

Political Party Assessment

Afghanistan

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Introduction

Following the ousting of the Taliban in 2001, Afghanistan has taken a rapid path to democratization. The Bonn conference in November 2001 began setting the course for the subsequent Emergency Loya Jirga of June 2002 and Constitutional Loya Jirga of December 2003. An Elections Law and a Political Parties Law were promulgated and over 80 political parties were registered by the Office of Political Party Registration in advance of the Parliamentary Elections held in September of 2005.

In the period prior to elections, concerns that political parties would form along fractious ethnic and religious divisions led many to conclude that a party-based political system could be destabilizing in Afghanistan. The adoption of a Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV) election system, and the consequent lack of focus on political party affiliation for candidates in the parliamentary and provincial council elections, further inhibited the growth of political parties. Without strong party organizations, many anticipated that the legislative branch of government would be severely weakened by infighting among hundreds of independent members. Others predicted that the only political parties organized enough and disciplined enough to take advantage of the idiosyncrasies of SNTV would be warlords and parties with ties to Afghanistan's violent and unstable military past.

Following the elections, it has become clear that the success of Afghanistan's democratic system will depend on the development of well organized, transparent, and broadly representative political parties. Party-affiliated representatives are a dominant force in the National Assembly, and independent MPs are coming under increasing political pressure to join party organizations. Every debate that has taken place in the National Assembly—including the ratification of President Hamid Karzai's Cabinet and passing the national budget—has depended on party organizers to represent blocs of representatives, negotiate coalitions, and reconcile disparate agendas. President Karzai's August 2006 announcement that he will not seek re-election further emphasizes the need for well developed parties; without a political party infrastructure in place, there will be no organized means of continuing Karzai's inclusive, multi-ethnic, and moderately Islamic leadership in the future.

In the aftermath of Afghanistan's first parliamentary elections in more than three decades, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted an assessment of the state of political parties in Afghanistan with the support of the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD). NDI began working with political groupings and parties in 2002 and began training parties and candidates in 2004. The Institute established eight regional training centers throughout the country and courses were provided in election campaigns, election monitoring, campaign organization, and political party strengthening. Eighty-five thousand Afghans attended sessions at the NDI training centers in 2004 and 2005.

This report provides an overview the current state of Afghanistan's emerging political parties. The report focuses on parties represented in the National Assembly, and discusses NDI's findings related to the political identity, organizational strength, internal democracy, internal unity, and electioneering capacity of the 25 parties that were examined in the course of the research. Due to the large number of active parties in Afghanistan, one of the major challenges for analysts has been determining the origins, leaders, relative strength, and ideological platforms of Afghanistan's many political parties. The assessment's summary findings on these issues for all 25 parties can be found in Appendix 1, and a listing of party names and party leaders included in the assessment is included in Appendix 2.

Political Party History in Afghanistan

Political parties have a limited history in Afghanistan, dating back only to the mid 20th century. The modernization policies of King Zahir Shah in the 1940s led to the formation of a number of parties, of which only Afghan Millat remains. While the constitution of 1964 included the right to form political parties, no laws were ratified to authorize their formation. The 1960s saw the formation of a variety of communist parties such as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), which eventually split into the Khalq (People) and Parcham (Flag) branches. Other smaller communist factions were also formed in this era, and the Islamist Jamiat Islami party was formed in the 1970s.¹

Following the overthrow of the King in 1973 and the subsequent Soviet occupation, seven *mujahedin* parties formed with the common goal of resisting Soviet rule. These parties were assisted in part by Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), and indirectly funded by anti-Soviet international powers, including the United States and Saudi Arabia. These mujahedin parties included Hezb-e Jamiat Islami Afghanistan under Rabanni, and parties led by Sayyaf (Tanzim-e-Dawat), Mojadedi (Jabha-e-Najat), and Gailani (Mahaz-e-Milli) along with two factions of Hezb-e Islami led by Gulbadin Hekmatyar and Yonus Khalis. There were also a number of primarily Shia parties. The most important of the Shia parties was the Mazari-led Hezb-e-Wahdat-e-Islami-e-Afghanistan;² Hezb-e-Wahdat splintered over the years into a variety of parties including a non-Hazara group led by Mohammad Akbari and factions led by Karim Khalili, Mohaqeq, and Kazemi. All of these anti-Soviet groups functioned primarily as military factions and were divided along personal, ethnic, tribal, and religious lines. After the withdrawal of the Soviets in 1989, many of these factions became rivals in the ensuing civil war.

During the violent conflicts of the 1980s and 1990s, alliances between these groups evolved rapidly as various factions formed coalitions in search of a military advantage. These alliances were rarely based on clear ideological or political goals outside of the military struggle for power. In some cases, former communists and leftist groups formed alliances with fundamentalist Islamists, in order to create power centers along geographic or ethnic lines. One military force that emerged and eventually formed a political party was General Dostum's Junbesh-e-Milli, which controlled much of the north-west of the country.

While these groups generally operated exclusively as military factions, they managed to establish extensive management, organizational, and communication structures. These pre-existing organizational abilities allowed the groups active in Afghanistan's conflict-torn 1980s and 1990s to command considerable resources and public recognition after the Taliban fell. When institutional reforms began and political parties began to register, these pre-existing groups had substantial institutional advantages over any newly formed political parties. Following the collapse of the Taliban regime the older parties had clearly identified leaders, access to resources, widespread public recognition, and, in some cases, maintained strong local authority in the regions they had formerly controlled. The major pre-Taliban political parties included in this assessment are listed below:

¹ ICG Report "Political Parties in Afghanistan" June 2005

² The spellings of the names of political parties in this document may vary from that in other documents and causes some difficulty in keeping track of the parties and their various incarnations. There are no strict rules for the transliteration of Persian based languages to roman orthography and so names may appear differently in different documents. We have tried to maintain a consistency of spelling and rendering of names in this document.

Party Name	Leader Name	Ethnic Affiliation	Origins (Year founded)
Jamiat	Burhanuddin Rabani	Tajik	Militant (1950s)
Junbesh	Said Noorullah/ Dostum	Uzbek	Militant (1990s)
Tanzim-e-Dawat	Abdul Rasul Sayaf	Multi-Ethnic	Militant (1980s)
Wahdat Islami-e-Mardum	Haji Mohammad Mohaqiq	Hazara	Militant (1988)
Millat	Anwar-ul-haq Ahadi	Pashtun	Nationalist (1965)
Mutahed Milli (National United Party)	Noorul Haq Ulumi	Multi-Ethnic	Communist (1980s)
Eqtedar Milli	Sayed Mostafa Kazemi	Multi-Ethnic	Anti-Taliban (1990s)
Mahaz-e-Milli (NIFA)	Pir Sayed Ahmad Gailani	Pashtun	Militant (1980s)
Wahdat-e-Islami	Mohammad Karim Khalili	Hazara	Militant (1990s)
Da Soly Ghorzang	Shahnawaz Tanai	Pashtun	Communist (1990)
Jabha-e-Najat	Sibghatullah Mojadedi	Pashtun	Militant (1980s)
Wahdat-e-Milli Islami	M. Akbar Akbari	Hazara	Militant (1990s)
Harakat-e-Islami-e-Mardum	Sayed Hussain Anwari	Multi-Ethnic	Militant (1980s)
Harakat Islami	Mohammad Ali Jawid	Multi-Ethnic	Militant (1980s)
Refa Afghanistan	Mir Mohammad Asif Zaeefi	Multi-Ethnic	Humanitarian (1990s)

Political Parties in a Post-Taliban Afghanistan

The Bonn Conference and subsequent Loya Jirgas established that Afghanistan would be governed using a presidential system with a bi-cameral legislature. The lower house, or Wolesi Jirga, would be elected and the upper house, or Meshrano Jirga, would be appointed with two thirds of the members appointed by elected provincial and district councils and one third appointed by the president.

A Political Parties Law was approved in September of 2003 and the Constitution approved in 2003 legalized political parties.³ Under the Political Parties Law, parties are obliged to register with the Ministry of Justice—under the Office of Political Party Registration (OPPR)—and must meet the following criteria: parties must not pursue objectives contrary to Islam; use force; incite violence; disrupt public order; have military organizations or affiliations with armed forces; have been convicted of human rights violations; or receive funds from foreign sources.⁴ Parties are also required to have a constitution and a minimum of 700 members in order to be registered. The OPPER received applications from the parties and then sought advice from the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Justice and international partners on the parties adherence to the requirements, particularly the requirements related to armed factions and human rights violations.

Despite initial difficulties in the administration of the Office of Political Party Registration, 2004 and 2005 saw the registration of over 80 political parties. Some parties, such as the former communist Hezb-e-Mutahed Milli Afghanistan (National United Party) of Noor ul-hq

³ The Political Parties Law preceded the Constitution and was adopted pursuant to the 1964 Constitution. Internal wrangling among the members of the Constitution Committee led to delays in holding the Constitutional Loya Jirga at which the new Constitution was approved.

⁴ Political Parties Law, Chapter Two, Article 6

Ulumi and Yonus Qanooni's Hezb-e Afghanistan Naveen (New Afghanistan Party), had difficulty obtaining registration due to resistance from interests within and outside of the government, but these parties eventually were approved. Mutahed Milli was strongly opposed by the mujahedin and by other fundamentalists including members of the Supreme Court. Naveen faced difficulties because of its apparent opposition to President Karzai. In addition, multiple parties were registered despite objections that they were led by former warlords who maintained links to armed elements or who were seen as having committed human rights violations. The decision to register these parties came as a disappointment to international human rights advocates and Afghans who had hoped that warlords would be sidelined in the electoral process.

Despite the decision to register older parties with ties to Afghanistan's militant past, a number of new party organizations were founded and registered in advance of the National Assembly elections. The parties formed in the post-Taliban period that were selected for this assessment are listed in the following table.

Party Name	Leader Name	Ethnic Affiliation	Party Platform
Naveen	Mohammad Yonus Qanooni	Tajik	Anti-Karzai Opposition
Sulh wa Wahdat	Gullah Bodeen Shirzai	Multi-Ethnic	Islamic/Moderate
Nuhzat-e-Hambastagi	Sayed Ishaq Gailani	Multi-Ethnic	Rule of Law
Hambastagi Jawanan	Mohammad Jamil Karzai	Pashtun	Islamic/Moderate
Paiwand Milli	Said Mansur Nadiri	Shiite	Stability/National Unity
Democrat	Abdul Kabir Ranjbar	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Rule of Law
Jumhuri (Republican)	Sebghatullah Sanjar	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Business
Tahrik-e-Wahdat	Sultan Mahmood Ghazi	Multi-Ethnic	Monarchist
Nuhzat-e-Azadi	Abdul Raqib Jawed Kuhistani (Kohistani)	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Peace
Junbesh-wa-Democracy	Mohammad Sharif Nazari	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Peace

These new parties were considerably smaller than the established regional and ethnic parties. With the exception of Yonus Qanooni's Naveen party—a splinter group formed in opposition to President Karzai—none of the newly formed parties had the experience, resources, or organizational capacity of the incumbent groups with ties to Afghanistan's anti-Soviet resistance and subsequent civil war. The parties formed in the post-Taliban period tended to be less closely aligned with particular ethnic groups and more likely to embrace moderate state-building or national unity platforms. Nevertheless, the lack of organizational capacity among the newly founded parties placed them at a distinct disadvantage in the 2005 parliamentary elections.

Presidential and Parliamentary Elections

Afghanistan's Electoral Law discourages the growth and operation of political parties. Afghanistan's experience in the Soviet period and the subsequent civil war left many with a negative view of political parties due to their association with military leaders and factional violence. Many senior figures in the post-Taliban government, including President Karzai, carry this bias against parties, and this is reflected in the Afghan Electoral Law. The electoral system that was adopted is a Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV) model where the country is divided into 34 multi-member constituencies and voters chose a single candidate on the ballot in their constituency. Supporters of SNTV argue that the system helps to reduce the influence of warlords, which should lead to results more reflective of the broad will of the people. Critics of the law argue that the only groups that are sufficiently disciplined and organized to take advantage of the characteristics of SNTV are the very warlords whose influence the Electoral Law was intended to diminish.

The presidential election was held in October 2004 and the elections for parliament and provincial councils were held in September of 2005. The presidential election included 18 registered candidates, of whom only four ran on a party ticket.⁵ Among the presidential candidates who ran as independents, however, some were clearly supported by a specific party,⁶ while others, like President Karzai, claimed no party affiliation but had broad support from a variety of party and non-party organizations.⁷

The parliamentary and provincial council elections demonstrated the SNTV system's bias against political parties. While the Joint Electoral Management Body (JEMB) made efforts to involve political parties and to publicize the party affiliations of those candidates who declared an affiliation, party names were not allowed on the ballot. As there was no systemic advantage to declaring a party affiliation, many party-associated candidates chose not to declare themselves. Of the more than 2,700 candidates running for the 249 seats in the Wolesi Jirga, only 386 (about 14 percent) declared their party affiliation. Of the 3025 provincial council candidates, 372 (about 12 percent) formally associated themselves with parties. In reality, there were far more candidates from political parties than the number of candidates who declared. This can be seen from the results of the election and the make up of the Wolesi Jirga in which many "independent" candidates now openly participate and vote as party members. A full listing of the number party-affiliated representatives in the Wolesi Jirga is included in Appendix 1.

There were clearly incidents of intimidation during these elections, although most observers agree the incidents did not substantially alter the proceedings or election results. Some of these incidents occurred in the period prior to the nomination of candidates, discouraging the participation of some candidates. There were also violations and irregularities in the voting and counting process in provinces where international and domestic monitoring efforts were not robust. However, independent evaluations of the election procedures and results have concluded that these abuses and violations did not have a significant impact on the results of the election.

⁵ Yonus Qanooni, Latif Pedram, Ishaq Gailani, and Farooq Nijrabi all ran on party tickets.

⁶ Haji Mohaqeq, for example, was effectively a Wahdat Islami-e-Mardum candidate and General Dostum was a Junbesh candidate.

⁷ Mahaz-e-Milli led the campaign for Karzai among the political parties. Karzai was also supported by a number of smaller parties that campaigned actively for him.

Political Parties in the Afghan Parliament

While many observers were concerned that the parliament would be largely composed of independent candidates, the result has proved to be somewhat more complex. Despite the small number of candidates who registered as party-affiliated during the campaign, political parties have developed into a dominant presence in the parliament and independent members are under increasing pressure to join an existing party or to form some kind of caucus grouping in the Wolesi Jirga.

Determining the number of representatives associated with each political party remains a challenge. All political parties included in the assessment claim the loyalty of a number of members in the Wolesi Jirga. However, the total number of members claimed by the various parties exceeds the total number of members in the Wolesi Jirga; some parties, clearly, are overestimating their strength and influence. Estimates done by NDI and others⁸ in the post election period estimated that there are between 93 and 136 independent members of parliament. Between 22 and 25 parties are represented in parliament with Hezb-e-Jamiat Islami, Hezb-e-Junbesh-e-Milli Islami Afghanistan, Hezb-e-Afghanistan Naveen, and possibly Hezb-e-Islami having the largest number of members. For a full listing of the number of representatives associated with each of the 25 parties included in the NDI assessment, see Appendix 1.

The parties with organizations originating in the pre-Taliban era represent the dominant organizations in the National Assembly. These parties include seven mujahedin parties that were formed to fight the Soviet occupation (along with various offshoots and splinter factions within each organization), and numerous Shia parties representing regional factions and the Hazara community. In addition to the mujahedin parties, a number of additional successful party organizations were established in the pre-Taliban era, including pro-Soviet communist parties and a small number of humanitarian relief and anti-Taliban organizations.

Collectively, these well established parties greatly outnumber the newer parties and dominate Afghanistan's current political environment. The older parties with ties in the pre-Taliban era also claim a much larger number of National Assembly representatives than the number of seats associated with newer parties. The division of seats between pre-Taliban and newer parties is as follows:

Party Origin	Number of Parties	Wolesi Jirga Seats (estimated)
Pre-Taliban	15	93-123
Post-Taliban	10	19-31

Many Afghans and international observers were surprised by the relatively poor performance of Afghanistan's newer parties in the election. The factions and parties with ties to Afghanistan's civil war now appear to dominate the Wolesi Jirga. Many younger Afghans and some of the independent representatives in the National Assembly blame the leadership of the old-line parties for the destruction and carnage of the early 1990s. Many Afghans had hoped that democracy and free elections would see many of those actors sidelined either by the electoral laws and regulations or by the electorate. The decision to allow the older parties to register with the OPR, and the relative organizational weakness of the newer political parties have thus far failed to displace the influence of pre-Taliban factions in parliament.

⁸ A House Divided? Analyzing the 2005 Afghan Elections, Andrew Wilder, AREU December 2005

Coalitions in the National Assembly

Prior to the 2005 elections there were 80 parties registered with the OPR. In addition, approximately 20 unregistered political parties were active in the campaign period. While the high number of Afghan political parties provides some evidence of the level and strength of interest in the political process and in political parties, it also reflects a fragmented political environment. Although the current number of active parties—including approximately 25 parties in the National Assembly—is relatively large, it represents a significant reduction in comparison to what existed in the pre-election period. As parties begin to work together in Parliament, commonalities of interest will begin to become evident and further consolidation can be expected through alliances or the eventual formation parliamentary coalitions.

One of the unresolved factors in the organization of the parties in the National Assembly is the formation of Parliamentary Groups. The Wolesi Jirga adopted provisional rules of procedure in January 2006, and these rules established criteria for the formation of Parliamentary Groups.⁹ Groups must have a minimum size of 21 members, and each MP can only be a member of one Parliamentary Group. The rules of procedure during parliamentary sessions make it advantageous for members to declare their allegiance to a party and form larger coalitions. Two key benefits are available to Parliamentary Groups: one is that they may recruit assistants paid for by the General Secretariat; the second is that membership in future Parliamentary Commissions should be determined by the relative strength of registered Parliamentary Groups.

It remains to be seen when Parliamentary Groups will actually be declared. The incentive to form groups has been diminished somewhat by the fact that commissions were appointed before groups were formed. Moreover, the value of additional staff has not been adequate to overcome the parties' reluctance to declare their party membership. While many of the parties claim a sufficient number of members to make them eligible for the benefits offered in the rules of procedure, the reality may be somewhat different. Once group-registration begins, the parties that cannot meet the threshold of 21 members may see their members desert them for the larger parties. In addition, parties have yet to recognize the advantages offered by having staff that can provide them with research needed to prepare positions for debates in the Wolesi Jirga. To date, the Wolesi Jirga has been preoccupied with ministerial and Supreme Court appointments and with the budget. None of these issues have demanded that the members be well informed about issues or have detailed arguments for debate, and the initial momentum for forming Parliamentary Groups seems to have stalled.

⁹ Rules of Procedure of the Wolesi Jirga January 3, 2006 National Assembly of Afghanistan Chapter 5 Rules 12 – 15.

Party Assessment

Methodology

The first step in the assessment process was to select the political parties who would be invited to participate. In order to select participants in a transparent and unbiased manner, criteria were established in advance for determining which parties would receive assessments. All parties were rated by the following five factors:

1. number of elected members in the Wolesi Jirga, Provincial Councils, or Meshrano Jirga;
2. presence of party organizers in more than one geographical area;
3. commitment to democratic values both internally and externally;
4. commitment to the process of rebuilding the country and establishing democracy;
5. and registration with the Ministry of Justice's Office of Political Party Registration.

Twenty five parties were chosen for this assessment based on their qualifications as assessed by these criteria. For example, some parties, such as Hezb-e-Islami, meet some of the criteria but were not chosen for assessment due to doubts about the party's commitment to creating a democratic state¹⁰. A small number of parties that did not meet all of the criteria were selected for the assessment; these were parties that did not have electoral success in 2005, but which are continuing to work on party building and have long term potential as parties with broad-based platforms cutting across ethnic and geographic divisions.

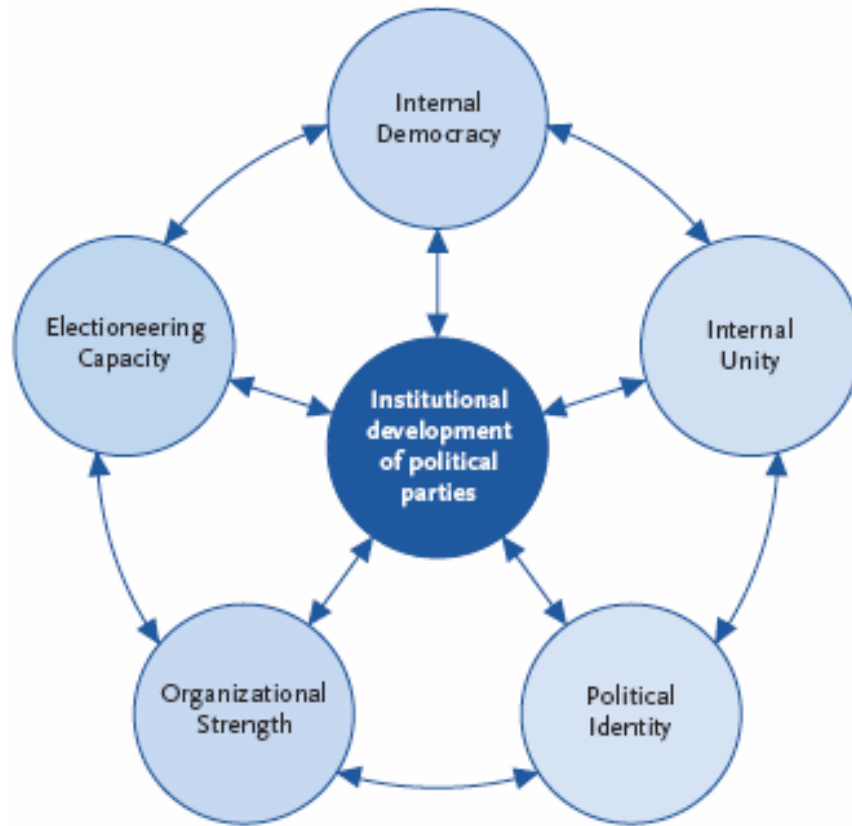
The assessment was conducted from January 2006 to May 2006. The evaluation process consisted of detailed interviews with a range of party members in Kabul and in the regions. Interviews were based on a set of 58 questions covering areas of party function and history, organization and structure, membership development and training, policy development, election activities, and some open ended questions. (The interview questions are attached as Appendix 3). Local NDI staff members, who had been involved in training before the Presidential and Parliamentary elections, interviewed a range of people within each party including party leaders, functionaries, and ordinary members at the headquarters and regional levels (a list of interviews is attached as Appendix 4).

Indicators for the Institutional Development of Political Parties

The IMD has developed a framework for democratic party building¹¹ that includes a set of issues and indicators for institutional party development. The assessment of the 25 parties follows these indicators to help to understand how well developed Afghan parties are in their institutional development. The IMD-developed analytical framework is represented below:

¹⁰ Hezb-e-Islami continues to be affiliated with Gulbadin Hekmatyar, who is considered to be an international terrorist and has recently made pronouncements about his support for Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda. While current leader of the party has renounced this position, its members have adopted a strongly fundamentalist approach and have shown no commitment to democratic development in Afghanistan.

¹¹ IMD Institutional Development Handbook – A Framework for Democratic Party Building, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, The Hague 2004



Political Identity

There is a strong sense of political identity among most of the parties that were included in the assessment process. This is particularly true of the mujahedin and Shia parties that were formed in the pre-Taliban era. However, this sense of political identity is more strongly tied to regional, ethnic, and religious factors rather than political ideology for most of these groups. This is often compounded by the parties' strong identification with a particular leader or specific personalities. All of the parties analyzed in the assessment espouse the same principles—Islam, peace and stability, reconstruction, and national unity—but there is often little effort made to expand on these principles and articulate in any detail how these principles would be translated into specific policies. The primary identifying factor for most parties is ethnicity, regional scope, or the leader, with a strong conservative Islamic foundation.

In the case of some of the Shia parties, ethnic affiliations¹² and disagreement on religious doctrine have served to divide coalitions. Due to the proliferation of factions and splinter parties, there may also be some confusion among citizens and party-members regarding each party's identity. There are six parties with names starting with "Hezb-e-Wahdat," and it was clear during training that some party members could not distinguish between the different Hezb-e-Wahdat parties claiming the same name.

¹² Afghanistan has four major ethnic groups and a number of smaller groups. The four major groups are Pashtun, Uzbek, Tajik and Hazara, with the Pashtuns being the largest number, though not a majority. The Pashtuns, Uzbeks, and Tajiks are predominantly Sunni, while the Hazaras and some of the minor groups are predominantly Shia. The Hazaras are the largest ethnic group amongst the Shia.

The newer parties are in the process of developing their political identity. In terms of public recognition, Hambastagi Jawanan, Nuhzat-e-Azadi, and Jumhuri (Republican) have generated some awareness among the public, while parties like Refa Afghanistan and Junbesh-wa-Democracy are not well known or widely identified. These parties are, however, probably more advanced in terms of identifying and communicating a clear definition of their political purpose and ideology. In some cases, the newer parties have succeeded by making a clear distinction between their identity and that of the old mujahedin parties (the new parties did not participate in any direct way in the civil war, and generally are not dependent on a regional power base or military organizational structures). The newer parties tend to emphasize creating a membership base that encompasses all of the ethnic groups across the country.

A complete listing of the political identities espoused by the 25 parties included in the assessment (grouped by ethnic affiliation) is explained in the following table.

Party Name	Leader Name	Ethnic Affiliation	Party Platform	Wolesi Jirga Seats (estimated)
Millat	Anwar-ul-haq Ahadi	Pashtun	Islamic/Moderate	8
Mahaz-e-Milli (NIFA)	Pir Sayed Ahmad Gailani	Pashtun	Pro-Karzai	3
Da Soly Ghorzang	Shahnawaz Tanai	Pashtun	Secular/State Building	3
Jabha-e-Najat	Sibghatullah Mojadedi	Pashtun	Pro-Karzai	3
Hambastagi Jawanan	Mohammad Jamil Karzai	Pashtun	Islamic/Moderate	1
Paiwand Milli	Said Mansur Nadiri	Shiite	Stability/National Unity	1
Jamiat	Burhanuddin Rabani	Tajik	Islamic/Conservative	22
Naveen	Mohammad Yonus Qanooni	Tajik	Anti-Karzai Opposition	13
Junbesh	Said Noorullah/ Dostum	Uzbek	Pro-Uzbek/Federalist	15-33
Wahdat Islami-e-Mardum	Haji Mohammad Mohaqiq	Hazara	Pro-Hazara/ Stability and Peace	9
Wahdat-e-Islami	Mohammad Karim Khalili	Hazara	Pro-Hazara/Stability	3
Wahdat-e-Milli Islami	M. Akbar Akbari	Hazara	National Unity	2-4
Tanzim-e-Dawat	Abdul Rasul Sayaf	Multi-Ethnic	Islamic/Conservative	9
Mutahed Milli (National United Party)	Noorul Haq Ulumi	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Rule of Law	8
Eqtedar Milli	Sayed Mostafa Kazemi	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Business	4-12
Sulh wa Wahdat	Gullah Bodeen Shirzai	Multi-Ethnic	Islamic/Moderate	1
Nuhzat-e-Hambastagi	Sayed Ishaq Gailani	Multi-Ethnic	Rule of Law	2
Harakat-e-Islami-e-Mardum	Sayed Hussain Anwari	Multi-Ethnic	Islamic/Moderate	1-3
Democrat	Abdul Kabir Ranjbar	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Rule of Law	1
Harakat Islami	Mohammad Ali Jawid	Multi-Ethnic	Islamic/Conservative	1
Jumhuri (Republican)	Sebghatullah Sanjar	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Business	0
Tahrir-e-Wahdat	Sultan Mahmood Ghazi	Multi-Ethnic	Monarchist	0-5
Nuhzat-e-Azadi	Abdul Raqib Jawed Kuhestani (Kohistani)	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Peace	0-7
Refa Afghanistan	Mir Mohammad Asif Zaeefi	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Social Welfare	2
Junbesh-wa-Democracy	Mohammad Sharif Nazari	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Peace	0

Because the parliament is still in its first year, it is too early to evaluate whether the espoused policies of the parties are consistent with their legislative activities and organizational practices. Much of the parliamentary debate thus far has focused on process and procedure rather than on substantive public policy issues, leaving little room to evaluate each party's policy agenda. However, it is already clear that the more conservative Islamic parties have kept pledges to champion Islamic values in the parliament. This has become particularly evident through the pro-Islamic views expressed during parliamentary debates concerning the vetting of Ministers and public hearings on the March 2006 court case placing a man on trial for converting to Christianity.

Organizational Strength

All of the parties included in this assessment require significant organizational strengthening. The most common areas of concern were a lack of party resources, a lack of organized party membership and recruitment, and limited reach beyond narrow ethnic, linguistic, or geographical boundaries.

The political parties with the greatest organizational strength have roots in the pre-Taliban era. The former mujahedin groups, many of the Shia parties, and Junbesh owe their organizational strength primarily to their former military structures and experience recruiting members throughout Afghanistan. In some cases an underlying religious base augments this, as in the case of Mahaz-e-Milli (which is strongly connected to Sufism through its leader, Pir Gailani), and Paiwand Milli (due to its Ismaili roots).

A lack of financial resources is a significant challenge to broadening and expanding the organizational development of the parties. When asked about party offices and organizational strength, most party members claim to have a severe shortage of resources. Some of the parties are financed by their leaders and other benefactors, while other parties have no clear source of consistent funding or income. Many participants in the assessment were reluctant to discuss their party's financial systems due to the concerns about the legality of funding sources under the Political Parties Law and the Electoral Law.

All of the parties have some difficulty distinguishing between active members and citizens who may offer support in the future. Many parties claim membership levels that are far beyond the level of support actually received in the parliamentary elections. Among the older established parties (Millat, Mutahed Milli, Mahaz-e-Milli, Nuhzat-e-Hambastagi, Sulh wa Wahdat, and Paiwand Milli), structured membership lists are in place, although records are not actively updated and maintained. All of the post-Taliban parties also appear to have structured membership systems and lists, although their ability to expand these activities beyond their current narrow base of members is unknown.

Some of the older, more ethnically and geographically defined parties are limited in their capacity for expansion and membership growth, and have no evident strategy to try and broaden their membership. The exceptions to this are Mahaz-e-Milli and perhaps Afghan Millat, both of which are not as narrowly defined by ethnic or geographic divisions. The newer parties are all making efforts to recruit younger members across the country, but these groups require assistance in developing a strategy for membership expansion and recruitment. The newer parties, in particular, have expressed interest in learning about organizational techniques and Jumhuri has already held a conference of delegates to learn about holding a policy convention and election of officers. Mahaz-e-Milli has also approached NDI about assistance in organizational development.

The Shia parties have suffered from factionalism since the end of the Soviet regime. Organized into a single faction in the late 1980s as Hezb-e-Wahdat Islami, there are now six prominent Shia parties, with Haji Mohaqeq's Hezb-e-Wahdat Islami-e-Mardum being the best organized. This party made a concerted effort during the presidential election to learn about party organizing and campaigning and continued to learn and apply the lessons during the parliamentary and provincial council elections. The other Shia parties continue to attract some support, but none appear to have the organizational capacity of Wahdat Islami-e-Mardum.

There are some signs that certain parties are willing to undertake efforts to broaden their constituencies. Many of the post-Taliban parties espouse a multi-ethnic national platform, although these groups currently lack the organizational reach to expand beyond their respective areas of origin. Mutahed Milli has inherited the remnants of the PDPA and is one of the few that can claim support and members across the country. Afghan Millat, and to some extent Mahaz-e-Milli are both attempting to secure support across the country, primarily among the Pashtun population. Jumhuri was able to organize a meeting in March of 2005 with representatives from 22 of the 34 provinces and is making serious efforts to organize nationally.

Internal Democracy

In order for political parties to effectively represent their constituents' needs and concerns, party organizations must adopt internally democratic procedures that give members a voice in internal decision-making, leadership selection, and policy development. The parties in this assessment were evaluated based on extent to which party structures allow all members to influence the distribution of party resources, the election of officers, and the adoption of policy.

While all of the parties included in the assessment claim to be "democratic" and have a constitution—part of the requirements for party registration—it is clear that many parties are overly centralized in their operations and management. In many cases this is a reflection of the military tradition and history of the parties: Jamiat, Junbesh, and Tanzim-e-Dawat in particular fall into this category. Strongly religious parties are also driven from the top by an individual or small group of individuals that comprise the leadership.

Most parties have limited financial resources and face challenges in educating their members about the need to finance the parties through personal donations. Most of the members in party organizations expect the party to provide material benefits to its constituents, rather than viewing the party as an organization members need to support to realize their political and policy goals. It has also been widely reported that some parties are financed from external sources or illegal sources, further inhibiting the growth of membership-based dues and fundraising.

Many of the parties have held congresses in the past three or four years to approve their constitutions and endorse their leadership; however, many of these congresses were not held in an open, inclusive, and democratic manner. The leadership of many parties developed a constitution solely to satisfy the requirements of the Political Party Law, without consulting party members in the drafting process or implementing the constitution's requirements after registration had been completed. Most congresses were highly restricted due to political maneuvering and geographical barriers, and prior to the 2005 elections very few parties

maintained the accurate membership lists required to manage comprehensive internal elections.

It should not be surprising that parties are lacking internal democratic structures and processes at present. Many of the parties are former military organizations that face considerable challenges in evolving into democratic political parties. Organizational democracy within parties is a new concept, and many party members and leaders are hesitant to embrace the notion that rank and file members should have the ability or the responsibility to oversee the operations and decision making within a party. It will also take time for party members to appreciate the responsibility for oversight that comes with participating in an internally democratic organization. While Afghanistan's new democracy provides clear incentives for the parties to establish closer ties to their constituents through internally democratic procedures, the parties will require assistance and training to implement these needed reforms.

Internal Unity

In developed democracies, the electoral system and parliamentary rules of procedure provide incentives and benefits to political parties and thus give the parties leverage and tools to maintain discipline and unity among their members. In Afghanistan, however, the SNTV system, the lack of legislative rules and procedures, and general inexperience with democratic processes all leave parties with little leverage to enforce party unity. To build internal unity, parties will have to engage in a policy development process to create their own political identity and build an understanding, both internally and externally, of their common agenda. Parties will also have to develop mechanisms to improve ties with their elected representatives and resolve internal conflicts among party members.

The ethnic, geographic, and religious nature of many of the parties, particularly the mujahedin and Shia parties, still provides some unifying principles, although there are signs that some of these ties may be loosening. The Shia parties that were formally united in 1988 under a single Hezb-e-Wahdat banner have fractured into at least six significant parties over two decades. The mujahedin parties, in particular Jamiat, have also undergone splintering and the creation of new factions since the removal of the Taleban.

Many of the parties also lack a clearly developed ideological or policy base to enforce. The older parties had a clear set of military objectives in the past, but these goals have been eroded and have not been replaced by a coherent political platform. The newer parties have attempted to define themselves through their constitutions or their leadership, but much of the newer parties' platforms are vague and lack specific legislative goals. The situation is likely to remain fluid until parties clarify what they stand for, and discipline and loyalty may be difficult to enforce as differences arise through this process.

One of the more significant weaknesses of the parties is the lack of cohesiveness between elected representatives and their respective party organizations. Most parties have not organized their representatives into disciplined voting blocs. Party organizations have yet to develop and advance legislative goals through their representatives, and as a result elected party representatives are not acting in a cohesive or coherent way to achieve specific objectives. Some parties have begun making an effort to have affiliated legislators meet with party leaders on a regular basis while the Wolesi Jirga is in session and to develop positions and strategies in response to issues on the legislative agenda. Thus far, however, few parties

are taking a proactive stance and advancing items for debate or organizing to implement new legislative proposals.

Electioneering Capacity

As discussed previously, all of the parties included in this assessment were hampered by the SNTV electoral system. Only 12 percent of the provincial council candidates and 14 percent of the national parliamentary candidates declared their party affiliation in the elections. There was little incentive to run as a party candidate or to present a unified platform and policy agenda, limiting the ability of candidates to campaign on the basis of a legislative agenda or policy goal. Despite the fact that many candidates ran without declaring their political party allegiance, many candidates were eventually recognized as representing a particular party. By comparing the number of candidates claimed by each political party against the number of elected representatives affiliated with each group in the Wolesi Jirga, it is possible to assess the approximate electoral success of each party organization. The parties in the table are listed in the approximate order of their overall electoral success.

Party Name	Leader Name	Wolesi Jirga Seats (estimated)	Wolesi Jirga Candidates
Jamiat	Burhanuddin Rabani	22	Undeclared
Junbesh	Said Noorullah/ Dostum	15-33	45
Naveen	Mohammad Yonus Qanooni	13	Undeclared
Tanzim-e-Dawat	Abdul Rasul Sayaf	9	7
Wahdat Islami- e-Mardum	Haji Mohammad Mohaqiq	9	28
Millat	Anwar-ul-haq Ahadi	8	43
Mutahed Milli (National United Party)	Noorul Haq Ulumi	8	Undeclared
Eqtedar Milli	Sayed Mostafa Kazemi	4-12	4
Mahaz-e-Milli (NIFA)	Pir Sayed Ahmad Gailani	3	37
Sulh wa Wahdat	Gullah Bodeen Shirzai	1	Undeclared
Wahdat-e-Islami	Mohammad Karim Khalili	3	11
Da Soly Ghorzang	Shahnawaz Tanai	3	4
Nuhzat-e-Hambastagi	Sayed Ishaq Gailani	2	10
Jabha-e-Najat	Sibghatullah Mojadedi	3	9
Wahdat-e-Milli Islami	M. Akbar Akbari	2-4	2
Harakat-e-Islami- e-Mardum	Sayed Hussain Anwari	1-3	13
Hambastagi Jawanan	Mohammad Jamil Karzai	1	11
Paiwand Milli	Said Mansur Nadiri	1	1
Democrat	Abdul Kabir Ranjbar	1	1
Harakat Islami	Mohammad Ali Jawid	1	1
Jumhuri (Republican)	Sebghatullah Sanjar	0	16
Tahrik-e-Wahdat	Sultan Mahmood Ghazi	0-5	Undeclared
Nuhzat-e-Azadi	Abdul Raqib Jawed Kuhestani (Kohistani)	0-7	3
Refa Afghanistan	Mir Mohammad Asif Zaefi	2	Undeclared
Junbesh-wa-Democracy	Mohammad Sharif Nazari	0	0

The election results tended to favor parties that had pre-existing name recognition and greater organizational capacity. The elections also favored individuals with strong community

recognition and support.¹³ Tribal and ethnic loyalties played a significant role in the election of most candidates, especially those with a high public profile. For example, Nur Ul-haq Ulumi, the leader of Mutahed Milli, was likely elected on the basis of his tribal origins, rather than his party affiliation.

Clearly, it is understandable that the Afghan electorate would gravitate to known figures within their community and to groups that had in the past defended their territorial, ethnic, or religious identity. It is also clear that the strongest parties had preexisting organizational advantages over the new parties founded after 2001. Some of the older organizations were able to build on well established military structures as the basis for their political parties. This allowed them to mobilize their supporters and to organize their campaigns more effectively than others. The older parties also benefited from the confusion that was created by the large numbers of candidates, which increased the likelihood that voters would choose candidates who were well established and easily recognizable.

If parties are to play a larger role in defining candidate platforms and organizing campaigns in subsequent elections, significant party strengthening will be required. The interim period prior to the next election will be a critical time for parties to build their institutions so that they can develop and implement more robust election plans. All parties faced a challenge in providing campaign resources to their candidates and abiding by campaign finance or reporting requirements. Few, if any, parties went through an internal election to select their candidates in the 2005 elections. There is also a need for newer political parties to develop election organization skills close the gap between them and preexisting parties with military ties and established regional followings.

¹³ Under the SNTV system, each constituency is assigned a number of members based on population. Each voter votes for only one candidate, irrespective of the number of members a constituency may have. In constituencies where there are a number of seats available, the leading candidates may get a large percentage of the available votes, leaving few votes to be divided among the rest of the candidates. As a result, a candidate that attracts strong support from a small group may be successful with a small percentage of the total vote.

Conclusions

Significant challenges remain for Afghanistan's political parties. There are at least 22 parties represented in parliament and at least another five that continue to work towards organizing for the next election. Many parties are regionally, ethnically, and religiously based and are reliant on one or two strong personalities. Few parties have a readily identifiable policy platform and ideology. Some parties are well-established but lack legitimate funding sources, while others have very little money and great difficulty raising funds. Internal organization structures are weak due to a combination of elements including a lack of resources, a top-down approach by the leadership, and a lack of organizational experience and strategy. There is a weak connection between the parties and their members that have been elected to the Wolesi Jirga or the provincial councils. The rank and file party members have very little influence on the direction and operation of the parties.

However, there are some positive signs. The pool of relevant parties is now much more clearly defined than before the election when there were as many as a hundred party organizations actively campaigning. The predictions that the National Assembly would be gridlocked by independent candidates and weak parties have not borne out. The parliament is functioning, and is not being unreasonably obstructionist in relation to the government's agenda. The National Assembly has adopted functional rules of procedure that encourage and benefit parties and caucus groupings. Parties that had limited electoral success are focused on party building and organizational strengthening, and are looking to future elections rather than dwelling on the weaknesses of the election process.

It is likely that the large number of political parties in Afghanistan will consolidate somewhat in the coming months. Growth in these parties will likely come from combining with parties of similar ethnic, religious, or regional affiliations. The consolidation of political parties has already begun with the recent negotiations between Jamiat and Naveen that will see them merge and absorb at least one of the Jamiat splinter groups. It is likely that Junbesh will also attract smaller parties in the northwest of the country and that one of the Wahdat-Islami factions will emerge as the predominant party and subsume some of the other factions. Millat and Mahaz-e-Milli are both relatively strong and well organized, have a similar ethnic base, and are religiously moderate. It would not be surprising to see these two parties cooperating more closely and attracting other smaller parties as the primary Pashtun party.

One of the strongest findings of this assessment is the disparity in organizational strength and election results between the parties with ties to Afghanistan's military past (which are currently dominant) and Afghanistan's newer political parties. Afghanistan's new party organizations need to work to define their identity, expand their membership and build their organizational capacity. These parties have shown a willingness to become democratic institutions with inclusive platforms that appeal to a broad coalition of ethnic and religious groups. As these parties develop their policy and ideology, it is to be expected that these parties will begin to see similarities among themselves and work towards forming coalitions to offset the power and influence of the older parties. There is also common approach among some of these younger parties and some of the smaller, older parties, and these parties should be encouraged to discuss their common interests and combine their strengths.

There is much work for the parties to do in preparation for the next election. Parties will need to focus on building their internal structures, strengthening their organizational skills, and expanding their membership. During the inter-election period, Afghanistan's parties would

benefit from building these skills through a policy development process and the election of internal officers. Community-based policy development would require parties to build closer ties to their constituents, and internal elections would require parties to build internal structures, maintain membership lists, and recruit additional members.

It remains to be seen whether the parties will evolve into institutions with broad ethnic and geographical membership driven by policy interests, or become highly centralized organizations that exacerbate ethnic and religious extremism. Many emerging parties have the potential to become the kind of stabilizing, effective, and broadly representative organization that Afghanistan requires to lead and consolidate the country's emerging democratic institutions. It will require continued assistance from the international community, however, to help the parties evolve into effective representatives within Afghanistan's democratic system. During the assessment process and in post-assessment discussions, Afghan party leaders made it clear that they would welcome further support and assistance to realize these goals. The international community must remain committed to the process of assisting these political parties to realize their full potential.

Appendix 1 – Political Party Assessment Data

Party Name	Leader Name	Wolesi Jirga Seats (estimated)	Wolesi Jirga Candidates	Ethnic Affiliation	Party Platform	Origins (Year founded)
Jamiat	Burhanuddin Rabani	22	Undeclared	Tajik	Islamic/Conservative	Militant (1950s)
Junbesh	Said Noorullah/ Dostum	15-33	45	Uzbek	Pro-Uzbek/Federalist	Militant (1990s)
Naveen	Mohammad Yonus Qanooni	13	Undeclared	Tajik	Anti-Karzai Opposition	Post-Taliban (2004)
Tanzim-e-Dawat	Abdul Rasul Sayaf	9	7	Multi-Ethnic	Islamic/Conservative	Militant (1980s)
Wahdat Islami-e-Mardum	Haji Mohammad Mohaqiq	9	28	Hazara	Pro-Hazara/Stability and Peace	Militant (1988)
Millat	Anwar-ul-haq Ahadi	8	43	Pashtun	Islamic/Moderate	Nationalist (1965)
Mutahed Milli (National United Party)	Noorul Haq Ulumi	8	Undeclared	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Rule of Law	Communist (1980s)
Eqtedar Milli	Sayed Mostafa Kazemi	4-12	4	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Business	Anti-Taliban (1990s)
Mahaz-e-Milli (NIFA)	Pir Sayed Ahmad Gailani	3	37	Pashtun	Pro-Karzai	Militant (1980s)
Sulh wa Wahdat	Gullah Bodeen Shirzai	1	Undeclared	Multi-Ethnic	Islamic/Moderate	Post-Taliban (2001)
Wahdat-e-Islami	Mohammad Karim Khalili	3	11	Hazara	Pro-Hazara/Stability	Militant (1990s)
Da Soly Ghorzang	Shahnawaz Tanai	3	4	Pashtun	Secular/State Building	Communist (1990)
Nuhzat-e-Hambastagi	Sayed Ishaq Gailani	2	10	Multi-Ethnic	Rule of Law	Post Taliban
Jabha-e-Najat	Sibghatullah Mojadedi	3	9	Pashtun	Pro-Karzai	Militant (1980s)
Wahdat-e-Milli Islami	M. Akbar Akbari	2-4	2	Hazara	National Unity	Militant (1990s)
Harakat-e-Islami-e-Mardum	Sayed Hussain Anwari	1-3	13	Multi-Ethnic	Islamic/Moderate	Militant (1980s)
Hambastagi Jawanan	Mohammad Jamil Karzai	1	11	Pashtun	Islamic/Moderate	Post-Taliban (1998)
Paiwand Milli	Said Mansur Nadiri	1	1	Shiite	Stability/National Unity	Post-Taliban (2002)
Democrat	Abdul Kabir Ranjbar	1	1	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Rule of Law	Post-Taliban (2003)
Harakat Islami	Mohammad Ali Jawid	1	1	Multi-Ethnic	Islamic/Conservative	Militant (1980s)
Jumhuri (Republican)	Sebghatullah Sanjar	0	16	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Business	Post-Taliban (1999)
Tahrik-e-Wahdat	Sultan Mahmood Ghazi	0-5	Undeclared	Multi-Ethnic	Monarchist	Post-Taliban (2002)
Nuhzat-e-Azadi	Abdul Raqib Jawed Kuhestani (Kohistani)	0-7	3	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Peace	Post-Taliban (2004)
Refa Afghanistan	Mir Mohammad Asif Zaeefi	2	Undeclared	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Social Welfare	Humanitarian (1990s)
Junbesh-wa-Democracy	Mohammad Sharif Nazari	0	0	Multi-Ethnic	Secular/Peace	Post-Taliban (2005)

Appendix 2 – Parties in the Report

Parties mentioned in the report, their leaders, and short names used for the parties.

Party Name	Short Name	Leader Name
Hezb-e-Jamiat Islami Afghanistan	Jamiat	Burhanuddin Rabani
Hezb-e-Junbesh-e-Milli Islami Afghanistan	Junbesh	Said Noorullah/ Dostum
Hezb-e-Afghanistan Naveen	Naveen	Mohammad Yonus Qanooni
Hezb-e-Tanzim-e-Dawat Islami Afghanistan	Tanzim-e-Dawat	Abdul Rasul Sayaf
Hezb-e-Wahdat Islami-e-Mardum Afghanistan	Wahdat Islami-e-Mardum	Haji Mohammad Mohaqiq
Hezb-e-Afghan Millat	Millat	Anwar-ul-haq Ahadi
Hezb-e-Mutahed Milli Afghanistan	Mutahed Milli (National United Party)	Noorul Haq Ulumi
Hezb-e-Eqtedar Milli	Eqtedar Milli	Sayed Mostafa Kazemi
Hezb-e-Mahaz-e-Milli-e-Islami-e-Afghanistan	Mahaz-e-Milli or National Islamic Front of Afghanistan (NIFA)	Pir Sayed Ahmad Gailani
Hezb-e-Sulh wa Wahdat Milli	Sulh wa Wahdat	Gullah Bodeen Shirzai
Hezb-e-Wahdat-e-Islami Afghanistan	Wahdat-e-Islami	Mohammad Karim Khalili
Hezb-e-Da Afghanistan Da Soly Ghorzang Ghund	Da Soly Ghorzang	Shahnawaz Tanai
Hezb-e-Nuhzat-e-Hambastagi-e-Milli-e-Afghanistan	Nuhzat-e-Hambastagi	Sayed Ishaq Gailani
Hezb-e-Tanzim Jabha-e-Najat-e-Milli Afghanistan	Jabha-e-Najat	Sibghatullah Mojadedi
Hezb-e-Wahdat-e-Milli Islami Afghanistan	Wahdat-e-Milli Islami	M. Akbar Akbari
Hezb-e-Harakat-e-Islami-e-Mardum-e-Afghanistan	Harakat-e-Islami-e-Mardum	Sayed Hussain Anwari
Hezb-e-Hambastagi-e-Milli-e-Jawanan-e-Afghan	Hambastagi Jawanan	Mohammad Jamil Karzai
Hezb-e-Islami Afghanistan	Hezb-e-Islami	Mohammad Khalid Farooqi
Hezb-e-Paiwand Milli Afghanistan	Paiwand Milli	Said Mansur Nadiri
Hezb-e-Democrat Afghanistan	Democrat	Abdul Kabir Ranjbar
Hezb-e-Harakat Islami Afghanistan	Harakat Islami	Mohammad Ali Jawid
Hezb-e-Jumhuri-Khwahan-e-Afghanistan	Jumhuri (Republican)	Sebghatullah Sanjar
Hezb-e-Tahrik-e-Wahdat-e-Milli-e-Afghanistan	Tahrik-e-Wahdat	Sultan Mahmood Ghazi
Hezb-e-Nuhzat-e-Azadi Wa Democracy	Nuhzat-e-Azadi	Abdul Raqib Jawed Kuhestani (Kohistani)
Hezb-e-Refa-e-Afghanistan	Refa Afghanistan	Mir Mohammad Asif Zaeefi
Hezb-e-Junbesh wa Democracy Mardum Afghanistan	Junbesh-wa-Democracy	Mohammad Sharif Nazari

Appendix 3 - Glossary

The following lists a number of Dari words that are used in political parties names and their English translation.

Hambastagi- Solidarity/sovereignty

Harakat - Movement

Hezb-e - Party

Jamiat- Association

Jihad – Struggle

Junbesh - Movement

Mahaz - Front

Mardum – People

Millat - Nation

Milli- National

Mujahedin – guerrilla fighters (literal: warriors in the struggle)

Mutahed – United

Tanzim - Party

Tahrik - Stimulation

Wahdat - Unity

Appendix 4 – Interview Questions

The Political Party Assessment Framework

It will be critical to ensure that the interviews take place in an atmosphere of mutual trust. If we do not receive honest answers then the credibility of the assessment will suffer.

Read the following to the party leader / member regarding this assessment:

NDI and your national leadership are cooperating on a program of assessment of the party at the national, regional and local levels. The purpose of this assessment is to prepare NDI to design and implement effective programs of assistance to your party in the next 18 – 24 months. This initial questionnaire is designed to provide a base level of knowledge, which will be verified and expanded through a series of confirmation meetings. This questionnaire will be administered to several individuals at varying levels of the party organization. There are no right or wrong answers, and if you do not know a particular answer, don't worry – leave it and move on. Your answers will not be shared with other parties or their members. This assessment should take between 60 and 90 minutes to complete.

A. Party Function and History

Party Function

1. How does the party define its purpose?
2. What role does the party want to play in politics now? In five years from now?
3. What are three key political issues for the party?

Party History

4. Did the party begin as a political party, a civic movement, a military force, or as a split or merger between previously existing parties?
5. Has the party ever held power at another level of government?

B. Organization and Structure

Organizational Principles

1. Does the party have a written constitution?
2. Has it revised this constitution since its foundation? If so, how did the revision take place?
3. Are party members provided with copies of the Constitution?

4. Does it require its membership to follow a formal / informal code of conduct?

Headquarters Operations

5. Who runs the day-to-day operations?

6. Who sets long term direction for the party?

7. Is there a calendar of activities and events distributed to members? Who develops it?

Leadership and Management

8. What is the composition of the management board of the party?

9. How are leaders elected?

10. What are the requirements for leadership?

11. Is it possible for ordinary members to become leaders within the party?

Party Structure

12. How many offices are there at the local level?

13. How are local offices linked to the regional and national organization?

14. Are there regional and local directors within the party? How are they selected?

15. Does the party have departments or commissions that exist within the party (for example, a women's department, or students)?

16. How do these departments of the party coordinate and communicate with the party leadership?

17. What other functional groups exist at the national or regional level?

Communication and Technology

18. How does normal communication occur between the national and regional offices?

19. At the national and regional levels, does the party have access to computers, fax machines and photocopiers?

20. Does the party have access to the internet and, if so, does it have a web-page?

21. Does the party produce any newsletters for its members? If so, how often?

22. Does the party produce any other publications? Is there any newspaper formally tied to the party or informally affiliated with the party?

23. Does the party have a press officer? Spokesperson? Are there rules for making public statements?
24. What are the main forms of communication between the party and the general public?

C. Membership Development and Training

Membership Profile

1. How many members does the party have, at the national and regional levels?
2. What is the general ethnic, religious, gender and age composition of the party?
3. Is the membership growing, shrinking, or remaining stable?
4. Do you have a recruitment strategy for your party? What are its main components?
5. Do you keep electronic lists of members?
6. Do you have membership dues? Are they collected in an organized way?
7. Does the party have a recruitment program aimed at youth? At women?

Training and Development

8. What training is available for party members?
9. How is this training funded?
10. What facilities and/or other resources (such as trained professionals, teachers, etc.) do you have within the party?

D. Policy Development Processes

1. Is there a formal structure for policy development?
2. If so, do ordinary members have access to it?
3. How often are policies reviewed and/or developed?
4. Are policy documents distributed to members?
5. How are the party's policies conveyed to the general public?

E. Fundraising

1. What is the general level of funding?
2. How does the party raise funds?
3. Do ordinary members pay dues? How much and how often?

F. Election Activities

Candidate Selection

1. How are candidates selected?
2. What are the requirements for being a candidate?
3. How are women candidates selected?

Campaign Teams

4. Were campaign teams provided to the candidates by the party?
5. What type of support was given to the candidate by the party?
6. Did the candidates follow policy direction from the headquarters? Who decided on the design and composition of the candidate's campaign materials?

Interpretation of Results

7. Has the party attempted any systemic examination of the results of the last election?
8. Were there areas in which the party received support where they did not expect to receive support?
9. Were there areas in which the expected support did not materialize?

G. Open-ended Questions:

1. What is, in your opinion, the main reason why people join your party? What is the main reason they do not? What would be your main idea to increase membership in the party?
2. What would be some of your ideas to build internal party cohesion?

Appendix 5 – Interviews Conducted

Person Interviewed	Position	Location	
Hezb-e-Afghan Milat			# of Interviews 15
Abdul Hamid Yaqhin	Deputy of Afghan Millat Party	Afghan National Bank	Kabul
Abdul Jalil Sartor	Member of party's supreme council.	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Atiqullah	The First Town Secretary, Kunduz City	provincial office of the Afghan	Kunduz
Aziz Ahmad Asifi	Party's secretary general	Afghan Millet central office	Kabul
Bismillah Afghaniml		NDI Regional Office, Kandahar	Qandahar
Doctor Abdul Bashir Enayat	Head of the Third Sub-district in Mazar-e-	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Dr. Mohd. Arif Tanai	head of the provincial council	Regional office of the party in	Khost
Engineer Gul Hussain	City Committee's Secretary	NDI Regional office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Ghulam Haidar	Secretary of the city council in Kunduz	Afghan Millat Office, Kunduz	Kunduz
Gool Habib Habib Zay	In charge of the Secretariate		Kabul
Mohammad Ibrahim Mohmand	The external relation in charge of Herat	Regional Office of NDI, Herat	Herat
Mohammad Rafih Malikzai	The secretary of Provincial Committee in	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Noor Jan Afghani	Member of newsletter section	Afghan Millat central office	Kabul
Sayed Ghafor Jan	member of the party	Khost City in Political party	Khost
Suraia Ebadi	responsible of Women section (Kabul	Afghan Millat central office	Kabul
Hezb-e-Afghanistan Naveen			# of Interviews 11
Abdul Samad Sherzad	Ordinary Member of the Party	NDI Regional Office, Kabul	Kabul
Aminullah Muzaffari	Deputy Director of the Provincial Council	Party's Provincial Office, Kunduz	Kunduz
Enayatullah Nazari	In charge of Party Organization	Party Headquarters, Qala-e-	Kabul
Mohammad Basir Azizi	Director of Nangarhar Province	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Mohammad Shafey Sanjar	Head of the Youth Department	NDI Regional Office, Kabul	Kabul
Qari Abdul Rab Danish	Member of Party's Provincial Council in	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Qari Abdul Raziq (Nazari)	Consultative Member of the Provincial	Party's Provincial Office, Kunduz	Kunduz
Sayed Abdullah Hashimi	In charge of the party youth and higher	NDI Regional Office, Kabul	Kabul
Sayed Ahmad Safi	Director of Kunar Province and In charge of	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Sayed Aziz Ahmad Amini	Deputy Provincial Director of Afghanistan-	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Sayed Hameed Noori	Press Officer and Head of Party's Cultural	The Third Makroriyon, Kabul	Kabul
Hezb-e-Da Afghanistan Da Soly Ghorzang Ghund			# of Interviews 13
Abdul karim Pohish	Director of the Northern Zone	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Abdul Rawoof Ayuobi	Member of national and provincial council	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Abdul Razaq Hakimi	The executive council's member and head	The Ministry of Border and Tribal	Kabul
Abdul Zahir Chopan	In charge of North-West Zone	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Austad Rahim Dad	The cultural affairs in charges	The ministry of Borders and	Kabul
Azizullah Zaland	Member of party's central council.	Party office, Khost province	Khost
Ghulam Sarwar Foroqh	The administrative in charge and deputy of	Ministry of Border and Tribal	Kabul
Hakim Wali	Deputy Head of the Southern Regional	Khost province, NDI regional	Khost
Laal Wali	In charge of the provincial council of	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Mirza Nazar	An ordinary member of Peace Movement	Ministry of the Borders and Tribal	Kabul
Mohammad Yaqub	Cultural and propaganda In charge of the	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Mohammad Yaqub	Cultural and propaganda In charge of the	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Rajab Ali	The director of sub-district 13 and 6 of	Ministry of Borders and Tribal	Kabul
Hezb-e-Democrat Afghanistan			# of Interviews 5
Abdul Ghias Tukhi	One of the party founders	Directorate of Afghan Card	Kabul
Abdul Latif Noorzad	Member of the leadership board of the	Ministry of Commerce	Kabul

Person Interviewed	Position	Location	
Dr. Kabir Ranjbar	Chairman of Afghanistan Democratic Party	Ministry of Commerce	Kabul
Sayed Noor Aqa Muzaffari	Of the party founders	Ministry of Commerce	Kabul
Tara Khel	head of organizational committee.	Ministry of Commerce	Kabul
Hezb-e-Eqtedar Milli		# of Interviews 7	
Ali Ahmadi	In charge of the Political Bureau	of the weekly, Eqtedare-e-Milli	Kabul
Kazim Haidari	In charge of party's youth department.	Office of the Weekly Eqtedare-e-	Kabul
Lailuma Shah Pisand	party member	The Weekly's Office, University	Kabul
Mohammad Haider Fayaz	The director of provincial council of Balk	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Sayed Isaq Aadili	The political director of National	NDI regional office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Sayed Muhammad Ali Rizwani	In charge of party's cultural section	Office of the Weekly Eqtedare-e-	Kabul
Sayed Mustafa Kazimi	Party leader	Party Headquarters, Kolola	Kabul
Hezb-e-Hambastagi-e-Milli-e-Jawanan-e-Afghan		# of Interviews 12	
Abdul Wahab Shirzad	In charge of the Eastern Zone.	NDI regional office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Farid Ahmad Silab	Administrative In charge of Zonal Office in	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Gul Amin	member of the party	NDI Regional office - Khost	Khost
Gul Aqa Ismaeelzada	party member	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Hamid Hafzi	Ordinary member of the party	Party Headquarters	Kabul
Mohammad Hussain Geran	Administrative In charge of Nangarhar	NDI regional office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Mohammad Nabi		NDI Regional Office, Kandahar	Qandahar
MohD Arif Gurbaz	secretary of the party for southeastern	NDI Regional office Khost	Khost
Mr. Abdul Wali Ahmad Zai	The Assistant Director of Political	Afghanistan Youth National	Kabul
Mr. Fazl-ul-Karim	Member of Executive Council of	Afghanistan Youth National	Kabul
Mr. Hashmatullah	Member of Executive Council of	Afghanistan Youth National	Kabul
Mr. Mohammad Taufiq Masoud	Finance Officer of Afghanistan Youth	Afghanistan Youth National	Kabul
Hezb-e-Harakat Islami Afghanistan		# of Interviews 7	
Amir Ahmad Ziaee	The Provincial Director of Balkh Province	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Engineer Abdul Wahid Zia	The member of Central Council of	Afghanistan Islamic Movement,	Kabul
Fatima Jan	Member of the cultural committee of the	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Mohammad Naeem Maqsoodi	The member of the Executive Council of	Afghanistan Islamic Movement	Kabul
Murteza Nikzad	The First Deputy Director of the Party	The Office of Afghanistan Islamic	Kabul
Sayed Qasim Natiqi	The political officer of Bamian Provincial	NDI regional office Bamyan	Bamyan
Zamin Hussain Faizi	Member of Afghanistan Islamic Movement	party headquarters, Kabul	Kabul
Hezb-e-Harakat-e-Islami-e-Mardum-e-Afghanistan		# of Interviews 9	
Bismillah Kamran	In charge of party organization	Party's office	Kabul
Jamal Khan	Office In charge of the Harakat-e-Islami	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Liaquat Ali Amini	Member of the executive board and in	Party Headquarters, Qala-e-	Kabul
Mohammad Isa	An ordinary member of Afghanistan Islamic	Party's Provincial Office, Bamian	Bamyan
Mohammad Zahir Asghari	Ordinary member of the party	Party's Office	Kabul
Mohd Arif Muzaffari	Party's provincial in charge in Kandahar	NDI Regional Office, Kandahar	Qandahar
Mr. Aminullah Nazarizada	Member of the administrative and finance	Party Headquarters, Qalah	Kabul
Sayed Abdul Qadir Paikar	In charge of Kabul Council of the party.	Party's office	Kabul
Sayed Shah Ahmad (Hashimi)	Secretary of the Provincial Council of	NDI Regional Office, Kunduz	Kunduz
Hezb-e-Harakat-e-Milli-e-Wahdat-e-Afghanistan		# of Interviews 1	
Jahan Gul	Deputy Head of the youth committee.	Party's central office, Khost	Khost

Person Interviewed	Position	Location	
Hezb-e-Jamiat Islami Afghanistan			# of Interviews 7
Abdul Khaliq Turabi	Foreign Relations Officer of the party	Party's Provincial Office, Herat	Herat
Abdul Shokor Waqif Hakimi	The director of Department of Culture and	Party's Central Office, Char Rahi	Kabul
Mazhar Wahidi	Provincial In charge of Jamiat-e-Islami	Party's Provincial Office, Herat	Herat
Mohammad Yasin	Director for the Youth Commission of the	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Sayed Anayatullah Shahdab	The secretary at the party's national	The party's Central Office,	Kabul
Sayed Mohd Haider	In charge of the administrative department	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Shahabudin Shahab	An ordinary party member	The party's Central Office (Kabul,	Kabul
Hezb-e-Jumhuri-Khwahan-e-Afghanistan			# of Interviews 15
Adila Bahram,	Head of the Women Committee and	Central Office of Afghanistan	Kabul
Ahmad Ramin Ayoubi	Provincial Secretary	NDI Regional Office, Kunduz	Kunduz
Dr. Nasir Ahmad (Miskin Yar),	member of the Central Committee and	Central Office of Afghanistan	kabul
Gulbaz Nasiri	The party's director of the Northern Zone	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Halima Sheikeb	Deputy Head of the Provincial Council and	Herat	Herat
Mr. Habibullah Khan,	ordinary member of the party	Central Office of Afghanistan	Kabul
Mr. Sibghatullah Sanjar,	Afghanistan Republican Party's Leader	Central Office of Afghanistan	Kabul
Mr. Zabiullah Faizi	The director of party's provincial council	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Ms. Nilufar Furoqhi,	Head of the Human Rights Committee	Ms. Nilufar Furoqhi, Head of the	Kabul
Peroz Khan	head of propagation department.	NDI Regional Office, Khost	Khost
Qadir Khan	Member of party's provincial council	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Sayed Fazl Ahmad Khan Fazli	In charge party's provincial council	Herat	Herat
Shirin Zada Shinwari	head of the provincial council of the party	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Sultan Mohammad Ghousi	In charge of party organization and	NDI regional office Kundoz	Kubduz
Tareen Khan	In charge of the Provincial Council, Khost	NDI Regional Office, Khost	Khost
Hezb-e-Junbesh wa Democracy Mardum Afghanistan			# of Interviews 5
Azizullah Hidayat	Member of the cultural commission	Party Headquarters, Sara-e-	Kabul
Hanifa Jamal	Deputy head of women's commission of	Party Headquarters, Sara-e-	Kabul
Mohammad Dawood	Party member	Headquarters, Sara-e-Ghazni,	Kabul
Mohammad Gul Paiman	In charge of the political commission and	Party Headquarters, Sara-e-	Kabul
Mohammad Sharif Nazari	leader of the party	Headquarters, Kabul, Afghanistan	Kabul
Hezb-e-Junbesh-e-Milli Islami Afghanistan			# of Interviews 5
Abdul Habib Danishyas	Organizational In charge of the party	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Engineer Hamidullah Mukhlis	Secretary and deputy of Kunduz provincial	Provincial office in Kunduz	Kunduz
Mr. Temoori	Member of the executive board and head	Office of Kabul Council, Afghanr	Kabul
Sadia Azad	Member of the Islamic National Movement	Regional Office of NDI, Herat	Herat
Sayed Noorullah Emad	party in charge	Party office, Mazar-e-Sharif	Mazar
Hezb-e-Mahaz-e-Milli-e-Islami-e-Afghanistan			# of Interviews 14
Abdul Rezaq	Member of Nangarhar Provincial Council	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Dr. Mohammad Abid	An ordinary member of the party	Party Headquarters, Kabul,	Kabul
Dr. Mohammad Hussain 'Hanafi		NDI Regional Office, Kandahar	Qandahar
Haji Ghulam Sakhi	Member of party's central council	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Haji Mirbadad	Member of party's provincial	NDI regional office, Khost	Khost
Mohammad Nasir (Hamdard)	Director of the Eastern Zone.	Party office, Nangarhar Province	Jalalabad
Mr. Mohammad Aman Mirzada	The party's spokesperson in the north.	Party office, Mazar-e-Sharif	Mazar
Najeebullah Zahid	Recruitment and organization in charge of	Party Headquarters, Kabul,	Kabul

Person Interviewed	Position	Location	
Rahmatullah Noori	Party Administrative and finance in charge	Party Headquarters, Kabul	Kabul
Sakhi-ur-Rahman	Party's in charge in Khost Province.	NDI regional office, Khost	Khost
Saleh Mohammad Ibrahim Khil	The administrative director of Northern	The party's regional office in	Mazar
Sayed Abdul Razaq Luqman	Party's Spokesperson and political in	Headquarters, Kabul, Afghanistan	Kabul
Sayed Ahmad Gelani	leader of the party	Party Headquarters, Kabul,	Kabul
Sher Ahmad Haqyar	Regional Director of the Party	Party's Regional Office, Kandahar	Qandahar
Hezb-e-Mutahed Milli Afghanistan		# of Interviews 15	
Abdul Hakim "Ghorzang"	Member of the Supreme Council and In	Office of Party's Kabul City	Kabul
Abdul Mukhtar Ziarnal	Member of the Supreme Council and Head	Party Office, Kabul, Afghanistan	Kabul
Abdul Qayum Baryan		NDI Regional Office, Kandahar	Qandahar
Abdul Quddos Wolkar	Deputy Leader of the party and director of	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Assadullah Dehqanzada	Member of the Provincial Council of	Regional Office of NDI, Herat	Herat
Faqir Ahmed	member of the Supreme Council of	Regional Office, Herat Province	Herat
Ghulam Hazrat	Member of the executive committee and	Office of the Kabul Provincial	Kabul
Ghulam Hazrat Paikan	Director of Foreign Relations in the	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Habiba Kakar	In charge of women's affairs	Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Mohammad Gul	Director of provincial council of National	Regional Office of NDI, Kunduz	Kunduz
Mohammad Gul	Director of provincial council of National	Regional Office of NDI, Kunduz	Kunduz
Noor Mohammad Ghafoori	ordinary member of the party	Town Office of the United Party	Kabul
Noor-ul-Haq Uloomi	Chairman	Uloomi's House, Third Makrorryan,	Kabul
Salahuddin Hotak	Director of the Eastern Region	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Sheikh Ahmad Ghafoori	Provincial Deputy Director of the Party	NDI Regional Office, Kandahar	Qandahar
Hezb-e-Nuhzat-e-Azadi Wa Democracy		# of Interviews 11	
Abdul Ahmad Azer	Head of the Town Council and member of	Central office of Nehzat Azadi	Kabul
Abdul Matin Monis	Cultural in charge and party spokesman	Central office of Nehzat Azadi	Kabul
Abdul Raqib Javid Kohistani	leader of the party	Office of the Nehzat Azadi wa	Kabul
Abdul Wahid "Ranjbar Osmanpoor"	Administrative and financial in charge of	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Dr. Ghulam Haider Popal	The director of provincial council of	Party's provincial office, Kunduz	Kunduz
Engineer Sher Aqa	Organization In charge in the Eastern	NDI Regional Office, Jalalabad,	Jalalabad
Fareed Ahmad	In charge of the Eastern Zone	NDI Regional Office, Jalalabad	Jalalabad
Ghulam Rasool	Director of Imam Sahib District Council	Provincial Office of the party,	Kunduz
Madar Ali Karimi	Deputy Secretary of the party	Party Headquarters, Karte Char,	Kabul
Ms. Anisa Zamani	In charge of Women Affairs	Party's central office, Karte	Kabul
Omid Hoda	Member of the Peace and Democracy	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Hezb-e-Nuhzat-e-Hambastagi-e-Milli-e-Afghanistan		# of Interviews 9	
Abdul Nafey	Deputy Provincial Director	NDI Regional Office, Kandahar	Qandahar
Abdul Rahman Nisar	The First Deputy director of the Party and	Central Office of the Afghanistan	Kabul
Engineer Ghulam Muhiuddin	Executive Council Member and Director for	Office of the Afghanistan	Kabul
Fazl Mawla	Member of party's executive council	NDI Regional Office, Jalalabad	Jalalabad
Mohammad Ummar Ayyar	A member of the Executive Council and	The Central Office of the	Kabul
Mohammad Yousuf	Member of party's provincial council	NDI Regional Office, Jalalabad	Jalalabad
Mukhlisuddin Mujahid	In Charge of Party's Provincial Office in	NDI Regional Office, Qandahar	Qandahar
Najeeba Nooristani	The Executive Council Member and the	Central Office of the Afghanistan	Kabul
Noor Mohammad Haidari	Head of party's cultural affairs	Ministry of Border and Tribal	Kabul

Person Interviewed	Position	Location	
Hezb-e-Paiwand Milli Afghanistan			# of Interviews 5
Abdul Qadir Ramish	Member of the executive board and central	Party's central office, Taimani	Kabul
Hayatullah Niazi	Secretary of the central committee	Central office of the National	Kabul
Jan Mohammad	Ordinary member of the party	Central Office, Taimany Square,	Kabul
Shaikh Alladad Yazdani	Deputy of the Organizational department.	Central office of the party,	Kabul
Zohor-e-Razmjo	party's senior advisor and assistant	Party headquarters, Taimany	Kabul
Hezb-e-Refa-e-Afghanistan			# of Interviews 7
		Macroyan	Kabul
Doctor Asif	The Acting head of the Northern Zone	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Doctor Nejeebullah	Ordinary member of Afghanistan Welfare	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Mohd. Azim Basharat	The party political officer and supervisor	Afghanistan Welfare Party, Office	Kabul
Mr. Abdul Jalil Basiri	The Cultural Committee Officer and the in	Party Office, Apartment No. 157,	Kabul
Mr. Mohammad Naeem Naziri	The Press Officer and the Spokesperson of	Afghanistan Welfare Office	Kabul
Ms. Zainab (Sayeda)	In charge of Women Committee	Party Office, Apartment No. 157,	Kabul
Noor Ahmad Zadran	Ordinary member of the party	ordinary member of the party	Kabul
Hezb-e-Sulh wa Wahdat Milli			# of Interviews 5
Abdul Zaher Farzam	Head of organizational committee of the	Dehamzang, opposite of Cinema	Kabul
Ahmad Fawad	One of the ordinary members of the party	The 4th Mecrorayan	Kabul
Mohammad Rahim Roothullah	Secretary of the party	Party Headquarters, Dehmazang,	Kabul
Mohammad Yasin Habib	The First Deputy Chairman of the party	Headquarters, Dehmazang, Kabul	Kabul
Suraya Jan Habib	In charge of women's affairs	The 4th Mecrorayan	Kabul
Hezb-e-Tahrik-e-Wahdat-e-Milli-e-Afghanistan			# of Interviews 9
Abdul Shukoor Dadras	Members of the executive council and	Kabul	Kabul
Haji Badam Gul	In charge of the Eastern Zone	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Haji Nisar Ahmad Popalzai	Provincial Director of the Party in Herat	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Mohammad Dawood Nazar	One of the party activists	NDI Regional Office, Kabul	Kabul
Mohammad Ehsan Zaheed	Member of the City Council of the Party in	NDI Regional Office, Kabul	Kabul
Nooruddin	Member of the City Council of the Party in	NDI Regional Office, Kabul	Kabul
Sayed Ahmad Shah Karimi	Member of the executive council	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Sayed Mohammad Amin Arif	Member of the executive council	NDI Regional Office, (? Kabul	Kabul
Tella Mohammad	Provincial Head of Nangarhar Province	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Hezb-e-Tanzim Jabha-e-Najat-e-Milli Afghanistan			# of Interviews 11
Abdul Ghaffar Muzaffari	Advisor on women and youth affairs of the	Party headquarters, Wazir Akbar	Kabul
Abdul Hamid Wahab	An ordinary member of Afghanistan	NDI Regional Office, Kabul,	Kabul
Alhaj Mohammad Ismaeel	Head of the Khost provincial council	NDI Regional Office, Khost	Khost
Asadullah Falah	Member of the executive council	Party headquarters, Wazir Akbar	Kabul
Dr. Zabehullah Mujaddadi	Secretary General of Afghanistan National	15th Street, Wazir Akbar Khan,	Kabul
Haji Hayatullah	Director of the Eastern Zone	NDI Regional Office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Khan Mohammad	Director of the Northern Zone	NDI Regional Office, Kunduz	Kunduz
Najibullah		NDI regional office, Nangarhar	Jalalabad
Rahmatullah	Deputy Head of party's Khost provincial	NDI Regional Office, Khost	Khost
Shah Aqha Siddiq Mujaddadi	Member of the executive council	Party Headquarters, Wazir Akbar	Kabul
Wazir Gul Rahmani	Deputy Director of the North-East Zone of	Kunduz Province, NDI regional	Kunduz
Hezb-e-Tanzim-e-Dawat Islami Afghanistan			# of Interviews 5
Ajab Khan Zafari	An ordinary member of the party	Party Headquarters, Kabul	Kabul

Person Interviewed	Position	Location	
Enayatullah Baleeqh	Secretary General of the party	Party Headquarters, Kabul	Kabul
Kiramatullah Siddiq	In charge of party coherence	Party Headquarters, Kabul	Kabul
Mohammad Akbar Khan	Finance In charge of the party	Party Headquarters, Kabul	Kabul
Noor Mohammad Khan	Head of the political committee	Headquarters, Kabul	Kabul
Hezb-e-Wahdat Islami-e-Mardum Afghanistan		# of Interviews 11	
Ahmad Shah Shafaq Balkhi	Party's cultural In charge	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Dad Ali	Deputy head of party's provincial council in	NDI regional office, Kunduz	Kunduz
Haji Khalil	In charge of the Election Committee	Muhaqqiq's House, Pool-e-Surkh,	Kabul
Haji Mohammad Muhaqqiq	Leader of the Islamic Unity Party of the	Central Office of People's Islamic	Kabul
Kubra	In charge of women's affairs of the party	NDI regional office, Herat	Herat
Mohammad Ali Alizada	Organizational In charge of the party	Muhaqqiq's House, Pool-e-Surkh,	Kabul
Mohammad Sajjad Mohsini	In charge of party's propaganda in Bamyan	Bamyan	Bamyan
Mohammad Yaqub Dawlatyar	In charge of party's internal affairs in Herat	NDI regional office, Herat	Herat
Muhamad Zahir	Ordinary member	Party office in Pol Surkh. Karte	Kabul
Sayed Moonir	Financial In charge of the provincial council	NDI regional office, Kunduz	Kunduz
Shariatee	External Relations In charge of the Party	Muhaqqiq's House, Pool-e-Surkh,	Kabul
Hezb-e-Wahdat-e-Islami Afghanistan		# of Interviews 11	
Asadullah Sadati	Spokesman of Afghanistan Islamic Unity	Office of the Musharikat Milli	Kabul
Habiba Wahaj	Party deputy		Kabul
Mahdi	Propaganda In charge of the party in Herat	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Mohammad Amin Akhtari	Party's relations officer in the northern	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Mohammad Hussain Erfani	Member of Central Council and director of	Bamyan Regional Offic	Bamyan
Mohammad Karim Khalili	Leader of the Afghanistan Islamic Unity	Party quest house, Pool-e-	Kabul
Mohammad Kazim Jafari	Director of the Northern Region	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar
Mohammad Musa Razaee	Member of the Afghanistan Islamic Unity	NDI Regional Office, Herat	Herat
Mohammad Sarwar Jawadi	Member of the central council and editor-	Office of the Weekly Musharikat	Kabul
Mohammad Tahir Zaheer	Member of the provincial council of	NDI bamyan Regional Office	Bamyan
Saied Anwar	Ordinary member	Party quest hous	Kabul
Hezb-e-Wahdat-e-Milli Islami Afghanistan		# of Interviews 2	
Mohammad Akbari	Chairman of the Executive Council of The	Party's Headquarters, Khoshhal	Kabul
Mohammad Kazim Jafari	Director of the Northern Region	NDI Regional Office, Mazar-e-	Mazar

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