



Analysis

Changes Expected in Afghan Political Landscape Leading Up to 2014

Open source reporting indicates the Afghan political landscape, presently dominated by four political groupings and a number of prominent politicians, is likely to undergo further changes in the lead-up to the presidential elections and withdrawal of ISAF forces in 2014. Differing views of the Taliban threat as ISAF withdraws is likely to help drive the realignment and consolidation of political forces. This realignment may result in two major groupings: President Hamid Karzai and allies keen on working with the Taliban versus former anti-Taliban forces and others opposed to the government's alleged appeasement toward the militants. Such consolidation would likely lead the emerging generation of younger leaders to choose between joining one of the groupings or risk being marginalized at the national level.

Four main political groupings -- Karzai's camp, the National Front of Afghanistan (NFA), the National Coalition of Afghanistan (NCA), and the Truth and Justice Party (TJP) -- are currently dominating the Afghan political scene (See Appendix for more details on key figures and positions of the four groups).

- Karzai's camp is currently the dominant group but is a tenuous alliance of convenience among elements of former anti-Taliban forces, Hezb-e Islami (HI), and the Pashtun nationalist Afghan Mellat Party (AMP).^a
- The NFA was launched in November 2011 by former Karzai allies who now oppose many of his policies. It features some prominent anti-Taliban figures, including Hazara leader Mohammad Mohaqeq, Uzbek leader Abdul Rashid Dostum, and former Vice President Ahmad Zia Massoud (*Daily Afghanistan*, 12 November 2011).¹
- The NCA was created in December 2011 as a successor to the Coalition for Change and Hope and is led by former Foreign Minister Abdullah Abdullah and former parliament speaker Mohammad Yunus Qanuni. Like NFA, it opposes Karzai and features some prominent anti-Taliban leaders (*Bokhdinews*, 22 December 2011).²
- The TJP was launched in early November 2011 by a number of former cabinet ministers and lawmakers who lost their seats in the 2010 parliamentary elections, including former Minister of Rural Development Mohammad Ihsan Zia and former Interior Minister Mohammad Hanif Atmar. It is the weakest of the four main groupings and does not oppose Karzai's policies as strongly as the NFA or NCA. (*Pajhwok Afghan News*, 3 November 2011; *Kabulpress*, 20 November 2011).^{3 4 5 6 7 8}

In addition, there are a handful of prominent Afghan figures with links to some of these groupings, although currently they do not formally belong to any of them: Balkh Governor

^a See the 9 December 2008 OSC Report, **Afghanistan's Political Landscape -- Hezb-e Islami Splintered** (IAP20081209573001), and the 8 May 2009 OSC Report, **Afghan Mellat -- A Political Party, Nation-Building Ideology** (IAP20090508749001).

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Atta Mohammad Nur, Nangarhar Governor Gol Agha Sherzai, former intelligence chief Amrullah Saleh, Badakhshan MP Fawzia Koofi, Kabul MP Ramazan Bashardost, and Nangarhar MP Abdul Zaher Qadir.

Shifting Alliances

The current configuration of major political forces is likely to change, given their internal rivalries and the history of shifting alliances in the past.

- The future of Karzai's camp is uncertain because he is limited to two terms by the Constitution. The unity of the group may depend on whom Karzai eventually backs as presidential candidate, or if he retains power by some other means. So far the media have speculated on his brother Abdul Qayyum Karzai, Minister of Education Farooq Wardak, and First Vice President Mohammad Qasim Fahim as Karzai's possible favorites (*Mandegar Daily*, 4 December 2011; Bokhdinews, 27 December 2011; *Abdullah.af*, 8 January).^{9 10 11} However, the factionalized nature of the group may make it difficult for any successor to hold the entire group together.
- The unity of the NFA is also tenuous, given the fickleness of its leadership's past alliances. Massoud and Dostum were in fact part of a previous alliance of exactly the same name and agenda, but the alliance disintegrated in the lead-up to the 2009 presidential elections.^b
- The NCA has not yet agreed on a candidate for the 2014 presidential elections, which may prove divisive for the group. As runners-up in 2004 and 2009 elections respectively, both Mohammad Yunus Qanuni and Abdullah Abdullah may aspire to the presidency.¹²¹³

Impact of Taliban Threat

The erstwhile anti-Taliban leaders in the NFA and NCA have in recent months expressed alarm -- possibly as a genuine concern but maybe also as a political mobilization strategy -- about the increasing threat of the Taliban within and outside the government as the ISAF withdrawal draws nearer.

- In a 1 April meeting of the NFA leadership in Kabul, Massoud warned that the government is "working toward strengthening the terrorist groups," adding that "senior government leaders are trying to facilitate the penetration of the Taliban into the security forces." In the same meeting Mohaqeq observed that "now the [anti-Taliban] resistance forces have been disarmed, Karzai wants to make peace with the Taliban singlehandedly," adding that the US "made a mistake by announcing a withdrawal timeframe for its forces" (*Jabha-e Melli*, 2 April; Bokhdinews, 1 April).^{14 15} NFA leaders have made similar remarks on several other occasions in recent months.^{16 17 18}

^b See the 22 December 2008 OSC Report, **Afghanistan -- Jabha-e Melli Seeks Alternative Political System** (FEA20081229803678), and the 18 August 2009 OSC Report, **Afghanistan -- Impact of Shifting Alliances on Election Unclear** (IAP20090818564001).

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- Similarly, in a 1 April interview, NCA's Qanuni alleged that "Karzai's thoughts are more inclined toward the Taliban than our lot [anti-Taliban forces]," adding that "individuals with pro-Taliban orientations have more of an impact on the president's mind" (Jomhornews, 1 April).^{19 20} In an address to the youth wing of the NCA on 12 April, Qanuni again warned that in an effort to perpetuate their rule, the government leadership is trying to "facilitate the return of terrorism and the Taliban" (Bostnews, 12 April).²¹

Growing concerns about the Taliban threat and its role in post-2014 Afghanistan may consolidate the political landscape around two political, and possibly even militarized, rival clusters.

- A merger of the NFA and NCA at some point before or during 2014 is possible, given their similar political agendas and common anti-Taliban roots. Both groups have called for parliamentary government and elected governors and are suspicious of reconciliation with the Taliban. The differences between them seem to be mainly of a personal nature at the leadership level. Massoud indicated recently that NFA and NCA would "merge soon" to which Abdullah responded by saying that NCA "have not yet decided on merger with [NFA]" (Bokhdinews, 17, 20 January).^{22 23} NCA might pursue the idea of merger more favorably after Abdullah's rotating leadership ends, since Qanuni has expressed desire for a "grand national umbrella" to confront the looming Taliban threat (Jomhornews, 1 April).²⁴
- In an 11 March gathering, former anti-Taliban leaders from a cross-section of the major political clusters, including Karzai's camp, urged unity and even military preparedness among the anti-Taliban forces. Karzai ally MP Abdurrab Rasul Sayyaf said: "Be very careful that we should not be undermined from within under the divisive pretexts of ethnicity, region, and language; we should preserve this united body at any cost." He warned the anti-Taliban forces not to "sit unconcerned about the future; do not be totally oblivious and unaware about today and post-2014 and thereabouts." (Tolonews, 11 March).²⁵ Massoud suggested that the anti-Taliban forces should revive their "military structures" in anticipation of ISAF withdrawal (*Jabha-e Melli*, 12 March).²⁶

Should the NFA and NCA unify and attract major anti-Taliban leaders among Karzai's allies, the remainder of the Karzai camp may rely increasingly on HI and some level of cooperation even from the Taliban to remain politically relevant.

- In the context of his remarks to deny reports that the insurgent group Hezb-e Islami Gulbuddin (HIG) had severed negotiations with the government, HIG chief negotiator Ghairat Bahir effectively endorsed Karzai's leadership by saying that "from our perspective Hamid Karzai is the president of Afghanistan" (Bokhdinews, 29 January).²⁷
- Similarly, the Afghan Government's backing of the Taliban's opening of an office in Qatar and the Afghan ambassador to Pakistan's suggestive remarks, in a 3 April interview with UK's *Guardian* newspaper, that negotiations would lead to the Taliban's participation in presidential elections suggests that at least some in Karzai's camp may

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be willing to court the militants to countervail the anti-Taliban forces' influence (*Hewad*, 7 April; *Hasht-e Sobh*, 8, 9 April).^{28 29 30 31}

- State-run newspaper *Hewad* issued a strongly worded editorial against a 5 May 2011 opposition rally and approvingly quoted a former Taliban leader's denunciatory words, perhaps portending the dichotomization of politics along pro- and anti-Taliban lines (7 May 2011).³²

Limited Options for TJP, Independents

The consolidation of the political landscape around two major political forces would likely force various TJP and emerging independent figures either to join one of the major groupings or risk becoming ineffectual at the national level.

- Amrullah Saleh's political career since his resignation in June 2010 as intelligence chief is perhaps instructive about the prospects of aspiring independent leaders. For almost a year after his resignation, Saleh campaigned as an emerging independent leader.^c Finally, he organized a huge political rally in Kabul on 5 May 2011, in which Abdullah also participated (*Tolonews*, 5 May 2011).^{33 34} The rally likely provided Abdullah with a platform to reaffirm his sagging leadership since 2009 elections, but it also helped Saleh gain a semblance of major cluster patronage against Karzai's camp. In recent months Saleh has worked with NFA without officially committing to its membership (*Jabha-e Melli*, 1 May).^{35 36}
- Other aspiring leaders such as Koofi, Bashardost, Qadir and those affiliated with the TJP may also need to either coalesce around the major political clusters or risk being pushed into the sidelines of national politics in a possibly dichotomized political landscape.^d

^c See the 13 August 2010 OSC Analysis, **Afghan Media Treat Former NDS Chief as Karzai Critic** (FEA20100816008341); and the 17 November 2011 OSC Analysis, **Afghan Media Provide Broad Coverage of Former NDS Chief Saleh** (SAF20111117643002).

^d Koofi -- the highest female vote winner and among the top ten vote winners overall in the 2010 parliamentary elections -- has declared her intention to run in the 2014 presidential elections (*The Guardian*, 17 February). Bashardost was third runner-up behind Karzai and Abdullah in the 2009 elections and he has been a staunch critic of both the government and political opposition (See 14 July 2009 OSC Report, **Profile of Ramazan Bashardost** (IAP20090714570001). Deputy parliament speaker Qadir is head of the largest parliamentary bloc, the Coalition for the Rule of Law, since June 2011 (*Pajhwok*, 22 June 2011). Nur and Sherzai have stronger power bases and are more likely to be able to retain their influence as independent leaders.

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APPENDIX

Details of Afghan Political Groupings

GROUPING	KEY FIGURES	POLITICAL VIEWS
Karzai Camp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First Vice President Mohammad Qasim Fahim • Second Vice President Karim Khalili • MP Abdurrab Rasul Sayyaf • Energy and Water Minister Mohammad Ismael Khan • HI leader and Economy Minister Abdul Hadi Arghandiwal • AMP leader and Minister of Commerce and Industries Anwar-ul Haq Ahadi • Education Minister Farooq Wardak 	Karzai himself supports the presidential form of government and the president's authority to appoint provincial governors. He is also keen on negotiations with the Taliban and HIG. Other coalition members come from a variety of political traditions with varied views on the above, but appear to go along with official government policy under Karzai's leadership.
National Front of Afghanistan (NFA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Former Vice President Ahmad Zia Massoud • Hazara leader Mohammad Mohaqeq • Uzbek leader Abdul Rashid Dostum 	NFA advocates a parliamentary system, elected governors, and decentralization of power. It is critical of government policies on Taliban reconciliation and supports US engagement in Afghanistan.
National Coalition of Afghanistan (NCA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Former Foreign Minister Abdullah Abdullah • Former parliament speaker Mohammad Yunos Qanuni 	NCA advocates a parliamentary system and elected governors. It is critical of government policies on Taliban reconciliation and supports US engagement in Afghanistan.
Truth and Justice Party (TJP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Former Interior Minister Mohammad Hanif Atmar • Former Minister of Rural Development Mohammad Ihsan Zia 	TJP has not taken a position on the government structure. It has alleged that the government's peace policy is "non-transparent" and has vowed to work with "people and other likeminded political institutions" toward a "just peace and lasting security."

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¹ [Online Publication | | Daily Afghanistan | National Front of Afghanistan Officially Launched | 12 November 2011 | | http://www.dailyafghanistan.com/latest_detail.php?post_id=122962 | 13 April 2012 | Kabul Daily Afghanistan in Dari -- six-page independent daily launched in Q3 2006; comes in good quality hard copy; covers politics, cultural issues and news]

² [Online Publication | | Bokhdi News Agency | The Launch of the National Coalition Sounded Rang the Bell for Future Presidential Election | 22 December 2011 | | <http://www.bokhdinews.net/news/6311> | 26 March 2012 | Independent News Agency, in Dari, Pashto and English, based in Kabul. URL: www.bokhdinews.net]

³ [Online Publication | | Truth and Justice Party | Our Programs | 12 December 2011 | | <http://www.rjp.af/index.php/fa/2011-12-27-10-34-33/2011-12-27-10-36-47/item/67> | 25 April 2012 | Official website for Truth and Justice Party. URL: www.rjp.af]

⁴ [Online Publication | | Truth and Justice Party | The Elected Leadership of Truth and Justice Party | 27 December 2011 | | <http://www.rjp.af/index.php/fa/2011-12-27-10-34-33/xm-xm> | 28 March 2012 | Official website for Truth and Justice Party. URL: www.rjp.af]

⁵ [OSC | | OSC ID: SAP20111124950036 | 24 November 2011 | | BBCM Analysis: Afghanistan's Right & Justice Party Faces Uphill Task | | (U) | (U) |]

⁶ [OSC | | OSC ID: SAP20111103950079 | 3 November 2011 | | Former Afghan Interior Minister Forms New Party | | (U) | (U) | Kabul Pajhwok Afghan News in English -- independent news agency]

⁷ [Online Publication | | BBC Persian Service | Hanif Atmar Informed About the Formation of a New Political Party in Afghanistan | 3 November 2011 | | http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/afghanistan/2011/11/111103_k01_afg_atmar_party.shtml | 28 March 2012 | Website for BBC Persian Service]

⁸ [Online Publication | | Kabulpress | A Look at the Formation of the Truth and Justice Party | 20 November 2011 | | <http://kabulpress.org/my/spip.php?article88308> | 28 March 2012 | Kabulpress is an independent website owned and managed by controversial Afghan journalist Kamran Mirhazar. The website specializes in investigative journalism with articles highly critical of the Afghan government, political opposition and the militants. During 2009 presidential elections, Kabulpress supported outspoken MP Ramazan Bashardost's candidacy. URL: www.kabulpress.org].

⁹ [Online Publication | | Mandegar Daily | Qayyum Karzai to Become Presidential Candidate | 4 December 2011 | | <http://mandegardaily.af/IMG/pdf/No-703.pdf> | 30 March 2012 | Kabul Mandegar in Dari -- Daily newspaper launched in April 2009, published in Kabul, Herat and Mazar-e Sharif; the newspaper has reported that its proprietor is Ahmad Wali Masud, brother of both former First Vice-President Ahmad Zia Masud and assassinated Northern Alliance commander Ahmad Shah Masud; Mandegar has a similar format and content to the Payman daily, which closed in February 2009 following government pressure after it published an article deemed to have insulted Islam.]

¹⁰ [Online Publication | | Bokhdi News Agency | Farooq Wardak Resigned From His Position at the High Peace Council | 27 December 2011 | | <http://bokhdinews.af/news/6347> | 30 March 2012 | Independent News Agency, in Dari, Pashto and English, based in Kabul. URL: www.bokhdinews.net]

¹¹ [Online Publication | | drabdullah.af | Karzai's Exit from Politics | 8 January 2012 | | <http://www.drabdullah.af/talk59.php> | 29 March 2012 | Description of Source: Kabul Mandegar in Dari -- Daily newspaper launched in April 2009, published in Kabul, Herat and Mazar-e Sharif; the newspaper has reported that its proprietor is Ahmad Wali Masud, brother of both former First Vice-President Ahmad Zia Masud and assassinated Northern Alliance commander Ahmad Shah Masud; Mandegar has a similar format and content to the Payman daily, which closed in February 2009 following government pressure after it published an article deemed to have insulted Islam]

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¹² [Online Publication | | Independent Election Commission of Afghanistan | Afghanistan Election Results - 2004 | 4 November 2004 | | http://www.iec.org.af/Public_html/Election%20Results%20Website/english/english.htm | 13 April 2012 | Official website for the Independent Election Commission of Afghanistan. URL: www.iec.org.af.]

¹³ [Online Publication | | Independent Election Commission of Afghanistan | IEC - 2009 Election Results | 20 August 2009 | | http://www.iec.org.af/results_2009/?phpMyAdmin=5918814359a9c7d86aecbc64a35a592d&phpMyAdmin=84dcac90c9ded2016426264a0e469bc0 | 13 April 2012 | Official website for the Independent Election Commission of Afghanistan. URL: <http://www.iec.org.af>.]

¹⁴ [Online Publication | | Afghanistan's National Front | National Front Leaders' Warning About Taliban's Infiltration of the Government | 2 April 2012 | | http://jabhemelli.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=122:2012-04-02-11-50-26&catid=36:politics&Itemid=54 | 5 April 2012 | National Front's official website and Weekly: URL: www.jabhemelli.com.]

¹⁵ [Online Publication | | Bokhdi News Agency | National Front Leaders: American Should Not Abandon the Afghan Nation to the Taliban | 1 April 2012 | | <http://www.bokhdinews.af/political/8043> | 4 April 2012 | Independent News Agency, in Dari, Pashto and English, based in Kabul. URL: www.bokhdinews.net]

¹⁶ [OSC | | OSC ID: SAP20120330651001 | 14 January 2012 | | Mohaqeq Details the National Front Stance on Changing the System in Afghanistan | | (U) | (U) | Rah-e Farda -- Independent TV station owned by Hazara political leader and MP Mohammad Mohaqeq. URL: <http://www.farda.af>]

¹⁷ [Online Publication | | Tolonews Online | News Bulletin | 31 December 2011 | | <http://www.tolonews.com/en/nightly-news/4851-tolonews-31-december-2011> | 4 April 2012 | Website for Kabul Website for Tolo News in Dari and Pashto -- independent 24/7 news channel; part of the Moby Media Group. URL: www.tolonews.com]

¹⁸ [Online Publication | | Tolonews Online | Taliban Is Still Strong, National Front Says | 23 February 2012 | | <http://www.tolonews.com/en/afghanistan/5450-taliban-is-still-strong-national-front-says> | 4 April 2012 | Website for Kabul Tolo News in Dari and Pashto -- independent 24/7 news channel; part of the Moby Media Group. URL: www.tolonews.com]

¹⁹ [Online Publication | | Jomhornews | Karzai's Thoughts Are Inclined More Towards the Taliban Than Our Lot and Amalgam | 1 April 2012 | | <http://www.jomhornews.com/importandnews/3829.html> | 2 April 2012 | Independent News Agency based in Kabul. URL: www.jomhornews.com]

²⁰ [Online Publication | | National Coalition of Afghanistan | Karzai's Thoughts Are Inclined More Towards the Taliban Than Our Side and Amalgam | 1 April 2012 | | <http://www.nca.af/fa/view.php?id=2049> | 4 April 2012 | Website of the National Coalition of Afghanistan (NCA) under the rotating leadership of former presidential candidate Abdullah Abdullah; former parliament speaker Mohammad Younus Qanuni is another prominent NCA leader; website has separate Dari, Pashto and English sections; URL: www.nca.af.]

²¹ [Online Publication | | Bost News Agency | Bost Bastan News | 12 April 2012 | | http://bostnews.com/details_dr.php?id=9082&cid=1 | 13 April 2012 | Independent News Agency based in Kabul. URL: www.bostnews.com]

²² [Online Publication | | Bokhdinews | Ahmad Zia Massoud: We Will Soon Merge With National Coalition | 17 January 2012 | | <http://www.bokhdinews.af/political/6640> | 10 April 2012 | Independent News Agency, in Dari, Pashto and English, based in Kabul. URL: www.bokhdinews.net]

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- ²³ [Online Publication | | Bokhdinews | Abdullah: We Have Not Yet Decided on Merger with National Front | 20 January 2012 | | <http://www.bokhdinews.net/political/6680> | 10 April 2012 | Independent News Agency, in Dari, Pashto and English, based in Kabul. URL: www.bokhdinews.net]
- ²⁴ [Online Publication | | Jomhornews | Karzai's Thoughts Are Inclined More Towards the Taliban Than Our Side and Amalgam | 1 April 2012 | | <http://www.jomhornews.com/importandnews/3829.html> | 2 April 2012 | Independent News Agency based in Kabul. URL: www.jomhornews.com]
- ²⁵ [Online Publication | | Tolonews | | 11 March 2012 | | <http://tolonews.com/en/anightly-news/5606-tolonews-11-march-2012> | 5 April 2012 | Website for Kabul Tolo News in Dari and Pashto -- independent 24/7 news channel; part of the Moby Media Group. URL: www.tolonews.com]
- ²⁶ [Online Publication | | National Front of Afghanistan | National Front Leader: Only Mujahedin Can Confront the Activities of the Enemies of Afghanistan | 12 March 2012 | | http://jabhemelli.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=97:2012-03-12-10-31-30&catid=36:politics&Itemid=54 | 5 April 2012 | Official website for National Front of Afghanistan. URL: www.jabhemelli.com]
- ²⁷ [Online Publication | | Bokhdinews | Hezb-e Islami Denied Severance of Negotiations with the Afghan Government and America | 29 January 2012 | | <http://www.bokhdinews.af/special-report/7983> | 10 April 2012 | Independent News Agency, in Dari, Pashto and English, based in Kabul. URL: www.bokhdinews.net]
- ²⁸ [Online Publication | | The Guardian | Leading Afghans cast doubt on election schedule | World news | [guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk) | 3 April 2012 | | <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/apr/03/afghans-doubt-election-schedule> | 11 April 2012 | London Guardian.co.uk in English -- Website of center-left daily with close links to New Labour; comment section covers whole political spectrum; read by well-educated, left-leaning urban professionals; URL: <http://www.guardian.co.uk>]
- ²⁹ [OSC | | OSC ID: SAP20120409950041 | 7 April 2012 | | Afghan paper says Qatar can help peace process | | (U) | (U) | Kabul Hewad in Pashto -- four-page government-run national morning newspaper established in 1949; contains informative commentaries, mainly in Pashto]
- ³⁰ [OSC | | OSC ID: SAP20120410950048 | 8 April 2012 | | Afghan daily says minister's trip to Qatar failed to answer questions | | (U) | (U) | Kabul Hasht-e-Sobh in Dari -- Eight-page secular daily launched in May 2007; editor-in-chief, Qasim Akhgar, is a political analyst and Head of the Association for the Freedom of Speech.]
- ³¹ [Online Publication | | Hasht-e Sobh | The Hope of Taliban's Participation in Presidential Elections | 9 April 2012 | | http://www.8am.af/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=24930:1391-01-20-15-40-44&catid=3:2008-10-31-09-37-07&Itemid=554 | 11 April 2012 | Kabul Hasht-e-Sobh in Dari -- Eight-page secular daily launched in May 2007; editor-in-chief, Qasim Akhgar, is a political analyst and Head of the Association for the Freedom of Speech.]
- ³² [OSC | | OSC ID: SAP20110510950059 | 7 May 2011 | | Afghan daily lashes out at remarks by ex-spy chief, foreign minister | | (U) | (U) | Kabul Hewad in Pashto -- four-page government-run national morning newspaper established in 1949; contains informative commentaries, mainly in Pashto]
- ³³ [Online Publication | | Tolonews Online | News Bulletin | 5 May 2011 | | <http://www.tolonews.com/en/anightly-news/2600-tolonews-05-may-2011-> | 3 May 2012 | Website for Tolo News in Dari and Pashto -- independent 24/7 news channel; part of the Moby Media Group. URL: www.tolonews.com]
- ³⁴ [Online Publication | | BBC World Service | BBC News - Afghanistan's new force for change | 3 June 2011 | | <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/13625916> | 3 May 2012 | BBC World Service]

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³⁵ [Online Publication | | Jabha-e Melli | The First Joint Conference Between National Front and National Coalition Regarding Presidential Elections | 1 May 2012 | | http://www.jabhemelli.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=151:2012-05-01-05-51-12&catid=36:politics&Itemid=54 | 3 May 2012 | Official website for the National Front of Afghanistan. The website also hosts the the National Front Weekly URL: www.jabhemelli.com.]

³⁶ [OSC | | OSC ID: SAP20120309602004 | 18 February 2012 | | Afghanistan: TV Program Interviews Former National Security Directorate Head | | (U) | (U) | Kabul Tolo News in Dari and Pashto -- independent 24/7 news channel; part of the Moby Media Group]

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