

**FALLING MASKS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
ACTORS' SELF-INTEREST AND ESCALATION OF CONFLICT OF SYRIA. (2011
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ABSTRACT

As one of the states in the Middle East and North African region, Syria has to work with an enduring protracted conflict throughout last decade. Despite several attempts which have been taken by the United Nations led international community, the intensity of the conflict increases gradually without having a long lasting solution to it. The main objective of this research, therefore, is to find out why Syrian conflict still remains at unresolved and escalated position in a context of different peace efforts have already been taken. The model of 'greed and grievances in civil war' devised by Paul Collier and Anke Hoefler applied as the theoretical point of departure to the present study. As the main reason to the escalation of Syrian crisis; by hiding to the war, assaying to achieve self-interests of different actors of conflict is hypothesized by using constructivism methodology. The main finding of the research is that; though the internal actors started their protest against Bashar al-Assad regime, due to war economy, the situation has not been changed despite the intensity is being escalated. While grievant actors are searching the ways for sustain, greedy actors are originated due

to these financial sources. Otherwise as externals, greedy world powers have interests in Syria, for the potential of oil and gas and its transportation routes. Then each and every actor in Syrian crisis endeavors to prepare Syrian conflict as a ground that support to fulfill their self-interests. Thus the conflict is now identified as a trans-nationalized, internationalized and multifaceted conflict.

Keywords: Actors, Conflict, Escalation, Greed vs. Grievances, Self-Interests.

INTRODUCTION

Middle East and North Africa region is more prone to conflict and it has to face several intra and inter states conflicts than the other regions. Syria can be identified as one of the states which suffer from miserable conflict throughout last decade and currently known as the worst tragedy in 21st century. That is the biggest extra states intervention that has occurred for only one question after the cold war. Hence the Syrian conflict which is called the blain of the beggar has remained as unresolved tragedy to date.

Even the Syrian conflict is simply identified as an internal conflict that has spilt over to affect other neighbor states. As such it is not only a civil war but also a terrorist war as well as a proxy war. Hence the international community resorts to conflict resolution using international peace building mechanisms. Although several steps are used to confirm the international peace and security, the Syrian conflict still remains. As the world cardinal peace mechanism, UN has taken approaches as peace making process in Syria. The result of that, international community had to intervene to find a way to resolve the problem. Accordingly Russia, USA, UK, France intervened to prevent the civil war as well as remove the jihad militants such as ISIS, Al-Qaida, AlNushra. Even the Syrian conflict was started as a civil war against president Bazar al-Assad regime with a grievance, day by day it expands in different ways due to self-interest of different actors who are currently engaging with the conflict directly or indirectly. Now, with Syrian conflict getting complex due to the jihad militants' activities and invasion of external actors, it becomes a dreadful threat to the international system. While the intensity of the conflict is increasing, Syrian government has used chemical weapons against their civilians despite of IHL (International Humanitarian Law) and international norms. And also civilians targeting violations are increasing day by day. By 2016, Steffen de Mistura, UN special envoy for Syria has estimated approximately 400,000 casualties died throughout the past five years of civil war (Aljazeera, 2016). Several cities like Aleppo, Palmyra completely destroyed due to the military attacks such as air strikes and jihad militants' attacks during phase of the war. According to OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of

Humanitarian Affairs), 13.5 million people required humanitarian assistance. Average, 6,150 people displaced per day. Over one million displaced people live in collective shelters and camps (OCHA, 2017) Otherwise according to the Syrian Network for Human Rights (SNHR) report, by December, 2016 there were 450,000 civilians including 50,000 children have passed away (I'm Syria.org,2016). In the absence of a political solution to the conflict, intense and widespread hostilities, particularly in Aleppo and ISIL-controlled areas, are likely to persist in 2017 (OCHA, 2017). When taking into the consideration of above statistics the severity of the war can be understood. That is why international community espouses to resolve the above controversial issue. Although they all have taken lots of decisions which help to produce peace process in Syria, the unresolved issue still remained. Many of scholars present different types of causes which may induce to evaluate the Syrian crisis. But no one can find a solution to prevent its escalation by answering actual expanding measures. Even they consider rebellions' grievance, anyone still do not pay attention for real greedy objectives of other actors. Until find solution for those two types of objectives, Syrian conflict may not be brought to the end. Hence, in this research, by addressing what are the greed and grievances of each and every actor who is engaged with the conflict and expansion causes of the Syrian conflict, root causes will be answered. But for convenience to study author will limit her research from beginning of civil war (2011) to end of December 2016. However in this research paper, an attempt is made to find the actual causes for the expansion of the Syrian conflict further.

Research Problem

Despite different peace efforts have already been taken, why does the Syrian Conflict still remain at unresolved and escalated position?

Problem Statement

Peace mechanisms are existing in International System. Even though in parallel with them, actors who are currently engaged with Syrian conflict have already suggested different type of peace effort, it is still remaining and escalating day by day in a controversial manner. Therefore in this research attempts to how and why these things are happening without sustainable solution.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research moves by depending aspect of greed and grievance model, war economy of a conflict is vital to understand its escalation. In Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler's literatures were adopted to prepare the basement of theoretical background of the context. In their economic paper called "Greed and Grievance in Civil War" they have argued that the motivations of combatants in civil warfare. By building up this theory they state that financial and military viability of rebellions are more important than objective grounds for grievance. (Collier, Hoeffler, 2002:1). Otherwise this paper confirms that many greed or grievances motivate proxies are connected to each other. Finally these theorists attained the conclusion is that greedy rebellions are harder to reconcile with accounts of conflict which stress ethnic, religious political or economic grievance. Therefore they think that sustainable peace making process can reduce the risk of conflict feasibility (Collier, Hoeffler, 2002:35). Even they have mostly focused on econometric factors rather than grievances; their research is more reliable in analysis of a

civil war. By developing greed and grievance model, the article called "Revisiting the Greed and Grievance Explanations for Violent Internal Conflict" by Syed Mansoob Murshed and Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeeddin produces new knowledge. According to those authors Conflict can rarely be explained by greed alone, yet, the greed versus grievance hypotheses may be complementary explanations for conflict (Murshed & Tadjoeeddin, 2009: 24). Hence they argues that Grievances and horizontal inequalities may be better at explaining why conflicts begin, but not necessarily why they persist. (Murshed & Tadjoeeddin, 2009: 24). Their aim is that do a critically review for the greed versus grievance hypotheses. Even this article has no direct connection regarding the context, to analyse civil war by depending on greed vs. grievance model, this would be helpful.

Another aspect of new war is explained in the book of "New and Old wars" by Mary Kaldor. She has pointed out that distinction between old and new wars. According to her, during last decades of the twentieth century, a new type of organized violence has developed (Kaldor, 1999:01). In her thesis, she has denoted that major characteristics of new war which differs from characteristics of old war. The speciality of new war is war economy. She argues that central characteristics of new wars war economy is being globalized, decentralized, having low participation rate as well as high unemployment rate. Hence she interprets identity politics as a sequel to the political vacuum and as a source of criminal mobilization used by political elites to stay in power (Kaldor, 1999:96). According to her thesis the nature of new wars can be understood further. According to the article titled "Why Is There So Much Conflict in the Middle East?" By Mirjam E. Sørli, Nils Petter Gleditsch and Havard Strand distinguish

that Middle East region is prone to conflict, autocracy and economic misery rather than African and Asian regions by revising Collier and Hoeffler ideas. In this article they argue that outbreak of armed civil conflict as a combination of frustration (repression, suffering), opportunity (enough freedom to organize, access to finance, weapons and soldiers.) and a common identity (cohesion facilitates mobilization) (Sorli, et al, 2005:145). They say that otherwise high level of oil dependency and medium score on democracy will make higher risk of conflict. (Sorli, et al, 2005:158) Hence according to their research, oil money has bought some of the countries enough carrots and sticks to keep their population quite. (Sorli, et al, 2005:160) Through this guide, the new trends of war that were indicated by Middle East than other regions and how does authentic nature of internationalized civil war examine can be understood further.

When consider “roots of the Syrian crisis report” by W. P Haran, author has declared some of the internal and external facts which are the root causes of Syrian conflict. As internal causes, author states that political and economic unrest has caused to the origin of Syrian conflict (Haran, 2013: 03). Especially this report has covered the historical background behind the root causes. On the other hand the interventions of European countries, USA, China, Russia and neighbour countries are being emphasised in that report as external causes (Haran, 2013: 05). But the question is in that report, the current situation and the historical background are being tried to analyse too much by the author. In case of that he could not carry out root causes of the conflict in his report to in-depth analysis. Hence this report has only covered surface of the causes in Syrian conflict. In the article of “Sectarian Violence in Syria’s Civil War: Causes, Consequences, and Recommendations for

Mitigation” by Frederic C. Hof, Rafik Hariri States and Alex Simon, latent root causes in Syrian conflict are described. They argue that Syrian conflict is a Sectarian crisis by concerning Syria’s demographic composition and also they revealed that the historical political causes that has increased the tension between two sects called Sunnis and Shia. In addition to that authors argue that the process by which Syria has arrived at this juncture is complex, but can largely be accounted for by two interconnected facets of the Assad regime’s response to the protests: its escalating use of violence and its deliberate manipulation of sectarian tensions. (Hof, et al, 2013:17). However they have explained that how sectarianism rises in the civil war and give some policy recommendations for it. In “A solution for Syria” by Bassma Kodmani, author has proposed political solution to prevent Syrian crisis. According to the research paper it concerns about valuable recommendations such as decentralization of the political power, withdrawal of foreign forces, constitutional framework, creating the conditions for the political solution, etc. (Kodmani, 2015:06). Even author has identified that Syrian conflict is a prolonged and unresolved issue. He brings recommendations for the stabilization of political structure and to prevent the existing foreign intervention only.

When comparing this research with each research papers and reports, some facts in surface and causes are tried to deeply analyse within a theoretical and conceptual framework. Structural issues in Syria which influence to evaluate the conflict, connection between root causes and the expansion causes, hidden germs which are not covered from above writings are considered in this research and the recommendations which are

missed from those, may be taken in to consideration as well.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is based on the methodology of constructivism. By knowing the reality, new knowledge can be generated through the above type of methodology. In accordance with constructivism, new ideas and knowledge are constructed by using methods to gather primary and secondary data. Focusing on single concept or phenomenon, it brings personal values into study, studies the context, validates the accuracy of findings and interprets the data, is done as research practices which based on constructivism.

Objectives of the Study

In this research author will try to present data and analyze to achieve following objectives within the context.

*By considering exact theoretical conditions, produce a new knowledge that need to scrutinize a civil war.

*By studying the actual causes of roots and escalation in Syrian conflict, understand the new trends of war that were indicated by Middle East than other regions.

*Analyze the different aspect of conflict escalation through the greedy interest of actors more than the grievance by developing and reinterpreting Collier and Hoeffler model (CH model).

*Identify the different systematic complexities and sensitive characteristics of Syrian conflict which escalate without having solution as multifaceted level of civil war and while giving some recommendation and answering to causes of roots and escalation, find a way to prevent its intensity and bring it towards the end.

Scope and Significance of the Study

International community espouses to resolve the above controversial issue. Although they all have taken lots of decisions which help to produce peace process in Syria, the unresolved issue still remained. Many of scholars present different types of causes which may induce to evaluate the Syrian crisis. But no one can find a solution to prevent its escalation by answering actual expanding measures. Even they consider rebellions' grievance, anyone still do not pay attention for real greedy objectives of other actors. Until find solution for those two types of objectives, Syrian conflict may not be brought to the end. That is why this research is more important and become a significance study than other researches. Author will not consider the outcomes of the Syrian crisis, since the main focus of this research is on analysis of the causes of escalation and self-interest of the actors who currently engage with the conflict. To do in-depth analysis, self-interest of actors and its effects to the escalation process, root causes should be scrutinized further. But the aim of author is find out the causes of escalation. Otherwise day by day new actors emerged within the grievance and war economy. Even each and every actor's interest impact to the escalation of the conflict, in this research scrutinizes the major actors only due to inconvenient conditions. Therefore the convenience of the study, author will limit time frame of the research from beginning of civil war in 2011 to end of March 2017.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

When considering the Syrian conflict as a paradox, Syria was entrapped with civil war since 2011. But it did not arise all of a sudden. But day by day its intensity went to the stalemate position without any barriers. Even Syrian conflict began as a social movement due to political, economic and social unrest of

civilians and their grievance that fight against their president Bashar al-Assad, this aftermath turned into a multifaceted issue due to greed and self-interest of several actors who currently engage with the conflict. Gradually Syrian Conflict is getting more complex, as well as new actors contribute to its complexity. Those actors are being divided into two categories as internal and external. However, fragmentation of major actors courses to emerge new actors. While internal actors are generally escalating conflict's intensity by executing their self-interests within state, external actors contribute to the conflict, hiding back of the internal actors by existing international arena. That can be identified as authentic nature of internationalized civil war. In here how these internal and external actors impact to the Syrian conflict will be concerned. Because of that impact denote that how the conflict escalates.

***Self-Interest and Internal Actors**

With the Arab spring, Syrian conflict basically raised as a civil war. Therefore to examine the self-interests of each and every internal actors are more vital.

The key actor of Syrian conflict is President Bashar Al-Assad. In 2011, this conflict originated from few peaceful protesters' resistance against above their president. When considering the pro regimes groups as the major party of the context, differentiated motivations can be identified within them. President Assad came to the power from a minority community called Alawites and it is a sub sect of Shiite. Since the beginning of the independence Syria, Alawites who were discriminated by Ottoman Empires and Sunnis, became more powerful than the majority community. Otherwise Syria has to clash with sectarianism like several Middle Eastern countries. The governing elite who descend by sub sect of Shiite, omits his power by allowing majority

Sunnis, because the ancient hatred among them. However according to the Mary Kaldor in new war characteristics, identify politics as a sequel to the political vacuum and as a source of criminal mobilization used by political elites to stay in power (Kaldor, 2007: 6). Therefore Bashar Al-Assad as well as his companions will never amnesty for the Sunnis due to their sensitive background and their power. Hence pro government militias launch attacks to Homes, Aleppo, Hama city, coastal areas, Qumishli which are Sunnis plenteous cities.

When these actors involve more and more in conflict making, it become more complex due to Assad regime's fear of Sunni Arab dominated rebellions. As his interests, Bashar Al-Assad can be named as the ruler not exactly of Syria, but of "Useful Syria". That means useful Syria potentially encompasses economic viable region. Thus, the government began to use money and services to buy the allegiance of unemployment youth. Otherwise they distribute guns, cars and security clearness to trusted loyalists and their families and also essentially weapon the vast web of client network that is constructed by Assad family rule. In this situation, local commanders who loyal to Assad regime play a major role for war economy and the conflict escalation. Just like their rivals, they often engage with self-financing through protection rackets, brigandage and organized crimes. In addition to that some of the efficient militia groups possess sponsorships from abroad. However government has set up a number of economic and social institutions to enmesh civilian militia, fighters, and their families in the state. That means no carrots to the rebellions, only the stick. In that way, regime groups have interests regarding war economy too. It makes a chance for privatization of military forces. Otherwise the government provides a legitimate for criminal warfare behalf of them. When

the fragmentation of the instruments of physical coercion has occurred, the ability to collect taxes is reduced for the government. In one hand, this leads to an outside pressure to the government spending. Otherwise against the rebellions Assad regime has to offer oblation for pro government parties including Para militias. In that case pro government companions attempt to escalate conflict to achieve their greedy interest and capitalization. Hence they never reconcile with political solution further, like their counter part rebellions.

***Beginning of the Grievances**

Syrian society consists with ethnic domains as rather fully fractionalized society. Sunni majority (approximately 90% of the population) fight against Bashar al-Assad who originated by a sect of Shiite called Allawits not only due to for wining their rights that already has been violated by government but also by managing their ancient hatred called Sunni-Shiite ancient confrontation as well. Some of them call as extremists. This type of organized discrimination can be identified from Nepal civil war too. Even though social moment had risen as protest movement to find a solution for their grievance afterward it became armies that fight for prolong period against organized pro government force which aims to kill them. Those social movements consist of social activists. By engaging with organized crimes, they try to advertise their grievances to other actors such as international and transnational communities. Even if all the rebellions organizations fight on behalf of one titled grievance, each and every group has separate interests that expect to achieve as a group. When consider the protest movement as an umbrella, it consists different bunch of small rebellion organizations which was made by ethnic groups while considering same values such as same religion, idea, ethnicity, etc.

As an example DFS (democratic forces of Syria), YPG (Kurdish project) can be considered as that type of organized ethnic groups. At the beginning these rebellion groups had separate interest. As an example Kurds need to create Kurdistan from the territory of Syria for them. As the largest minority group of the country they were discriminated since Hafessz al-Assad's period. Not only Kurds but also Druze and other pan Arab nations (Sunnis) also were discriminated under Allawits regime. Due to that constrain, they fight against the government to gain their rights and claims with guns. Hence all of them construct ally with each other on behalf of their separate grievances and also bring them into one theme called abolish authoritarianism. According to above facts protest movement was generated as a civil war based on their grievances and response of the regime that indicated against the peaceful protest movement. Even Syrian national coalition contract with FSA (free Syrian army) and 58 other rebellions organizations to take a pluralistic democratic Syria, the major reason that escalate Syrian conflict from civil war to multifaceted conflict is several invisible actors drawing plans for intensity of conflict by hiding grievances rebellions,. They do not do it for grievance rebellion any more, only for success of themselves. Hence those actors can be identified as greedy actors who aim to achieve their interest by hiding at the back of grievances rebellions. These greedy actors carry away Syria in to the worst tragedy in the world ever.

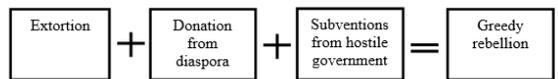
***Creating Greed Actors and the Effect of War Economy:-**

According to the Collier and Hoeffler poverty is found to be the most significant predictor of conflict (Sorli, et al, 2005:141). If any state has the economic development, economic growth as well as longer period of peace,

generally decrease the likelihood of conflict. However the Middle Eastern countries always have to suffer from same disputes. One of them is a regime type of matters. When consider the Syrian conflict under the Bashar al Assad as well as Hafez Al Assad regimes exercised autocracy by discriminating Sunni elites As the authoritarian govern, Syrian economic policies were driven by capitalistic approach. Therefore the causes of the revolution in Syria are not just political. Interactive dynamics are at the level of the political economy (Al-Aita, 2014). The government which followed capitalism towards their economic policy, definitely they are willing to dominate the public sector and economic privatization. But autocratic power annexes all the profits for them to keep only for themselves. Hence they require rentier economic activities. This situation makes modernist rebellions formulated by greedy interest. Even modern elites who engage with the capitalistic regime and seeking personal profit, they have to suffer from economic misery further due to discrimination of Allawit dictator. Therefore these elites have been fully engaged in the revolutionist changes in Syria against the capitalistic regime. They have given arms and money secretly to rebellions movement to deprive the Bashar Al-Assad regime. The organized violence of Syria is different from Egyptian and Tunisian case. Violence has political functions. It aims to change the game (Al-Aita, 2014). Hence Syrian conflict can be defined as a selfish struggle of greed. As, they have to fight against regular army which has vertically organized hierarchical unit under the command and control of the state, rebels must have to purchase military equipment to create and maintain rebel organization. Because of that weapons provide strength to achieve their grievances. That is why war economy is

more important in analysis of the escalation of a conflict. The war economy has gradually grown in Syria. The war economy is the way to ensure the continuity of loyalist fighters (Al-Aita, 2014). So while some citizens are organizing as rebel organizations, they have to sustain. Any rebellion organization cannot sustain individually. Because of that they would leave from their occupations. But to maintain a protest movement continually, rebellion organization should ensure the loyalty of fighters. In Syria, even ruling elite needs to sustain them by giving guns and money, they fail to fund all their fighters' needs. That is why foreign powers enter to the conflict. Even they say that they intervene to Syria to end up the Assad regime and denote the response of chemical weapon usage that Assad regime had exercised. It would not be an actual contrition that indicated regarding conflict. When considering Syrian conflict, there are three sources of finance which are widely used by rebel organization as shown below.

Figure 1- Sources of finance of rebel organizations



Source: Collier and Hoefler, 2002: 06 | Author, 2008

Aforesaid sources of finance are strength of greedy rebellion. Unoccupied young community engaged with rebel organization, can earn more money without any efforts through above ways. Even by touching their grievance, merely they contribute to escalate conflict to sustain by themselves further. Thus, as a one of finance source, frequency of abduction and extortion is commonly used by rebellions as well as extremists in conflict affected areas like Aleppo. According to the AFP (Agency France

Press) it is impossible to know how many people have been abducted in Syria (Immigration and refugee board of Canada, 2013). Some rebel organizations have reportedly kidnapped people for ransom in order to buy weapons or have asked for payment in ammunition. Many factory owners have to pay protection money to gangs, with monthly fees. These monthly fees may range, depending on the size of the factory. If victims failed to pay ransom or extortionate taxes these gangs/rebellions never hesitate to burn factories and kill people as a response to contumacy. Hence, by now, the conflict has moved from rural to urban areas. As the ability to earn much money and less lassitude, rebellion desire lots to engage with illegal extortions. Otherwise extremists and military jihadists such as IS (Islamic state), Al Nushra who separate from rebellion groups as terrorists, exercised the same sources of finance to achieve their self-interest apiece.

The extortion of primary commodity exports offers the best opportunity for financial viability. Otherwise it will occur where it is profitable. The countries with abundant revenue from natural resources as primary commodity have a higher risk of conflict. Primary commodity exports not only attract rebel extortion but also induce government to impose heavy taxations. However Syria is specialized in above facts. Their high levels of oil dependency increase the higher risk of conflict. Not only rebellions but also foreign invaders attract to the Syria due to their major primary commodity export called crude oil. When considering the extortion of rebellions, it seems that they have special interest towards the crude oil. They have already captured several major oil fields such as Mayadeen town which has the border with Iraq (Rebels Take Oilfields), Deirez-Zor in south eastern province (Solomon, et al, 2016). Deirez-Zor province is a crucial route for

supplies, fighters and weapons for the SNC Coalition (Syrian National Coalition). Therefore this may also serve as a route for a nascent oil trade for the rebels. But the real trade is in reselling the oil from makeshift tankers and barrels loaded on the backs of trucks. The rebels sell the oil at the rate of about \$5 a barrel to the people who come to the well (Conca, 2012). Otherwise most of rebellions have hard line between jihadists like ISIS and many of them with al-Qaeda. As an example IS now controls almost two third of Syria's oil production capacity and also they have seized the bulk of Syria's oil facilities by taking Northern Syria and Eastern province of Deir al-Zour to under control since 2014. This evidently proves that the oil fields are key financing source for greedy actors.

Unfortunately, the Alawites minority not only dominated the Assad regime, they also dominated the economy, technology and military in Syria for decades. So finding engineers and qualified workers for the rebel-held oil fields is difficult. Therefore they engage with a terrible and most dangerous oil refining game. Now these rebellions provide jobs to the locals by hiding war economy. Day by day to gain weapons, maintain their organization and take the loyalties, rebellions need more money. That is why rebellions have started to do illegal oil trade further. On the other hand this revenue makes black money to the rebellions. Therefore while grievance rebellions are turning into greedy rebellion, they disturb to peaceful resolutions for Syrian crisis due to their motives. Another source of finance which is used by rebellion organization is the donation from diaspora. Hence Syrian diaspora is a crucial sake regarding escalation of Syrian conflict. Even they live as a spanned community, increase day by day due to the civil war with the abundance of migrations. They make

popular news regarding charity programs which is organized for victims of Syrian conflict. Not only the victims but also rebellions that fight against the government are endowed by funding and donations. Because of above diaspora, greedy rebellions thrive than before. Otherwise as one of the world largest diaspora, Kurdish community in Europe donate to the Kurds who fight to win Kurdistan in Syria. Kurds, of 30-40 million in numbers in total, live in a compact area that reaches from Syria in the West to Iran in the East and Iraq in the South, North through Turkey, and into the states of the former Soviet Caucasus (BBC, 2016). When taking those donations altogether, this source of finance sustains greedy rebellions as well.

The popular way of finance that sustain rebellion organization is that subventions from hostile country. This may help to create regional and international proxy wars between powers. The crucial importance of access is to finance in the form of foreign support for the insurgency, the availability to raise revenue through the extraction of resources rents, or indirectly through taxing goods passing through rebel-controlled territory. However against Assad regime as regional hostile countries, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Turkey, and as extra regional powers such as USA, UK (United Kingdom), France provide the rebels with non-lethal military aids. Therefore these three types of source of finance indisputably make a greedy rebellion who expects only money as his aspiration. Hence their attempt of achieving interest directly cause to escalation of Syrian conflict. This is particularly relevant to internal actors. Even though due to ideological clashes and the grievance of fight against their president Bashar Al-Assad, they involve in the conflict and war economy through which they composes as greedy actors persistently. Hence it can be recognized

as a continuous loop. Therefore the solution of the conflict proposed by various actors is getting worst and leaved out due to the nature of political economy of war. When these greed rebellions, military jihadists and other actors try to refine money within the conflict, they do not expect and no need to end of war. Therefore Syrian conflict as a paradox, the country was entrapped with civil war since 2011 and this aftermath turned into a multifaceted issue without a sustainable solution.

***Motives of Islamic Jihadists.**

Syrian conflict goes beyond from traditional civil war due to its specific dynamics. However there is something unique about the Middle East that makes the region prone to conflict. Because of that Internal and regional instabilities have combined with the close ties with terrorism and War economy. Even though Syrian conflict began with needs of rebellions, by using spaces of civil war, military jihadist were raised. In one hand, Middle East suffers from the threat of al-Qaida for long period. But after the death of Osama bin Laden which happened under "War on terror", the strength of above terrorist group has fallen. There after al-Qaida terrorist organization divided into different sub groups during Syrian civil war. Now IS (Islamic State) has played a major role within other divided terrorist groups. IS (Former ISIS) operates with extremists, foreign fighters and youth who are unemployed and suffer from economic, political and social unrest in Syria and Iraq. Except IS, Jab hat-al Nusra, al-Qaida, Hezbollah, Islamic Front, Northern Storm Brigade are executed as Islamic jihadists. But IS play the key role than others as Islamic jihadists regarding to conflict transformation that happens from civil war to multifaceted conflict. Otherwise they have supplied motives for

international community regarding Syria by their terrorist activities.

IS has been recognized not only as the richest terrorist organization in the world, but also as Sunnis dominated organization as well. Otherwise its aim is to establish a theocratic Sunni caliphate in the world based on Syria and Iraq. In one hand, while they expand their military activities through the region, they fight against Assad regime due to their traditional rabid Islamic ideology. Basically as they maintain sectarianism deeply, they have ancient hatred with Shiite community as well. That is why apparently they fight against Assad regime. When they admit to the Syrian conflict, their interest was to build an Islamic caliphate. But is it the only interest that they drive into the war? Do they not have other motivation and interests that try to achieve by hiding war? It should be scrutinized further. To understand their true interest towards Syrian conflict their Source of financial flow should be identified. Like rebellions, they sustains from few sources, such as selling crude oil, oil refineries, fuel smuggling, extortions, kidnapping, and the donations from the countries. Those ways have created motivations of jihadists towards conflict. IS now controls almost two third of Syria's oil production capacity and also they have seized the bulk of Syria's oil facilities by taking Northern Syria and Eastern province of Deir al-Zour to under control since 2014. (See Annexure C) This evidently proves that the oil fields are key financing source for IS. In accordance with that they have made an effort to establish networks in society that generate a continuing flow of money. Because of that they have to sustain almost 60,000 fighters by giving at least \$600.13. Therefore they control most of Syria's oil fields and crude. They have not engaged with illegal oil trade alone,

rebellions as well as citizens in Syria give their contribution as well.

The most of civilians that engage with IS regarding oil black market are typically misplaced people whose prior live hoods were destroyed by the fighting. Most of the oil is sold to small, privately owned refineries. They are operated mostly by civilians unaffiliated with IS. They take the crude directly from the wellhead, refine it and sell the inferior product on black market. Much of the oil never reaches external markets and is used for domestic consumption in IS. And also oil is sold to other rebel factions. However this group has also threatened gas field near Palmyra, the heart of Syria's gas sect, according to a report by the Carnegie endowment for internal peace. Syria almost always surrounded by most threatened enemies. But regarding IS it would not be the realty. These enemies supply finance sources to IS for immediate sustain. In one hand these black money comes from Sunni circle. In another hand they come from Sunni dominated or hostile countries. When considering oil industry, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Turkey become biggest business partners of IS. That is why Russia had accused Turkey and its former president, Recep Tayyip regarding their illegal oil trade with IS. When it comes to the Syria, those oil deposits come from IS occupied areas. (See Annexure D) They sell this Syrian oil in the Turkish black market using trucks. Even Gulf countries are accused regarding involvement in the creation or financing of IS, there is no publicly accessible evidence to prove that. Not only Saudi Arabia, Qatar, United Arab Emirates but also US led coalition to make illegal finance sources for these military jihadists to instigate against Bashar al- Assad.

As another source of finance that sustain IS, the extortion are executed. It directly effects to small businessman and

big companies and construction firms. In addition, it is suspected that the organization levies taxes in the areas that it completely controls, such as Ragga in north-eastern Syria. Otherwise kidnappings, human trafficking, drug trafficking make more black money behalf of IS. However when considering above arguments, regarding Syrian conflict there are multidimensional motives of IS, that can be identified as political, ideological as well as economical. Their interest and the dynamics of political economy in the Syria drive IS to the escalation of Syrian conflict. Day by day the interest of IS, is becoming greed with ascend of the ways that flowing finance. If their self-interest is merely based on war economy, it is more difficult to reconcile with peaceful means. As terrorists, IS executing their military activities based on greedy interest. By doing Dehumanized murdering, women and children abductions, rapes, extortions as their military activities they spread fear into civilians. These fears motivate interventions of other parties. Hence while they are doing that type of organized violations, using light tactics to heavy tactics and high technological weapons all along, contribute to escalation of Syrian conflict for achievement of self-interests by hiding the war.

***Greed Actors, Self-Interest and Foreign Intervention**

With the intervention of foreign actors, the conflict in Syria goes beyond the country's borders. The Syrian ruling elites and their competition globalized the tension and many international powers have vested interest in Syria due to its potential of oil and gas and its transportation route. Hence each and every external actor tries to achieve their self-interest by hiding behind the conflict. They utilize Syria as a buffer zone to

show off their capabilities and to adopt a proxy war.

When external actors strive to achieve their interests by tactically hiding back of internal actors, they associate with them who are parallel with their interest by making finance sources directly or indirectly. USA led coalition as the external actor has provided funding, weaponry and logistical supports to a number of groups inside Syria both armed and unarmed. But these rumors are unable to discard at the same time due to evidence. When considering ISIS fighters' weapons and vehicles most of them are made in USA. In addition to that in their high quality videos, they use newest Western high technological cameras and equipment to shoot their crimes. Otherwise Russia led coalition justified his country's entry into the conflict by saying that Russia was acting "preventatively, to fight and destroy militants and terrorists on the territories that they already occupied, not wait for them to come to our house. But because of the arms trade, naval basement of black sea Russia become a greedy actor too. Hence through the democratic world the emerged capitalistic approach due to their interest can be identified.

Even some peace attempts bring at the occasion of mutual hurting, when these actors sustain, at once they spoil it. Hence due to their self-interest, those internal and external actors by being inside or outside spoilers Syria chuck out into hell because, peace attempts would be a threat to their interests. That is 'Conspiracy'. However aforesaid external actors attempt to achieve their interest by backing rebellions, autocracy as well as Islamic military jihadists, it returns upon them as a boomerang. They have trapped and dig their pit by themselves due to their conspiracy.

CONCLUSION

Middle East and North Africa region is more prone to conflict by its nature. Syria can be identified as one of the states in MENA region which suffer from miserable conflict throughout last decade and currently known as the worst tragedy in 21st century. Because of the above situation, International community paid their attention towards Syria. In one hand Syria is more special than other conflicts in Middle East because of its spread through multifaceted dimensions. In this research which analyze the relationship between actor's interests and escalation of Syrian conflict, the basic objective was to find the answer for research problem for which even though different peace efforts has already been taken, why Syrian Conflict still remains at unresolved and escalated position? To find the solution for above question constructivism is used as methodology to construct new knowledge by bringing personal values into study. Studying the context or setting of participants validates the accuracy of findings. Interpretation of data is done as research practice which based on constructivism. And also by depending Collier and Hoefler's Greed vs. Grievances this research analyzes data to scrutinize the hypothesis that "by hiding to the war, assaying to achieve the 'Self-Interest' of different actors who are engaging with the conflict is the main reason to the escalation of Syrian conflict"

With the intervention of foreign actors, the conflict in Syria goes beyond the country's borders and the battle. The Syrian ruling elites and their competition, tension are globalized. World powers have interests in Syria, the potential of oil and gas and its transportation routes. Otherwise they have unique and different interest as well. Therefore this conflict now can be identified as a trans-nationalized, internationalized and multifaceted conflict. In this research, one of main finding is that above each and

every external actor (foreign actors) try to achieve their self-interest by hiding behind the conflict. When different actors are involving into the conflict more and more, indisputably it has driven conflict into escalation position. However even external actors advertise their artful heartfelt sympathy towards Syrian civilians, this dissertation could find these actors have differentiated interest beyond the sympathy. In accordance with aforesaid actors endeavor to prepare Syrian conflict as a ground that support to full fill their self-interests such as geo-strategic, geopolitical, trade, black money and market they utilize Syria as a buffer zone to show off their capabilities and to adopt a proxy war.

However when external actors strive to achieve their interests by tactically hiding back of internal actors, they associate with them who are parallel with their interest. In accordance with that, they backed up these internal actors directly or indirectly by making finance sources. Therefore be internal and external actor's interest and greed moves parallel and it over ride their grievance as well. Hence through the democratic world the emerged capitalistic approach due to their interest can be identified. According to above mutual support which has given from external actors to internal ones apparently they do not need to bring the conflict to an end. Even time to time, they proposed some peace attempts, these mechanisms were failed not only due to its short comings, but also due to apathetic attempts that were suggested by above actors. Even these peace attempts bring at the occasion of mutual hurting, when these actors sustain, at once they spoil it. By being inside or outside spoilers Syria chuck out into hell, because these peace attempt would be a threat to their interests. That is 'Conspiracy'. When aforesaid external actors attempt to achieve their interest by backing rebellions, autocracy as well as Islamic

military jihadists, it returns upon them as a boomerang. That is why European powers as well as USA suffer from terrorist attacks and the refugee dilemma. Terrorists, who were sustained by external actors, launch terrorist military activities against them too. Hence that aftermath can be named as a boomerang. Finally they have trapped and dig their pit by themselves due to their conspiracy.

External or internal actors of Syrian conflict, all are wearing masks. When concerning internal actors, they wear mask called grievances. While these masks are falling, their authentic nature and their greedy faces will display. Not only internal actors but also external actors wear fake masks. Advertising sympathy regarding Syrian civilians is the fake mask of them. Otherwise by using media they justify their activities and behavior as inhumanity. That is why Syrian conflict escalates without an end. But civilians have to suffer from all of these miseries. To make sustainable peace for them, an authentic sympathy should be denoted by aforesaid actors despite their greedy self-interests. But apparently it is not happened and they work behalf of their agenda only. That is why day by day this worst tragedy fell down to an embarrassment and difficult to resolve. However even Syrian conflict is difficult to resolve, an effective and well organized sustainable peace mechanism should be introduced at least, on behalf of welfare of Syrian civilians.

RECOMMENDATIONS

When find a solution for Syrian crisis what should be mainly addressed, the greed or the grievance of the actors? In several peace attempts, tried to bring grievance approach on the peace table. But that approach eliminates the importance of the escalation causes. Giving priority to addressing the grievance model greed would be

legitimized and neglect from the peace context. Therefore greed model should be answered with grievance model too. In this context, no cease fire or political solution can succeed in the long term, if it doesn't have mechanism to address the grievance as well as greed. According to Collier and Hoeffler, even conflict emerge within grievance, it escalates with greed. But when it comes to the peace table grievances cannot be avoided. Therefore grievances as well as greed should be addressed to find a sustainable solution for Syria. Otherwise even though some actors suggest peace mechanism, other parties can spoil it due to their greedy interest. Especially rebellions and military jihadists as spoilers of a peace process, their behavior can be addressed only by reducing their fears through international guarantee. Because mediator can build up trust by promising to give jobs, educations and wellbeing for them.

But some rebellions motivated by the need for power and primary commodities. When they bring to the table and denote the results, they should be controlled. Thus coercion, or punishing spoiler's behavior or reducing the capacity of the spoilers destroys peace process. Otherwise each and every group who currently engage in Syrian conflict by executing internally should bring into the peace table without avoiding.

Thus, like South Africa, ceasefire or peace process should be come to a right stage. At the ripe movement (stalemate position), while these actors are suffering from mutual hurting, peace process can be suggested. It may help to bring peace to Syria. Otherwise two major power camps should come to a common opinion. Tug of war between them will never help to the rise of peace. Hence US led coalition should stop back terrorists by giving aids, weapons, and financial roots. Otherwise Russia led-coalition should be allowed to make constitutional reforms which bring under UN-expertise.

Both of those campaigns should withdraw their forces from Syria. And also win-win situation should be come to the table for each and every actor. If it fails to do that, again and again actors will try their interests within the conflict. Finally, it could be asserted through research that the escalation of Syrian conflict is a mass production of a war economy. To bring this conflict to the end, each and every actor should remake their masks as real ones. Because until they wear fake masks the end of the multifaceted conflict in Syria will be at unresolved position in perpetuity.

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