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## INTERNAL POLITICAL CHANGES IN AFGHANISTAN

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**Annotation.** The article analyzes the current political situation in Afghanistan, the rise of the Taliban, the emergence of ISIS in Afghanistan and the activation of al-Qaeda, the mass infiltration of ISIS-linked militants into Afghanistan. The article discusses the ideological basis of the extremist organization of the Taliban. The analysis shows that the Taliban ideology is based on the fundamentalist theories of the Deobandi school and the radical views of the Tablighi Jamaat movement.

The stages of the study in our article cover the history of the creation of the Taliban and the scale of the seizure of Afghanistan and its rise to power as an organization. Our article used various scientific analysis, description, comparison, forecasting, comparative-historical method system and historical approach, content analysis, which allowed us to analyze in detail the most important processes and trends in the modern history of the situation in Afghanistan.

Such issues will become the main ones in the near future, and it is quite possible that the internal situation of Afghans will remain secondary, or it will become a derivative of international topics, which will determine the specifics of the approach to the development of events in Afghanistan. There is an opinion that the main role in the problem of Afghanistan is played by external actors. It is possible that in the near future the Talibs will become not only the main subject of the state, but also independent in their own way. This may decide what the international aspect of events in Afghanistan will be. At the same time, what is happening adds a new exclamation to the discussion about the basis of modern international relations, especially regarding the interaction of large powers with small and medium-sized states.

**Keywords:** Taliban, Mujahideen, Pashtun, Batken war, cross-border criminal groups, Khorosan factor, Pashtunwali, regional security

### Basic provisions

The introduction justifies the choice of the topic, its relevance and novelty, the scientific and practical significance of the study, sets out the goals and objectives, defines the methodological foundations of the work, and analyzes the degree of development of the topic. Over the past four decades, Afghanistan has been in the spotlight of the world's leading media outlets. As the situation in this country escalates, the attention of the world's leading publications has shifted to this country. Events in Afghanistan are so rapid and dramatic that the focus is on the country dimension of the Afghan problem – the transfer of power, the fate of refugees, the beginning of political and humanitarian crises, and the likelihood of civil war.

However, we must not forget that the situation in Afghanistan has a broader regional and global significance.

### **Introduction**

Will the external project, which will be implemented with the sponsorship of international organizations related to Afghanistan, remain in a modified form? Is there a classic great-power rivalry where Pakistan, China, and Russia simply pushed the country out of America's sphere of influence? Will the United States and its allies fight for influence in Kabul, or will the Taliban again turn Afghanistan into a foreign country and try to "poison" the joy of its competitors? Are they Partners in transnational transport projects, or do neighbors, on the contrary, prefer to be ambushed and surrounded? What is the crisis in Afghanistan and the threat to Central Asian countries? Our research questions are.

### **Description of materials and methods**

The stages of the study in our article cover the history of the creation of the Taliban and the scale of the seizure of Afghanistan and its rise to power as an organization. Our article used various scientific analysis, description, comparison, forecasting, comparative-historical method system and historical approach, content analysis, which allowed us to analyze in detail the most important processes and trends in the modern history of the situation in Afghanistan.

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For a long time, experts considered the Taliban mainly as an independent force in itself. Journalism and expert assessments have shown the Taliban's ties to Pakistan [1]. As a result, they became known as the "tool" (reputation) of Islamabad. However, there were circumstances that did not correspond to this concept. For example, in the second half of September 2001, the Taliban, with the approval of the United States, refused to extradite or eliminate Osama bin Laden and his closest associates, as well as all intermediaries who tried to negotiate with them. At that time, they were not perceived as a group capable of making decisions on their own, they seemed incapable of Fair Political Play, unable to get out of what al-Qa'ida said.

In 1992, the regime of President Mohammed Najibullah was overthrown. A new government appeared in Kabul, and the Mujahideen leaders became the leaders of the country. Then, for two years, a bloody battle took place in Afghanistan between various militant groups: the commanders who came to power shared power. This is stated by Deputy Director of the Institute of history and politics of Moscow

State Pedagogical University, candidate of historical sciences Vladimir Shapovalov[1]. In fact, it was one of the most difficult times in the recent history of Afghanistan, when the country was divided into separate parts, dominated by chaos and anarchy. Kabul was also divided into separate quarters controlled by separate groups of Mujahideen.

It is no coincidence that Gulbeddin Hekmatiyar, one of the leaders of the Mujahideen, entered the country's history under the name "Kabul Butcher". At the same time, the commanders who shared power, relatively speaking, did not pay attention to the fact that their soldiers rebelled. In the 1980s, Muslim educational institutions were established on the territory of Pakistan, where young people who emigrated from Afghanistan were trained, Makarkin explained. These young people began to learn Islam there. And the student who studies Islam is called The Talib. Of course, they studied not only Islam.

Their ideologically charged commanders and Pakistan were perceived as future soldiers. They went to war and fought against the communist regime," the source said. The reason for the emergence of the Taliban was the war. It began in the 1980s, when a significant part of Afghanistan's population fought against the USSR. At the same time, Western countries and Pakistan supported the opponents of the Union. This was stated during an interview by Alexey Makarkin, vice-president of the Center for Political Technologies[2].

For two years, while the Mujahideen commanders shared power, the Taliban saw that their real leadership did not live according to the laws taught them. After all, corruption began in the country, and the population was practically not paid attention. Imbued with ideology, the Taliban has become a mass movement that defends pure Islam. It was an attempt to create a Sharia state in Afghanistan without communists, without the West, without the corrupt Mujahideen, based on Islamic values. And the poor peasants of Afghanistan liked it very much.

## **Results**

### **The beginning of the Taliban movement**

The Taliban movement began in the 1990s. Its main goal was to create a state that was subject to the laws of Islamic Sharia. The history of the Taliban began in the 1990s, after the end of the Afghan war of 1979-1989, which also included troops from the USSR and Western countries. "Taliban "in Pashto (the language of the dominant people of Afghanistan) means" students "or" madrasa students". This is because the movement originated among Afghan refugees who were educated at a madrasa in neighboring Pakistan. The leader of the Taliban movement was Mullah Mohammad Omar, who fought for the creation of a " truly Islamic "State.

In 1996, the Taliban seized power with the military and financial support of Pakistan and declared the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. The new state was recognized only by Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. The Taliban have established their regime in most of the country, and the lives of Afghans living in Taliban-controlled countries are now subject to Sharia law. A person was sentenced to death for murder or adultery, and the sentence was carried out without a public trial.

The hands of those arrested for theft were cut off as punishment. Men were obliged to wear beards, and women to wear traditional braids; for disobedience, they were threatened with prison or whip. Television, photography, music and cinema, which "awaken the mind", were banned. Local residents were forbidden to go out on the streets without the men of close relatives. At that time, women, who made up a quarter of the entire employed population of Afghanistan, were forbidden to work for hire, and only girls under eight were allowed to study. This was explained by the fact that the woman devoted her time exclusively to home and family.

In the first year of its creation, 25 thousand people joined the movement. Subsequently, their number varied from 12 to 60 thousand in different years. Since 1996, the Taliban have effectively ruled Afghanistan, occupied the capital Kabul, and introduced Sharia law in controlled territories. Under the Taliban regime, Afghanistan has become a center of terrorism and drug trafficking. The international community could not do anything about this, because no one wanted to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan. The Mujahideen leaders, who were driven north from Kabul, were weakened and could not return the capital, which continued until 2001, that is, until September 11. Only after four coordinated terrorist attacks by Al-Qaeda members took place in the United States, the American side asked where the founder of the organization was, and it turned out that he was in Afghanistan. After that, the United States asked the Taliban to hand over Osama bin Laden. The militants, referring to the local code of Hospitality, did not give it away.

Then the Americans hit the Taliban and returned the Mujahideen leaders to Kabul. Everything changed after the terrorist attacks organized by the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda in the United States on September 11, 2001. Its leader, Osama bin Laden, took refuge in Afghanistan. In response, the United States and Britain launched a military operation against the Taliban and overthrew their regime in Afghanistan in December. Hamid Karzai came to power. He stated that the main goal of his government would be to establish peace in the country and create a democratic society.

Since then, the Taliban has been waging a civil war for 20 years, relying heavily on the sentiments of poor peasants. Moreover, the newly arrived regime was also corrupt, which, according to the Taliban, was actually established by foreigners, who said that they should fight them. Their struggle consisted of simple slogans: "we will live with pure Islam", "we will live without thieves", "we will live according to Sharia law", "we will live without foreigners".

Attempts by the Americans to modernize the system did not bring any results. People were primarily interested in the topics of theft and fair trial. The Americans could not provide for this. The monarchical legitimacy was destroyed, and the external legitimacy – the Americans were tired and gone. There was a vacuum," Makarkin said [3].

The Taliban organization is recognized by the vast majority of countries and the UN Security Council as terrorist. The world community has condemned them for granting asylum to the notorious terrorist Osama bin Laden, who in 2001 destroyed Buddhist monuments in the Bamiyan Valley. In addition, the Taliban has committed at least 15 terrorist attacks. Among them are explosions in mosques and

mass events with high casualties, attacks on police stations, hotels where UN employees live, the international aid mission that provided medical assistance to Afghans, the murder of members of the charity Christian Mission, etc.

And the Taliban, not giving up their desire to regain power, switched to guerrilla warfare. Here they were greatly helped by the inaccessible mountainous terrain, which helped them successfully hide from opponents. As a result, the military operation in Afghanistan continued. Residents of Western countries were dissatisfied with the fact that they were forced to sacrifice the lives of their soldiers in a "foreign" war. In addition, taxpayers had to spend a lot of money on the maintenance of the state, which is located thousands of kilometers from them. In 2015, most of the international forces withdrew from Afghanistan, which eventually led to the activation of the Taliban.

### **US political position on Afghanistan**

US President Joe Biden announced that the US Army will completely withdraw from Afghanistan by August 31. According to him, the United States first invaded Afghanistan to protect its national security. "We have spent more than a trillion dollars, trained and equipped about 300,000 Afghan soldiers. We gave them all the necessary tools that the Taliban did not have. We have given them every opportunity to determine their future. But we cannot give them their will to fight for freedom. American troops will not be able to fix the American in Afghanistan for one year, five years, or 20 years," Biden said [4]. He said that Washington does not plan to create and support Afghan statehood. Therefore, only Afghans can take responsibility for what is happening in their country.

In a short time, the Talibs quickly took control of the entire territory of Afghanistan. Afghan President Ashraf Ghani left the country in a hurry, and government troops surrendered en masse to the militants, leaving American military equipment at their disposal. The UN said that the situation in Afghanistan is getting out of control: since the beginning of this year, 400,000 Afghans have fled the war and left their homes. At the same time, 80 percent of migrants are women and children. Now the future fate of thousands of civilians who were in solidarity with the Americans and could not leave their homeland before the arrival of the Taliban was difficult.

The Taliban promised to respect women's rights and allow them to study and work if they wear masks in accordance with Sharia law. In addition, the Taliban promised not to take revenge on the soldiers and officials who served the fallen Afghan government. However, according to some media reports, in some regions of the country, the Talibs have banned girls over the age of Eleven from attending classes. The Taliban and Al-Qaeda are religious terrorist organizations banned in Kazakhstan, Russia and a number of other countries. Kazakhstan " recognized the Taliban as a terrorist organization, its activities are prohibited on the territory of the Republic.

At the same time, there are practically no real leaders of the movement. There is a group of political, military leaders and a political office of the movement, which conducts a dialogue with the outside world in Doha. No one even saw the press secretary. He speaks only on the phone, no one can understand whether it is the voice

of one person or The Voice of 11 different people. In fact, the two provinces are fighting the Taliban. It is not known how long it will last. And the rest of the country is already under their rule.

After more than 40 years of continuous hostilities, a quarter of it went to the Soviet war, a quarter to the civil wars between the victorious mujahideen, then to them and the Taliban, and half to the American and NATO military. In India, this country is often called the "heart of Asia" - it combines the nodes of many regional and global problems. All this can create a lot of security problems for Russia, as well as for the post-Soviet Central Asian countries, where Moscow guarantees its security within the framework of the CSTO (this is Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan) or close bilateral relations (Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan). In early July 2021, the Tajik authorities officially turned to the CSTO to guard the border with Afghanistan.

### **Discussions**

**We can mention three main episodes that reflect the connection with Afghanistan:**

1. Well-known experience of the Soviet-Afghan war (1979-1989).
2. Intervention of the parties during the Tajik civil war in the 1990s, followed by the participation of Russian border guards in conflicts on the Afghan-Tajik border. A memorable episode of that war was the destruction of 25 Russian border guards by militants at the 12th outpost of the Moscow border detachment on July 13, 1993. In the same battle, one of the commanders of the terrorists was Khattab, the future head of Chechen soldiers.

3. The "Batken war" in Kyrgyzstan within the framework of the collective security treaty of the CIS. In the Batken region of Kyrgyzstan, representatives of the terrorist group "Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan", associated with Al-Qaeda, who tried to invade the country after violent terrorist attacks organized in Tashkent during the same war, were stuck. To this can be added the close ties of the most radical wing of the North Caucasus militants with the Taliban through Al-Qaeda. The latter took an active part in the two Chechen wars. The bombers, which carried out numerous terrorist attacks in Russia, were trained by instructors sent by Al-Qaeda from Afghanistan. The main person who carried out the communication between Afghanistan and Chechnya was the famous field commander, the main ally of Shamil Basayev, who previously fought with the USSR in Afghanistan (1987-1992), then transferred to The Post Amir Ibn Al-Khattab, who continued his jihad" to Tajikistan (1993) and Chechnya (1994-1995).

### **The Taliban's ties to ISIS and Al-Qaeda**

In addition, militants in Syria who fought against Russia (primarily from the post-Soviet space) through the territorial division of the Islamic State of Khorasan in Afghanistan connect with Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan through ethnic extremist groups.

Instability in Afghanistan due to the withdrawal of American troops and the intensification of the civil war creates serious security problems for Central Asian countries. Despite the fact that many of the statements of the Taliban representatives that they will not attack Central Asian countries are true (the latter was announced by representatives of this organization in Moscow on July 8, 2021), this threat cannot

be ruled out, at the moment these groups include citizens of former post-Soviet countries, who are located in the north of Afghanistan near the border of Central Asian countries, since northern Afghanistan is the historical site of the emirate of Bukhara, inhabited by the same Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmens and Kyrgyz people who live on the other side of the border of the former Soviet Union. The involvement of regional players in the conflict in Afghanistan is already underway.

On July 8, 2021, Taliban representatives announced in Moscow that they control 90% of Afghanistan's border, as well as 85% of its territory (although it is still disputed that they control many districts and provincial administrative centers). According to the state committee for national security of Tajikistan, the Talibs have taken control of more than 70 percent of the Tajik-Afghan border with a length of 1,430 km. More than 2 thousand Afghan soldiers retreated to the territory of Tajikistan from the invasion of the talips. About 1,500 residents of Badakhshan, Afghanistan, also fled from the Taliban to Tajikistan, including not only Tajiks, but also Kyrgyz.

Under the influence of these events, on July 5, at a meeting of the country's Security Council, Tajik President Rahmon instructed to mobilize 20 thousand reserve soldiers to strengthen the border with Afghanistan. Tajikistan is preparing to accept thousands of Afghan refugees. Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu said that Russia is ready to provide military assistance to Tajikistan in the event of a threat from Afghanistan.

The threat to Russia is increasing due to the interest of terrorist groups (in particular, ISIS) defeated in Syria and Iraq to migrate to Afghanistan and Central Asia (along with Africa). As S. Shoigu noted: "We, of course, have high hopes that some consensus and interethnic harmony will be reached in Afghanistan. But at the same time, we see how actively they are moving from different regions, including Syria, Libya, and ISIS units" [5].

In addition, there is a problem of "terrorist emigration" of militants from Central Asia, who can return home from the Middle East (where there is a threat of terrorist attacks) or go to fight in neighboring Afghanistan. Central Asian militants pose a threat of terrorism not only in the region, but also on a global scale. Only in 2017, they carried out four major terrorist attacks in the United States, Turkey, Sweden and Russia. Therefore, our country, like the entire international community, will ensure that terrorist groups in Central Asia and Afghanistan do not spread their roots.

According to the Soufan Center report, the total number of militants who left Central Asia for Syria and Iraq exceeds 5 thousand [6]. If they are divided by country of origin, the following data can be traced: Kazakhstan – more than 500 people (11.90%), Kyrgyzstan-more than 500 people (11.90%), Tajikistan – more than 1300 people (30.95%), Turkmenistan-more than 400 people (9.52%), Uzbekistan – more than 1500 people (35.71%).

Central Asian militants, along with North Caucasians from Russia and Uighurs from China, fought for the ISIS in the Middle East. Among the most prominent ISIS commanders were Abu Omar al-Shishani, a semi-Georgian semi-Chechen, and Gulmurod Halimov, a Tajik, former colonel of OMON. Immigrants

from Central Asia also supported other small terrorist groups in the Middle East banned in Russia - Jamaat Imam Bukhari, Jaish Al-Muhajirin, Jamaat Saifullah Shishani, Tawhid Val-jihad, etc. the activities of cross-border criminal groups also pose a threat to control the flow of smuggling, especially from Afghanistan through Central Asia to Russia, and further along the "northern route" to Eastern and Northern Europe. The latter, especially terrorist activities, were financed from drug revenues.

### **The threat posed by the Taliban to Central Asian countries and Russia**

In addition to the above problems, we can add the following factors that pose a threat to Russia in the Afghanistan-Central Asia direction:

Widespread spread of Islamist propaganda in Central Asia using the latest means of communication.

Identity crisis that developed in the region after the collapse of the USSR. The famous Kyrgyz theologian Kadyr Malikov emphasizes: "the reason for this crisis is the dissatisfaction with the work of secular authorities and traditional religious institutions traditional clergy cannot give a decent answer to current political questions, they are limited only to performing rituals [7]. They cannot answer questions related to politics, jihad, they are not capable in these areas. In addition, we can note the high level of corruption, especially in law enforcement agencies, unfairness of the court, general weakness of the state, and current social problems. In this regard, all conditions for radicalization are being created in Central Asia."

There is a "risk group" for Islamist recruitment, which includes millions of migrant workers from Central Asian countries who travel to Russia for work. These people are particularly prone to jihadist propaganda a number of factors force some countries in the region to be classified as "fragile states". The "fragility" of states creates a potential for the formation of "failed states" [8].

The link between extremely high corruption in the region and drug trafficking in the northern route of drug transportation from Afghanistan to Russia is obvious. Moreover, corruption in secular institutions in the region is the main target of Islamist propaganda. The expansion of poverty, the overpopulation of the agricultural population due to the lack of water and fertile land, the degradation of the Social Security, Education and medical systems established during the Soviet era. The population density in the Ferghana Valley is one of the highest in the world. Over the past 10 years, demographic growth here has shown 32 percent. Today, the teachings of Salafism and Wahhabism are widespread in the Valley, and foreign preachers and recruiters are actively working [9].

Complex interstate conflicts, especially in the Ferghana Valley, in the spring of 2021, escalating contradictions between Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan led to large-scale military conflicts. In some cases, conspiracies and further radicalization become the only means of supporting supporters of political Islam. In Kyrgyzstan, the authorities allowed the functioning of the Pakistani Islamic organization Tablighi Jamaat, which is banned in many CIS countries.

The threat to the post – Soviet countries of Central Asia is usually associated with the activities of the two most evil global terrorist groups-the ISIS and Al-



Qaeda. In this regard, in our article, we will link the emergence of ISIS in Afghanistan and the activation of Al-Qaeda in the context of the situation in northern Afghanistan and on the borders of Central Asian countries. In the fall of 2014, separate small groups of ISIS supporters appeared in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The first carriers of extremist ideology in Afghanistan may be foreign fighters from among Pakistanis, Arabs, Chechens and other immigrants from the Russian North [10].

Representatives of the Caucasus, Central Asia (Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kyrgyz) and China (Uighurs). In the following period, the groups separated from the Pakistani Taliban influenced the formation of the ISIS in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

A large-scale operation of the Pakistani Army Zarb-e-Azb contributed to the massive penetration of ISIS-related militants into Afghanistan and the change of direction of part of the Pakistani Taliban, as a result of which many representatives of the Pakistani Taliban and other terrorist groups were expelled from Pakistan's Waziristan and Baluchistan into Afghanistan a group of Pakistani Taliban who emigrated to Afghanistan began taking the oath of office under the ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi [11].

As noted in the report of Russian and Tajik experts: "in Afghanistan, in the spring and summer of 2014, an agreement was signed between representatives of the Pakistani intelligence service (ISI) and the CIA, and then between ISI and the leadership of the Taliban of Afghanistan and Pakistan on the resettlement of secret militants. As part of this Agreement, armed groups "squeezed out" of Pakistani territory left a corridor to retreat to Afghanistan, they moved to the north-eastern northern and western provinces of the country "in general, the ISIS settled in Afghanistan for a short time and became one of the most important local players [13]. According to the press secretary of the Ministry of foreign affairs of Afghanistan, Dr. Mirvaiz Balkh.

ISIS-Khorasan differs from other terrorist structures, including the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, in the following characteristics: it is able to provide more military and economic independence; it mainly attracts more pragmatically educated young people on a number of issues, organizes effective decentralized terrorist networks, and uses the Internet more.

In the winter and spring of 2015, at the same time as the relocation of militants from northern Pakistan to Afghanistan, logistics corridors were built to provide these groups. Representatives of the Afghan security forces are convinced that Pakistan's interdepartmental Intelligence Service (ISI) is involved in both the emergence and support of ISIS militants in Afghanistan. According to the deputy head of the Lower House of the Parliament of Afghanistan A. Kadir, the transportation of militants was carried out by mysterious helicopters, which did not show signs of detection in January 2016, an unknown 4 helicopter landed in one of the militant-controlled areas of Ghazni province in eastern Afghanistan. In the summer of 2021, S. Shoigu reported on the "highly organized Organization of the ISIS movement".

The entry of the ISIS into Afghanistan was financed by the Middle East. Special representative of the president of the Russian Federation for Afghanistan Zamir Kabulov, in particular, said that the dais receives up to 70% of the funds for

its activities from abroad, and the income from its activities in Afghanistan (including related to drug trafficking) will be covered many Afghan observers say that the ISIS are very well provided. For example, First Deputy Speaker of the Lower House of the Afghan Parliament Abdul Zahir Kadir expressed concern about the high level of equipment of ISIS militants in Nangarhar province.

According to him, "they didn't have enough tanks and helicopters, they have everything else". The process of ISIS penetration into Afghanistan is not accidental, it is supported by regional global forces. Therefore, it is impossible to ignore the ISIS-Khorasan factor as the main threat to regional security. The transition from the Taliban to the ISIS ranks was especially marked by a number of groups of foreign fighters associated with post-Soviet countries.

In August 2015, some representatives of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, which is part of al-Qaeda, released a video announcing their involvement in the ISIS. The penetration of this terrorist organization into Kunduz province was accompanied by the passage of a part of the Jundullah group under the ISIS flag (originally the group was funded from Saudi Arabia and located on the territory of Pakistan). Reports from Baglan province (Borka district) at the end of 2015 also indicate the presence of ISIS militants here, and Jundullah fighters also played an important role in this process.

The Afghan authorities also attributed the ISIS's interest in northern Afghanistan to the operation of the Russian Aerospace Forces in Syria. In October 2016, the First Vice President of Afghanistan, Abdul Rashid Dustum, citing intelligence data, warned that by the spring of 2017, the ISIS were planning to deploy thousands of militants from Iraq and Syria to northern Afghanistan. According to him, we are mainly talking about people from Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and the North Caucasus. Foreign fighters play an important role in the penetration of the ISIS into northern and eastern Afghanistan. In particular, in the province of Kunduz, according to Governor Mohammad Omar Safi, there are militants from Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkey and the North Caucasus.

Currently, after the defeat of the ISIS in Syria and Iraq, interest in Afghanistan and Central Asia has increased. In fact, due to the growing instability in Afghanistan, the ISIS have plans to acquire a territorial base that they have lost in the Middle East. According to the Russian President's special envoy for Afghanistan, Zamir Kabulov, several provinces in northern Afghanistan have established training centers for militants with links to various international terrorist groups. The Taliban, ISIS, Al-Qaeda, have ties to various ethnic groups (immigrants from Central Asia, Uighurs, Caucasians, Arabs).

Even in northern Afghanistan, which was previously quiet, the increase in chaos is confirmed by the fact that the Taliban and ISIS flags are still hanging along with the ISIS, various ethnic groups associated with Al-Qaeda pose a serious threat to the post-Soviet space. In this context, it should be noted that the Afghan authorities and representatives of the international coalition reported the activation of Al-Qaeda in the country in 2015-2016, which was confirmed by Russian and Central Asian experts [12].

Currently, there is a lot of evidence that al-Qaeda militants took part in battles with government forces, including in northern Afghanistan. At the same time, the Taliban has not officially announced that it will break off relations with Al-Qaeda, and the representatives themselves in Afghanistan have repeatedly sworn in the Taliban leaders.

As for the security issues of post-Soviet Central Asian countries, the main question is: does the Taliban interact with ISIS Al-Qaeda and many ethnic groups from post-Soviet countries with whom it has ties or not? At a press conference in Moscow on July 8, the Talibs repeatedly repeated that they are against the ISIS and will not attack Central Asian countries, this thesis does not apply to Al-Qaeda and ethnic post-Soviet groups. If the Talibs can really effectively resist the ISIS, this could become one of the positive aspects of solving the Afghan problem for Russia. This was stated, in particular, by Special Representative for Afghanistan Zamir Kabulov [13].

The future of Afghanistan is difficult to predict. Therefore, here we will only analyze the theses of expert discussions about the confrontation between the Taliban and the ISIS, or vice versa, about cooperation between them.

With the advent of militants expelled from Pakistan, a ISIS propaganda campaign began in Afghanistan, during which the Afghan Taliban began to persuade them to join the ISIS on January 25, 2015, the ISIS "caliph" Abubakr Baghdadi called Taliban leader Molla Omar an "illiterate and uneducated militant." Then it was announced the creation of the ISIS province "Khorasan", which includes Afghanistan, Pakistan, part of India and Iran, the post-Soviet states of Central Asia and Xinjiang of China [14].

After the appearance of ISIS-Khorasan, a number of Taliban militias began to take his side. In addition to the flow of funds from the Middle East and support for the ISIS through logistics channels from northern Pakistan, this was facilitated by clashes between various Taliban militias related to the control of revenues from poppy plantations and heroin laboratories. There has been terror and intimidation by the Taliban for the entry into the ISIS. Currently, there is a debate in expert circles around the world about the fundamental factors that prevent or vice versa support the transition of the former Taliban to the ranks of the ISIS on the one hand, most experts note that there are significant ideological differences between the Taliban and the ISIS, as well as in this regard, both in Afghanistan as a whole, including the Pashtun people,

The Taliban are adherents of the Hanafi branch of Islam, which recognizes folk traditions. Moreover, for the Taliban, along with Islam, the traditional Pashtun code of Honor (Pashtunwali) plays a crucial role in their ideology.

ISIS is one of the most uncompromising Salafists, hiding the name "pure" Islam and denying all folk traditions and Customs. There are also many political contradictions between the ISIS and the Taliban. In general, the goals of the Taliban do not go beyond Afghanistan. It is actually a Pashtun nationalist movement (Afghan or Pakistani Taliban).

The Taliban's mission was to create a Pashtun Islamic Emirate, expel foreigners, and establish Pashtun dominance in non-Pashtun territories in

Afghanistan. ISIS is the most radical direction of jihadism and Salafism, and its goal is to create a global Islamic caliphate that requires an irreconcilable struggle with both external infidels and internal "bigots". At the same time, the essence of ISIS ideology is to wait for the "light of the world", which makes the Taliban's State-Building tasks generally meaningless however, does this mean that interaction between the Taliban and the ISIS is completely impossible? In more detail, we can see that there are many indirect links between their ideologies and political goals. Therefore, an alliance between the Taliban and individual groups within the ISIS, which seems impossible, is actually very likely.

### **Conclusion**

First, the Talibs fought against "non-Islamic" folk traditions and cultural monuments during their rule, such as al-Qaeda and the ISIS. In particular, it can be said that historical monuments have been destroyed, especially Buddha statues in Bamiyan province. Secondly, neither the Taliban nor the taqfir Salafist groups have ever hesitated to carry out mass terror against their opponents in Islam. Especially harsh were the actions against the Afghan Shiite Khazars, as well as some other representatives of non-Pashtun minorities. The penetration of the ISIS into Afghanistan, in particular, was actively carried out, among other things, terrorist attacks against Shiites (especially the Khazars associated with Iran).

Third, the process of "afghanization" and "pashtunization" of the ISIS in Afghanistan is now underway. An important role in the leadership of the "Khorasan Province" is played not by Arabs, but by Pashtuns (primarily Pakistanis). Already in a "pashtunized" form, the ideology and practice of ISISISM turned out to be much more favorable for Afghan Pashtuns.

Fourth, there has been a long-standing process of interaction and mutual influence between the Taliban and the ISIS, and these two structures are historically closely related. We are talking about numerous training camps organized by bin Laden in Pakistan during the war against the USSR. Later, on the basis of these camps in the Arab world, Al-Qaeda emerged, from which the ISIS split in Iraq. In Afghanistan, such camps were a precursor to the formation of the Taliban movement in the 1990s. Initially, al-Qaeda and the Taliban were closely associated with Pakistan's intelligence services and sponsors of radical Arab Islamic foundations. Many elements of ISIS ideology are welcomed by Al-Qaeda because it is known that ISIS is separated from Al-Qaeda. At the same time, Al-Qaeda cooperates with the Taliban quite successfully.

The Taliban did not want to limit themselves to Afghanistan and the Pashtun territories of Pakistan. In a short time, the Taliban did not have the strength to do much, but they still have plans for expansion (at least indirectly - through assistance to Al-Qaeda) officially, the Taliban declares that it will not fight against regimes located in Central Asia, such a statement was repeated during the visit of Talip representatives to Moscow in the summer of 2021. Indeed, Central Asia was not directly invaded by the Taliban when it reached the borders of the former Soviet republics in the 1990s. However, the Taliban movement, including through Al-Qaeda, has actively supported the IDU and other Central Asian extremist groups,

while maintaining allied relations with them over the years. And they, in turn, organized invasions and terrorist attacks in Central Asia, in particular, the terrorist attacks in Tashkent and the "Batken war" in Kyrgyzstan in 1999.

Sixth, the ISIS still have a certain advantage over Al-Qaeda in northern Afghanistan and the Taliban in Central Asia. This terrorist organization has the opportunity to appeal not only to Pashtuns, but also to others, so it can attract representatives of non-Pashtun ethnic groups of Afghanistan to its ranks, as well as a large number of international terrorists who have been expelled from the northern regions of Pakistan. Therefore, in the north, the ISIS are becoming a valuable ally for the Taliban, and it is no coincidence that the conflict between these two organizations concerns only the east of the country.

Seventh, there is already a suspicion that the Taliban and the ISIS are fighting to control the flow of drugs in only one very limited area – in eastern Afghanistan, purely Pashtun territory. And in the north, where there are no Pashtuns, there is no confrontation between them, on the contrary, both organizations oppose the government forces and the remnants of the Northern Alliance. In September 2015, the commander-in-chief of NATO's combined armed forces in Europe, Philippe Breedlaw, acknowledged this fact. During a multimedia round table in Kabul, he noted: "the Afghan Taliban, who do not share the ideology of the ISIS, oppose the strengthening of the influence of this group. However, there are areas where the two terrorist organizations prefer not to engage in confrontation, and this should be taken into account in the future.

In the end, both the ISIS and the Taliban are provided through the same logistics corridors through the territory of Pakistan, and in general these corridors are in the hands of the Taliban, not the ISIS. Thus, the appearance of a ISIS detachment in any region of Afghanistan, especially far from Pakistan, means that ISIS members have agreed with the Talib to allow their armed caravans to pass through the territory under their control. This leads to the emergence of many rumors about collusion between the ISIS and the Taliban in Afghanistan. The presence of ISIS and Al-Qaeda will give an additional impetus to the radicalization of the Taliban. If the leadership of the Taliban movement comes to terms with the government, it is quite possible that the process of transition of the most radical part of it, especially young people, to the dais will be like an avalanche.

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## АУҒАНСТАНДАҒЫ ІШКІ САЯСИ ӨЗГЕРІСТЕР

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**Андатпа.** Мақалада Ауғанстандағы қазіргі саяси жағдай, «Талибан» қозғалысының күшеюі, Ауғанстанда ДАИШ-тің пайда болуы және «Әл-Каиданың» белсенділенуі, ДАИШ-пен байланысы бар содырлардың Ауғанстанға жаппай енуі талданады. Мақалада «Талибан» экстремистік ұйымының идеологиялық негіздері талқыланады. Талдау «Талибан» идеологиясының негізі Деобанди мектебінің фундаменталистік теориялары мен «Таблиғи жамағат» қозғалысының радикалды көзқарастарына негізделгенін көрсетеді.

Біздің мақаламыздағы зерттеу кезеңдері Талибанның құрылу тарихын және Ауғанстанды басып алудың ауқымын және оның ұйым ретінде билікке келуін қамтиды. Біздің мақалада Ауғанстандағы жағдайдың қазіргі тарихындағы ең маңызды процестер мен тенденцияларды егжей-тегжейлі талдауға мүмкіндік беретін әртүрлі ғылыми талдау, сипаттау, салыстыру, болжау, салыстырмалы-тарихи әдіс жүйесі мен тарихи көзқарас, мазмұнды талдау қолданылды.

Мұндай мәселелер жақын болашақта басты мәселелерге айналады және ауғандықтардың ішкі жағдайы екінші орында қалуы әбден мүмкін, немесе ол оқиғалардың даму тәсілінің ерекшеліктерін анықтайтын халықаралық тақырыптардың туындысына айналуы әбден мүмкін. Ауғанстанда. Ауғанстан мәселесінде басты рөлді сыртқы субъектілер атқарады деген пікір бар. Таяу болашақта тәліптер мемлекеттің басты субъектісі ғана емес, өз алдына дербес мемлекетке айналуы әбден мүмкін. Бұл Ауғанстандағы оқиғалардың халықаралық аспектісінің қандай болатынын шешуі мүмкін. Сонымен бірге, болып жатқан жағдай қазіргі халықаралық қатынастардың негізі туралы, әсіресе ірі державалардың шағын және орта мемлекеттермен өзара әрекеттесуіне қатысты пікірталасқа жаңа леп қосады.

**Тірек сөздер:** Талибан, моджахедтер, пуштун, Баткен соғысы, трансшекаралық қылмыстық топтар, хоросон факторы, пуштунвали, аймақтық қауіпсіздік

## **ВНУТРИПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ ИЗМЕНЕНИЯ В АФГАНИСТАНЕ**

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**Аннотация.** В статье анализируется текущая политическая ситуация в Афганистане, подъем талибов, появление ИГИЛ в Афганистане и активизация «Аль-Каиды», массовое проникновение в Афганистан боевиков, связанных с ИГИЛ. В статье рассматривается идеологическая основа экстремистской организации Талибан. Анализ показывает, что в основе идеологии Талибана лежат фундаменталистские теории школы Деобанди и радикальные взгляды движения Таблиги Джамаат.

В данной статье авторы исследовали историю создания движения «Талибан» и масштабы захвата Афганистана и его приход к власти как организации. В статье использованы различные виды научного анализа, описания, сравнения, прогнозирования, сравнительно-исторический метод, система и исторический подход, контент-анализ, что позволило нам детально проанализировать важнейшие процессы и тенденции новейшей истории ситуации в Афганистане.

Также затрагивается рассмотрение вопросов что данная проблематика внутреннего положение афганцев в ближайшем будущем станет производным от международных тем, что и определит специфику подхода к развитию событий в Афганистане, не исключаящий что в ближайшем будущем талибы станут не только главным субъектом государства, но и по-своему независимыми что способствует решить, каким будет международный аспект событий в Афганистане.

**Ключевые слова:** талибы, моджахеды, пуштуны, Баткенская война, трансграничные преступные группировки, хоросанский фактор, пуштунвали, региональная безопасность

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