

**THE MALDIVES : A STUDY OF POLITICAL
DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1932**

*Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial Fulfilment of the requirements for the award
of the Degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

HARISH CHANDRA BEHERA

Centre for the South, Central, South east Asia and West
Pacific Studies School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067
1999



जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067

Centre for the South, Central,
South East Asia and West Pacific
Studies - School of International Studies

Date : 20-7-99

Certificate

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled 'The Maldives : A Study of Political Developments since 1932' submitted by Harish Chandra Behera in partial fulfilment for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, has not been previously submitted for any other degree at this or any other university to the best of our knowledge and this is his bonafide work.

We recommend, that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation

Nancy Jetly
Prof. NANCY JETLY
(Chairperson) South East
Centre for the South, Central,
Asia and West Pacific Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

S.R. Chakravarty
Dr. S.R. CHAKRAVARTY
(Supervisor)

Dedicated to my Parents

Acknowledgement

First of all my Gratitude goes to my Supervisor Dr. S.R. Chakravarty who was a perennial inspiration for me, under whose supervision. I have been able to complete this dissertation. His deep insight on the Subject and sustained guidance throughout the course of research with his construction and useful remarks enabled me to complete this work successfully. I am also thankful to all the Faculty members of South, Central, South East Asia and West Pacific Studies for their valuable suggestions. I am also indebted to the Chairperson Prof. Nancy Jatley for her encouragement and advice.

I am specially thankful to the staff and members of Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Teen Murti, NCERT and Indian Council of Social Science Research, who gave me their valuable co-operation which made my research pursuit a lot enjoyable.

I am also thankful to my family members and also extend my hearty felicitations to my friends, Babile, Bansidhar, Dharanidhar, Biswa Ranjan, Himansu, D.K., Binay, Pradeep and Millu for giving me a constant inspiration and moral courage to take this dissertation to a logical conclusion.

Lastly, I owe my thanks to Amiya and Parthsarathi Guha for typing my dissertation, without whose support this dissertation would not have completed within the stipulated time.

Harish chandra Behera
HARISH CHANDRA BEHERA

CONTENTS

	Page No.
Chapterization	
Introduction	1-14
Chapter II	
Political Development upto Independence	15-33
Chapter III	
Constitutional Developments	34-56
Chapter IV	
An Estimate of Nasir and Gayoom's Administration	57-81
Conclusion	82-90
Bibliography	91-100

Introduction

Geographical Situation :

The Republic of Maldives is an archipelago of 1,190 small coral islands, out of which 199 are inhabited grouped in 26 natural atolls, in the Indian Ocean. The total area including land and sea is about 90,000 sq. km. palm fringed islands with sparkling white beaches, turquoise lagoons clear warm waters and coral reefs teeming with abundant varieties, marine flora and fauna, continue to fascinate visitor as it has fascinated others in the past, the thousands of years. The islands are surrounded by shallow crystal lagoons enclosed by coral reefs. The unique islands provide visitors with one of the most breath taking views of underwater life in the world. Formed above peaks emerging from the depths of the ocean, upon layers of both living and dead, and remnants of other marine life, the islands are generally covered with dense shrubs and hardy plants protecting the shores from erosion are natural features in most islands. The smaller islands and sand banks under formation are also wonders in themselves. These islands together embody living entities in various

stages of formation, as interdependent elements in an ecology.¹

The Republic of Maldives is in South Asia. The Country, lying about 675 km (420 miles) South-west of Sri Lanka. The climate is hot and humid. the average annual temperature is 27°C.(80°F), with little daily or seasonal variation, while annual rainfall is generally between 2,540 mm and 3,800 mm (100 ms to 150 ms).

In a Food Chain where birds, Fish, and other marine life co-exist, with humans at its apex as caretakers for centuries. Measuring 820 east to west at its greatest width, the closest neighbours are India Sri Lanka. With a populationn of 244, 644 (1995 official estimate), only 199 islands are inhabited. An other 74 islands are set aside exclusively for tourist resort development.

The origins of the Maldivians are last in ancient history. There are historical and archeological records which indicate the islands to have been inhabited for over 5,000 years. There are also indications that the Maldives, being an important trade route, was settled by

¹ H.C.P. Bell, The Maldiv Islands: An Account of the Physical Features, Climate, History in habitants, production and trade, sessional paper, XLII, pp.21-22.

people from all over the world.² Inter-island and regional differences in agriculture are mainly in terms of the type of crop produced. Agriculturally, the country can be broadly divided into a northern zone where monsoon millet is cultivated; intermediary zone in which there is little agricultural output apart from coconut, papaya, bread, fruit, and minor gardening crops due to poor soil; and Southern zone in which a number of islands are dominating agricultural ones depending more on locally grown crops than on imported rice.

In vocational terms also, the islands differ in the sense that a large number of them are predominantly fishing islands while others are predominantly agricultural. These are mixed agricultural/fishing islands' also. To these categories can be added islands with special crafts like net-weaving, coir-work, lacquer work, making of fish hooks, boat building, rope-making, etc. Alongside, there are the administrative trade islands which typify the dominant island in economic administrative terms in an atoll, and on which the atoll

² Maldives, general information, Ministry of Tourism Male, Republic of Maldives, 1997 Visit Maldives Year, pp.1-3.

headquarter is located.

Geographic-Administrative Structure

Though the Maldives islands are grouped in 26 natural atolls, for purposes of administrative convenience, they are demarcated into 19 for administrative convenience. They are demarcated into 19 administrative divisions with Male forming a separate unit. In all, they encompass a total of 1195 islands. Covering a land area of 115 59 miles (298 sq. km) the islands vary in size. Most of them are less than a mile long and the longest one (Gamau in Lamu atoll) is 4.5 mile long. Out of the total 202 islands are inhabited. Each division has jurisdiction over a number of inhabited and uninhabited islands as is evident.

The inhabited islands are mostly those which have settlements from ancient times. The category of 'uninhabited' ones includes those islands which are covered with coconut trees. On such islands, a few families may be living to collect the produce but their citizenship registration would be of some nearby inhabited island.

In the 1970s a number of islands were developed exclusively as

tourist resort. With the islands having a tropical climate and temperatures varying from 77 to 90°F with the north-easterly (dry) monsoon between December-March and the heavy South-west monsoon in the May-August period. the atoll state proves ideas for Europeans who escape the icy cold for a heaven of deep lagoons, arching coconut palms and generally quiet picturesque surroundings.³

Interestingly, the tourist islands also fall into the official category of uninhabited islands presumably because the Maldivian Staff as them belongs permanently to one of the unhabited islands.

Transport between male and the tourist islands is by motor boat while the rest make do with fishing, cargo and sailing rafts and boats. There are no regular services and it can take a few days to weeks to go from one atolls to another. Only recently however, an air link between the north and south is provided for from male to Gan island in the Southern most Addu Atoll.

³ Population and Housing Census, 1977 in Maldives, Ministry of Planning and Development, Statistics Yearbook of Maldives 1983, p.8, Maloneg, op. cit. pp.7-9.

People, Language and Culture :

However, the main stock of the Maldivian people, as seen from physical features and supported by historical evidence of migration, are predominantly Aryan and Dravidian. Throughout the Maldives a language which belongs to the Indo-Iranian group, Dhivehi, is spoken. It shows a strong Arabic influence. Dhivehi written from right to left is the official language of the country. As a second working language, English is widely used in Government offices. Other foreign languages, however, are widely used within the tourism industry, foreign languages, mainly English, are also frequently used in commerce.

The National language is Dhivehi, which is related to Sinhala. Islam is the state religion, and most Maldivians are Sunni Muslims. The national flag is red, with a green rectangle, containing a white crescent, in the centre.

With the Sultan at the top of the pyramidal social structure, the Maldivian social order was broadly divided into four categories in order of social importance. At the apex was the King followed by his direct descendants who were called Mannipul. The fourth generation

descendants of the reigning sultan and relatives of former sultans were endowed with the title Didi.

The family structure and loyalties appear to have been flexible. The male members dominated in terms of economic functions and power in decision making. Women traditionally executing most of the subordinate functions. Even if they played a large part in the processing of fish and making of coconut products they had practically no say in the sale of goods. However, in terms of freedom of movement and association, they had historically experienced a relatively more lax social ethos than women in traditionally Hindu and muslim societies, with short periods of rigid curbs, depending on individual sultans or kazis.

The purdah was never wholly accepted even though veils were used at some time or other. As for matters of marriage and divorce, woman had considerable freedom. The social status and respect for a woman were not affected by her marital status. This may also be traced to a probably smaller percentage of woman that made up the population. Dowry was non-existent and men had to bear the wedding expenses apart from settling a portion on the woman suitable to her

rank. Polygamy of the islamic variety allowing not more than 3 wives was prevalent. Ibn Batuta married thrice during his one year sojourn on the island. And Pgrand speaks of men who had been married 80 to 100 times.

Divorce, like marriage was carried out according to the Shariat. A woman could not terminate a marriage without the man's consent while the man could unilaterally do so often settling a portion on her. In court, one man's evidence was equal to that of three women. If the husband died, the wife were entitled to the jointure. Within the family, there has traditionally been a fairly well defined division of labour. All outdoor work, the major part of which constituted fishing was carried out by men. The traditional functions of the women related, apart from household chores, to the processing of fish and bread fruit, weaving and collecting cowries.

Economic :

The population is dispersed over 198 coral islands, with individual island's populations ranging from 100 to more than 5,000 (the population of the capital, male, however, is estimated to be about 63,000). Fishing, agriculture and transport services provide the main

income in the atolls. Arable land is minimal and, while small amounts of coconuts, millet, sorghum, maize and yams are grown, virtually all the main food staples, such as rice, wheat flour and sugar, have to be imported. In 1979, according to estimate by the World Bank, Maldives' gross national product (GNP) per head was US \$ 220, having declined by 0.7% per year, in real terms since 1970. However, despite the handicaps imposed by geography, sparse agricultural resources and a narrowly based economy Maldives achieved an average annual economic growth of 9.5% between 1978 and 1982.

The working population according to the March 1990 census was 55,949 (26.2% of the total population). Less than 8% of the work force are farmers, producing to diversify the economic by developing the shipping and the tourist industries.

The fishing industry is vital sector of the Maldivian economy. Ninety per cent of the catch, which consists mainly of tunas, was traditionally exported to Sri Lanka in a dried form known as Maldivian fish. From 1972 the Sri Lankan Government gradually reduced its quota, and by 1978 and ceased importing Maldivian fish. This led to a

change in the fisheries sector from deried fish to wet fish production, and in 1978, through an agreement with the marubeni corporation of Japan the Maldive Nippon corporation was formed and the first factory outside male for canning and processing fresh fish opened in the faadhippolhu atoll.

There are several thousand fishing boats built in the country out of coconut wood, each boat taking about a dozen fisherman in 1991 the fishing fleet comprised 1, 258 pole and line fishing boats and 352 trawling boats. Since 1974, when the government introduced a major modernization programme, withg the help of a 50 year loan of US \$3.2m from the International Development Association, most of the fishing fleet has bene mechanized, diesel engines replacing sails, and more maintenance and repair centres have been built. in 1985 the government issued fishing licences to foreign countries, principally France and Spain, enabling them to catch up to 40,000 metric tons of tuna per year within Maldives in the same year, fishing was Maldives second largest source to foreign exchange, after tourism. The GDP of the fisheries sector grew by 15% in 1994, compared with 1993. Poor fish catches in the early part of 1995,

however, combined with large stock leaves in the frozen fish export market, resulted in depressed fisheries activity in 1995.

Another important commercial sector is the shipping industry, which was established in 1958; two ships were then in operation. By reinvesting the products, the country was able to develop a sizeable fleet of ships, and in 1980 the profits of the state-owned Maldives shipping Ltd., with 40 ships, provided 9% of government revenue. In 1992 Maldives National Ship Management Ltd. operated a fleet of eight fisheries cargo vessels and two container vessels, and handled about 60% of Maldives total imports.

Maldives, with its white sandy beaches, clear water and multi-coloured coral formations, offers an ideal setting for the development of a thriving tourist industry. The shipping industry in the 1980s, tourism rapidly gained in importance as an economic sector, and by 1989 it had overtaken the fishing industry as Maldives largest source of foreign exchange. Since 1972 tourist facilities have been developed by local private enterprises, and by 1994 a total of 73 island resorts

had been developed for tourist, with 9,500 hotel beds.⁴

Actually we found that in 1995, according to estimates by the World Bank, Maldives Gross National Product (GNP), measured at average 1993-95 prices, was US \$ 251m. equivalent of \$ 990 per head. During 1985-94, it was estimated, GNP per head increased, in real terms, at an average annual rate of 6.5%. The manufacturing sector enlarged 15.1% of the working population in 1990, but provided only 6.2% of GDP in 1995. There are only a small number of modern manufacturing enterprises in Maldives, including fish-canning, garment making and soft drink bottling. Although cottage industries employ nearly one-quarter of the limited size of the domestic market.

In 1996 Maldives recorded a visible trade deficit of US \$ 173.8m, while there was a surplus of \$9.2m. On the current account of the balance of payments. The major trading partners with Maldives in that year were the United Kingdom, Sri Lanka, Germany and USA. The principal exports were marine products and clothing. The

⁴ The Europa Yearbook, volume 11, Kazakhstan-Zimbabwe 1998, pp.2232-2234.

principal imports were manufactured goods petroleum products and food items.

Pre-Colonial History :

Foreign grant and in 1995 was projected to total an estimated 207 m. Another issue that needs take addressed is the high rate and population growth, which has placed a heavy burden on the economy in general, and is one of the main reasons why maldives has experienced difficulties in ignoring lones and domestic saving. The people of Maldives adopted the Islamic faith in the 12th century. The earliest known description of conditions in the islands was recorded by Ibn Bathth an Arab that even and historian, in the 14th century. The ruler was then a sultan of the Samavansa dynasty, one of the six great dynasties that, for the most part, ruled the country its conversion to Islam. the portuguers, in their rapid and widespread civilization during the 16th counter established themselves on the Islands in 1558, but were driven out in 1573. In the 17th century the Islands came under the protection of the Dutch rulers or Legion (now Sri Lanka). When the British took possession of Ceylon in 1795-96. They extended their protection to the Maldiv Islands and this was

made elective in 1932 and the Islands remained a British crown protectorate until January 1953.

In 1956 the Maldivian and British Government agreed to the establishment of a British air force staging on Gan, an Island is the Southernmost atoll. The Maldivian Government accorded free and unrestricted use by the UK Government of Gan Island and of 44.5 Hittadu Island, for radio facilities. The Maldives has been an independence country, except for a brief period of a years and six months of Portuguese were in the middle of the 16th century. Between 1887 and 1965 the Maldives was a British protect though Britain did not interfere with the internal affairs of the Country. Maldives regained her full sovereign in 1965. The newly independent country changed from a Sultanate to a Republic on November 1968.⁵

⁵ B. H. Former, *Maldives, Australia Yearbooks, Physical and Social Geography*, 1997, pp. 604-607.

CHAPTER-II

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT UPTO INDEPENDENCE

The country had a ruler who embraced Islam in 1153 and assumed the title of sultan. He ruled because he derived the authority to do so from the people. The post of sultan was never hereditary, it was rare when as one succeeded his father as sultan purely as a matter of natural succession. There were systems of taxation, natural defence discharge of public duties and administration of justice. The evolution and development of the system of government and administration in the Maldives would show that there was an unwritten constitution which was firmly established in the country and accepted by the people in the form of the honoured custom and traditions. The first written constitution of the Maldives was proclaimed in 1932 though there were traces of constitutional practices from the earliest times.

The Portuguese who occupied the country left the administration in the form in which it was found. In their rapid and widespread colonisation during the 16th century established themselves on the Island. In 1558, but were driven out in 1573. In the 17th

century the Islands came under the protection of the Dutch rulers of ceylon, the British took possession of ceylon in 1795-96, The extended their protectorate to the maldive Islands, and this was formally recorded in an agreement of 1887.

The sultan was made elective in 1932, and the Islands remained a British crown protectorate until January 1953, when republic was inaugurated. Historical facts prove that there were only two periods when the maldives was under foreign domination and rule. The first period was under the portuguese. The country's administration for around 15 years by the government resident in GOA.¹

Under the Agreement of 1887, signed between sultan musir-ud-din and the British Governor of sri lanka, sir A.H. Gordon, the sultan recognised for himself and his successors the suzerainty of the British over maldives and disclaimed all rights or intentions to enter into a treaty with any foreign state except through

¹. Colonial Office, Chere After Referred to as London, Maldive Islands, 54/9/17. 14275/1933.

the British. The British government undertook to protect Maldives all against all foreign enemies while maintaining of the Islands. In the late 19th and again, in the early 20th century important and delicate missions were despatched from Sri Lanka to enquire into the election on appointment of the Sultan and the Prime Minister. British intervention in fact prevented Hasan Didi, a rival claimant and his two sons Muhammad and Ibrahim, from repeated attempts to overthrow Sultan Muhammad Shams-ud-din I. The ninety-first Sultan during the period of rule from 1903 to 1934.

Sultan Shams-ud-din I goes on record as a remarkable ruler. The Sultans of Maldives had exercised absolute power for eight hundred years. On the behalf of the Sultan, the government was carried on by a Bodu Wazir, or Prime Minister who was also the Chief Treasurer, he had his counsellor and officials. Both at the capital and the various atolls, to assist him in government in December 1932. Sultan Shams-ud-din I decided of his own accord, and in an effort to renounce his prerogatives to grant to the people of Maldives a democratic constitution.

The constitution was proclaimed in 1932 which occasion atoll chiefs and other important personalities were invited from the outlying Islands. The constitution was conceived at the time when the political situation in the country was very unstable. The sultan of maldivies played a very active role in the formulation of the constitution. The fear of the sultan that the prime minister might create a council of the regency with the intention of being the president of local republic. Forced him to go for certain constitutional changes. In fact the liberal measures enumerated in the constitution were to legalise the hold of the sultan and his royal supporters in the name of democrecy. we found in maldivies that the political development in the s under the constitution of 1932 a people's majlis. Fourty seven elected members was established. The people of majlis in turn elected seventeen members of a lagislative council to which the sultan nominated seven more memebbers, making the council to twenty four in all. The council had a life of five years and was presided over by the prime minister members of both majlis and the council had to be maldivies twenty five years of age at the minimum and muslims of the sunnisect. they have to be able read and

write both Maldivian and Arabic characters and strangely to possess a good knowledge of arithmetic.²

The sultan appointed the prime minister in a consultation with the legislative council and there after the prime minister selected his cabinet ministers and sought the sultans approval. The peoples majlis met once years but the lagislative council .The first prime minister under thisnew constitution was Mauhammad Farid Didi,son of a Abdul Majlis Didi, former prime minister,the new cabinet attempted to take certain measure which ironically enough, helped to stregthen the former prime minister in his effort to let the political forces swing inhis favour,soon after demonstrations against the council of minister took place in male. The demonstration were out come of certain measures of reform the taxation put into the operation by the new government including the certain of the police force ,the filling inof admitedely insanitary water pits used by the

². Constitutional and Political Developments CO 882/12, Affairs of the Maldive Islands, Correspondence (1930 to 1933), Eastern No. 164, Printed for the Use of Colonial Office.

general public for abolition purpose, increase in customs duties new taxes on cattle and on certain kinds of timber threoto supplied free to the inhabitant for boat building purposes, and certain restrictions on persons wishing to proceed aboard for education purposes. Some of these measure were not notified by the people assembly and were not acceptable to the people of male.

British came forward as on intertmaediay and setteled matter both economic and political by ensuring the continuance of the constitution (with ammendents) and the sultan and remadying the grievancess of the borahs, to great exits the sultan had to repealed the "reform" and taxation measure and even the idea of purchase of government steamer was droped. Certain minister were explled from the male so that power came back to persons related to the former prime minister, ABDUL MAJALI DIDI.

However, despite its instabality to function practially, the constitution of 1932 and the ammendements there of reminded the base for all futuer constitutional changes.

The protectorate status of maldivies under the 1948 agreement: With ceylons (sri lanka) independence in 1948 the question of maldivies in international status came to the fore. By an agreement signed between Britain and the maldivian govt. The maldivies became a protectorate of Britain. Communications preceding this is highly interesting as Britain continually tried to internalise the maldivian case for its defence purposes and hence did not find it necessary to register to the 1948 agreement. We already know that under article 102 of UN charter the grounds that only agreement between international persons needed to be registered while the sultan of the maldivies Islands is not an international personalities at all.

A MINI DIDI'S RULE :

AMINI DIDI brought about a lot of constitutional reforms in maldivies, thus for the first time all the citizens above eighteen year participated in the election to elect a seneta of 80 members and a lower house of 46 members including 13 women. Although the

government was short lived one and the didi was subject to a lot of criticism for some of his administrative measure AMNI DIDI is today looked upon still as visionary. It was during his time that the number of radical measure were taken AMNI DIDI was the first president of maldives. we found here today that in maldives in 1954 another constitution was promulgated. This constitution initiated of number of radical measure ,The majlis consisted of 48 members. Along with the nobility it had power to elect the sultan, the majlis had to power override the sultan's veto. One of the most significant social measure adopted by the majlis was to be abolished the unreasonable forced labour system of maldives.

In march 1958, the maldivian government come under heavy attack in the majlis for having agreed to the installation of the base and opposition members demanded that construction be suspended until an agreement had been finalised. Work came to and stand still while negotiations went on. The restoration of sultanate in 1954 had brought to the throne sultan Muhammad Farid Didi (son of the late sultan Abdul Majli Didi) who was amicable to British interest in the regions, and like minded prime minister Ibrahim Ali Didi. With the

resignation of the Ibrahim Ali Didi reasons of health, a dynamic personality took over office in the figure of Ibrahim Nasir's who rule was to last till the 1970.

Nasir's new agreement sent a commission to Gan Island to study and report on the position of the Islanders. It was felt that the terms of agreement violated the sovereignty and independence of the Maldives and was in the nature of an occupation of Addu Atoll by British forces without the consent of the people of Maldives. He refused to sign the agreement which after that the government laid down conditions for continuing the base which included promises from Britain that the base would be used only for the protection of the Maldives or other portions of the Commonwealth, that all residents of Gan would be resettled and that the base would not interfere with local fishing industry. The Nasir government also demanded on alternations of the 1887 Treaty to give Maldives the right to conduct its economic cultural relations independent of Britain.

After the 1954 constitution and problems came out between

maldivies and Britain regarding the use of Gan Islands as air field and hittadu as a radio comminucation center. This agreement was to be valid for aperiod of one hundreeds as a free gift. It was necessary to reform to this agreement simplyfy because it played a significant rule in the constitutional developments of maldivies. It was said that the agreement violated the sovergnity and independent. It was during that period constitutional crisis, that prime minister Ibrahim Ali Didi was forced to resign, and Ibrahim Nasir became the prime minister in 1957 .Mr Nasir was totally opposed to the concession made to Britain for base facilities, He refused to sign the agreement which was already initiated by the former prime minister. The government laid down certain condition for the continues use of the 1887 treaty to grant maldivies right to conduct its economic and cultural relation independent of Britain. Most of the demends of Nasir government were accepted by the Britain administration. Apart from the united development aids and economic assistance of \$ 10,000, the British administration also agreed to reduce the life of span of the agreement from 100 to 50 years.

The use of Gan Island is a base by the British administration and granting of facilities to the Gam people created to rise between maldivies and Britain. It was alleged that the British administration encouraged a secessionist movement in Addu Atoll. The decision of the male administration to take same dristic steps to keep the Islanders away from the British project encoureged the sourthens to launch a separatist movement. The three atolls of Addu, Huvadu and fdu Mulaku revolated against the male administration and decleare the formation of the united suvadian Islands republic. It was reported that this revolt was the natural sequel to the effects the maldivian government not conceding to every wish of the British govertment regarding the base Game Island.³

THE 1960 AGREEMENT:

The conflict between maldivies and Britain was amicably setteled by the 1960 agreement. Britain's rights over Abdul Atol has

³. The 1954 Constitution, Ahmed Zaki, Trans. Constitution of the Maldive Islands (Colombo. H.W. Cave, 1954). Times, 13 August 1959, Daily Worker, 14 August 1959, Daily Telegraph 13 August 1959; Manchester Guardian, 15 August 1959.

TH- 8169

further reduced to 30 years. The Maldivian government was given \$100,000 immediately and another grant of \$50,000 conveniently appeared of the five years was promised for development work. However despite this agreement, the occasional conflict between the Island and the male administration continued unabated till 1963 when the central administration over the southern Island was ultimately established. By the end of the 1963, the Gan issue had gathered enough momentum to explode at any moment. The Gan issue played a vital role in the constitutional struggle of the people of the Maldives for complete independence. By July 1965 an agreeable draft was ready for signature between Maldives and Britain, Maldives achieved its complete independence on 26 July 1965. The Sultan continued till 1968, and it was in 1968 itself that Maldives was declared a republic. The present constitutional frame of administration of Maldives is based on the constitution of 1968 under which the president enjoys power as the chief executive. Now basically in Maldives intended to strengthen the political development and to advance the process in democratisation.

DISS
320.905495
B3951 Ma



TH8169



INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES OF THE STATE:

1 THE PRESIDENT

Article 23 of the constitution of 1968 lays down the procedure for the election of the president in all whom all executive powers are vested. Unlike other constitutions of the world, under the Maldivian constitution the president is not elected solely on the basis of a popular vote. The presidential candidate is first nominated by the Majlis, the unicameral legislature, and then is elected for the period of five years through a popular referendum and after being nominated by the citizen of Majlis, the single presidential candidate has to get the majority of votes. If he fails to get that, he is not elected a president of the republic in that case, the Majlis has to consider and propose another candidate in accordance with the procedures adopted before. The Majlis decides about the candidate through the secret ballot, after attaining the consent of the candidate in the writing. Unlike the provision of the 1932 constitution in which only male people were involved the present provision involves the entire nation.

Ibrahim Nasir was elected as the president of the Republic. He continued the power as president from 1968 till 1978. Since 1978 Maumool Abdul Gayoom is continued as the president of the Maldives. The presidential oath underlines the parameters of the constitutional framework. It says that I swear by Allah that I shall respect

The religion of Islam, the constitution of Maldives and rights of Maldives. The president enjoys a vast amount of powers. The members of the cabinet are nominated by him and need not be members of the legislature. All the laws adopted by the parliament have to have the consent of the president. He has power to nominate certain members of the legislature as well as the judiciary.⁴

2 LEGISLATURE

The constitution of 1968 says that the parliament (majlis) has members, of the two each elected from the 19 atolls and the male

⁴. Ibid., pp.25.

in 8 members are nominated by the president. The members of the citizens majlis are elected for a period of 5 years through the principle of universal adult suffrage.

The majlis has the power to enact that all laws except constitutional amendments are enacted only by the citizen special majlis. The minister can be removed by the majlis by a no confidence motion. The president as well as the minister have the right to participate in proceedings of the majlis. The minister can participate the voting only if they are members of the legislature. Provision for a citizens special majlis for enacting the constitutional amendments is a novel feature of the Maldivian constitution. Such as majlis as an additional 48 members, 40 members elected by the atolls and eight members 8 members nominated by the president.⁵

3 JUDICIARY

The constitution of Maldives devotes only two articles to judiciary powers. These are articles of 85 and 86. According to these

⁵. International Herald Tribune, 12 March 1975.

article the administration of justice and sharath shall be conducted by a body appointed by the president of the republic and that no law contradicting the constitution shall be promulgated. In fact, the judiciary system of Maldives consists of a three tier system. At the top of judiciary hierarchy stands the chief justice, followed by the Kazi at the atoll level, and midim at the Island level.

4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE LAGISLATURE

Under the 1968 constitution the president of the Maldives enjoy such vast powers that if he desire, he can have completely centerlised power structure with the help of the constitutional provisions, president Ibrahim Nasir declared emergency and dismissed the prime minister AHMED ZAKHI in 1975. although ZAKI was re-elected by the newly encated majlis as a prime minister. Subsequently Zaki was banished on grounds of nepotism and male administration. NASIR called the session of the special citizens majlis and abolished the office of the prime minister. New post of four vice

president with the executive power were created and number of majlis was reduced from 54 to 48 with the male representative being equalised with that of the other atolls. Under the 1975 reform proposal the elected atolls committees were abolished and the atolls the chief became appropriate of home department under the president. Important ministries such as the ministry of external affairs, fisheries and education were abolished and were placed under the control of the president. The legislature of Maldives has always played a very significant role in the power struggle of Maldives. In the pre 1970 period the legislature was used as instrumented to suppress the dissenting voices of political opponents Britain Myonhan reported that any member parliament who vocally oppose of to the ruling elites could be removed nearby Villigin Island. The present president Abdul Gyoum had also tasted such exile.

The legislature now enjoys more political rights. The legislative deliberations are published in the national news papers. The legislature now have been granted a number of parliamentary ministries. According to legal provision enacted in 1979 a member of

the citizens majlis shall not be penalised on account of an contravening the principles of Islam. Or for the manner in which he or she nation votes on amotion proposed at such a meeting. despite of these all these legislative provisions granting more powers to majlis, the majlis as has not get come to age. This may be primeraly due to interining of lagislative and excutive functions. The members of the excutive are legally permitted to hold excutive positions. A lgislatator thus can have lagislative as well as bueacratic functions.⁶

The constutational changes which marked tweenth century political development in maldivies were an improvement in terms of minimum rights for the people at least a written responsiablity to them. To begin with though inablity the Islamic ethos of the country. The constitution of 1932 formalised the abolition of sultanate in 1953 and finally is 1968, the elective element was retained in the second republican constitution promulgated in 1968, the constitution incorporated several ammendements since then providing the now

⁶. Clarence Maloney, 'The Maldivs : New Stresses in an Old Nation', Asian Survey, Vol. 16, No.7, July 1976. pp.668.

existing institutional framework for governance with the president as the chief executive.

Since independence, the regime structure in Maldivian political system has reflected a considerable degree of continuity. A long side stability and order lines have been the hall marks of its political system with the persons. Now I discuss about the political and social system of Maldives the pre 1965 era. We know that the Sultan at the top of the pyramidal social structure, the Maldivian social order was broadly divided into four categories in order of social importance. At the apex was the king followed by his direct descendants who were called Manipul. The fourth generation descendants of the reigning Sultan and relatives of former Sultan were endowed with the title of the Didi. Social behaviour was controlled by customary sanctions and a rigid code of conduct guided by the relations between caste/social categories in the most mundane day to day affairs.

It may be conjectured that caste divisions came about with the need to fulfil basic economic needs of kingship and nobility. They

were perpetuated for the same, and in order to induce veneration and subsequent discipline and subjugation of the majority. Despite its stratified structure, the Maldivian social order appears to have had a flexibility with the king being the dispenser of titles. Thus, though the status of the common people was initially ascriptive, they could presumably have an upward mobility through the royal dispensation. Further, the fact that slaves, after being released from their bondage could be absorbed into the various castes, reflects a certain amount of flexibility in the system.⁷

The most important thing family and marriage system of the Maldives up to independence. The family structure and loyalties appear to have been flexible. The male members dominated in terms of economic function and power in decision making women traditionally executed most of the subordinate function. Even if they played a large part in the processing of fish and making of coconut products they had partially no say in the sale of goods. However, in terms of freedom of movement and association, they had historically

⁷. Ibid. pp.9.

experienced a relatively more tax socially ethos than women in traditionally Hindu and muslim societies, with short periods of rigid curbs depending on individual sultan or kajis. Divorce, like marriage was carried out according to the shariat, a woman could not terminate a marriage without the man's consent while the man could unilaterally do so after setting a portion on her. In court, one man's evidence was equal to that of three women. If the husband died, the wife was entitled to the jointure. Within the family, there has traditionally been a fairly well defined division of labour. All out door work the major part of which constituted fishing was carried out by men. The traditional function of the women related apart from household chores, to the processing of fish and bread fruit weaving and collectively cowries. I am analysing about relationship with other countries upto independent in Maldives. The foreign policy of Maldives is linked with its strategic geographical location and its limited resource base, since its early phase, apart from its economic relations with Ceylon it had economic with the Malabar coast or mapillas of the western coast of India and also Arabs and Moors from the middle east and Africa. Its religious economic interactions with the

middle east influences its society to a great extent. Not only it resulted in the growing conceptions of its ruling elites, it also affected its administration.

Maldives acquired its protectorate status in 1887 as a result of an agreement between Maldives and Britain. Right up to its independence in 1965, Maldives in interactions with external world was greatly limited. It was confined only to South Asia countries and British dominations. With the second world war as realised. Subsequently the British air ministry tried to develop the Gan Island as a military base. It signed two agreements in 1953 and 1965, with Maldives. After Maldives achieved independence in 1965, it tried to regain the control of Gan Island. British control over the Gan Island came to an end in 1976. After its independence in 1965 it became a member of the United Nations. It has supported the principles of disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation, banning of nuclear weapons, declaration of Indian ocean as a zone of peace and

peaceful use of sea-bed and the like.⁸

Lastly, unlike its nearest neighbour, Sri Lanka, no western power directly ruled the Maldives except the Portuguese who managed to gain control over it for a short period. As for the British, with the 1887 agreement effective political status of the Maldives became that of a protectorate till 1965. In internal matters and the conduct of domestic politics, the Maldives remained largely unhindered. And though at the constitution level, certain changes brought about they did not seem to affect either the pace or the patterns of social structures except in formal sense.

The traditional framework for the political conduct which had been born out of customary practice and convenience seemed to survive to a considerable extent. Because of the geographical make up of Maldives, customary ruling of the country was carried out

⁸. H.C.P. Bell, *The Maldivian Islands : An Account of the Physical Features, Climate, History, Inhabitants, Production and Trade*, (Colombo, Government Press, 1883), Sessional Paper XLIII, pp.29.

through. A hierarchical set up with an aristocratic oligarchy at the top of and the heads of the wards at the lowest level. Despite relative decentralised because of numbers atolls, concentration of wealth power remained a constant feature. Constitutional change did not herald any significant change in the power elite. The sultan and his disidents and other nobles continued to rule the throst, Practically all the political squabbles and change were family affairs. With the haraliding of indenpendence in 1965. In such a background, substantial political democalisation needed to go ong way in the new state.

The Maldives has been an independent state through out its known history, Except for a brief period of 15 yrs of portuguese occupation in the 16 century. Later, maldivies became British protectorate in 1887 and remained so until 26 July, in 1965. The independent maldivies devoted from a sultanate to a Republic on 11th November 1968.

CHAPTER III

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

The first written constitution of the Maldives was proclaimed in 1932 though there were traces of constitutional practices from the earliest times. The succeeding period saw that sultans made and un-made by the Bodun at their discretion. The struggle for power between the sultan and Bodun came to peak in this period and it had a direct bearing on the granting of a written constitution by Sultan Mohamed Shamsuddin III on December 22, 1932.

With the advice of the Bodun and the protecting power, British, Sultan Mohamad Samshudin III proclaimed a written constitution by which volunteered to limit his power and the power of his successors. In order to formulate this constitution the sultan and the nobles obtained the advice of the British government by Sir Bernard Henry Bourdillon, Chief Secretary of Ceylon who was the

closest representative of the British crown and his visit to MALE in 1931 was a direct result of talks between the chief minister Amir Abdul Majeed and the governor of ceylon, sir Herbert stanley. Consequently, the first written constitution of the maldivies contained to some extent the recommendations of sir Bernard Bourdillon. The sources and excercise of political authority in maldivies had been sancaitioned and given a formal constitutional form by the constitution of 1932. This constitution was conceived at the time when the political situation of the country was very unstable. The sultan of maldivies played a very important role for the formulation of this constitution. The fear of sultan that the prime minister might creat a council of regency with the intention of being the president of a local republic forced him to go for certain constitutional changes. In fact the liberal measures enermuted in the constitution were to ligalise the hold of the sultan and his royal supporters in the name of democrecy.¹

¹. The Statesman Year Book 1975-76, P.1142; Clarence Maloney, The Maldives : New Stresses in an Old Nation, Asian Survey, July 1976, pp.654.

The constitution of 1932 was mainly based on the Donough more constitution of ceylon. It had provision for a people Assembly of forty seven members, the people of majlis is turn elected seventeen members of lagislature council to which the the sultan nominated seven more members, making the council twenty four in all the council had a life of five years and was presided over by the prime minister members of the both the majlis and council had to be Maldivies, twenty five years of age at the minimum and muslim of the sunni sect. They had to be able to read and write both maldivies and Arabic characters and strangely to possess good knowledge of arithmetic. We found here how changed political struggle after in 1932 written constitution in maldivies. The sultan appointed of the prime minister in consulation of the lagislature council and there after the prime minister scelected his cabinet of minister and sought the sultan's apporaval. The peoplesof majlis met once year, but the legislature council had its meeting of the ministry was subject to the screuteing and criticism of both the peoples majlis and the lagislative council. The first prime minister under this new constitution was Muhammad farid Didi, son of Abdulmajid Didi, former prime

minister.

The constitution provided that the election of successor would be made a specially convened council of first consideration being given sultan's eldest son. The choice fell on Hasan Nur-ud-din, son of sultan Masir-ud-din who concluded the 1887 agreement with the British and the thirty one year rule of sultan Shams-ud-din III came to the end.

Sultan Hasan Nur-ud-din II was formally installed after a lapse of four years in 1938. A regency council continued to rule in the interregnum. Sultan Nasir-ud-din II ruled through the difficult years of the second world war until his resignation in 1943. For personal reasons in 1945, Sultan Abdul Majid Didi was elected in accordance with the constitution but ill health prevented him from assuming office so that power was vested in a regency council headed by Mohamed Amin Didi. In December 1950, a popular referendum confirmed Mohamed Amin Didi as prime minister. The sultan died in Colombo early in 1952, and his death in 1952 led people to vote in favour of change of the constitution from sultan to Republic. Now I will discuss

about constitutional changed from the sultan to Republic and written to constitutional because of impact of Ceylon's independence. The independence of ceylon in 1948 an important bearing on ² the constitutional developments of Maldivies. As a result of an agreement signed between Britain and Maldivies, became a protectorate of British. This agreement was never registered with United Nation as per the provision of article 102 of the UN charter. It was strangely argued then that the agreements could only be registered if these agreement are signed between international persons. The sultan of maldivies was never given the status of an international personality at all.

The constitution that was promulgated in 1937 by the Hasan Nur-uddin discontinued right upto 1952 when the third constitution of maldivies was promulgated at this juncture.

With the abolition of sultanate, Amin Didi became the president

². J.P. Anand, The Maldives and Gan Staging Post, Vikrant (New Delhi), February 1975, pp.18.

with all the power centerised in him. He was not only the president but also the chief minister for home and external affairs commerce and public safety ,finance and education apart from being reader of the legislature Assembly.

In 1954 another constitution was promulgated. The constitution initiated a number of radical measures. The majlis consisted of 48 members. Along with the nobility, it had powers to elect the sultan. The majlis had the power to override the sultan's veto. One of the most significant social measures adopted by the majlis was to abolish the unreasonable forced labour system in Maldives.

It was during the rule of president Amin Didi that the British revived the idea of restoring and modernising the military base in the Island of Gan in the southern Addu atoll, a base which had been established in the second world war. Negotiations which commenced in 1956. Sri Lanka under the prime minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike decided to abrogate the treaty arrangements granting facilities to the royal Air force at Katunagake and the royal Navy at Trincomalee. The

board outlines of an agreement between the governments of the Maldives and United Kingdom were finalised in December 1956, in accordance with which Gan was to be formally incorporated into the scheme of defence installations east of Suez and thoroughly modernised.

Under the terms of the new understanding reached, Britain undertook to protect the composite sovereign and independent state of Maldivian Islands and to carry out on behalf of Maldivians the conduct of their political relations with other countries and international relations.

The revolt of Afif Didi in the context of the British desire to establish a strategic and communications post in Gan had cast deep suspicion in the minds of the Maldivians. The Maldivians, sceptical of British intentions, urged the British to grant them complete independence and the right to conduct their own external relations. Visited Male in September 1963. The British seemed amenable to a change and on 16 July 1965, under terms of an

agreement signed by sir Micheal walker, the British high commission in Sri Lanka on behalf of the United Kingdom, and Ibrahim Nasir, the prime minister of Maldives. On behalf of Maldives, recognised Maldives as a fully independent state.

In 1974 British's policy of maintaining strategic communication bases in locations east of Suez, the British announced their intentions to close down their base in Gan. In fact, British withdrew its presence finally from Gan 29 March 1976. We found that president Amin Didi was chosen head of the state by popular referendum short hand and Maldives returned to a sultanate in 1954. Although a traditional hereditary sultanate, the archipelago has an elementary form of parliamentary democracy. Political power is exercised by a few established families. After being under British colonial rule since 1987, the erstwhile sultanate achieved independence on 26 July 1965. A national referendum was held throughout the Maldives in March 1968 to ascertain which form of government was desired by the Maldivians. Over 80 percent of those who voted approved a proposal to establish a republic in place of the

sultanate constitution which was introduced in 1954 and amended in June 1964 and July 1967. The republic of the maldives was proclaimed on 11 November 1968.

FURTHER CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES:

The maldivian leaders who were active in the search for a new image for maldives which culminated in its independence sought also to bring about changes in the internal constitutional structure. The form of government, especially the sultanate, was considered archaic and hardly in keeping with progressive thought. There had been an earlier manifestation of this same desire in 1953 when the People's Assembly of the subjects majlis as it was known then, decided to establish a Republic and President Amin Didi was chosen head of state by popular referendum. The joys of that republic were, however, short lived and maldives returned to a sultanate in 1954. Ten years later in 1964, the constitution was again changed; the sultan became a figure head, an executive power vesting in the prime minister, a form of government which was formed a constitutional

sultanate.

Ibrahim Nasir, the erstwhile prime minister, was elected the first president of the second Republic by an overwhelming vote. The new constitution of the Republic of Maldives was adopted on 15 March 1968.

In terms of this constitution, Maldives is a composite, sovereign and fully independent state bearing the official name the Republic of Maldives. It is interesting to note the preamble, which reads.

In the name of Allah The beneficent, the merciful praise to be Allah, the lord of the Universe. Peace and blessings be upon Mohammed, the last of the apostles and messengers, and his family and all his companions. Maldives has always been a self-governing country 815 years have elapsed since the people of Maldives chose the sacred religion of Islam.

Every power of administration of Maldives had from time

immemorial rested with sultan and sultanas. A further change in this constitution was introduced in February 1972 when executive powers were transferred from the president to a prime minister. The office have been established a new.³

Ahmed Zaki, the then minister for External affairs, was voted to the office of prime minister and assumed change in August 1972. In 1973, Ibrahim Nasir was re-elected president for a second term of office for a period of five years. Ahmed Zaki continuing as the prime-minister.

Actually, we should know that in Maldives the constitutional changes which marked twentieth century political development, an improvement in terms of minimum rights for the people and at least a written responsibility to them. To establish, though imbibing the Islamic ethos of the country, the constitution of 1932 formalized the elective character of sultan. The abolition of Sultanate in 1953 and

³. Amed, Zaki, 1954, Constitution of the Maldives Islams (Colombo).

finally in 1968, the elective element was retained in the second republican constitution, promulgated 1968, the constitution incorporated several amendments since then providing the now existing institutional framework for governance with the president as the chief executive.

The main provisions of the 1968 constitution are:--

- * The president is head of the state and is vested with full executive powers.
- * Every five years the majlis or citizens council, nominates and elects by secret, who is presented to the country at a referendum. If the candidate does not secure a minimum 51% endorsement of the national vote at the referendum, the Majlis is required to present another candidate.
- * The president appoints a cabinet.
- * The members of the Cabinet are individually responsible to the

Majlis.

- * The Majlis has 48 members, including 40 elected for five years by universal adult suffrage and eight appointed by the president. The Majlis is empowered to enact laws within framework of the constitution and to sanction the annual national budget.
- * The powers of the president, the cabinet and the legislature are laid down in the constitution.
- * Within the provisions of Islam, Freedom of life movement, speech and development are guaranteed as basic rights of the people.
- * A revised constitution was rectified by the president on 27 November 1997 and came into effect on 1 January 1998. Under the new article 156 constitution, a formal, multi-candidate contest was permitted for the majlis nomination for the

presidency;no restriction was placed on the number of atolls was increased from 19 to 20.The majlis was enlarged from 48 to 50 seats citizens right were expanded parliamentary immunity was introduced the office of auditor generally was created .The post of the commissioner of elections was constitutionalised,ministers were afforded greater power public officer were made allowed and judges and magistrats were obliged to take special oath of loyalty.⁴

I WOULD LIKE TO WRITE ABOUT THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES OF THE STATE :

The present article 23 of the constitution of 1968 lays down the procedure for the election of the president in whom all executive power are vested.Unlike other constitution of the world under the Maldivian constitution of president is not elected solely in the basis of popular vote .The presidential candidate first nominated by the majlis,the unchambered legislature and then is elected for a period of five

⁴. M. Aeneas & W.K.Carr, n2. pp.143 and 150.

years through a popular referendum. After being nominated by the citizen of majlis the single presidential candidate has target to the majority of votes. If he fails to get that he is not a elected president of the republic, in that case, the majlis has to consider and propose another candidate in accordance with the procedure adopted before. The majlis decided to about the candidate through the secret ballot, after, attaining the consent of the candidate in writing. Unlike the provision of the 1932 constitution in which only male people were involved, the present provision involves the entire nation.

Ibrahim Nasir was elected as the first president from 1968 till 1978. Since 1978, Gayoom is continuing as the president of maldivies. The presidential oath underlines the parameter of the constitutional frame work. It says I swear by Allah that I shall respect the religion of Islam, the constitution of maldivies and the rights of people. The president enjoys a vast amount of powers. The numbers of the cabinet are nominated by him and need not be members of the legislature. All the laws adopted by the parliament have to have the consent of the president. He has the powers to nominate certain

number of the legislature as well as to the judiciary .

LAGISLATURE:-

The parliament has 48 members,two each elected from the 19 atolls and male 8 members are nominated by the president.The members of the citizens majlis are elected for a period of 5 years through the principle of universal adult suffrage.

The majlis has the powers to enact all laws except constitutional amendments.The constitutional amendments are enacted only by the citizens special majlis.the minister can be removed by the majlis by a no confidence motion .The president as well as the minister of have the right to participate in proceeding of the majlis.The ministers can participate the voting only if they are member of the legislature.Provision for a citizen special majlis for enacting constitutional amendments is novel features of the maldivian constitution.Such a majlis has an additional 48 members, 40 members elected by the atolls and eight members nominated by

the president.⁵

JUDICIARY :-

The constitution of maldivies devotes only two articles to judiciary powers. These are articles 85 and 86. According to these articles the administration of justice and shariath shall be conducted by a body appointed by the president of the republic and that now law contradicting the constitution shall be promulgated. In fact the judicial system of madivies consist of three tier system. At the top of the judiciary hiearchystands the chief justice followed by the Kazi at the level mudim at the Island level.

Relationship between the excutive and the lagislature:-

Under the 1968 constitutioun the president of maldivies enjoys such vast powers that if he desires, he can have a completely centerlised power structure with the help of constitutional

⁵. Maloney, op.cit., pp.668.

provision, President Ibrahim Nasir declared emergency and his dismissed prime minister Ahmed Zaki in 1975. Although Zaki was re-elected by the prime minister subsequently Zaki was banished on grounds of nepotism and Maldives administration, Nasir called the ^{session} session of special citizens majlis and abolish of the office of prime minister. Important minister such as ministry of external affairs, fisheries and education were abolished and were placed under the control of the president. The legislature of Maldives has always played a very significant role in the power struggle of Maldives. In the pre-1980 period the legislature was used as an instrument to suppress the dissenting voices of political opponents. Brain Myonchan reported that any members of parliament who vocally opposed the ruling elites could be removed to the nearby village Island. The president Maumoon Abdul Gayoom had also tasted such exile.

During post 1980 phase the legislature became more open and its debating more meaningful the legislature now enjoys more political rights. The legislature now have been granted a number of parliamentary ministries. According to legal provision enacted in

1979. A member of the citizens majalis shall not be penalised on account of an opinion he or she expresses at the lawful meeting at the citizen majalis without contravening a principle of Islam.

In 1980 constitutional measures were adopted in the special majalis bringing about structural changes in the constitution of Maldives. A number of members presented to the draft constitution to the majalis in March 1981. President Gayoom said that the model was not the brain child of one person but the result of deliberation of an authoritative group on the subject. Its contents incorporated legal technicalities which were essential to state organs, the rights of the citizens in the relationship between the citizen and the government. It is essential to remember that no meaningful political party system has yet taken a proper shape in Maldives. President Gayoom said in August 1982 that the political parties are to articulate the demand based on religion, ethnic and ideological viewpoints. As Maldives broadly represented socio-cultural diversity, there was not much interest to go for formal political parties as ensured in the constitution. During the last two decades the number of socio-cultural diversity. There was

not much imperts to go for forming politically parties is ensured in the conistution.During the last two decades the number of socio-economic activities have ultplied to such an extent that maldiviesdoes not have enough manpower to meet it.⁶

We know that since 1978 president gayoom has been puting emphasis on the princepole of anew style of open leadership.The entire command structure has been deversified and new meaditing structure are being created.The president has taken steps to intergate all outlying areas of maldivies with the national main stream.All these years and the political system is paised for a new break of in his masege to the atols chief conference in december,1980 the president emphasied that they are strong claim the government and people of the island.ON one side there is administration the seater with responsiablity to the aware of the peoples diffculties and to find solutions to these diffculties.The basic objective of the programe is train women to find ways and means to over come the

⁶. Hecker, op.cit., p.4. in 1997 the Vice-President were Redesignated as Ministers.

problem which they encounter in their daily lives to help their fellow women on the island and atolls to do likewise to take initiative in activities having higher living standards.

The history of the constitutional evolution of the country up to the present day can be divided into three periods.

- (a) The period that covers the ancient Maldives are when administration was carried out according to written constitution as dictated by custom and conventions.
- (b) The period in which the existing custom and convention were written down and backed by law.
- (c) The period in which amendments to the written constitution begin to be brought about as and when the necessary arise.

The current consideration of new constitution makes it the 14th major amendments to the constitution of the country of since a

written one came into force in 1932.

A highly organised administration system had evolved in the course of long history of Maldives. The first known king was Kinomola Kila of the Male, dynasty who ascended the throne in 1141 A.D. Then just little over twelve years later the country embraced Islam. The period that followed the conversion to Islam in 1153 A.D. with the king at the time assuming the title the Sultan is believed to have witnessed the formation of stable central administration and the constitutional monarchy gradually with the advisory council maintained earlier.⁷

The system continued upto 1932, when the first democratic constitution was proclaimed with the Sultan as the head of the state and cabinet of ministers headed by the Prime Minister. The first written constitution of the country was legal based in the customs, conventions and other traditional administrative practices that have been followed for centuries.

⁷. Maldives New Bulletin, no.16, 1 April 1981.

From 1932 onwards the Maldives has been in a form of modern democracy in which any necessary amendments to the constitution were brought about with the consent of 48 members of the Citizens Majalis (parliaments) which is unicameral and has gradually assumed full legislative powers. This phase culminated with the declaration of the first republic of Maldives in 1953 which lasted only for seven months. The Sultan was then deposed and an elective monarchy continued till 1968.

When the second republic was proclaimed it is this time which had incorporated into this system which had been incorporated several amendments and modifications to the 1968 constitution that we find in the Maldives to day. Of course, as the country in the region from ancient times, various political and cultural influences have had their impact.

These influences which gradually were absorbed to enrich the constitutional system of the country which even remind Maldivian character and democratic in spirit.⁸

⁸. Subash Chawla, *The New Maldives Constitutional History of the Maldives*, November 19, 1986.

CHAPTER IV

AN ESTIMATE OF NASIR AND GAYOOM'S ADMINISTRATION

Maldives became fully independent outside the commonwealth on 26th July 1965. The country became a republic again in November 1968, with the Amir Ibrahim Nasir prime minister since 1957 as president now I will discuss under leadership of most important two persons in small states of maldives. We can find various types of political, social, economical developments from 1965 to onwards, under the leadership of Nasir and Gayoom administration. we can find in maldives from sultanate to Republic underdevelopment to development political and constitutional developments. Relatively autonomous legislature under Gayoom, economical development and foreign relation of maldives.

In maldives a new constitution promulgated in 1968, vested consideration powers in the president including the right to appoint and dismiss the prime minister and the cabinet, in March 1975, following rumours of a coup conspiracy, President Nasir

dismissed the prime minister, Ahmed Zaki and the premier ship was abolished unexpectedly president Nasir announced that he would not seek re-election at the end of his second term in 1978. Anyway the parliament thus remained a mere rubberstamp authority during Nasir's times.

In 1980 in which allegedly Nasir and some of his close associates as well as relatives were involved, it decided to appoint a commission of enquiry to examine the charges against the former president. The commission charged Nasir of three crimes.

- (1) Violating the constitution in banning the former prime minister Ahmed Zaki in 1975.
- (2) Collecting taxes from about owners without the consent of the majlis and
- (3) Embezzlement of public funds, Nasir and his family made a timely exit from Maldives to settle in Singapore. Secondly we find that Ibrahim Nasir had continued the tradition of an elite ruling from the castle as the Sultan had done for so many centuries not seen, not heard but definitely felt, by the common

men .¹

Since independence, the regime structure in Maldivian political system has reflected a considerable degree of continuity. A long side stability and orderliness as have been the mallmarks of its political systems with the two person at the helm of different times. Ibrahim Nasir and Maumoon Abdul Gayoom a personality terms and the style of functioning they have been poles apart Nasir, taking over the prime minister in 1957 at the early age pf 30 appears to be closen to his sucessors in ruling with a heavy handbanishing dissent and retaining and oligarchical structure of government despite its democretic trappings though a charismatic personality, his integrity in public life left much to be desired his sucessor, Gayoom has began with an unternished image, having no capital base, no connection with private dealings but which considerable amount of respect of his personal integrity and experience in public life as an accordance administrative and diplomat. Gayoom became the first permanent

¹. Far Eastern Economic Review, Asia Year Book 1983 (Hongkong : South China Morning Post Ltd. 1983), pp.201.

representative of Maldivians to the UN during and was the minister of transport in Nasir's cabinet before he became the president.

In his political strategies, the institutional structure of the past have not been rescinded altogether. Alongside a supreme court of the apex has been maintained not only to coordinate the judicial network but also as a supreme court of appeal in the socio-economic field, the process of controlled modernisation to which found its way under Nasir has been given a tremendous input. It was during Nasir's time that educational and other facilities were expanded, the telecommunications system was improved, airport facilities were expanded to encourage tourism, and in enthusing Nasir to give an impetus to such development activities his erstwhile colleagues like and Gayoom played an important role.

However, Nasir operated as a benevolent despot. In contrast to this, Gayoom has viewed his own role as a liberal democrat, the single line of control through which the Maldivian political system has traditionally been managed, the very elements that hinder the

process of demoralisation may also provide a more effective functioning. The leadership also needs to reckon with the demographic pattern of the country. The population boom and rise of youth contingent which needs to be harrassed in developmental activities through appropriate education and training.

Gayoom's government has made the development of poor rural regions priority and claims to have restored freedom to the republic, such as freedom of the press.

In April 1980 president Gayoom confirmed the discovery of attempted coup against the government and implicated Nasir in the allged plot. In september he was re-elected as president for a further five years by a national referendum in which he obtained 95.6% of the popular vote. Now I will discuss more autonomous legislature under Gayoom presidency, the majlis that its closed character. The proceedings are now open; they can be reported and the discussion are open to public. Besides legislature have been granted parliamentary immunity for any stand they might take in the majlis. The

affirmation of legislative immunity and freedom of debate and dissent, the legislature has not arrived on its own as effectively autonomous body vis-a-vis the executive. This has been partly so due to the diffusion of functions between the executive bureaucracy and legislature.

One most important matter was during the under Gayoom presidency of Maldives. In 1988 when a force of sea borne mercenary troops numbering about 80 men landed in Male and attempted to seize control of important government installations. A number of senior officials including the minister of transport and shipping were captured but the president who went into hiding successfully appeared for help to the Indian government, which dispatched an emergency contingent of 1600 troops. Although the insurrection was suppressed within a matter of hours 19 people are reported to have died in the fighting. In their flight from the Indian forces, the mercenaries took a number of hostages, several of whom were subsequently killed most of them. Four was reported to have been captured as it attempted to escape by sea. The mercenaries were stated to be Sri Lankan members of the

Tamil separatist group, The people's liberalisation organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) alleged recruited by a disaffected Maldivian businessmen. Abudulah was believed to have been acting in concert with the leader of PLOTE, Kadir Kahamuma Maheswaram, in September 1989 the president commuted to life imprisonment the death sentences imposed on 12 Sri Lankans and four Maldivians who took part in the aborted coup. The India government withdrew its remaining 160 troops from Maldives in early November.

In February 1990, despite alleged opposition from powerful members of the privileged elite, president Gayoom announced that, as part of proposals for a broad new policy of liberalisation and democratic reform, he was planning to introduce legislation in the near future, enabling to distribute powers currently enjoyed by the president alone.²

In late May 1990, president Gayoom dismissed the minister of state for defence and national security, Ilyas Ibrahim from his post. The

². General Information, Ministry of Tourism of Maldives. 1997.

Government later disclosed that Ibrahim was to have appeared before a presidential special commission investigating alleged embezzlement and misappropriation of government funds. Ibrahim was placed under house arrest in March 1991, however the special commission in October 1993 Gayoom was re-elected as president for further five years by a national referendum in which he obtained 92.8% of the popular vote. The president carried out an extensive cabinet reshuffle and far reaching reorganisation of government bodies, including the establishment of sports and and the appointment of the country's first female government minister in order to increase efficiency to further democratic reform.

In November 1994, at an official ceremony marking Republic Day president Gayoom outlined various measures intended to strengthen the political system and further democratisation. These included the granting of greater autonomy and responsibilities to members of the cabinet, the introduction of regulation governing the conduct of civil servants, the introduction of democratic elections to Island development committees and atoll committees. According to number

of foreign observer however president Gayoom renamed and advocate of the modernisation of maldivies political structuere.

TOURISM:-

The tourist industry brings considerable foreign exchange of Maldivies, and receipts from tourism amounted to 198.2m rufiyaa in 1992. The Islands attractions include white sandy beaches and multy coloured coral formation during the Gayoom's leadership in 1994. There were 73 Island resorts and there was total of 9,500 beds. The annual total of foreign visitors increased from only 29,325 in 1978 to n324,311 in 1995.

DEFENCE:-

We did not find from 1968 to onwards in maldivies no army, navy and air force. Only we can find that a voluntary national security service about 2000 members undertakes paramilitary security duties. The first female recruit were sworn into the national security service in february 1989.

EDUCATION:-

During Nasir and Gayoom's leadership in Maldives education is most important for development. During the Nasir's period the late 1970s, education was centered largely in the capital, MALE in 1976 the 16 schools in existence were all catered mainly for children of primary school age. In 1977 the government established a teacher training institute UNICEF, in particular, has contributed to provisional development and in 1978 the first primary school outside male was completed on add atoll, In 1992. In 1991 Maldives had estimated adult literacy rates of 98.2% the highest in South Asia.

Maldives higher education establishments include a full time vocational training center, a teacher training institute of hotel and catering services, a center for management and administration, a science education center and Islamic education center. In January 1989 the government established a national council of education under the chairmanship of the president to oversee the development of education in Maldives.

Economic policy under the leadership of two president since the late 1970's maldivies has adopted a number of infrastructural measures to improve the economy of the lands of its key sectors such as shipping tourisim and fishing industry .Fishing is the nations traditional economy activity international shipping became important during the 1970's agriculture and industry have limited scope for development owing to the scarcity of arable land and small domestic market.However the opening of an international airport in 1981 sparred toursim growth.it accounted for 16% ofgross domestic product (GDP) in 1995,second only to fishing whose share in 25% .Fish export tourism and offical grants are the main sources of foreign exchange.Mladivies has to import most essential consumer and capital goods,are currently equilavant to about two thirds of GDP.³

IMBALANCES EMERGE:-

The high rate of growth during 1980-85 ledto severtightening of the labour market.In the public sector the comencement of several

³. Maldives, Ministry of Planning and Development op.cit., pp.13.

building and construction projects air port, harbour, public building along with the rapid expansion of government services to added to labour demand. In the private sector demand for labour came principally from the tourism sector. The supply of labour however showed limited growth owing to the security of educational institutions and low mobility of labour between the Islands. The shortage to some extent was relieved by the availability of expatriate workers. This however resulted in the steadily rising outflow of factor income such out flow, in recent years has constituted almost one fifth of GDP.

Maumoon Abdul Gayoom has taken a number of steps to integrate the institutional structures of the past with the modern integrative measures. With the shortage of qualified man power, poor health conditions, rapidly changing structure of fishing industry, past neglect of the agricultural sector and severe regional imbalance in economic development, in 1981. The government have taken a number of steps to remove the imbalance among the atolls. Measures have been taken to improve transport and communication linkage between

male and other atolls. With the assistance from the Colombo plan, Islamic development bank, international bank, development programme have been taken up in the field of education health and transport and fishing. A part from economic assistance from the several West Asian countries like LIBIA, KUWIT, IRAN and SAUDI ARBIA other countries like JAPAN, SUA, UK INDIA and CHINA have provided economic assistance.⁴

FOREIGN POLICY AND RELATIONS:

The study of the foreign policy of small states is a relatively new aspect of the discipline of international relations. Studies of third world foreign policies are in even worse state and can still be called underdevelopment study of underdevelopment countries. Small states are recent phenomena.

Geo-political setting of a country set the matrix within which

⁴. International Monetary Fund, Monetary and Banking System of Maldives 1978. President interview with Larry Klinger Financial Times Survey, 28 May 1980.

its relations with the near and distant neighbours develop.

However, Maldives maintains and international bargaining power unlike most of the third world small states. The Islands are close enough to both Sri Lanka and South India and this provides convenient anchorage for merchants and military. The main thrust of Maldivian foreign policy has to fold to ensure a tension free security environment in the Indian Ocean and to secure for Maldives assistance in its programmes for economic development. In the words of President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, the fundamental objective of Maldivian foreign policy include in the preservation of the country's national independence and the development of peaceful and friendly relations with all other states.

The policy is strictly consistent with the observation of the principle of non-alignment and the sovereignty, integrity and unity of other nations. President Gayoom said that the Soviet base would have militated against our non-aligned states, annoyed our brothers in the Muslim world like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and created suspicious

in the minds of our neighbours like India and Sri Lanka.⁵

The head quarters of maldivian national shipping line was also in Sri Lanka and the only embassy maldives has anywhere in the world is situted in Colombo, though an office of the Maldivian,permanent representative the United Nation functions in the Newyork since september 1976.During the time of presidency Nasir,Maldivies has in fact taken steps to established an office of the Maldivian shipping ltd in Bombay and Maldivian air line,air Maldivies commenced regular operation between in male and colombou in october 1974. We find here the foreign policy of maldivies is basically based on frindship and co-operation with all countries on a basis of mutual respect for indenpendence,sovereignty and integrity in the spirit of peace-ful co-existance of maldivies has steared clear of involvement in block and grouping and it has also refrained from enterning into allinces with other countries.In actual practice,its

⁵. Asia Year Book 1979, op.cit.p. 247 and Adney and Carr, the Maldives Republic 'in The Politics of the Western Indian Ocean Islannds' ed. John in Osthiemer. Praeger Publisher, New York, U.S.A. 1975. pp.141.

policy approximates more to neutralism than to non alignment although maldivies joined the non-aligned group of nations in 1977. In september 1965, maldivies was admitted to the United Nations and among those to recognize and established relations with the newly independence state of America, the soviet union and india. Since september 1976 when an office of the maldivian permanent representative to the United Nations was established in new york, Maldivies has become members of several international organisation including the ITU, IMCO, UPU, ESCAP, IMF, IBRD, IDA and the ASIAN Development Bank.

During the time of Nasir's administration we found that india libia and pakistan have established resident mission in male. A United Nation development programme office also function in the capital in colombo are concurrently accredited to Maldivies, shortly for maldivies achieved independence and Japan the united nations then the prime minister Ibrahim Nasir asked the appropriate agencies of the united nations to send a mission to maldivies to make a general survey of economic and social conditions in the country which

war incorporated an objective study of the overall development requirements of the country .

A United Nations technical mission visited the islands in 1966 and in its survey pointed to the same essential needs and also sought to set priorities. A programme of action was then drawn up by the government taking into full account the recommendations of the technical mission. I would like to write that the President Gayoom observed by joining the commonwealth they hope to benefit from the full range of commonwealth services and facilities and more particularly in commonwealth programmes of functional co-operation.

By the mid 1980s Maldives established its diplomatic relations with a number of countries and became an active member of South Asian regional co-operation (SAARC). Actually I discussed about the Nasir and Gayoom's administration from 1965 to 1978 and from 1978 to 1998 two leader and different period in Maldivian political developments. The search for identity economic development had even

for identity and economic development had even been at the core of the policies of maldivies, Maldivies recent past had been characterised by its traditional in sutrity which in the present contest appears to be far form effective. Today this is political entity still in search of a frame of referance to cope with the development problems that conform it.⁶

CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT:-

President Gayoom has initiated number of measures develop the constitutional position of maldivies as a secular democratic a group of people known as new maldivies are demanding more redical reform people of maldivies are not get ready to fight for a new revoulation or too much enthusiaty about western model multiparty democracy. Country where the sharity is interpeated in most liberal manner. During the 1980 the maldivian society of poised for a redical change .The people of maldivies are demanding now for more constitutional reforms but as of now alternative leadership has

⁶. Ibid. pp.248.

emerged against president GAYOOM president its seem has taken note of the demend raised by the dissents and is trying to bring about more liberal measures in Maldivies.President Maumoom attributed the suces achieved the government in handling this problem,to the co-operation and support to extend by people to him and to his administration.He also commented on the peoples general awarness and alterness .The reactions of the people to the news of the coup attempted,the expersion of their deep love for and devotion to the nation will be written in their history in unfading letters of gold.He said that they have learnt from that terriable expeerience is the relisation that they must never sacken in their efforts to keep thier security and independence.

Security policy and strageties of surrvial:-

Reasans for the lock of multinationalisation appoarch and well defined stragertic to security are principally associated with the country introvest and isolationist foreign policy pursued for a long time especially by the Amir Ibrahim Nasir regime (1968- 78).The

credit for conceptualising principle and articulating demand of the countrys security policy goes to the government of Abdul Gayoom (since 1978).⁷

Various diplomatic initiative and campaign gains of the maldivian government make it clear that its principal strategy is together international support and commitment to its security along with protection to other small states. First the nature and magnitude of the security problems of maldivies one such that they can not easily be managed by even large -scale support extended by a committed friendly power under a bilateral frame work. Possibly amilitary threat of the kind that the country expereinced in 1988.

MULTILATERAL APPROACH:-

Every multilateral forum both at the regional and international levels the common wealth, the United Nations, the non-aligned

⁷. Urmila Phadnis, 'maldives', World Focus December. 1983. pp.102.

movement (NAM) and the south Asian Association for Regional co-operation (SAARAC) is used by the country for the articulating its concern and demanding for an international mechanism to protect its security.

In 1984, the royal common wealth society london, held a conference on small states, where Gayoom made a fervent plea for a collective action to promote their economic interest according to the maldivian president, the long term economic security a small states in the common wealth can be ensured is through restoring the international financial and trading system. so that economic justice and equality is done to them.

Therefore, we found that during the 1980-85 in maldives Gayoom himself has indicated that maldives will count on India's help in the event of any military threat to its security. I think India's willingness to comply with an such request indicates the perfect understanding b/w. the two countries on strategic affairs.⁸

⁸. Australia Year Book, Maldives, 1998.

TRANSPORT SYSTEM:-

During the time of Nasir from 1968 to 1978 and Gayoom from 1978 to, onwards the common mode of inter Islands transport has been by locally built boats known as "dhoani". Although there has been no regular ferry service between the islands, One would after come across boat leaving male to most of the islands. I know that the political development in maldivies since 1932 to onwards we can find basicaly based upon various types development .An estimate of nasir and Gayoom's administrationm actually most important because these two leaders have been doing best possible for Island people like small states maldivies. Politically, socially, economically and culturally maldivies is important because the maldivies has been an independent state through its known expect for brief period of 15 years of portuguse occapation in 16th century.

There fore Nasir has been operated as a benevolent despot Gayoom has viewed his own has as liberal democretic .A conciouss policy has been laid down to the reward interest in Maldivian histiry

and culture through institutional arrangements. I would like to tell about untrammelled used by Nasir that in 1968 when he assumed presidency he had his Ahmed Zaki a close associate and a friend. Within four years the office of the prime minister of External Affairs was voted into office.

We can find that Nasir traced that opposition to members within his own government. Consequently when the newly elected majlis met and re-elected Zaki as prime minister in february 1975, Nasir sensing danger in Zakis ascendancy dismissed the prime minister and banished him.

In the time of 1975 reforms; the elected atoll committees as existed under the 1968 constitution, were abolished and the atoll chief became an appriate of the home department under the president finally the ministers of external affairs, finance, communication, information and broadcasting, fishers and education weer abolished

and began to be run as department from the president office.⁹

If we estimate about political parties in the political system we cannot find even single political party in maldives there has been no constitutional bar in forming a political party. In august 1982, the president explained that with standing such constitutional position the very fact that no political party existed in the state indicated that it was not needed.

In the economic sphere the constitutionalisation of national level planning machinery has been the most significant development. The national planning agency and maldives monetary authority have been set up in 1980 and 1981 respectively. Not only have outlying the poor atolls been given importance but the neglected agriculture sector has also been accorded its place in the envisaged schemes of

⁹. Bhabani Sengupta, 'Regional Organisation and Security of Small States', paper Presented at the International Seminar on the Security of small States, Held at Dhanka, January 6-8 1987. pp.10-12.

technological advancement and integrity economic development.¹⁰

Finally we know that the in Maldives, two leaders have been respectively the Religion of Islamic the constitution of maldives and the right of maldives Ibrahim Nasir was elected as the first president from 1968 till 1978. Since 1978 Maumoom Abdul Gayoom is contuning as the president of maldives. We can find that the political development in maldivieas ofrom 1932 to onwards because in 1932 in maldivies political structyure changed, The sourcess and excersise of political authority in maldivies had been sancettioned and givebn a formal constitutional form by the cnstitutional of 1932. In 1954 another constitution was promulgated this constitution initiated anumber of redical measures. In 1968 constitution lays down that the powers of the president including the right to appoint and dismissthe prime minister and the cabniet. I found here various types of development Eco, pol and social from 1957 to 1998.

¹⁰. Maldives, National Planning Agency, Republic Maldives : Programmes and Projects for 1980s (Prepared for United Nations Conference on Least Development Countries, September 1981. mimico, p.p7-8.

CONCLUSION

The Maldivies Islands achieved full independence on 26 July 1965, becoming a full sovereign state with all rights to conduct its own defence and external relations. Again the republic of the Maldivies Islands was proclaimed on 11 November 1968, Amir Ibrahim Nasir who had been prime minister since 1957, was elected president. The country was renamed as Maldivies in April 1969. Actually we should know that how political field changed means from sultanate to republic. We can find so many factors which has been political development before in 1932 to onwards in maldivies. The portuguse in their rapid and widespread colonisation during the 16th century, the Island came under the protection of the Dutch rulers of the ceylon . We found here that British took possession of ceylon in 1795-96, they extened their protection to the maldivies Islands. the sultanate was made elective in 1932 and the Islands. The sultanate was made elective in 1932 and the Isaland renamed a British crown protectorate until in January 1953. We all

of know that the first written constitution of the maldivies was proclaimed in 1932 though there were traces of constitutional practice from the earlist times.Ibrahim Nasir was elected as the first president of the republic .He contiuned in power as president from 1968 till 1978.Since 1978 MaumoomAbdul Gayoom is contiuned as the president of Maldivies the period that cover the ancient and medieaval when administration was carried out according to unwritten constitution as dictated by the customs,andthe conventions. The period in which the exiting customs and convention were written down and backed by law.

Actually the political developments in Maldivies we can find the current consideration makes it the 14th major amendmends to the constitution of the country since a written one came into force in 1932 and also a revised constitution was retified bythe president on 27 November 1997 and came into effect on 1 January 1998 was permitted for the majlis nomination for the presidency.Any way now I will come to topic that ahighly organised central administration syatem had envolved in the course ofthelonghistoryof the

maldivies. The first known king was koimala kalo of the male-dynasty who asceneted the throne in 1141 A.D.. Then just a little over twelve years later the country embraced Islam. This system continued upto 1932, when the first democratic constitution was proclaimed with the sultan the head of the state and the cabinet ministers headed by the prime minister.

From 1932 to onwards, the maldivies has been a form of modern democrecy in which any necessary amendements to the constitution were brought about the consent of the 48 members of the majlis. its this system which had incorporated several amendements and notificatiobn to the 1968 constitution, that we found that in the maldivies today what is remarkable in the process of constitution evolution in the country is the present constitution not an entirely new one but the old modified and amended to suit present day requirments. It has always responded to the political social, economic and cultural uniqueness is covering inter-relations between the Island and atolls. Of course we know that the country had came into contact with other countries in the region from ancient

times, various.

Social, political and cultural influences have had their impact. In Maldives the constitutional system of the country which ever Maldivian in character and democratic in spirit.

During the last three decades, the political dynamics of the constitutional framework reveals that notwithstanding the prescribed separation of powers. The overruling of the president can enable him to turn the system into highly centralised structure. Secondly the separation of powers between executive and legislature, a considerable diffusion of functions between the two has prevailed. The process of effective decentralisation has necessitated additional institutional networks and support from the center to help facilitate distribution as well as co-ordination of powers of the top of the bottom.

Actually if we have to know in detail the proposed study is to find out the nature, character and adaptability of the Maldives political development through democratic system in South Asia. The

significance of the proposed study in that like other south Asian states Maldives intended to strengthen the political development and to advance the process in democratization.

When the Maldives was proclaimed a republic Amir Ibrahim Nasir who was the prime minister, became the first president replacing Sultan Ahmed Farid Didi. Since 1972 the cabinet had nine ministers headed by the prime minister Ahmed Zaki. He was minister for external affairs since November 1968 and earlier minister of justice under the Sultan. He was re-elected prime minister for a new term in February 1975. President Nasir removed the prime minister from his office and along with 25 of his associates he was taken into custody. In that time the president assumed full powers and took over the duties of the prime minister. Ahmed Zaki's ouster came when the Majlis was to meet in April 1975 to consider a constitutional amendment abolishing the post of prime minister that was political development from prime minister to president. The political change established from prime minister form of government to presidential form of government. President is the

real executive in maldives. The constitutional amendments introduced in 1975 allow more concentration of authority in the president.

In 1975, we found that more concentration of authority hands of president. The ministries of external Affairs, Home, Finance, Communications information and Broad casting fisheries and Education were abolished. These are all now run as department from the presidential office. The government maintains an internal security force of 500 called the maldives regiment based on Male. Besides, it has sea patrol solely meant for domestic security. There is no military apparatus intended to meet any external security threats. The search for identity and political development has ever been at the core of policies of maldives. The recent past had been characterised by its traditional insularity which in the present contest appears to be far from effective. Over the last decade and a half, however, the Island state has been opening rapidly to new ideals and behaviour, in order to assert its independent course of action as a nation state. Today it is political entity still in search of a frame of

reference to cope with the developmental problems that confront it.

However hard the maldivians may wish themselves to steer away from big power politics in the area. It would be very difficult for such a small developing Island nation to ignore opportunities of sizeable aid in exchange for facilities created, and left behind by the British. At the present, only few technologically advanced countries, which happen to be the great powers, have the capability to exploit the seabed minerals. Therefore, any unfriendly tension creating presence in the maldivies so near the indian sub-contient will be of obvious concern to india.

The widening of narrow based elite can put severe stresses and strains on the process of consensus building. Besides, in due course this will be closely related to the stability of its political order in the coming decades. Such a stability will necessitate continuance of firm get a judicious and accommodative approach by its governing elites in the management of socio-economic tensions ensuring in the process, popular sanctions and sustenance to the system of as well as

credibility and integrity.

Since 1978 president Gayoom has been putting emphasis on the principles of a new style of open leadership. The entire command structure has been diversified and new mediating structures are being created. The president has taken steps to integrate all outlying areas of Maldives with the national mainstream. Apart from these socio-political activities, a well thought out policy has been laid down to revive interest in Maldivian history and culture through institutional arrangements. Although president Gayoom has initiated a number of measures to develop the constitutional position of the Maldives as a secular democracy, a group of people known as new Maldivians are demanding more radical reforms. People of Maldives are not getting ready to fight for a revolution or too much enthusiastic about western model multi-party democracy. The people of Maldives are demanding now for more constitutional reforms. Eight days before president Gayoom's third term began in 1988, there was a coup to capture the power but as of now, no alternative leadership has emerged against president Gayoom. President it seems has taken note

of the demands raised by dissidents and is trying to bring about more liberal measures in Maldives. However, President Gayoom remained an advocate of the modernization of Maldives political structures.

We can find that Nasir has operated as a benevolent despot, Gayoom has viewed his own role as a liberal democrat. Finally, I would like to write that the constitutional changes which marked twentieth century political development since 1932 to onwards in Maldives were an improvement in terms of minimum rights for the people and at least a written responsibility to them and also like other states in South Asia, Maldives has to intend to strengthen the political developments and to advance the process in democratization.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books:

Bell, H.C.P., The Maldive islands: Monograph on the history, Archaeology, and Epigraphy, the Ceylon Government Press, Colombo, 25 Dec. 1985.

Maloney, Clarence, people of the maldive islands Orient Longman Ltd, 1980.

Phadnis, Urmila and Luithui, Ela Dutt, maldives : Development Challenges of an atoll states, New Delhi, 1986.

Gupta, Rajan, The Indian ocean : A political Geography, New York: Marwah publications, 1979.

Didi, E Amin A.M., The maldive islands (Colombo, 1952).

Swger, Marshall, "The foreign policies of small developing states", in James N. Rosenall, K.W. Thompson and Gavein Boyds, eds., World Politics- An introduction, (London : Collier Mzcmillan Publishers, 1976), pp.263-90.

Banerjee, Dipankar, Comprehensive and cooperative security in South Asia, institute of peace and conflict stuides, 1998.

Bell, H.C.P., The maldive islands : Report on a visti to male : January 20 to February 21, Sessional paper XV-1921 (Colombo : Government Printer, 1921).

Horsburgh, B., Deputation to the maldives : Report relating visit to the maldive islands of the commission appointed to convey to his highness the Sultan of Royal Warrant of his majesty conferring the Dignity of Honorary companion of the most Distinguished order of St. Michael and St. George. Sessional paper VIII(Colombo : Government printer, 1920).

Phadnis, Urmila, Maldives : Winds of change in an atoll state, South Asian publishers, New Delhi 1984.

Jacobs, J., "Reflections of a Non-economist" in J. Kaminarides, L. Driguglio and H. Hoogendonk (ed.), The economic development of small countries- Problems, policies and strategies (Amsterdam : Eburan publishers, 1989).

Chawla, Subash, The new maldives, Niana Agencies limited 92 chatham street colombo, November 19, 1986.

✱

Singh, K.R., The indian ocean : Big power presence and Local response, New Delhi : Manohar, 1977.

Former, B.H. , Maldives, physical and social geography, Australia year book, 1997.

Krishna, Raj, Geography of the World's major Regions, South Asia, 1980.

Adeney, M. and W.K. Cass, "The maldives republic", in oslheimer, John ed., The politics of western Indian ocean island (New York : Praeger 1975),pp. 139-59. Cambridge Dictionary of South Asia.

Dommen E and P. Hein, States, microstates and islands, London : Croom Helm, 1985.

MC Kee, D and C. Tisdell, Development issues in small island economies, (New York: Praeger, 1990).

Annual Statistical Report on Tourism in Maldives

Asian Development Reports

UNCTAD, problems of island development countries and proposals for concrete action TD/B/AC.46-2 (Geneva :UNCTAS< 1990).

UNDP, interm Report by administration of UNDP on special measures to help least developed countries, January 1974.

The Europa Yearbook, volume 11. Kazakhstan zimbabwe, Maldives, 1998.

Encyclopedia of SAARC Nations.

Urmila, Phadnis, "India and its neighbours in indian ocean", in R.R. Ramchandani, ed., India and Western Indian ocean states : Towards Regional co-operation in Development, (New Delhi : Allied Publishers, 1981).

Jalan, B., "Classification of Economies by Size" in B. Jalan (ed.), problems and policies in small countries, (London : Croom Helm, 1982).

Articles:

Dixit, D.R., " Maldives islands : The Barbinger of cold war in the indian ocean", Indian geographical Journal Vol;. 41, nos. 1-2, January- June 1996 pp.293.

Anand, J.P., "The maldives : A profile", ISDA jrnl., Vol.9, No.2, Oct-Dec 1976,pp.116-29.

Cochlo, V.H. , "Constitutional and political Development in maldives", Foreign Affairs Reports, Vol.28, No.8, Aug.1979, pp.134-48.

Maldives islands- Alignment of independence, current notes on international affairs, Vol.37, Jan 1966, pp.27-31.

Rajan, M.S., " Small states and the sovereign-nation state system", international studies, Vol.25, No.1, 1998, pp.1-23.

Jonathan, Dimblebg, " A nasty spot of Bother in Maldives, Sunday Times, 6n Dec. 1970.

Maloney, Clarence, "People of maldivian islands", (Madras : Orient Longmans 1980), pp. 38-41.

Information Desk, "Maldives- The isolated islands", Asia magazine 15 Aug. 1965.

Peter, Gill, "Maldives in Trouble after RAF withdrawal", Daily Telegraph, 31, October 1977.

N, Hick and P. Streeten, "Indicators of development", World Development, Vol.7, 1970,pp.567-580.

Forbes, Andrew D.W., "The Maldives : Supreme of an Atoll Empire", Far Eastern Economic Review, Vol.97, No.32, 12 Aug. 1977,pp.30-31.

Ananda , J.P., "Focus on Maldives", Century, Vol. 12, No.40, February, 1975, pp.4-5.

Comte, Mavie-Christine, "managing the Maldives", Fao Review on Agriculture and Development, No.78,13,No.6, Nov-Dec. 1980,pp.42-46.

Leslie, Jacques,"Nation of islands is smallest UN member, Republic

of Maldives sheens power politics", International Herald Tribune, 7
Jan 1975.

P Sahadevan, Maldives Search for security 1998.

Hick, N. And P. Streeten, "Indicators of Development", World
Development, Vol.7, 1970,pp.567-580.

Far Eastern Economic Review, "Maldives", in Asia Year Book, 1978,
1979, 1980, 1981.

Lawrence Ziring, "The insecurity of small state", Biss Jrnl. Vol.7,
No.3, July 1986.

Downes, A.S., "On the Statistical measurement of smallness : A
principal Component measure of size", Social and Economic Studies,
Vol.37, No.-3, 1998.

Bertram, G., "Sustainability, Aid and material welfare in small pacific island Economies", World Development, Vol.21, No.2, 1993.pp.247-258.

Briguglio, L. "Small island developing states and their Economic vulnerabilities", World Development Report. Vol.23, No.9, 1995,pp.1615-1632.

Journals:

C.H.B. Reynolds, "The Maldivé Islands", Asian Affairs, Vol.62, No.1, February 1975,pp.37-43.

Maloney, Clarence, "The Maldives : The new stresses in an old Naiton", Asian Surview, Vol.16,No.7, July 1976. pp.65A-71.

V. Suryanarayan, " The Maldives and india's security, Om Satish Chandra, B. Arunachalam and V. Suryanarayam, ed. The Indian ocean and its islands, Strategic, Scientific and Historical perspectives (New Delhi 1993).

Maldives Islands alignment of independence, current notes on international affairs, Vol.37, Jan 1966, pp.27-30.

Strategic Analysis.

Weerasenghe, Chitra, "The Maldives", Ceylon observer, June 1980.

Strategic Digest.

Foreign Affairs Reports, Vol.28, No.8, August 1979, pp.13A-43.

P. Sahadevan, "Indian and Maldives : A mutually beneficial Relationship" South Asian Studies,. Vol.27, no.2 July -December 1992. pp.16-31.

Dilip, Mukherjee, "Maldives Diversified Contacts with Big Neighbours", Pacific Community, Vol.6, no.4, July 1975, pp.595-607.