conflict through armed struggle					

5. Human Rights solutions and the law

With regards to Human Rights and the law which of the following options do you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Majorities and minorities should be treated the same					
2. Effective laws to protect all minorities in J and K					
3. More powers for the State Human Rights Commission					
4. The Human Rights Commission should teach people their rights					
5. Minority rights in an independent Kashmir will be guaranteed by Islamic law					
6. International Human Rights organisations should be allowed to operate in J and K					
7. The RTI (Right to Information Act) for J and K should be more effective					
8. The Special Powers, Disturbed Areas and Public Safety Acts should be repealed					
9. Pass a law requiring everyone to vote					

6. Refugee solutions

With regards to refugees (sometimes referred to as IDPs – Internally Displaced Persons) please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. All Kashmiries should be allowed to live together again as they did in the past					
2. Establish a Parliamentary Commission of enquiry into the mass exodus of Pandits					
3. The Central Government should work with Pandits to develop a policy for return					
4. Government should resettle existing Pandit refugees in the Valley so that others will follow from outside the Valley					
5. Establish a Commission to settle refugee Pandits property matters					
6. All funds and jobs should be distributed fairly according to the ration cards					
7. Freeze the 1989 electoral list					
8. 1947 PaK refugees should have the right to vote, hold property and government jobs					
9. Refugees in Azad Kashmir should be allowed to return home just like Pandit refugees					
10. Facilitate the return of youths who have crossed the LoC					

7. General peace building solutions

With regards to general peace building solutions please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Give Kashmir real hope that a solution is coming					
2. We must learn from the past					
3. Live by culture, language and history in addition to religion					
4. All NGOs and Civil Society should co-operate to bring the common people together					
5. The media should be objective and not take sides in the conflict					
6. Build a secular pluralist society					
7. Build identity based on common Kashmir symbols such as Nund Rishi and Lal Ded					
8. Restore, protect and open all Temples and Shrines					
9. Take Kashmir ethnic politics out of election campaigns					
10. Separatists should participate in elections					
11. Politics in Kashmir should focus on education and development					
12. Delhi should work constructively with the J and K government without manipulating their affairs					
13. Pakistan should be our friend but not our master					
14. Open borders for social, cultural and economic exchange					
15. Make travel across the LoC easier					
16. Make the bus service across the LoC available to the whole of the population on both sides					
17. Everyone who wants to cross the LoC for religious festivals should be allowed to do so					
18. Cooperation and friendship leads to conflict resolution					
19. Women from all regions of Jammu and Kashmir and Pakistan-administered Kashmir should be included in all aspects of the peace process					

8. Negotiation solutions

With regards to negotiations which of the following options do you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Resolve the conflict through negotiation					
2. India should have a debate on solution					
3. Pakistan and India should talk directly to each other					
4. America or Europe should be an honest broker between India and Pakistan to settle the Kashmir dispute					
5. India and Pakistan should reach a compromise without input from Kashmir					
6. Kashmiri people must be part of any talks and settlement of the Kashmir issue					
7. India and Pakistan should facilitate intra Kashmir dialogue					
8. India, Pakistan, Shrinagar and Muzzafarabad must all be part of any solution of the Kashmir issue					
9. Negotiation of the peace process must include all 5 regions of Kashmir: Northern Areas, Azad Kashmir, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh					
10. Don't stop talking because of political radical groups					
11. Religious extremists should not be allowed to negotiate the future of J and K					
12. Take Kashmir issue out of daily politics and hand it to an all party committee					
13. Institutionalise the Kashmir Round Table with a permanent secretariat					
14. Under the authority of a joint Indian and Pakistan commission monitored by SARC hold elections to negotiations for the final settlement of J and K					
15. Establish inclusive working groups to undertake the groundwork and set the agenda for India, Pakistan and leaders of Kashmir					
16. Establish an independent commission and forum for peace and reconciliation in Kashmir					
17. All parties should enter into discussions without delay and express their true opinion					
18. Give refugees representation in negotiations					
19. Ladakh should start talks with the Government for a Union Territory					
20. Involve all minorities in writing the Constitution for a Ladakh Union Territory					

9. Constitutional solutions

With regards to constitutional reform which of the following options do you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. The people of J and K should exercise their rights to a plebiscite in accordance with UN resolutions					
2. Kashmir should be with Pakistan					
3. Kashmir should be with India					
4. Kashmir should be an independent country					
5. Direct Rule from Delhi in J and K					
6. J and K should be a secular state					
7. Full implementation of Article 370 with Kashmir administered as it was before 1953					
8. Present status should continue					
9. Defence and Foreign policy should stay with India and everything else should stay with J and K					
10. All the Districts of J and K should be allowed to decide their own future					
11. Each region should have autonomy within the larger unity of the J and K State					
12. Make 3 separate states under India – Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh					
13. Establish a Union Territory of Panun Kashmir based on Indian Constitution					
14. Establish Union Territory of Ladakh					
15. Ladakh should remain with India					
16. Ladakh should keep control of its land and culture					
17. Share power (CM, Deputy etc) between Budisit and Shias in Ladakh					
18. Create a Greater Ladakh including Lah, Kargil, Northern Areas and Aksai Chin					
19. Create a Greater Kashmir including the Valley, Doda, Poonch, Rajauri and Kargil					
20. Create 6 Regional Councils in Kashmir: Lai, Kargil, the Valley, Doda, Poonch and Jammu					
21. Consultation between all Districts					
22. No political borders in Kashmir					
23. Make LoC the permanent boundary					
24. Call the Occupied Territories Eastern and Western Kashmir					
25. Joint management by Pakistan and India					
26. Make Line of Control irrelevant					
27. Decentralise to 3 regions and Kashmir and Northern Territories in Pakistan					
28. Decentralise to all levels of government down to the village					
29. Union of South Asian Countries to cooperate on economic and terrorism issues					

10. A constitutional package for Kashmir

With regards to a constitutional package for Kashmir please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1. Join Pakistan - All of J and K should become a part of Pakistan like any other Pakistan Province					
2. Full Independence – All 5 Districts should join to become the independent state of Kashmir with responsibility for both their domestic and foreign policy and protecting their boarders with Pakistan, India and China					
3. Disintegration – Each of the 5 Districts should be allowed to choose their own future with Pakistan or India					
4. Regional integration and devolution – Pakistan and Indian Kashmir should function like a Co-Federation with an open boarder and decentralisation/local control in all Regions, Districts and Blocks					
5. No change – The status quo should stay the same with present Central, State and Regional arrangements for governance					
6. Autonomy – Full implementation of Article 370 and return to the status existing in J and K before 1953 with a Parliament and Prime Minister leaving only defence, foreign policy and communications to India					
7. Join India – All of J and K should become a part of India like any other Indian State					

And finally do you want all the questions in this poll to be asked in Pakistan-administered Kashmir?

8.	Yes	No
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