1. What was the historical cause? (unfinished agenda?)
   Was it objective / subjective/ interpersonal / coincidental?
   Are we subject to emotional stress as nations?
2. Has the nature of the conflict changed because of the following?
   a) Passage of time
   b) Political development of India and Pakistan
   c) Outcome of conventional wars/battles
   d) Birth of Bangladesh
   e) Post 9/11 world conditions
   f) Economic globalization
3. Is this a Pakistan versus India issue? In a sense a mini-civilizational conflict?
   Two nation theory being reinvented? Is Kashmir only a system/excuse?
4. Is there a role model available for peace/movement to peace?
5. Is India's firm refusal to accept third party intervention based on one or several of the following?
   a) Apprehension about the outcome?
   b) Definitional issues related to secularism?
   c) Strategic concerns?
6. What is the extent of internal problems in J&K? Has enough been done to address it?
7. Should peace efforts be India-Pakistan driven or should they be Kashmir and Kashmiris driven?
8. Does India accept the reality of Pakistan? (What is the reality?)
   Does Pakistan accept the reality of India? (Has that reality changed substantially in recent years?)
9. What is the size of peace constituencies in India and Pakistan? How strong are the hawks?
10. Is peace between the two countries more possible/likely if there is a civilian government in Pakistan and or BJP-led government in India? Or is it irrelevant?
11. Are the two governments doing enough to educate their people about the need/possibility of shifting from publicly stated positions? Will conspicuous American presence itself continue to raise suspicions amongst common people
and therefore fuel the public rejection of the government's initiative by the political opposition?

**The path that needs to be taken:**

- We need to demystify peace endeavours
- We need to have and to show courage
- We need to look at innovative solutions (take a leaf out of China's book on Hong Kong/Taiwan)
- We need to look at give-and-take measures (compensatory justice)
- We need to give each other vested interests (official contacts/trade/cultural and institutional links/Track II or III dialogue)