NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY AND SECURITY
CHALLENGES OF MALDIVES

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
Strategic Studies

by

HASSAN SHAHID, MAJOR, SPECIAL FORCES M.N.D.F.
Professional Education, Royal Military Academy Sandhurst,Camberly,
United Kingdom, 2000

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas
2014-01

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188

1. REPORT DATE *(DD-MM-YYYY)* 13-06-2014	2. REPORT TYPE Master's Thesis	3. DATES COVERED *(From - To)* AUG 2013 – JUN 2014
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE National Security Policy and Security Challenges of Maldives		**5a. CONTRACT NUMBER**
		5b. GRANT NUMBER
		5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER
6. AUTHOR(S) Maj Hassan Shahid		**5d. PROJECT NUMBER**
		5e. TASK NUMBER
		5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army Command and General Staff College ATTN: ATZL-SWD-GD Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301		**8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER**
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)		**10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)**
		11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)

12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT
Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited

13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

14. ABSTRACT
Maldives is the world's most low lying country and the smallest country in south East Asia with a fragile economy largely dependent on tourism. Maldives faces numerous challenges to its security manifest in economic, political, information, military, social and physical domains. In order to address these security challenges the first ever defense white paper was published in 2012 and the first ever National Security Policy followed shortly after. With the lack of specific literature on the subject of Maldivian national security the first part of this thesis will focus on identifying overarching Maldivian national interests, analyze the current challenges to achieving these national interest and identify significant threats to Maldivian national security. The final steps of this analysis will examine the current Maldivian National Security Policy and related documents to answer the primary research question of whether this strategic document addresses the significant threats identified in my analysis such as the threat of radical Islamist terrorism to the tourism industry, foreign influence and organized crime.

15. SUBJECT TERMS

National Security Policy, Challenges to Maldives Security

16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT (U)	**b. ABSTRACT** (U)	**c. THIS PAGE** (U)	(U)	90	**19b. PHONE NUMBER** *(include area code)*

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)
Prescribed by ANSI Std. Z39.18

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Name of Candidate: Major Hassan Shahid

Thesis Title: National Security Policy and Security Challenges of Maldives

Approved by:

_____, Thesis Committee Chair
Phillip G. Pattee, Ph.D.

_____, Member
Mark R. Wilcox, M.A.

_____, Member
Kenneth A. Szmed Jr., MMAS

Accepted this 13th day of June 2014 by:

_____, Director, Graduate Degree Programs
Robert F. Baumann, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY AND SECURITY CHALLENGES OF MALDIVES, by Major Hassan Shahid, 90 pages.

Maldives is the world's most low lying country and the smallest country in south East Asia with a fragile economy largely dependent on tourism. Maldives faces numerous challenges to its security manifest in economic, political, information, military, social and physical domains. In order to address these security challenges the first ever defense white paper was published in 2012 and the first ever National Security Policy followed shortly after. With the lack of specific literature on the subject of Maldivian national security the first part of this thesis will focus on identifying overarching Maldivian national interests, analyze the current challenges to achieving these national interest and identify significant threats to Maldivian national security. The final steps of this analysis will examine the current Maldivian National Security Policy and related documents to answer the primary research question of whether this strategic document addresses the significant threats identified in my analysis such as the threat of radical Islamist terrorism to the tourism industry, foreign influence and organized crime.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACRONYMS

MDP	Maldivian Democratic Party
NSP	National Security Policy
PMESII-PT	Political, Military, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure and Time
PPM	Progressive Party of Maldives

TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> The basic principles of strategy are so simple that a child may understand them. But to determine their proper application to a given situation requires the hardest kind of work.
>
> ─Dwight D. Eisenhower, in Alan Stolberg,
> *How Nation States Craft National Security Document*

In an era of globalization, the mist of uncertainty lurks in every country's territory. The Republic of Maldives is an island nation of 1,190 islands geographically dispersed into 21 atolls just a meter above sea level. Its population is just over 350,000 people and distributed scarcely into 190 of these pearls of the Indian Ocean. The Maldives is located in one of the most strategic locations in South Asia. A large percentage of the world's commerce passes through this region. Maldives faces a wide spectrum of threats and challenges varying from political, military, economic, social, information, infrastructure, and its unique physical environment.

To address to these security challenges the first *Strategic Defense Directive* was published in 2008 in the early days of President Mohamed Nasheed's tenure. A review of the directive followed in 2010 to sufficiently connect the national policy interests and address some significant challenges that were not addressed initially. With the change of the country's leadership, a White Paper was drafted in 2012. By the end of 2012, the first published *National Security Policy* (NSP) was signed by President Mohamed Waheed. This document is now available for public scrutiny.

This thesis will frame the probable present day challenges to Maldivian security and analyze whether the 2012 NSP of the Maldives addresses these challenges. The

Primary Research Question for this analysis is: does the current Maldivian NSP address the significant challenges to Maldivian security? The Secondary Research Questions are: (1) what are the key challenges to the security of the Maldives? and; (2) does the current *National Security Policy* address the key challenges identified?

A significant limitation for this research will be in the area of classified information or intelligence requirements. In the absence of intelligence reports on security related issues given the limited capacity of Maldivian intelligence services, this analysis will be based on open source information rather than classified intelligence.

Numerous informative documents published concerning the security policies of small states which resemble the Maldives would be of great value for the analysis of challenges to Maldives security. Analysis of these documents and comparison to those of the Maldives will be excluded from this research and identified as an area for further research in order to economize time and effort for an effective analysis.

The next chapter will review the literature on this topic and provide an assessment of the significance of that material to this study. This is followed by an explanation of the methodology. Subsequent chapters will examine each issue in detail.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this research is to conduct an analysis of the challenges to

Maldivian security and analyze whether the present Maldivian security strategy addresses

these challenges. The literature review focuses on two main areas. To formulate a proper

methodology to analyze the threats to Maldives, literature on national security strategy

formulation is reviewed. The second area of the literature review focuses on important

data and information to answer the research questions. This includes published reports

from various think tanks and media products related to the security of Maldives,

documents on the history of Maldives, and current strategic concepts that may influence

the Maldivian security environment. The following paragraphs describe these areas in

detail.

For a country with a history of significant threats to its security and with the

existence of an official defense force for centuries, relatively little has been written or

published on the subject of national security of the Maldives. On the contrary, much has

been written on the subject of global warming and its impact on the Maldives. The main

factor for this lack of national security disclosure is the broad perception that

conventional and nonconventional threats were less apparent and less important

compared to natural environmental challenges. In addition, public discussion of matters

of Maldivian national security were considered taboo and to some extant perceived as

unconstitutional. This belief in the confidentiality of security documents critical to the

security of the nation resulted in access to the few documents that did exist being

restricted to senior civilian and military leaders. The result—perhaps unintended, was the

failure to document national security strategies over time. This led to its inevitable loss. Significant changes to society, democratization, and modernization of the country has finally led to the recent open publication of strategic documents and policies. The *Maldives Constitution 2008,* "Freedom Expression," states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought and the freedom to communicate opinions and expression in a manner that is not contrary to any tenet of Islam."[1] The *Maldives Constitution 2008*, "Freedom of Media," also states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of the press, and other means of communication, including the right to espouse, disseminate and publish news, information, views and ideas. No person shall be compelled to disclose the source of any information that is espoused, disseminated or published by that person."[2]

The lack of national security strategy documents makes contemporary analysis of the history of Maldives essential. Historical documents provide an alternate source of information for the subject to be analyzed. One of the very few historical studies of the Maldives published in English is *The Maldives Islands Monograph on the History, Archaeology and Epigraph*y by H.C.P. Bell C.C.S. (Retired). Bell, the acknowledged father of Maldivian studies, visited the Maldives islands in 1789, 1920 and in 1922.The three monographs written by Bell during these visits focused mainly on Maldivian archeology, history, and culture. To date, the contributions made by H.C.P. Bell to Maldivian scholarship is considered outstanding. This monograph is regarded by many as the most comprehensive work on Maldivian history to date. It represents 58 years of

[1]Ministry of Legal Reform, Information and Arts, *Functional Translation of Maldives Constitution 2008,* trans. Dheena Hussein (Male', Maldives: Republic of Maldives, 2008), 22.

[2]Ibid.

dedicated research and is an invaluable guide and source of reference for all Maldivians as well as students of Maldivian history.[3]

In this monograph, Bell describes the history and culture of Maldives from the second to sixth century, the sixth to twelfth century, and the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century. Bell explains, "The earliest history of the Maldives islands is buried in complete obscurity. This has naturally resulted from their geographical isolation and the comparative insignificance they have ever possessed in the eyes of leading outside nations."[4] In reference to the question of Maldives' independence Bell states, "That there ever existed political dependency of the Maldives upon Ceylon – as frequently claimed, and with no evidence at all – may be rejected unhesitatingly."[5] In summary, the early period of Maldives' history can be defined as Maldives being relatively insignificant and unknown to the rest of the world and remaining politically independent with closer economic relations with the neighboring countries.

With the relative unbridged gap between sixth and ninth century writers, the ninth to twelfth century will be reviewed.[6] In this period, enterprise and trade led the Persians and Arabs to the Far East. The Maldives lying scattered in the middle of the Indian Ocean in the direct route to Malacca and China, soon attracted their attention exposing them to the religion of Islam. This eventually led the people and rulers of the islands to convert to

---

[3]H.C.P. Bell, *The Maldive Islands; Monograph on the History, Archaeology and Epigraphy* (Male', Maldives: Novelty Printers Publishers Pvt .Ltd., 1985), comments by Ali Hussein.

[4]Ibid., 16.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid.

Islam. The process and intermarriage gradually paved the way for the establishment of the faith and the power of Islam in the Maldives.[7]

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the close connection between Maldives and the growing Muslim settlements on the Malabar Coast was quite evident. The commercial prosperity and the political influence of the Moorish traders remained significant until the start of the fifteenth century when powers of the West heralded by the Portuguese dominated the region. The growing trade in the Indian Ocean was accompanied by the challenges of piracy as early as the fourteenth century.[8]

Finding most of the Indian sea-borne trade in the hands of Muhamamadans or Mouros (Arab Traders) the introduction of the west to the Indian Ocean islands led by the Portuguese started bitter violence and unceasing attempts by the Portuguese to capture these islands. The Portuguese invaded Maldives in 1513 A.C and within five years they had established a fort at Male'. The Maldives islanders were soon able to rise and massacre the Portuguese with the help of a Cochin Moor. This shows the close relationship the Maldives had with their Muslim neighbors in India dating back to the fifteenth century. Forty years later, the conversion of the Maldives sultan, Hassan IX, to Christianity eventuated the capture of Maldives by the Portuguese, leading to the occupation of Maldives by the Portuguese from 1558 to 1573. Bell describes the seventeenth century as full of attacks on Maldives by Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English vessels all competing for trade.[9]

---

[7]Bell, 17.

[8]Ibid., 18.

[9]Ibid.

In his monograph, Bell also considers a number of factors whose impact on the security and prosperity of the Maldives continues to this day. These factors include the period of sultanates. The subsequent rivalry between dynasties competing for the throne resulted in many assassinations, insurgencies, and revolutions. In 1362, Muhamad-ul-Jamil assumed chief rule forcibly. In 1363, Sultana Rehendi murdered the former sultan and reigned for 10 years. Abd-Allah held the throne by force from 1373 to 1376 and was killed by Sultana Rehendi who regained the throne in 1376.[10] Bell also describes the Maldivian economy[11] and its environment[12] as fragile and describes Maldives' relationship with its neighbors and the challenges caused by colonial powers.[13] All of these factors collectively challenged the security, prosperity, sovereignty, and independence of the Maldives in the past and continue to be challenges.

With the lack of formal academic literature to provide specific information and analysis of threats to Maldivian security, the use of secondary sources such as media reports, historical documents, and short assessments conducted by internal and external organizations and individuals, are essential to this analysis. Such documents would include country reports on Maldives from the United States and other civil and military agencies, reports provided by think tanks pertaining to global challenges, and some regional assessments, domestic and international reports, and media products. It is

---

[10]Bell, 21.

[11]Ibid.,

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid., 29. Defeat of Portuguese Fleet with just six canons, Portuguese burnt the mosque in Villingilli island before departing.

important to assume that the work done by the international think tanks, while directly not oriented towards Maldives, may be highly relevant to this analysis of security challenges to Maldives given an interconnected, interdependent, and globalized world.

An important source of information to address analysis of grand strategy and Maldivian interests are the manifestos published by the two leading political parties of the Maldives; the Progressive Party of Maldives (PPM), and Maldivian Democratic Party (MDP). An important assumption made is that significant effort and resources would have been invested for a thorough analysis in developing these manifestos and they would address the most important aspects of the Maldivian interests in accordance with the societal view.

For the analysis of current and possible future threats, the European Strategy and Policy Analysis System (ESPAS) research project report, *Citizens in an Interconnected and Polycentric World, Global Trends 2030,* by a European Union inter-institutional task force edited by Álvaro de Vasconcelos is the primary reference. An interim version of this report was presented to the European Union in October 2011. According to the ESPAS report, *Global Trends 2030* there are three major challenges emerging today that will shape the international environment in 2030. They are "the empowerment of individuals, which contribute to a sense of belonging to a single human community, greater stress in sustainable development against a back drop of greater resource scarcity and persistent poverty, compounded by the consequences of climate change, and growing gaps as the mechanism for inter-state relations fail to respond adequately to global

demands."[14] These factors may have a tremendous influence on the Maldives' security

environment with Maldives' share of ongoing battles in the political and social arena, and

a fragile economy that is interdependent and interconnected with the global economy.

In the era of interdependence, the inter-connectivity brought on by globalization

shapes the Maldivian security environment and the challenges it faces. Some of the

common challenges that the world is perceived to face in the future are described in

Global Trends 2030 report as poverty, inequality, corruption, disease, climate change,

water and energy scarcity, war and humanitarian disasters, and the proliferation of

weapons including small arms. These will be shared challenges of a global public with

access to new technology and instruments of communication that enable them to express

their concerns and dissent. The convergence of concerns and increased vocalization of

demands will contrast sharply with governments' capacity to deliver public goods,

particularly those relating to improving quality of life. This will generate a gap in

expectations that may become a source of tension and social conflict and which can be

aggravated by ineffective economic governance.[15]

In light of the *Global Trends 2030* terrorism, depletion of world food stocks and

fossil fuels, challenges of an interconnected interdependent global economy, impact of

weather, cross border criminal activities, or other asymmetric threats, impact of the

competing interests, and influence of major powers or global politics will be key aspects

---

[14]European Strategy and Policy Analysis System (ESPAS), *Citizens in an Interconnected and Polycentric World, Global Trends 2030* (Paris, France: Institute for Security Studies European Union, 2011), http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/ ESPAS_report_01.pdf (accessed 8 June 2014), 11.

[15]Ibid., 13.

of the analysis. The growing concern of the world within the security context is an important factor to be considered in the analysis of security challenges to Maldives.

While there is a lack of literature regarding the security policies of the Maldives, there are numerous publications, and a comprehensive spectrum of literature on current strategic concepts. The current concepts that are being debated and discussed include: the rise of China, the growing aspiration of India to become a regional super power in Asia, the concept of the diffusion of powers to non-state actors, the rise of the middle class in Asia, and the trends towards individual liberty and democratization.[16] Globalization and interdependence, the rise of non-state actors,[17] geographic factors, and the importance of economic, information and diplomatic power in international politics will play a significant role in shaping the Maldivian security environment.

In summary, globalization and interdependence, diffusion of powers and the rise of non-state actors, global economy, rise of China and India and climate change and environmental degradation will have an influence on Maldives and its security. These are potential areas that should be considered and analyzed in order to identify potential challenges and threats to Maldivian security.

According to Joseph S. Nye in *Understanding International Conflicts, An Introduction to Theory and History*, globalization is defined simply as networks of interdependence and the influence of an interconnected and interdependent world in an

---

[16]ESPAS, *Global Trends* 2030, 12.

[17]Joseph S. Nye, Jr., "Globalization and Interdependence," *Understanding International Conflicts, An Introduction to Theory and History,* 6th ed., Longman Classics in Political Science (London: Longman Publishing Group, 2006), ch. 7.

era of information revolution not limited to state boundaries.[18] Globalization also has a number of dimensions that have significant effect on our daily lives. These include: economic and environmental globalization which effects the lives of people everywhere; military globalization consisting of networks of interdependence in which force or the threat of force is employed; social globalization which is the spread of people culture, images and ideas; and political globalization which is the spread of constitutional arrangements, the trends towards countries becoming more democratic, and the development of international rules and institutions.[19]

While globalization has been ongoing for centuries, the most significant changes are related to the information revolution. Thomas Friedman argues that contemporary globalization goes farther, faster, cheaper and deeper.[20] As a result, there are more interconnections among networks resulting in system effects in which small perturbations in one area can spread throughout a whole system.[21] Some theorists also see geo-economics replacing geo-politics because of an interdependent global economy.[22] Joseph S. Nye also describes some negative effects of globalization such as the reaction to globalization inducing more fundamentalism and the increasing flows of information that

---

[18]Nye, 204.

[19]Ibid., 205-207.

[20]Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree; Understanding Globalization* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), 7-8.

[21]Nye, 207-208.

[22]Ibid., 205.

will make people more aware of inequality leading to potential protests.[23] Globalization

and interdependence should hence be closely considered in analyzing the security of any

country, especially for Maldives, a small nation without significant resources and overly

dependent on the world economy. These factors will play an important role in the

analysis of the Maldivian security concerns.

The rapid growth of China and India, their influence on the world's economy, and

their impact on regional security is a common topic of interest. Asia with more than half

of the world's population, the world's fastest growing economy, the bulk of the world's

military gathered in a region of a rapidly rising middle class, and its large share of

unresolved disputes truly deserves serious attention in the analysis of security challenges

to one of the smallest nations in Asia.[24]

In his book, *Collapse, How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed,* Jared Diamond

argues the key contributing factors for the collapse of a society are environmental

damage, climate change, hostile neighbors, friendly neighbors, and the society's response

to its environmental problems with the most significant factor being the last.[25] These

factors identified by Jared Diamond will also be mirrored in this research, as it is

significant to the Maldives.

---

[23]Nye, 209.

[24]"Know Your Own Strength," 30 March 2013, *The Economist,* http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21574458-india-poised-become-one-four-largest-military-powers-world-end (accessed 2 June 2014).

[25]Jared Diamonds, *Collapse, How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 11-13.

The second part of the literature review focuses on formulating a methodology for this analysis. This includes literature on the process of formulation of security strategy documents. The following paragraphs describe some important literature on the subject.

The *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy* edited by J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr., and *How Nation-States Craft National Security Strategy Documents,* by Alan G. Stolberg" describe the importance of including diplomatic, information, military and economic power in an effective national security strategy. This implies the importance of considering these major domains in analyzing challenges to the security of Maldives.

In Alan G. Stolberg's book, *How Nations-States Craft National Security Documents,* he explains Alexander George's (the famed Stanford academic) process theory that, "the policy making process to have its greatest chance of success it must be able to ensure that sufficient information is available and analyzed adequately."[26] With the assumption that the policy making process starts with the framing of problems; it further, and perhaps more importantly, needs to address George's principle described by Stolberg. This is a key consideration for the analysis of challenges to Maldives' security.

The *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy* defines grand or national strategy as, "a country's broadest approach to the pursuit of its national objectives in the international system."[27] It also states that a good grand strategy

---

[26]Alan G. Stolberg, *How Nation-States Craft National Security Strategy Documents* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, October 2012), 3.

[27]J. Boone Bartholomees, Jr., ed., *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy,* 2nd ed. (Carlisle, PA: Department of National Security and Strategy, U.S Army War College, June 2006), 18.

should include or at least consider the elements of national power (Diplomatic, Informational, Military and Economic).[28] It also includes important premises concerning the theory of strategy: "(1) Strategy is all about how leadership will use power to achieve objectives; (2) Strategist must know what is to be accomplished (end state); (3) Strategy must identify an appropriate balance of end ways and means; (4) Strategies political purpose must dominate the strategy; (5) Strategy must be comprehensive; (6) Strategy is hierarchical; (7) Strategy is developed through analysis and knowledge of strategic environment which includes both external and internal factors that may affect a specific objective, concept and resources of strategy; (8) Risk is inherent to strategy and the best any strategy can offer is a favorable balance against failure."[29] The methodology that will be followed for this analysis uses the essence of these key premises identified above such as: strategy must be comprehensive (analysis of political, economic, military, social, information and physical environment); strategist must know the end state (national interest of Maldives); and strategy is developed through analysis of both external and internal factors, and also strategy must identify an appropriate balance of ends ways and means.

The most important contributor to a security strategy is the overarching grand strategy that captures the interests of the nation.[30] In the absence of a formal grand strategy, examining Maldives' constitution and the manifestos of key political parties should capture the essence of such a grand strategy. The Maldivian constitution clearly

---

[28]Bartholomees, 18.

[29]Ibid., 45-46.

[30]Ibid., 18.

states the interest of Maldivians, the rights of its people, and the basics of their interests. The Maldivian constitution states that the religion of the people of the Maldives is Islam and sharia law is one of the main principle contributors to the constitution.[31] In the case of the Maldivians, the highest priority is given to safeguarding the religion, sovereignty, and prosperity of the nation. [32]

The second important factor to analyze is the Maldivian approach to safeguarding these national interests. The Maldivian approach to the defense of nation should clearly address the nature of the Maldives. How will this small nation with limited resources and a population smaller than that of a city of the neighboring countries safeguard its sovereignty? The answer to this question may not be simple. It is essential that we assume that the limited resources of the country should be focused effectively to achieve the national interests. This underscores the importance of a whole of government and a whole of nations approach to the security of the Maldives.[33] The Maldives' size and population also raise the question of how it can defend itself against larger neighbors if relationships deteriorate to a level where it is required. The answer to this question may be a strong foreign policy that features strong relations with neighbors and the rest of the world. Maldives' relations with the major powers of the world and the possible areas of tension between Maldives and its neighbors will be essential aspects of a security

---

[31]Ministry of Legal Reform, Information and Arts, *Functional Translation of Maldives Constitution 2008,* 10.

[32]Ibid., 2.

[33]Bartholomees.

15

strategy, and thus a part of this analysis will focus on understanding these key relationships and possible areas of tension.

With the limited literature on Maldives' security environment, it is vital to have an in-depth examination of the few documents available that focus on Maldives' security challenges. These documents include: "Trouble in Paradise–Islamist Radicalism in the Maldives," in *Jane's Intelligence Review*, *Rapid Situation Assessment of Gangs in Male',* produced by Maldives Institute for Psychological Services, Training and Research funded by The Asia Foundation and "Terrorism and Extremism; A Threat to Maldives Tourism Industry," by Ahmed Niyaz, Mazlan and Murad Law Associates.

According to the article in *Jane's Intelligence Review*:

> The simmering undercurrent of Islamist radicalism in the outwardly tranquil Maldives has only rarely surfaced, the most notable exception being a September 2007 bombing that injured several tourist - Some Maldivians have travelled to jihadist training camps in Pakistan and those who return form the core of underground radical groups in the islands, some of which maintain links to foreign organizations. While these Maldivian Jihadists seem to be primarily focused on supporting their foreign counterparts in foreign conflict zones, further incidents of violence in the islands cannot be discounted.[34]

The report describes the September 2007 bombing as the worst extremist related incident of the country and it highlights that even though 12 tourists were injured by a small homemade improvised explosive device, no one was killed or seriously injured.[35] More disturbingly, the jihadist video released in September 2009, identified Mussab Sayyid (Maldivian named Ali Jalyl), as one of the suicide bombers who carried out the 27

---

[34]Patrick Roberts, "Trouble in Paradise – Islamist Radicalism in the Maldives," *Jane's Intelligence Review* 23, no. 5 (May 2011): 1, Air University Library and Defense Technical Information Center, http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/aulimp/citations/gsa/ 2011_188542/188053.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

[35]Ibid., 1-2.

May 2009 attack on the headquarters of the Pakistani military's Directorate of Inter-Services Intelligence in Lahore.[36]To date, this incident is the most significant evidence of a Maldivian participating in an extremist terrorist attack. The report highlights the domestic radicalization problem in Maldives is generated by a combination of economic and social change, and the introduction of new ideas. Furthermore, the report describes a potential flash point, the clash of two distinct ideologies; the secular attitudes and behaviors brought in by some western educated students who travelled to western universities, and the ultra-conservative religious ideas brought in by some linked to Saudi Wahhabism and South Asian Deobandism.[37] Some governments such as India have expressed concerns that the islands have become a base to militant groups such as the Pakistan based Lashkar-e-Tayyaiba.[38] Maldivian officials have denied Maldivian connection with terrorism, while acknowledging that the country is facing an extremist problem.[39]In response, the government is seeking to counter radicalization through programs of religious education. However, the possible failure of such programs poses a danger that the extremism that has long focused mainly on supporting fighting in foreign conflicts, will backfire on the islands.[40] Given that the Maldivian tourism industry is dependent on global customers—predominantly non-Muslims, a possible terrorist attack

---

[36]Roberts, 3.

[37]Ibid., 2.

[38]Ibid., 3, 4.

[39]Ibid., 1.

[40]Ibid., 5.

on tourists is a grave possibility.[41] "Terrorism and Extremism; A Threat to Maldives

Tourism Industry," by Ahmed Niyaz analyzes the potential threats and possible

scenarios. The paper highlights the recent trends towards terrorist attacks on tourism

industries such as the Lashkar-e-Tayyaiba attack on Mumbai in 2008. The paper also

highlights that another attack such as the Sultan Park bombing incident of 2007 has the

potential to destroy the tourism industry and bring the Maldivian economy to a halt.[42]

While extremism is a growing concern related to the social domain, gang related

violence frequently captured Maldives' news headlines from 2008 to 2012. The *Rapid

Situation Assessment of Gangs in Male'* by the Maldives Institute for Psychological

Services, Training and Research funded by The Asia Foundation provides information on

a possible challenge to Maldivian security within the social domain. According to the

report gang violence in the Maldives is becoming increasingly common. The nature of

violence is becoming more brutal as new types of drugs and weapons are introduced into

the country. There are currently between 20 and 30 different gangs operating in Male'

with 50 to400 members in each group.[43] According to the National Values Survey

conducted by The Asia Foundation in 2011, "residents of Male' see gang violence as a

key challenge facing the city, and even gang members themselves have expressed

[41]Ali Niyaz, Mazlan and Murad Law Associates, Unidad de Investigaciones Sobre Seguridad y Cooperacion International Discussion Paper, "Terrorism and Extremism; A Threat to Maldives Tourism Industry," 1 October 2010, ReadPeriodicals, http://www.readperiodicals.com/201010/2232069431.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

[42]Ibid.

[43]Maldives Institute for Psychological Services, Training and Research, *Rapid Situation Assessment of Gangs in Male'* (Sri Lanka: The Asia Foundation, August 2012), http://asiafoundation.org/publications/pdf/1150 (accessed 2 June 2014), 1.

concern about the escalating violence. Gang violence impacts almost all citizens of the

capital in one way or another. Businesses and neighborhoods frequently have property

damaged during gang violence; youth congregate in public areas, often using drugs and

starting fights; and during political rallies gangs are seen on the streets causing chaos."[44]

According to the report, the underlying cause for the formations of gangs is youth

unemployment, insufficient salaries, and drug abuse. The most significant factor

contributing to the increase in gang violence, as described in the report, is formation of

political parties and some political actors seeking to increase their power and influence

by aligning with gangs, and commissioned violence in which a politician or

businessperson pays gangs to carry out violent acts.[45] This is a significant factor to be

considered in the security analysis of the nation with the escalating violence and the

political involvement in financing gangs to carry out their dirty work. As the reports

highlights, this is also a concern for democratic principles and ideas among the young

generation as they witness first hand corruption on the part of their political

representatives.[46] The next chapter explains the methodology followed to answer the key

research questions and develop knowledge in this inadequately understood field.

---

[44]Maldives Institute for Psychological Services, Training and Research, *Rapid Situation Assessment of Gangs in Male'*, 5.

[45]Ibid., 10-11 .

[46]Ibid., 22.

19

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The Army design methodology is used as the overall framework for the analysis. Army design methodology is a methodology for applying critical and creative thinking to understand, visualize, and describe problems and to identify approaches to solving them.[47] The Army design methodology is particularly useful as an aid to conceptual planning and the first steps of it is focused on systematically framing a complex problem that will be the most relevant part of the methodology for this analysis. The problem of Maldivian national security challenges seems to be a rather complex one. Characteristics of complex problems are defined as: (1) Involvement of large number of interacting elements, more often interaction are nonlinear and minor changes can produce disproportionately major consequences; (2) The system is dynamic and the whole is greater than the sum of its parts; (3) The system has a history and the past is integrated with the present and decisions are based on past patterns of success and failure rather than logical definable rules; and (4) They have multiple identities and fluidity can switch between them without conscious thoughts.[48] All these characteristics resembles the complex issue of identifying challenges to Maldivian security thus making the Army

---

[47]Headquarters, Department of the Army, Army Doctrine Reference Publication 5-0, *The Operations Process* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, May 2012), 2-24; Headquarters, Department of the Army, Field Manual 5-0, *The Operations Process* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, March 2010), ch. 3, para. 3-1.

[48]David F. Snowden and Mary E. Boone, "A Leader's Framework for Decision Making," *Harvard Business Review* (November 2007): 71.

Design Methodology an appropriate methodology to address the complex problem to be analyzed.

The Army design methodology frames complex problems by identifying current environment, followed by the desired or future environment, and finally identifies the obstacle or the problem that prevents the transition from current to future environment. This methodology uses three frames: the current environment; the future environment; and the problem frame. This methodology answers three related questions. First, what is going on with the environment? This is a colloquial way to prompt the design practitioners to capture "the history, culture, current state, and future goals of relevant actors in the operational environment."[49] Second, what do we want the environment to look like? This is a colloquial way to prompt the design practitioners to posit a sought-after future state of the operational environment. Third, where should we conceptually act to achieve our desired end state? This is a commonsense way to prompt the design practitioners to reflect on those "areas of tension and competition as well as opportunities and challenges that commanders must address so to transform current conditions to achieve the desired end state."[50] Answering these three key questions are the major steps of the analysis. The last step of the design methodology, how do we act to get to the desired end state or the operational approach, is not be used in this methodology.

The steps in the design methodology will be slightly modified to first describe what we want the environment to look like in terms of the Maldivian national interests before analysis of the current environment. In order to describe what we want the

---

[49]Headquarters, Department of the Army, FM 5-0, para. 3-46.

[50]Ibid., para. 3-53.

environment to look like, the Maldivian constitution and the manifestos of the two leading political parties for the 2013 presidential election are used. In the absence of an overarching grand strategy, these resources provide a fair assessment of the Maldivian national interests and where the Maldives national authorities believe Maldives should be in the future.

This is followed by the description of what is going on in the current environment to have a logical flow for this analysis. Finally, in the third step, primary challenges in achieving the Maldivian national interests are identified. This is done by answering the question; what is preventing us from getting to the desired end state? The methodology provides a reasonable framework to be used to conceptualize and analyze the complex problem of security challenges to Maldives in light of the broader Maldivian national interests.

In order to determine the key challenges to Maldivian security, a contemporary approach of identification of the trends and challenges to Maldives in its past is essential. This provides background information and context on threats, trends, and major challenges to the Maldives and sets the stage for further analysis. The historical analysis is followed by a detailed analysis of the current environment focused on relationships and the impact of major actors in various domains on Maldivian security. Primary references for this analysis include both external and internal open source information resources. Such documents include published documents, media reports, and research papers from both private sector and government entities. The Army Operational Variables; political, military, economic, social, information, infrastructure, information, physical

environment, and time (PMESII PT)[51] are used to evaluate the current environment in a

broader context in reference to Maldivian national security. This framework

accommodates a holistic approach and facilitates the consideration of all major aspects to

be considered. Political analysis focuses on the impact of internal and external politics

and international relationships on Maldivian security. Military analysis focuses on

identifying conventional and asymmetric threats and challenges and their impact on

Maldivian security. Economic analysis encompasses major industries and resources

contributing to the Maldivian economy, and the role and importance of a strong economy

in relation to Maldivian national security. Social analysis includes religious and cultural

aspects including beliefs, values and customs and behavior of the Maldivian society

impacting the security of the nation. Ethnicity is not analyzed due to lack of ethnic

diversity in Maldives. Information analysis describes the nature, scope characteristics,

and effects of individual and organizations in the information domain on Maldivian

national security. The analysis of the physical environment includes the impact of

environmental degradation, geographic characteristics, and climate change on Maldivian

security. The infrastructure analysis and the impact of time are incorporated in the

analysis of the above-mentioned operational variables where appropriate. This framework

is considered adequate for analysis because it facilitates a comprehensive analysis of

Maldives vulnerabilities by providing a means to address the most relevant areas of

concern. The disadvantage of using the PMESII PT framework is the tendency to

compartmentalize the interconnected issues and neglect some factors that generally do

not fall into these specific categories. In order to mitigate this, significant efforts focus on

---

[51]Headquarters, Department of the Army, ADRP 5-0, 1-7.

analyzing the interactive effects of factors. Primary resources for this analysis are various assessments and reports related to Maldivian security published by both internal and external sources, and government and non-governmental entities. This prevents a bias and neglect of important factors affecting the Maldivian security. The analysis of current environment focuses on identifying the major areas of tension, competition, opportunities, and challenges. This leads to identifying the key distractors that prevent the realization of the desired end state. Identification of these distractors facilitates the determination of the most important factors or opportunities that provide Maldives with the capacity to overcome the obstacles. This, in turn, defines the most important resources required to be protected for the overall security of Maldives. The Maldivian NSP should focus on these key resources and its associated risks.

To complete the analysis, the current NSP and related documents are analyzed to answer the primary research question of whether the current NSP addresses the challenges to Maldivian national security. The significant challenges identified in the first part of this limited analysis using Army design methodology are used to answer this question. In order to answer whether the NSP addresses the major challenges identified in the analysis, three maing questions are asked for each of the significant challenges identified: (1) does the NSP identify it as a challenge? (2) does it prioritize the challenge identified? and (3) have resources been allocated or responsibilities been assigned to address the challenges identified.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

Future Environment: The Maldivian National Interests

The following paragraphs focus on identifying the national interests and future

goals and objectives of the nation as a whole, to answer the question of what we want the

environment to look like. The main documents that contribute to the analysis include the

Maldives Constitution 2008; Foreign Policy of the Maldives 2013, Building Resilience

Making Maldivians Proud; and the manifestos of the leading political parties. In the

absence of a grand strategy, these documents are essential in identifying and analyzing

Maldivian interests and strategic goals.

The *Maldives Constitution 2008*, states: "The Maldives is a sovereign,

independent, democratic Republic based on the principles of Islam, and is a unitary State,

to be known as the Republic of the Maldives."[52] As the paragraph states, protecting the

sovereignty, independence, and preserving democratic values and the principles of Islam,

are the overarching interests of the Maldives. In regard to fundamental rights and

freedom, the constitution guarantees fundamental rights in a manner that it is not contrary

to any tenants of Islam.[53]

It is also apparent that protecting Maldives' fragile environment is a major

concern of the Maldivians:

---

[52]Ministry of Legal Reform, Information and Arts, *Functional Translation of Maldives Constitution 2008*, ch. 1.

[53]Ibid., ch. 2.

25

The State has a fundamental duty to protect and preserve the natural environment, biodiversity, resources and beauty of the country for the benefit of present and future generations. The State shall undertake and promote desirable economic and social goals through ecologically balanced sustainable development and shall take measures necessary to foster conservation, prevent pollution, the extinction of any species and ecological degradation from any such goals.[54]

The constitution also emphasizes the citizen's duty to promote unity, security, sovereignty, integrity, and dignity of the Maldives. It also emphasizes citizen's role in fostering tolerance, mutual respect, and friendship among all people and groups.

More importantly, the constitution defines a threat to national security as:

a threat to national security means a threat to the independence and sovereignty of the Maldives, or a threat of major damage to people's lives, limbs, or property. This includes terrorist attacks and acts of aggression committed using weapons. This however, does not include the exercise by citizens of their legal rights to conduct peaceful activities in support of, or against various matters without contravening the law.[55]

The responsibilities and duties of Maldives security services are described as: "The security services shall protect the nation's sovereignty, maintain its territorial integrity defend the constitution and democratic institutions, maintain and enforce law and order, and render assistance in emergencies."[56]

Another significant document that contributes to the analysis of the Maldivian national interests is the *Foreign Policy of the Maldives 2013*. It emphasizes the importance of economic development. The mission statement: "To increase opportunities for the economic advancement of Maldivians and to promote the national interests of the

---

[54]Ministry of Legal Reform, Information and Arts, *Functional Translation of Maldives Constitution 2008,* ch. 2, para. 22.

[55]Ibid., ch. 13, art. 274.

[56]Ibid., ch. 9, art. 237.

Maldives through innovative approaches" sets a clear objective of its efforts to focus on development of the economy. The subsequent goals in the foreign policy generally describes Maldivian interests. These include: enhancing the security and sovereignty of the nation through bilateral and multilateral engagements, protecting the Islamic identity of the Maldives, and promoting the true Islamic values of respect and tolerance and increasing the economic resilience of the Maldives.[57]

Under the goal of enhancing the security and sovereignty of the nation, the *Foreign Policy of the Maldives 2013* emphasizes the importance of a strategy based on bilateral and multilateral relationships with regional and global powers for guaranteed viable long-term security. It also highlights the importance of regional cooperation in combating terrorism, piracy, and other nontraditional threats to the security.

The 2013 manifesto of the leading opposition party, MDP,[58] highlights the principle objectives as: protecting the Maldivian identity as an Islamic nation and protection and preservation of the religion, economic development emphasizing free trade and sustainable development, protection and preservation of sovereignty and independence, promoting the values of democracy, protection of the environment, bio diversity for future generations, and promotion of friendship and tolerance among individuals and groups.

---

[57]Ministry of Foreign Affairs Maldives, *Foreign Policy of the Maldives 2013, Building Resilience Making Maldivians Proud,* Republic of Maldives, http://www.foreign.gov.mv/new/tpl/show/content/foreignpolicy/ (accessed 2 June 2014).

[58]Maldivian Democratic Party, Manifesto "Anne Dhivehiraaje," http://raeesnasheed2013.com/manifesto/ (accessed 2 June 2014), Strategic Action Plan 2009-2013.

The principle objective of the 2013 manifesto of the governing coalition's main party, PPM,[59] can be summarized as: sustaining the religion and nationality by prohibiting the practice of any other religion and sustaining Islamic and cultural tradition, enforcement of people's government and social justice, and developing tourism as a primary prospective of economic prosperity.

The Jumhoori Party's manifesto[60] is focused on three main overarching objectives. They are: ensuring Maldives remains a 100 percent Muslim country, to maintain peace and stability, and last but not least, to minimize people's dependency on the state.

In conclusion, three major themes or common views of the Maldivian people are reflected in its constitution, foreign policy, and the manifestos of the leading political parties, painting a clear picture of what the environment should look like. Maldivian key interests and the future goals of the nation are: protecting Maldives sovereignty, integrity and identity as a Muslim country while maintaining the reputation of a friendly, moderate and non-aligned nation; maintaining democratic values such as rule of law and good governance;and last but not least, attaining economic and social prosperity through sustainable development.

---

[59]Progressive Party of Maldives, Manifesto 2013 "Gulhigen," http://raeesnasheed2013.com/manifesto/ (accessed 2 June 2014).

[60]Haveera Daily, "Jumhoory Party Manifesto is for the People," Haveeru Online, 3 August 2013, http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/50358 (accessed 2 June 2014).

Current Environment: Challenges

The following paragraphs focus on describing the current environment. This is a way to capture the history, culture, and current state of the environment. This portion of the analysis also focuses on analyzing challenges to Maldives' security within the framework of PMESII PT. This is a comprehensive and logical way to reflect on those areas of tension and competition, as well as opportunities and challenges that should be addressed to transform current conditions to achieve the desired conditions or future end state.

In the era of technology and globalization, Maldives remains far from being immune to the modern day challenges of the world. This portion of the analysis focuses on identifying specific challenges in PEMSII PT and addresses common challenges that the countries of the world face today that are significant to Maldives. This includes, but is not limited to; extremism, depletion of world food stocks and fossil fuels, the world's economy, impact of weather, cross border criminal activities or other asymmetric threats, and impact of the competition between major powers or global politics.[61]

Political

The analysis of the political domain includes both domestic and international politics. The political overarching national interests identified are defined as preservation of the Maldives identity as a Muslim nation, preservation of democratic values, integrity,

---

[61]ESPAS, *Global Trends 2030,* 39, 59, 79, 139.

and sovereignty of the Maldives.[62] The analysis focuses on finding the problems in the political domain that hinder the achievement of these national interests.

The main challenges in the political domain in the distant history of Maldives described by Bell are summarized as the struggle for power between the rival dynasties and the tension caused by lack of good governance. Bell's writing captures the fact that the Maldivians faced periods of prosperity and good governance from noble kings and queens,[63] followed by periods of tension, violence and uprisings due to the ruthless and self-centered rulers who neglected the rights of the people and mismanaged the fragile economy. In 1362, Muhamad-ul-Jamil assumed chief rule forcibly. In 1363, Sultana Rehendi murdered the former sultan and reigned for 10 years. Abd-Allah held the throne by force from 1373 to 1376, and was killed by Sultana Rehendi who regained the throne in 1376.[64]

In 1796, with the British expelling the Dutch who had replaced the Portuguese as the dominant power in the region, Maldives was included in the British protected area. Thus began an era of British influence and Maldivian struggle for independence. The British, unlike the Portuguese, did not interfere with the island community and their tradition and religion directly, leaving the island administration in control of internal matters. The British desire and interest in establishment of an air force base in Gan

---

[62]Ministry of Legal Reform, Information and Arts, *Functional Translation of Maldives Constitution 2008;* 56; Ministry of Foreign Affairs Maldives. *Foreign Policy of the Maldives 2013,* 1, 2; Maldivian Democratic Party, Manifesto "Anne Dhivehiraaje;" Progressive Party of Maldives. Manifesto 2013 "Gulhigen."

[63]Bell, 27.

[64]Ibid., 21.

Island, coupled with the economic benefits of labor pay and trade to the locals in southern

islands, resulted in the Sothern Rebellion.[65] This significant event of Maldives' history

occurred during the watch of Sultan Mohamed Fareedh I and Prime-Minister Ibrahim

Nasir. Maldives was challenged in 1959 by a local secessionist movement in the southern

atolls that economically benefitted from the British presence, and this movement was

fueled by British officials in Maldives. "The Maldivian Government noted with concern

that there was evidence of indirect encouragement by the British in Gan to increase the

frustrations of the people of Addu. By now, the Addu people were working under the

British, on construction as well as other jobs. This made them feel that they would be

better off with the British than with the government in Male'."[66] This group cut ties with

the Maldivian government to oppose Nasir's work for independence by shortening the

lease with the British government. They formed an independent separatist state by the

name of United Suvaadive Republic, under Abdullah Afeef's presidency in the three

most southern atolls of Maldives. Prime Minister Nasir's efforts to eliminate these

elements of the separatist movement ultimately led to the defeat of the separatists and the

exile of their leader, Abdullah Afeef into Seychelles. Abdullah Afeef was taken to

Seychelles by British and given political asylum.[67] The Maldives' government's

determination to gain full independence from Britain, and the growing local

---

[65]Naseema Mohamed, "Rebellion of the Southern Atolls British Government gives Afeef asylum in Seychelles," National Committee for Linguistic and Historical Research, Male', http://www.qaumiyyath.gov.mv/docs/whitepapers/history/southern%20rebellion.pdf (accessed 2 June 2014), 1.

[66]Ibid., 2.

[67]Ibid., 19.

dissatisfaction and demonstrations against British influence, eventually led to the

independence of Maldives. The British authorities' involvement in aiding the southern

rebellion, created tremendous public distrust leading to political pressure on the British

authorities. The formal acceptance of the independence of the Maldives was signed on 26

July 1965 by the British government.[68] The trend of the clash of nationalistic views, such

as independence over the realistic view of economic benefits in the Maldivian society, to

some extent may be perceived to continue today.

Even though Maldives had gone through a dramatic change with the introduction

of a new constitution ratified in August 2008, and its first multi-party elections the

following October, the prehistoric rivalry of the dynasties still continues in the form of

political party rivalries. The first multi-party election and the introduction of multiple

political parties brought in complex reform issues, and Maldives' democratic transition is

not yet complete.[69] Some of the risks areas include state adherence to a system of

governance, public acceptance of organs of state, strength of the state institution, and

social cohesion. There are also concerns over the military and the law enforcement

playing a significant role in Maldives' internal politics.[70] One of the areas that may be

important to analyze is the alleged involvement of political parties and sometimes

parliament members in corruption and criminal activities (an area that will be discussed

---

[68]Naseema Mohamed, 21, 22.

[69]IHS Jane's 360, Jane's Sentinel Assessment- South Asia, "Executive Summary, Maldives, Recent Developments and Key Challenges, Risk Pointers," 10 October 2013, HIS, https://globalsso.ihs.com/KeystoneSTS/SSOLogin/Login.aspx?altertheme=janes &theme=ENERGY&ReturnUrl=https%3a%2f%2fglobalsso.ihs.com%2fKeystoneSTS%2 fSaml2%2fDefault.aspx%3faltertheme%3djanes (accessed 2 June 2014).

[70]Ibid.

in the analysis of the social domain).[71] With the above-mentioned challenges in the

political domain, Maldivian interest of protecting democratic values may be challenged

significantly. This can only be resolved by developing greater awareness of the public in

political matters and making the politicians, the independent institutions, and individuals

accountable for their actions and their professionalism. At present, there is no educational

qualification required to become a Peoples Majlis member. Peoples Majlis, by

constitution, is the legislative authority of the nation. The qualifications are described as:

"A person elected to be a member of the People's Majlis shall be so qualified if he: 1. is a

citizen of the Maldives; 2. is not a citizen of a foreign country; 3. is a Muslim and a

follower of a Sunni school of Islam; 4. has attained the age of eighteen years; and 5. is of

sound mind."[72] Perhaps this may reflect one of the reasons behind the recent displays of

professionalism by some politicians and Majlis members.[73]

The political arena is dominated by six key political parties. The MDP led by

former president Mohamed Nasheed is considered to be more liberal; the Dhivehi

Rayitunge Party which was created by former president Maumoon Abdul Gayoom and

currently led by Ahmed Thasneem Ali; the PPM led by Abdullah Yameen can be said to

be more conservative and nationalistic; the Islamic Democratic Party which was led by

---

[71]Maldives Institute for Psychological Services, Training and Research, *Rapid Situation Assessment of Gangs in Male',* 1, 10, 11.

[72]Ministry of Legal Reform, Information and Arts, *Functional Translation of Maldives Constitution 2008,* 37.

[73]"Majlis Opening Ceremony 1/3/2012 Maldivian Flag Broken," YouTube, 29 February 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fJoT6etv6ZQ (accessed 2 June 2014); Haveera Videos, "Inside the Chamber: Majlis Unrest," YouTube, 4 March 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lemLr0eyoAo (accessed 2 June 2014).

the current Minister of Home Affairs Umar Naseer, is more conservative towards

preserving the tenets of Islam; the Adaalat Party led by Imran Abdullah with their main

objective to preserve the Islamic identity of the nation; and the Jumhoori Party led by the

renowned businessman Gasim Mohamed and a handful more small parties. MDP claims

and is credited by most for their efforts towards a better democracy which led to

president Nasheed's ascension in the first multi-party election in 2008 and brought an end

to Gayoom's 30-year regime. PPM argues Gayoom was elected by more than 90 percent

of popular vote in all previous elections and he is the father of all major Maldivian

developments. Most parties have also labelled MDP as more western oriented and liberal,

compromising the tradition, culture, and beloved religion of Islam. MDP has its lion

share of supporters as a single party according 2013 elections. President Nasheed claims

his resignation from presidency on state television in 2012 was due to a military led

coup[74] orchestrated by former president Gayoom and backed by extremists.[75] A Supreme

Court ruling concluded otherwise. Opposition parties who had mounted significant

support over the short period of Nasheed's presidency have held various protests against

MDP and claim that it was Nasheed's secular attitudes and disregard to state law and

ultimately his order to Maldives National Defence Force to arrest chief criminal justice,

[74]Freedom Watch Maldives, "Mohamed Nasheed Speaks Exclusively to Al Jazeera via AlJazeera," 8 February 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7gbG-M7GogE&list=PL6FECFD3D85FA8CE6 (accessed 2 June 2014).

[75]Ahmed Rilwan, "MDP Suggests Extremist Ideologies Prevalent within the Security Services," Minivan News, 15 May 2014, http://minivannews.com/politics/mdp-suggests-extremist-ideologies-prevalent-within-the-security-services-84886 (accessed 2 June 2014).

that led to the public pressure resulting in Nasheed's resignation.[76] After Nasheed's

resignation, President Mohamed Wahyd, who was Nasheed's vice president, became the

caretaker and the president of Maldives in a controversial period until the recent election

of 2013.[77] The most notable event and perhaps the most disturbing event in this period is

undoubtedly the brutal assassination of Dr. Afrasheem Ali. Dr. Afrasheem Ali was a

parliament member belonging to PPM. According to police, the assassination was

conducted by a notorious gang member, Hussein Humam, and his associates. Hussein

Humam was later convicted and found guilty of Dr. Afrasheem's murder.[78] The long

ongoing trial surfaced disturbing evidence of a possible political involvement and

financing in the brutal act.[79] The 2013 election that had significant controversial issues

led to the ultimate ascension of Yameen Gayoom, the current president of Maldives. He

was backed in the second round of election by a coalition.[80] The political arena to date is

[76]Politics.com, "RaajjeTV Broadcasts Live, a Live Recording of BBC HardTalk," YouTube, 14 February 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=87uOCFi9D7Q (accessed 2 June 2014); "Opposition Press Briefing," 10 February 2012, You Tube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WObK-yOYMdI (accessed 2 June 2014).

[77]MaldivesCoup, "Maldives Coup - BBC HardTalk, March 15th, 2012 (Part 3)," You Tube, 26 March 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sE6VHURLI-U (accessed 2 June 2014); MaldivesCoup, "BBC HardTalk, March 15th, 2012 (Part 1)," You Tube, 26 March 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xrv2u1vHVtw (accessed 2 June 2014).

[78]Farah Ahmed, "State Presents Evidence against MP's Murder," Haveeru Online, 10 February 2014, suspecthttp://www.haveeru.com.mv/dr_afrasheem/53619 (accessed 2 June 2014).

[79]Haveeru Videos, "Police Reveal Suspects in Afrasheem Murder," You Tube, 4 December 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PNKPNsMZgFc (accessed 2 June 2014).

[80]Reuters, "Abdulla Yameen Elected President of Maldives," YouTube, 16 November 2013, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8PikYfeX3iE (accessed 2 June 2014).

filled with controversy. Perhaps the dynastic rivalry and the struggle for power that Bell describes continue even today.[81] The two main views expressed by the political factions are consistent with that of the two main public views. While many argue that Afrasheem's murder was related to political motives, some portray the incident to be related to religious extremism. Regardless of the difference in the two views, the outcome to national security in either case is detrimental, and none of these views may be accurate. Whether there is involvement of politics in organized crime, or connection and support to extremist ideology, the significant threat to national security is substantial.

It is also important to analyze the long-standing relationship between the Maldives and its neighbors in the international politics or diplomatic domain. Maldives had benefited from the relationships for centuries. Maldives had established its reputation as a peaceful nation maintaining its posture as a nonaligned country at the global stage eliminating possible tension between Maldives and other nations.[82] Maldives' neighbors have always helped Maldives in aspects of development such as trade and economy. It is also important to mention that the neighboring countries influence over Maldivian internal matters remains generally low. This was partly due to the Maldivians belief in the value of independence and its collaborative and cooperative strategy in foreign policy and relations that had prevented it from adopting a hedging strategy.[83]

---

[81]Haveeru Videos, "Police Reveal Suspects in Afrasheem Murder;" Azuhaar Abdul Azeez, "Govt Failed to Block Terrorism Financing, Says MDP," Haveeru Online, 13 May 2014, http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/54804 (accessed 2 June 2014.).

[82]Ministry of Foreign Affairs Maldives, *Foreign Policy of the Maldives 2013,* 1.

[83]Ibid., 3, 4, 7.

The relationship of Maldives to its closest neighbor, Sri Lanka, has remained

unchanged for centuries. The Sri Lankan government has always been committed to

assisting the Maldives and its people without getting involved in Maldivian internal

matters.[84] Occasionally, some Maldivians tried to coerce foreign governments and also

non-state actors to influence the Maldivian government for individual political agendas

and benefits. For example, Ali Rajas' conversation to Christianity led to the Portuguese

occupation of Maldives;[85] Luthufee attempted a coup in 1988 with the help of a terrorist

organization in Sri Lanka;[86] and the alleged corruption in the GMR case. Maldivians

seeking foreign assistance in order to achieve political objectives remained an existing

trend and a frequent challenge to Maldivian security to this day. Maldives had never been

a threat to Sri Lanka or any of its neighbors; thus, Maldives and its neighbors had

benefited from the mutual relationships. While Sri Lanka remains a trustworthy neighbor

of the Maldives, possible hot spots for tension between the two countries should not be

ignored. The Sri Lankan government's interests have recently refocused on the

development of their tourism industry[87] with the successful defeat of the Tamil

insurgency lead by the notorious Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam. Sri Lanka with its rich

tradition, culture, wildlife, and tropical climate has all the ingredients to be one of the top

---

[84]Ahmed Hamdhoom, "Maldives and Sri Lanka to Sign Four Agreements," Haveeru Online, 21 January 2014, http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/53356 (accessed 2 June 2014).

[85]Bell, 18.

[86]"3rd Nov 1988 Attack on Maldives Attackers Being Brought to Male' [Unseen]," You Tube, 20 November 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v= YK8ysQQkHKI (accessed 2 June 2014).

[87]Spiro A. Gianiotis, "Holiday Costs Barometer 2012," Scribd, http://www.scribd. com/doc/78397720/Holiday-Costs-Barometer-2012 (accessed 2 June 2014).

tourist destinations in South Asia.[88] The possibility of a competing interest for tourism

may be a flash point for future tension between the countries that should be managed

with bilateral cooperation and undue attention.

Moving on to a stronger, larger, and more influential neighbor, India's interests of

becoming a regional superpower and their competing interests with China[89] possess a

significant challenge to the Maldives. Maldives seeks to benefit from economic and

diplomatic ties with both China and India. India has always kept a close eye on its

regional neighbors and had the ability to influence Maldives and smaller neighbors. A

matter that should not be ignored is that Indian media, to some extent, portrays Maldives

as a small, weak, and dependent nation.[90]This will have strategic impact, especially if the

world perceives that Maldives as being heavily reliant on its neighbors. This will provide

India a justified reason to be concerned and more influential in Maldives' internal

matters. While in recent years, India has lent a helping hand numerous times to its

smallest neighbor, the level of dependency on India should be of a concern for the

Maldivian status of independence and security, especially economic and political

independence. (Jared diamonds five point framework; relation with friendly neighbors).[91]

While many Maldivians see the November 1988 attack as testimony for the Maldives-

---

[88]Niyaz, 224.

[89]Hassan Hilmy, "Maldives- A Vivid Diamond for China and India," Haveeru
Online, 10 May 2012, http://www.haveeru.com.mv/opinion/41932 (accessed 2 June
2014); "Know Your Own Strength: India as a Great Power."

[90]Praveen Swami, "Paradise is Perched on the Edge of Hell," The Hindu, 21
February 2012, http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/paradise-is-perched-on-the-
edge-of-hell/article2880064.ece (accessed 2 June 2014).

[91]Diamonds, 11-13.

India relations,[92] a few question the incredibly short reaction time of the Indian armed

forces to help its neighbors.[93] This also highlights the importance of world media in

shaping world and public perspectives.

A more recent issue provides more insight to the relationship between the two

countries. The issue of the Maldivian international airport being sold to an Indian owned

company, GMR, had surfaced great concerns about the extent of Maldives' reliance on its

neighbors.[94] The Maldivian international airport in Hulhule Island operated and run by

Maldivians was seen by most Maldivians as a symbol of Maldivian independence. A

controversial decision to sell this airport to GMR (a foreign company) was made in

President Nasheed's tenure. After President Nasheed's resignation in 2012, it was taken

back from the Indian company by the interim President, Mohamed Waheed, as a result of

public pressure. The GMR issue presented numerous challenges to the two countries

relationship. [95]These include Indian media pressure and political pressure on Maldives

authorities. The Maldivians are largely dependent on India for vital necessities from food

to medical facilities. The tightened rules of obtaining medical visas for Maldivians to

---

[92]Haveera Daily, "President Gayoom: Events of 3rd November Show Maldivians' Steadfastness in Defending Nation's Independence," Haveeru Online, 3 November 2008, http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/24517 (accessed 2 June 2014).

[93]Hilmy, para. 4.

[94]Sun.mv, "Indian government loan delayed probably due to GMR issues: Finance Minister," Sun.mv Online, 28 October 2012, http://www.sun.mv/english/6850 (accessed 2 June 2014).

[95]Sandeep Dikshit, "India Warns Maldives of "Adverse Consequences" for Ties," The Hindu, 5 December 2012, http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/india-warns-maldives-of-adverse-consequences-for-ties/article4164824.ece?ref=relatedNews (accessed 2 June 2014).

travel to India during the GMR issue, created much disappointment in the Maldivian

public, and made Maldivians significantly cautious of the Indo Maldives relationship.[96]

The alleged involvement of corruption in the GMR airport deal, and the decision to sell it

initially, also brings to light a trend identified by Jared Diamonds. The immediate

political interests and benefits outweighing the greater interest of the people, may be one

of the reasons why the international airport was sold to GMR. Maldivia seeking foreign

assistance in order to achieve political objectives remains an existing trend and a frequent

challenge to Maldivian security to this day.

Since security policies should address potential future threats, not past ones, it is

important to look into the domain of time and future scenarios. The future trends in the

political and diplomatic arena that may affect the Maldives' security environment are

described in the following quotes from *Global Trends 2030*:

> Expectations gap is emerging because of the inability of governments to meet the aspirations of citizens for a better life. This gap may become a source of revolt and despair. This era of convergence and greater relative peace may be followed by one of exacerbated nationalism if the expectations gap is not narrowed by national and global initiatives to deal with the pressing issues of fundamental rights and participation in the political process, poverty and inequality, climate change and scarcity, particularly water scarcity, and to institute mechanisms to ensure greater transparency.[97]

> Border tensions, particularly in Asia, could trigger serious inter-state conflict if measures are not taken to address underlying causes. Looking ahead to 2030, the border tensions between China and India over water resources have the greatest potential to disrupt international peace.[98]

---

[96]Ahmed Hamdhoom, "Maldives Rules Out Leasing Airport to Foreign Company," Haveeru Online, 4 December 2013, http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/ 52695(accessed 2 June 2014).

[97]ESPAS, *Global Trends 2030*, 14.

[98]Ibid., 10.

Economic

In the economic domain, the trade relations Maldives had with its neighbors and other external entities during the past reflect valuable lessons learned. Bell describes the Maldivian inability to produce and cultivate agricultural food resources and its dependence on maritime products, namely fish supplemented with imported rice, as the primary source of their daily diet. This remains a true statement and the Maldivians still depend on imports for almost all of their daily food.[99] The Indian merchants referred to as Borah, were for the first time permitted to settle in Male' and establish small storage houses in the late seventeenth century. They dominated and hijacked the fragile Maldivian economy. At the time, the foreign traders were the only easy excess for the locals for trade, and since the Maldives were without the existence of any trade laws and supervision or control, the traders were able to dominate Maldivian economy.[100] On many occasions, the mismanagement of the treasury and economy led to the bankruptcy of the small nation. "From one cause to another, the Maldives Government treasury as year succeeded year, had become empty more than once."[101] The recent case of the Maldivian international airport being sold to a company from India, and the accused corruption in this case also resembles a similar issue.[102] This signifies the connection between economy and security, and the impact of international relations and bilateral

[99]Ministry of Planning, *Statistical Yearbook of Maldives 2013,* Republic of Maldives, http://planning.gov.mv/yearbook2013/yearbook.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

[100]Bell, 44.

[101]Ibid.

[102]Sun.mv, "Agreement Leasing Airport to GMR was Signed Against the Law: AG," 20 June 2013, http://www.sun.mv/english/13610 (accessed 2 June 2014).

trade agreements to Maldivian independence and security. Some of the other significant

incidents mentioned by Bell and captured by a few Maldivian scholars include the great

famine, Bodu Thadhu, which is said to have reduced Maldivians to eating grass, and the

challenges of weather and frequent tropical storms that devastated the low-lying

islands.[103] The significant challenges Maldives has faced in the past can be summarized

as its fragile economy fully dependent on export, and near bankruptcy of its financial

system due to mismanagement, corruption, and bad governance. The Maldivians were

also very dependent on their neighbors for economic matters.

Currently, the Maldives economy is based on two major industries, namely the

tourism industry and the fisheries industry. Since tourism was first introduced to

Maldives in1972,[104] the rapidly growing industry has flourished to become the main

economic resource of the country contributing to a lion's share of 27 percent of Gross

Domestic Product.[105] The tourism industry, along with economic benefits, brought in

unintended effects such as the introduction of drugs to the Maldivian community,[106] and

the secular attitudes and ideas of the western lifestyle unfamiliar to the traditional Sunni

Muslim society.[107]

---

[103]Bell, 43.

[104]Maldives Tourism Promotion Board, *Tourism in Maldives- a Brief History of Tourism* (Male' Maldives: Ministry of Tourism, 2002).

[105]Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture, *Tourism Year Book 2013* (Male', Maldives: Republic of Maldives, 20 October 2013).

[106]Maldives Institute for Psychological Services, Training and Research, *Rapid Situation Assessment of Gangs in Male,* 11.

[107]Roberts, 2.

While the potential industry had the prospective of flourishing the fragile and weak economy of the nation, it also contributed to negative social problems. The social problems are not directly related to the introduction of the tourism industry. Globalization has provided the means for rapid exchange of ideas among distant nations[108] that may have significantly contributed to the social problems. The tourism industry also has the potential solution for most of the social problems. The number of jobs it provides to Maldivians will be significant to lower youth unemployment which is one of the root causes of social problems.

While tourism is the main contributor to the economy, developing the tourism industry as the only economic resource will limit economic diversification. A possible collapse of the tourism industry may eventually lead to a catastrophic failure and collapse of the Maldivian economy. This signifies the importance of protecting the tourism industry to Maldives' national security, and highlights the importance of development of other industries such as the fishing industry, and other small industries providing economic diversification to mitigate the risk of total economic collapse.

Maldives currently depends exclusively on foreign imports for its stock of food.[109] The greater demands on the world's natural food resources and its projected depletion in the future[110] will impact the Maldives in a devastating fashion. Without a regional approach, the competition between countries for the limited food resources within the region will increase tension between the countries in the region and lead to major

---

[108]Nye, 205-207.

[109]Ministry of Planning. *Statistical Yearbook of Maldives 2013*.

[110]ESPAS, *Global Trends 2030*, 79.

conflicts. The Maldives and its neighbors should come up with programs to accelerate

their production of food resources in order to balance the demand and supply curve,

eliminating the fear of starvation and major conflicts.

The possible trends that emerge today and should be carried to the future that

should be addressed in developing a national security, are summarized in the following

quote from *Global Trends 2030*: "Economic growth is very likely to remain a major

objective of emerging economies in their efforts to combat poverty and social injustice -

China is projected to be the largest economic power with a 19 percent share of world

gross domestic product (GDP), and India will continue to rise."[111]

Military

In analyzing the military domain, given the nature of Maldivian armed forces and

its responsibilities, both conventional and asymmetric challenges are analyzed in the

military domain**.** The primary responsibility of the military is defined as "to defend and

protect the republic, its territorial integrity, its exclusive economic zone, and the

people."[112]

In the early nineteenth century, the Maldives drew undue attention from the

colonial powers due to its strategic location. It was the perfect pit stop located in the

middle of Indian Ocean where commercial ships stopped temporarily to shorten their

long journey while they travel from South Asia to Middle East and Africa.[113] According

---

[111]Ibid., 14.

[112]Ministry of Legal Reform, Information and Arts, *Functional Translation of Maldives Constitution 2008,* 99, art. 243.

[113]Bell, 17.

to Bell, Maldives had remained relatively unknown due to its isolation from the rest of the world and its relative insignificance to world powers until the nineteenth century. The Maldives came to the attention of colonial powers in the nineteenth century due to its strategic location in Indian Ocean. A major portion of the world's commerce passed through Maldivian waters. Ever since, there have been numerous attempts from various colonial powers, such as the Portuguese and the Dutch, to invade the Maldives. In a few instances, they have succeeded. The Portuguese ruled Maldives for 17 years. On numerous occasions, Maldivians were able to successfully defeat these fleets of superior powers with its limited resources. Occasionally, the Maldivians resorted to the help of its friendly neighbors, to Muslim nations, and rulers of other countries, highlighting the importance of strong diplomatic relations in Maldivian security. Given that the colonial era is long gone, and the fact that most conventional conflicts of the past were fought over economic resources, or at least to some extent related to economic benefits, the threat to Maldives from a conventional force in the present day context is unlikely. Maldives does not have any natural resources which may attract a foreign hostile nation. The advantage Maldivian has as friendly nation, without any disputes over land and territory with another state, will be of insignificance when the actors are no longer states.

An incident in Maldives' history which significantly challenged the military forces is worth review; the attempted coup in 1988 to overthrow president Gayoom. About 80 mercenaries belonging to a terrorist organization by the name of Peoples Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam operating in Sri Lanka were hired by two Maldivian businessmen, Luthufee and Sagaru Nasir. The unsuccessful attempt took the life of 19 Maldivians before the terrorists tried to flee with hostages on the hijacked

commercial ship, *Progress Lilly*. Most of the terrorists were captured with the assistance of the Indian military and prosecuted in Maldives for acts of terrorism.[114] The involvement of a foreign terrorist element, and the political aim of the attempted coup still remains a likely scenario, with the ongoing political turmoil, and the presence multiple criminal and terrorist organizations within the region who would not hesitate to exploit the advantage to take part in another attack similar to that of 1988. This can be the single most devastating threat or challenge to Maldivian security.

Looking into future terrorism, cross border criminal activities, cybercrimes, and piracy will be shared challenges of the world in the future,[115] and Maldives is not immune to any of these asymmetric threats. Terrorism is particularly an area of a great concern to the Maldives, and undue attention of the security apparatus should be given to the non-state actors or the asymmetric threats of the modern world. While the chances of state-on-state conflict is highly unlikely, it cannot be ruled out due to the projected scarcity of resources. The following paragraphs will be dedicated to a deeper analysis of the possible challenges to Maldivian security due to terrorism and extremism.

The U.S. Department of Defense defines terrorism as, "The calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political,

---

[114]Maldives Today, "November 3rd Coup Attempt of Maldives," http://www.maldivestoday.com/2010/11/03/november-3rd-coup-attempt-of-maldives/ (accessed 2 June 2014); Raajje News Blog, "Maldives: 24 Years after Nov 3 Massacre: Are the Terrorists Back Masquerading as a Political Party?" Part 1, Raaje News, 20 October 2012, http://raajjenews.blogspot.com/2012/10/maldives-24-years-after-nov-3-massacre.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

[115]ESPAS, *Global Trends 2030*, 17.

46

religious, or ideological."[116] The author's analysis in light of this definition focuses on terrorism related to the religious ideology or religious extremism in Maldives.

As the definition describes, terrorism has many faces and different objectives. Ideological extremists can be said to become terrorists when they resort to the tactics of violence and terrorism to achieve their goals. This analysis focuses on religious motivated extremism or terrorism in Maldives. Since terrorists also depend on the public to create a base of support, their ideology should be thoroughly understood to counter radicalization. If all belonging to a particular faction of Islam are classified to be terrorists, then the terrorists have already won their Information Operations campaign. Extremist or Islamist terrorism is a growing concern to all nations, including the Islamic nations.[117] Terrorist groups such as al-Qaida have conducted various atrocities and acts of evil against both Muslims and non-Muslims all around the world, not limiting their actions to their borders. It should also be understood that both Muslims and non-Muslims are fighting against global terrorism.[118] However, Islamist terrorists portray western countries to be enemies of Islam. This should be given tremendous attention while receiving help from foreign nations in countering terrorism. While the world faces the growing issue of terrorism, countries have taken a more effective proactive role against

---

[116]Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 8 November 2010, as amended through 15 March 2014), 360; Joint Chiefs of Staff, Joint Publication 3-07.2, *Antiterrorism* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 24 November 2010), 23.

[117]Fawaz A.Gerges, "End of the Road: Al Qaeda's Fall," Boston Review, 1 September 2011, http://bostonreview.net/fawaz-a-gerges-al-qaeda-end-of-the-road (accessed 2 June 2014).

[118]Ibid.

terrorism by employing preventive measures such as anti-radicalization and de-radicalization programs. The educational programs to teach the Islamic societies the true peaceful religion of Islam and the true meaning of "jihad–to strive for" is a jihad itself.[119]

The nature and extent of radical extremism in the Sunni Muslim country of Maldives is often misunderstood. The main reason being the lobbying of such events to the benefit of both domestic and international political goals. While the true extent of extremism in Maldives is unknown to most countries in the world, the recent release of a U.S. diplomatic cable by Wikileaks has refocused attention on the islands' relationship with Islamic extremists.[120] While "Trouble in Paradise–Islamist Radicalism in the Maldives" report in *Jane's Intelligence Review* in 2011 captures some significant facts, it also uses media reports that may prevent developing an accurate picture regarding the true extent of extremism in Maldives. The ideology of Islamic extremism has arrived on the shore of the small nation in the same way as more secular western ideology. Some of the students who travelled abroad mainly for higher education, had adopted the secular ideology of the western countries which are far from the traditional religious beliefs of the Sunni Muslim country.[121] While this contributes to the development of secular ideology, the few who went to Pakistani schools adopted a more radical Islamist ideology. The recent 2007 Sultan Park bombing (a small homemade Improvised Explosive Device), which caused minor injuries to 12 tourists, is the country's worst

---

[119]Brian Hendwark, "What does Jihad Really means to Muslims?" National Geographic News, 24 October 2003, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2003/10/1023_031023_jihad.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

[120]Roberts, 1.

[121]Ibid., 2.

extremist attack.[122] The suspects of the bombing were caught almost immediately and prosecuted for terrorism. To some extent, this incident was also used by the political factions to put international pressure on the Maldivian government.

The existing problems of the tension between extremist ideology and western ideology, when fuelled by political lobbying, creates the true problems the Maldivians are currently facing. Hidden agendas, unprofessionalism, and low ethical standards of politicians and government institutions, in contrast to achieving the national interests are major areas of concern.

Maldivians' extremist connection to Pakistani and other training camps linked to al-Qaida and Taliban had been confirmed by various reports. One such case is the case of Ali Jaleel. Ali Jaleel is a Maldivian who had been confirmed to have participated in the suicide attack on Pakistani military's directorate of inter-service intelligence in Lahore.[123] According to reports, nine Maldivians were also captured in South Waziristan-tribal area of Afghanistan, a well-known area for Taliban and al-Qaida camps.[124] The reports confirm the connection between Maldivian extremists and terrorist organizations. While the focus of these few extremists is said to be to join "jihad" in foreign countries,[125] this remains as a grave area of concern to Maldivian security.

---

[122]Ibid., 1-2.

[123]Ibid., 3.

[124]Ibid.

[125]Ibid., 5.

The capability of the Maldives security forces to counter a major terrorist attack is described as limited.[126] The Maldivian defense force, with its limited resources, has been tested in the 1988 terrorist attack, and in the horrific aftermath of the tsunami of 2002. While these two incidents showed the commitment of the military and law enforcement agencies in protecting Maldivian people, they also raised questions on the agencies' capabilities and capacities. These include the lack of proper infrastructure and resources required to react and respond to such calamities. The lack of adequate resources and basic systems and mechanisms such as communication and transportation systems hindered both the operational reach and the operational response in both incidents. The Maldivian defense force significantly lacked the necessary air and maritime assets and resources to reach to the isolated islands populous. These valuable lessons should force the government to rethink the organizational structures and limitations to positively mitigate these vulnerabilities.

The perception of a weak military can be considered as a great challenge to Maldivian sovereignty. The Maldives possess no direct threats from its neighbors or from any other country for that matter. However, the myriad of challenges from the unconventional domain or asymmetric threats haunts the Maldives. The Maldivian military, if perceived weak and incapable of defending against these unconventional threats, will in turn invite more threats, and this is an area to be considered in developing a national security strategy.

---

[126]Maldives National Defence Force, *Republic of Maldives Counterterrorism Assessment 20-29 September 2008* (Male', Maldives: Republic of Maldives, 2008).

Social

In the social domain, growing democratic aspirations will tend to be perceived as compatible with Maldivian culture as a moderate friendly nation, while the refusal of the right to cultural and religious freedom may promote radicalization and the rise of nationalism.[127] This will be an inevitable issue in the future. Maldives being a Muslim nation dedicated to protecting its culture and religion will face significant challenges in its approach towards a better democracy. International pressure in areas such as human rights and religious freedom will sometimes be controversial to the tenets of Maldivian constitution based on sharia law. The theories of cultural relativism and democracy strongly advocate the freedoms of societies, thus the Maldivian decision as a nation to remain a Muslim nation will not be challenged significantly unless it happens from within the society or arises from within the nation. Differences in religious ideology and beliefs may lead to some tension if not properly addressed. Maldivians will have to carefully balance cultural and religious aspirations and democratic values. Democratic values are based on the right for people to vote and participate in the nation's decisions. This in turn provides the right for people of the nation to choose their religion.

Inequality and corruption are also possible challenges in the social domain that may lead to public unrest and instability. The convergence of concerns and increased vocalization of demands will exceed the government's capacity to deliver public goods and basic needs, increasing the potential to deteriorate any existing issues of inequality and corruption.[128] Good governance is the key to societal harmony and this will not be

---

[127]ESPAS, *Global Trends 2030*, 13.

[128]Ibid., 12, 13.

enough in the future. Struggling nations should make every effort to think proactively and make plans and strategies surpassing the immediate goals and looking into the future challenges.

One of the growing concerns in the social arena is the increase in gang violence and the relative increase in number of lives lost due to such atrocities. From 2008 to 2012,[129] this has exceeded the total loss of life in the 3 November 1988 armed attack (19 lives lost), and also has the potential to increase to a total more than that of lives lost in natural calamity of the 2000 tsunami (82 total lives lost and 26 missing).[130] Thus, it is not surprising that governmental agencies, the public, and a number of gangs express genuine concern over the escalation of gang violence[131] that can be considered a matter of national security.

While a number of factors contribute to the formation of gangs, the factors that lead to the criminal affiliation of gangs is to be given the true attention it deserves. According to a recent study *Rapid Situation Assessment of Gangs in Male',* the most striking factor is the affiliation of politicians to gangs and their use of gangs to achieve political motives. The money offered to commit such atrocities exceeds the total money a

[129]Maldives Police Official Website, "Annual Police Report 2008," http://www.police.gov.mv/ (accessed 2 June 2014); Maldives Police Official Website, "Annual Police Report 2009," http://www.police.gov.mv/ (accessed 2 June 2014); Maldives Police Official Website, "Annual Police Report 2010," http://www.police.gov. mv/ (accessed 2 June 2014).

[130]Ministry of Planning and National Development and the Office of the United Nations Resident Coordinator, *The Maldives Two Years after the Tsunami,* http://www.unicef.org/maldives/Two_Years_After_the_Tsunami_Report%281%29.pdf (accessed 2 June 2014), 2.

[131]Maldives Institute for Psychological Services, Training and Research, *Rapid Situation Assessment of Gangs in Male',* 10.

young citizen can earn during his entire youth,[132] thus making this a more easy and quick way to achieve financial superiority and fame. According to the report, such actions vary from vandalism, rioting, and black mailing, to brutal violence. The brutal stabbing and murder of Member of Parliament Dr. Afrasheem Ali by a gang member is one of many such incidents.

While the varied factors such as youth unemployment, domestic violence, flaws in legal system and prison system, contribute to the increase in gang and gang related violence,[133] the corrective measures and programs to be implemented include solutions requiring more money or a more stable and prosperous economy, in addition to promoting true democratic values and religious values.

While the gang violence had so far been constrained to the rivalry of gangs and their members over material goods, drugs, personal satisfaction, and self-fulfillment, the introduction of political and business motivated gang violence and murders have taken gang violence to the next level. The judicial system prevented murderers convicted of multiple murders from being removed from society until recently. The recent introduction of capital punishment and the death penalty to such offenders may provide a deterrence factor for such acts of violence.[134] Nevertheless, gang violence remains a major concern of the public, and the security forces' main objective includes the protection of

---

[132]Ibid., 14.

[133]Ibid., 9.

[134]Mariyath Mohamed, "Home Minister Umar Naseer Orders Preparations for Death Penalty," Minivan News, 23 January 201, http://minivannews.com/politics/home-minister-umar-naseer-orders-preparations-for-death-penalty-75842 (accessed 2 June 2014).

citizens.[135] Given the magnitude of the current issue, this should be considered as a challenge to national security.

Since the prime contributor to Maldivian economy is tourism and tourism related industries,[136] it has a greater potential of creating attractive job opportunities for the Maldivian youth. The focus will now be on the influence and impact of gang violence on tourism. The *Rapid Situation Assessment of Gangs in Male'* study shows that there is no connection between religious motive and gang violence. This eliminates a direct threat to tourists and the tourism industry in reference to gang violence. However, it may be premature to disregard the possibility. In the present context, the acts of violence are carried out mostly for financial reasons,[137] so one should not exclude the rivalry of businessmen and the attractive financial prize of conducting such atrocities on a resort island. Furthermore, regardless of the financial benefit, gangs will gain publicity and stardom if they commit such an act. In turn, this will put them on the top of the gang hierarchy.[138] If given the chance to flourish, these trends will have a negative impact on tourism indirectly impacting the Maldivian security.

The trends and challenges identified are perceived to continue:

---

[135]Ministry of Legal Reform, Information and Arts, *Functional Translation of Maldives Constitution 2008,* 99, art. 243.

[136]Department of National Planning, *Economic Survey Report 2007-2008*, Republic of Maldives, http://planning.gov.mv/publications/reports/Economic_survey_ report_2007.pdf (accessed 2 June 2014).

[137]Maldives Institute for Psychological Services, Training and Research, *Rapid Situation Assessment of Gangs in Male',* 9.

[138]Ibid.

Wars fuelled by nationalism and extremist identity politics, and the associated dangers of mass murder and genocide, will be the core security challenge of the coming decades. Criminal networks and populist nationalist movements will tend to make states more vulnerable. Terrorism will remain a concern, but low-intensity conflicts such as urban violence will also require increased attention from governments. Human security–protecting citizens in particular from mass violence–is likely to become the major driver of international security policies. However, it is likely that states will concentrate their security and even defense policies increasingly on domestic security. The tendency to 'securitise' social and human issues may divide societies and lead to crisis and violence.[139]

Information

In the age of information, contemporary globalization goes farther, faster, cheaper and deeper.[140] State and non-state actors and individual entities have a greater and unlimited access to information thus making the information domain one of the most important domains. Even though there is no direct challenge to Maldivian security within the information domain, the use of information by both state and non-state actors in security related issues, and the impact of information on security is unquestionable. Some of the challenges within the information domain that affect security of the Maldives indirectly have been discussed. These include; the negative narratives of Maldives that is being portrayed by external media, and its impact on Maldives security in the diplomatic domain; and Maldives being portrayed as a safe haven for extremism and a weak nation, and the impact of these narratives to Maldivian security in the military and economic domain. The use of information in the political and social domains to influence both internal and external audiences is common practice of both state and non state actors. The information domain can therefore be referred to as the most influential domain given its

---

[139]Nye, 207.

[140]Friedman, 7-8.

significant interaction and impact on all other domains. The following paragraph focuses specifically on this important domain to capture and confirm some challenges that may have been missed in the analysis of previous domains.

The empowerment of individuals and the awareness and the immediate access to information facilitated by technology[141] means that the society and the people will and would have a greater say on matters impacting their society. The exclusion of their ideas, their grievances, and concerns will lead to a more drastic and devastating set of problems resulting in public unrest and total chaos. These negative effects can be mitigated by incorporation and integration of the public into the decision making cycle of the nation. In turn, this would transform the whole of government approach to a whole of nation approach. The greatest factor influencing public opinion is the media. Through media, public perception can be shaped and influenced. Media also provides the means for public expressions. While Maldivian media had played a greater role in Maldivian internal politics, its present role in shaping the views of international audiences is insignificant. This will result in global audiences depending on the available, external media sources to quench their thirst for information. Unfortunately, international media will also have its biases and agendas.

The Indian media had played a major role in covering news themes such as extremism and terrorist connections to Maldives,[142] ands sometimes portrayed Maldives as weak and dependent on India.[143] The Indian media had been significantly involved and

---

[141]ESPAS, *Global Trends 2030.*

[142]Swami.

[143]Dikshit.

56

played a key role in covering Maldivian internal issues in relation to Indian interests in the region. The Indian media has since become a source of information and statistics on issues related to Maldives. In the absence of significant local media resources focused on international audiences, Indian media had dominated the scene. The world's dependence on Indian media may also be due to the relative insignificance of Maldives compared to India. (Jane's intelligence report on extremism in Maldives refers to Indian media on several occasions).[144] The recent Indian media speculation of Chinese involvement in encouraging the Maldivian government to cancel the GMR agreement[145] shed light on the competing Chinese and Indian interests in the region, and the role of the media in influencing international and domestic views. In summary, Maldives should play a proactive role in protecting the Maldivian narrative while being transparent and providing honest and different viewpoints that may limit the influence of external sources to Maldivian security.

Finally, possible future trends in the domain of information will be discussed. "The traditional media will be forced to adapt to 'citizen journalism' that makes use of social networks, blogs, and websites. Participatory forms of journalism are already part of a broader push by citizens to participate in public life. New participatory mechanisms will likely be introduced by democratic and authoritarian regimes alike in response to pressure 'from below'."[146]

---

[144]Roberts, 4.

[145]R. K. Radhakrishnan, "Maldives Denies China Role in GMR Row," The Hindu, 10 December 2012, http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/maldives-denies-china-role-in-gmr-row/article4181805.ece (accessed 2 June 2014).

[146]ESPAS, *Global Trends 2030*, 7.

Physical Environment

The existing challenges to Maldives within is physical domain can be said to be the most discussed and the most apparent. From President Gayoom's initiative in the Small State Conference on Sea Level Rise 1989,[147] and his appeal in the United Nation's Global Humanitarian Forum 2008,[148] to President Nasheed's address at the Bureau for Environment (B4E 2010),[149] top government officials of Maldives have expressed Maldives' concern over the matter.

The already existing impacts of climate change is perceived to be worse in the future,[150] and if not acted on accordingly, with a global approach to reduce the negative impacts, the unavoidable disappearance of a nation from the face of the world is almost unavoidable. The changes in temperatures and the predicted sea level rise will have a direct impact on the Maldives. Furthermore, these changes would also contribute to the depletion of food resources and put greater stress on the public. Since the Maldives islands are just a meter above sea level, the phenomenon of sea level rise poses the greatest danger to its existence. The danger is of being submerged given the gradual rise in sea level. The impact of climate change will definitely have a strong adverse effect on

---

[147]Island Vulnerability, "Small States Conference on Sea Level Rise, 14-18 November 1989, Male', the Maldives," http://www.islandvulnerability.org/slr1989.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

[148]Pierre Conille, "Clip 10 - 2008 Forum Former President of the Maldives Speaking," YouTube, 27 May 2009, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cxFgivd7HSg (accessed 2 June 2014).

[149]"B4E 2010 - Mohamad Nasheed, President, Republic of Maldives," You Tube, 7 May 2010, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uPytsV9gXO0 (accessed 2 June 2014).

[150]ESPAS, *Global Trends 2030,* 79.

the Maldives' fragile environment and especially negative consequences on the tourism industry. The possibility of soil erosion could lead to the disappearance of the beautiful beaches of the Maldives. The temperature of the globe rising to intolerable highs effects all flora and fauna and impacts human beings. Even though these concerns cannot be ignored, there is little that the Maldivians alone can do to reverse climate change. The Maldives had always played an active role in being an advocate of small states over the concerns of sea level rise. The solution to such a global phenomenon lays in the hands of the people of the globe. Thus, the best the Maldivians can do is to voice their concerns gaining global attention, and accumulate the economic wealth of providing the Maldivian people with alternatives such as reclamation of land, perhaps purchasing land in a foreign country, and establishing essential services in the unfortunate event of such a calamity. One of the other areas of concerns includes the probability of widespread diseases in the future.[151] The poor health sector and medical facilities and the ever-growing dependence on neighboring countries for medical necessities are a huge vulnerability, and a challenge to Maldives social security. The major outbreak of a disease will place a greater stress on the medical sector and the possibility of it affecting scarce food resources will increase competition over the limited resources in the region. These may be potential hot spots for escalations of tension between countries in the region. These critical vulnerabilities should be given adequate attention and should be mitigated in order to achieve a comprehensive security.

The geography and location of Maldives, or in other words, the physical environment of Maldives, presents another significant challenge; securing international

[151]ESPAS, *Global Trends 2030.*

commerce traveling through Maldives' waters and protection of Maldives' exclusive

economic zone. In relation to this, the issue of Somalian piracy was brought to Maldives'

attention after the increase in Somalian pirates drifting to Maldivian shores in 2009,[152]

2010, and 2011.[153] These suspected pirates were incapable of piracy, but in need of

humanitarian assistance. Even though none of these small skiffs had any weapons on

board and their crew were in a state of distress, the police investigations concluded that

they were suspected pirates from Somalia who might have been separated from their

mother vessels, possibly due to the rough seas and frequent storms in the region. With the

increase in number of such cases, Maldivian authorities were concerned over the

possibility of an act of piracy happening within or near its territorial waters. The pirating

of the Bolivian flagged cargo vessel[154] seven nautical miles within Maldivian Exclusive

Economic Zone in 2012, was the first and only reported case of Somalian piracy inside

the Exclusive Economic Zone. Even though the Maldivian authorities have considered a

piracy possibly happening in Maldivian waters, the statistical data of the attacks,

attempted attacks, the modus operandi, and the intent of the pirates analyzed in the

International Maritime Bureau reports tells a different story. According to the

International Maritime Bureau piracy and armed robbery reports, most successful attacks

[152]Haveera Daily, "Coastguard Rescues Somalian Fishing Vessel," Haveeru Online, 3 December 2009, http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/28206 (accessed 2 June 2014).

[153]Hussain Fiyaz Moosa, "President Discusses Somalis Deportation," Haveeru Online, 28 June 2012, http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/43011(accessed 2 June 2014).

[154]Haveera Daily, "Bolivian Ship Hijacked in Maldivian Waters is Freed," Haveeru Online, 4 April 2012, http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/41247 (accessed 2 June 2014).

carried out by pirates were on merchants and cargo ships while at anchorage.[155] The very few recorded incidents of successful pirate boarding's on a steaming vessel were mostly on the slow moving tug boats towing burgs.[156] These specific findings may suggest that the probability of a merchant ship steaming through Maldivian waters being hijacked or pirated is much less than what was initially perceived. Cargo ships and international merchant vessels do not anchor or stop at Maldivian waters; they steam through the international channels. The report also suggests that the pirated ships were targeted by pirates operating near the anchorage in case of Somalia, Indonesia, and Bangladesh.[157] The main reason for the pirates' success can be the limited distance pirates had to travel to find such an opportunity in these regions. Even though a pirate incident is unlikely to happen, a decrease in maritime patrol and naval vessels in a particular zone, and an increase in vessels monitoring a different area, may spread the piracy towards lesser-protected targets of opportunity.[158] It can be concluded that an act of piracy happening in Maldivian waters given the present scenario is unlikely.

The following quote from *Global Trends 2030* confirms the trends and challenges identified in this domain is perceived to continue to the next decade. "Climate change will have serious consequences and affect living standards and public safety by exacerbating water and food scarcity. Environmental degradation will continue to

---

[155]Commercial Crime Services, *Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships, Report for the period 1 January to 31st December 2012,* International Chamber of Commerce, http://icc-ccs.org/piracy-reporting-centre/request-piracy-report (accessed 2 June 2014).

[156]Ibid.

[157]Commercial Crime Services, *Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships*.

[158]Ibid.

provoke humanitarian disasters, including desertification and floods of increasing

magnitude. The severest impact will be felt in China, South Asia, and the Sahel,"[159] The

key challenges to Maldives' security identified in this analysis are summarized in table 1.

Table 1.   Key Challenges in the Evaluated Domains

KEY CHALLENGES		
No;	DOMAIN	CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED
	POLITICAL	External influences Over dependence to a single country Corruption Involvement in organized crime Lobbying of incidents to garner external support
	MILITARY	Extremist attack (religious motivated) Terrorist attack (politically motivated) Exploitation of maritime resources Over dependence
	ECONOMIC	Economic diversity Attack on tourism industry Over dependence on a single nation Foreign competition in tourism
	SOCIAL	Gang violence Unemployment Organized crime
	INFORMATION	Portrayal of Maldives as a weak nation Portrayal of Maldives as fundamental and a safe haven for extremist Portrayal of Maldives unsafe instable and risky for foreign investments Portrayal of Maldives as being dependent Portrayal of a weak military Portrayal of a weak law enforcement
	PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT	Climate change and sea level rise Climate change and maritime resources Climate change and competition for scares global food resources Potential Piracy Environmental degradation and effect to tourism

Source: Created by author.

---

[159]ESPAS, *Global Trends 2030*, 79-85.

Major Challenges to Maldivian Security

The following paragraphs focus on describing the connections between challenges identified in this limited research and prioritize the major challenges according to severity and probability. It is important to understand that the significant threats identified are also related given the interconnectivity between the domains.

Although there are a myriad of problems preventing Maldivians from achieving their future goals none is as apparent as the Maldives' weak and fragile economy. Tourism is the key industry and is the most vital resource providing Maldivians the means for a sustainable economy. The protection of the Maldives' tourism industry directly relates to the protection of its fragile economy. It is vital for Maldivian security to focus on the challenges to the Maldives' tourism industry. The Maldivian tourism industry is based on customers predominantly from non-Muslim countries and from the higher socio economic class of the world's societies. This means that the threat to the Maldivian tourism industry is more probable given the opportunity that it provides for the radical extremist and terrorist organizations. An attack, regardless of the scale, or even an attempted unsuccessful attack, would have a catastrophic effect on Maldives' image. This may eventually lead to the collapse of the Maldivian tourism industry resulting in potential economic collapse. Clearly, the threat of an extremist terrorist attack on the tourism industry is the most probable and most severe threat to Maldivian security.

While an act of terrorism directed towards the tourism industry may pose the single most catastrophic challenge to the Maldivian security, the significant challenges in securing the tourism industry and the fishing industry lay predominantly in the maritime domain. Protection of these maritime-based vital resources of the nation is vital. On this

note, the dependency of the Maldives on her neighbors in securing their maritime domain is a matter of concern. The Maldives seeking assistance to secure its Exclusive Economic Zone with assistance from the neighboring countries' military should be an area of concern if Maldives wishes to limit foreign control and limit their influence.

In the diplomatic domain, Maldives' ability to make independent decisions, such as remaining a Muslim country, will be challenged if it remains overly dependent on a single nation for most of its needs. The Maldivian economy, military and diplomatic relationship, if based on a hedging towards a single country, may involve a catastrophic risk of collapse due to a change in the relationship with a single country. The present non-alignment may prove vital for the Maldivian security.

In the political arena, the recent trends towards a better democracy has provided the politicians and the public an opportunity for freedom of expression. The rule of law and national interests often seem to be compromised to achieve temporary political and individual benefits. Corruption and involvement of politicians in organized crimes presents a great danger to the Maldivian security and the Maldivian progress towards a better democracy. A great concern to Maldivian sovereignty and integrity is the foreign influence and funding by state and non-state actors in Maldivian internal politics. Undoubtedly, if strict measures are not taken to prosecute such offenders and bring them to the court of law, or leverage international institutiona to prevent it, the Maldiviana will face severe outside influence and pressure threatening Maldives' independence, sovereignty, and integrity.

Within the social domain, challenges such as gang violence, corruption, and organized crime have a greater probability of, and if not controlled, will lead to greater

severity. If not countered, suppressed and controlled, such criminal activities and the political involvement in such activities has the potential to escalate. The escalation of these activities coupled with a weak legal system will be devastating. These challenges pose a significant threat to the Maldivian people, the tourist who visits the peaceful nation, and foreign investors, and thus can be categorized as a significant challenge to the security of Maldives. The solution for most societal and environmental challenges is a strong economy to develop the country's infrastructure. A stronger economy may provide more job opportunities and higher income providing a solution for unemployment that is referred to as the root cause of most social problems.

In the information domain, it is important to Maldives to take a proactive role in painting the true transparent picture of Maldives to international audiences. This is of strategic importance because the perception of Maldives as incapable, having fundamental aims, having a weak government and economy, will result in greater challenges to Maldivian security. Also in the information domain, Maldives should be transparent in its aim and interests to both the public and international community, and should incorporate society in making informed critical security decisions. The Maldivian public's contribution to its security should be valued, with greater encouragement of public criticism and contribution in identifying the security challenges.

The perception of a weak military is a challenge to Maldivian sovereignty. If the Maldivian military is perceived as weak and incapable of defending itself against unconventional threats, this will be detrimental to Maldives' security. Therefore, in light of the limited analysis, the Maldives' military needs to be perceived as a credible force capable of deterring asymmetric threats. Perception of a weak law enforcement sector,

weak law enforcement, and legal system challenged by the religious ambiguity and contrasting views on some of the religious issues, has a greater impact on Maldives' territorial and religious integrity and prosperity.

To protect the vital tourism industry, the challenges to the tourism industry within the military, informational, political, economic, law enforcement, and environmental domain need to be addressed. The model of Diplomatic, Information, Economic, Social, Information, Infrastructure, and Time may not be sufficient to address the challenges to the tourism industry and the challenges to the overall security of Maldives. The majority of the challenges to Maldives' security significantly lay within Maldives and more often than not, are connected to its social, economic, and political domain. It can also be said that the information domain has the ability to aggravate these challenges. A comprehensive approach to Maldivian security may perhaps be incomplete without addressing the challenges in the law enforcement domain. Table 2 below presents a summary of the major challenges to Maldives' security and their prioritization in relation to severity and probability.

Table 2.   Major Challenges to the Security of Maldives

MAJOR CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED IN THIS ANALYSIS			
PRIORITY	CHALLENGE	PROBABILITY / SEVERITY	RELEVENT DOMAINS
1	Threat of terrorism or extremism to tourism industry	Extremely High/ Extremely High	Economic, military, social and information
2	External influence and over dependence	Extremely High/High	Diplomatic & political, economic, military and information
3	Political affiliation in organized crimes	Extremely High/High	Political, social, information and law enforcement
4	Perception of Maldives as a weak nation and a supporter of extremism.	High/High	Information, political, economic, military and social

Source: Created by author.

A Close Look into Current NSP Documents

Defense White Paper, 2012

The first Defense White Paper was published under the theme of *Reshaping the Defense Sector for a Secure Maldives* in 2012.The purpose of this White Paper was to evaluate the defense sector of the Maldives aimed towards restructuring and redefining its functions and responsibilities in conjunction with the democratic reform process. The paper provides little information of the process followed and the basis of the

restructuring. The paper describes the Networked Defense Concept as a concept where the ministry of defense and national security, in collaboration with the public sector, the private sector, all the citizens of the Maldives, and the international partners strive to provide a comprehensive security environment.[160] This is something similar to a whole of nation approach extended to regional cooperation. Even if such a concept is the most effective approach for a country with limited resources to address its security concerns, the question whether the National Defense Concept was followed to identify the solutions for the country's security concerns or more was the National Defense Concept followed to identify the key concerns to the Maldivian national security is a question that may be worth looking into. According to the Ddefense Ministry the paper was developed by a group of well-educated, committed, and pioneering leaders within the Defense Ministry and the Maldives National Defense Force.[161] While these people deserve credit for their dedicated efforts, the exclusion of other government entities and expertise in the process may have prevented a more comprehensive approach.

The White Paper further describes that the defense sector should be shaped as a national institution that supports democracy, good governance, human rights, and political neutrality. The White Paper also states that the ministry of defense and national security shall be determined to ensure peace and stability of the country by promoting

---

[160]Ministry of Defence and National Security, Defence White Paper 2012, *Reshaping the Defence Sector for a Secure Maldives,* Republic of Maldives. http://www.defence.gov.mv/english/index.php/publications (accessed 2 June 2014), 7.

[161]Ibid., 5.

national unity and harmony.[162] These are similar to the national interests that were

identified in chapter 3 of this limited research.

NSP, 2012

The first Maldives NSP was published in late 2012. It is the overarching

document that provides guidance to all other policies and strategies associated with

national security issues. The policy focuses on five elements of national security:

(1) national defense; (2) human and societal security; (3) economic and resource security;

(4) political stability; and (5) environmental security. The focus of the policy closely

follows the PMESI PT framework comprehensively addressing the spectrum of

challenges in these domains. However, all of these challenges and threats may not pose

equal significance to the national security. In other words, identification of strategic

priorities so that the scarce resources can be allocated and prioritized in an effective

manner as stated in the NSP is not evident.[163] Such a prioritization and focus seems to be

very important given the wide spectrum of challenges identified in the NSP. The NSP

categorizes the current threats to the Maldivian national security to three main categories;

the environmental threats, internal threats and external threats. These categories were also

not prioritized accordingly.

The environmental category of the NSP includes climate change, environmental

degradation, and sea level rise as major security concerns of the Maldives.[164] Perhaps the

---

[162]Ibid., 8.

[163]Ministry of Defence and National Security, *Maldives National Security Policy 2012* (Male', Maldives: Republic of Maldives, 2012), 5.

[164]Ibid., 12.

three related phenomenon mentioned here are the result of climate change due to the human impact on environment. The identification of climate change and its impact on Maldives as major security challenges is in line with the analysis in this thesis. Furthermore, NSP identifies the possibility of a toxic spill or oil spill in the Maldivian waters because of sea traffic within the sea lines of communications as a great environmental security concern. While such an incident is possible, the probability of such a large-scale accident happening to the extent where it will be detrimental to the Maldivian security can be questioned. The Maldivian efforts to address such a large-scale oil spill will require an economic resources and capabilities that may not be within the Maldivian capabilities. The United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea provides guidelines for the prevention, investigation, and resolution of such incidents.[165]

In the category of internal threats, the policy identifies numerous and varied challenges. They include the full spectrum of crimes, cultural diversification, corruption, unemployment, health issues, energy security, diversification of faith and other challenges to law enforcement. While these all pose challenges to the Maldivian security it is not clear how NSP priorities these challenges.

As for the external threat category, the NSP identifies maritime threats such as piracy and illegal fishing, as well as terrorism, foreign influence, and organized and financial crimes. The NSP excludes the probability of a conventional threat from a neighboring or foreign country. It addresses the more probable asymmetric threats to the security of Maldives similar to the unconventional challenges identified in this limited

---

[165]United Nations, *United Nations Convention on Law Of the Seas,* http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf (accessed 2 June 2014), ch. 5, ch. 6.

research. The prioritization of threats according to probability and severity is also not apparent in this category. Table 3 summarizes whether the current NSP addresses major challenges identified in this research.

Table 3.   How Does NSP Address the Challenges Identified?

DOES THE CURRENT NSP ADRESS THE MAJOR CHALLENGES IDENTIFIED?			
MAJOR CHALLENGES IDENTIFED IN THIS ANALYSIS	**DOES NSP IDENTIFY THE CHALLENGE?**	**DOES NSP PRIORITIZE THE CHALLENGE?**	**DOES NSP ALLOCATE RESOURCES OR ASSIGNS RESPONSIBILITES?**
Threat of terrorism or extremism to tourism industry	YES	NO	NO
External influence and over dependence	YES	NO	NO
Political affiliation in organized crimes	YES	NO	NO
Perception of Maldives as weak and a safe haven to extremist. (government, military capability and law enforcement capability)	NO	NO	NO

Source: Created by author.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Maldives Defense White Paper identifies the national security challenges as: the threat of terrorism, piracy, trafficking of drugs, weapons and human smuggling along with the resource exploitation of the region by non-state actors and loosely affiliated perpetrators as areas of grave concern to Maldivian security.[166] The use of networked defense concept for analyzing the threats and challenges to Maldivian security in the process of formulating the defense policy is not evident. In other words. the incorporation and use of all relevant governmental and non-governmental agencies and civil sector expertize in analyzing the security threats is not evident. The challenges to the Maldivian security by asymmetric threats were broadly discussed and addressed but it does not prioritize the comprehensive spectrum of threats identified. As for the security of the maritime domain, given the lack of resources, the concept of human intelligence was elaborated within a networked concept but the role of other agencies and entities in maritime security was not clear.

The White Paper is based on present concerns and political challenges to the Maldives due to democratizations. Its focus on identifying challenges to the Maldivian security outside of the military domain is not apparent. With the understanding that the NSP is not a standalone document, it does address a myriad of possible challenges and threats to Maldivian security comprehensively. The document has not prioritized the threats or provided the intended focus to the national security apparatus accordingly. In

---

[166]Ministry of Defence and National Security, *Defence White Paper 2012*, 9.

the absence of other supporting documents, it also does not identify key governmental entities (means or resources) responsible for the execution of the numerous policies (ways). Without looking into the details of the process followed to formulate such documents the publication of the Defense White Paper focused on defense sector reform before the NSP suggested a possible disconnect in the overall policy formulation process.

It is recommended that the government of Maldives embrace the whole of nation approach in developing NSP, and involve all instruments of national power and all governmental and non-governmental entities in the process of identifying and prioritizing the threats to Maldivian security. Such a task would need the guidance of the nation's top leadership, and all entities should be committed to the cause of the national interests and set aside departmental priorities.

As for the analysis, it is recommended that refining and prioritizing the challenges to the nation's security will be vital to focus the scarce resources of the nation. The major challenges identified in this limited analysis lean towards an approach focused on protecting the scarce resources of the country, especially tourism.

In the diplomatic domain, the Maldivian NSP should focus its efforts on the prevention of external influences and maintain the nation's nonaligned status while diversifying its relationship with the rest of the world in order to limit influence or coercive power of a single nation over it. In the political domain the political leadership should priorities the nation's interest before their political interests and strive for a better democracy while preserving the religion of Islam.

The Maldivian economy should be focused on developing the tourism industry that will in turn boost the Maldivian economy and provide solutions for unemployment.

In doing so, the fisheries and other potential industries should be developed accordingly for diversification for a stable and secure economy.

The nation's military should perhaps be a maritime-based force capable of defending the country's key resources, mainly the tourism industry from a potential terrorist attack. The nation's military force should be a small but credible, well trained and well-equipped force capable of defending potential unconventional threats to its security. The security forces including the military should be capable of rendering humanitarian assistance and disaster relief in case of environmental and other potential crises.

The law enforcement sector should concentrate their efforts on preventing organized crimes such as gang violence, drug trafficking, and bring all offenders to the court of law to establish the rule of law. The law enforcement agencies should be supported by a firm, fair, transparent and effective judicial system.

In the information domain, Maldives should project its image as a peaceful, friendly, Muslim, democratic, and nonaligned nation which will uphold its cultural, religious, and national values, and protect its sovereignty, integrity, and independence against foreign and domestic challenges.

These recommendations are based on a limited research effort of one individual who tried to incorporate a whole of nation approach in identifying national security challenges. This shows the potential shortfalls of this analysis. The threats associated should be further analyzed and studied through an actual whole of nation approach for a more comprehensive understanding of the Maldivian national security challenges.

Areas for Further Study

Numerous informative documents published concerning the security policies of small states that resemble the Maldives will be an area of great value for further research. The analysis and comparison of these documents to those of the Maldives was excluded in this research in order to economize time. All domains addressed in this limited research should be further analyzed by subject matter experts using a whole of nation approach for a more comprehensive and detailed study. Another key area for further analysis is the analysis of the process Maldives adopted in formulating the NSP documents. Identifying flaws, gaps, and challenges in the process will allow a much more effective process for NSP formulation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Bartholomees, J. Boone Jr., ed. *U.S. Army War College Guide to National Security Policy and Strategy.* 2nd ed. Carlisle, PA: Department of National Security and Strategy, U.S Army War College, June 2006.

Bell, H.C.P. *The Maldive Islands; Monograph on the History, Archaeology and Epigraphy.* Male', Maldives: Novelty Printers Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1985.

Diamonds, Jared. *Collapse, How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed.* New York: Penguin Group, 2005.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. Quoted in Alan G. Stolberg. *How Nation-States Craft National Security Strategy Documents*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, October 2012.

Friedman, Thomas. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree; Understanding Globalization.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999.

Nye, Joseph S. Jr. "Globalization and Interdependence." *Understanding International Conflicts, An Introduction to Theory and History.* 6th ed. Longman Classics in Political Science. London: Longman Publishing Group, 2006.

Stolberg, Alan G. *How Nation-States Craft National Security Strategy Documents*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, October 2012.

Journals/Periodicals

Snowden, David F., and Mary E. Boone. "A Leader's Framework for Decision Making." *Harvard Business Review* (November 2007): 71.

Government Documents

Headquarters, Department of the Army. Army Doctrine Reference Publication 5-0, *The Operations Process*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, May 2012.

_____. Field Manual 5-0, *The Operations Process*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, March 2010.

Joint Chiefs of Staff. Joint Publication 1-02, *Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 8 November 2010, As Amended Through 15 March 2014.

_____. Joint Publication 3-07.2, *Antiterrorism.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 24 November 2010.

Maldives National Defence Force. *Republic of Maldives Counterterrorism Assessment 20-29 September 2008.* Male', Maldives: Republic of Maldives, 2008.

Maldives Tourism Promotion Board. *Tourism in Maldives- a Brief History of Tourism.* Male' Maldives: Ministry of Tourism, 2002.

Ministry of Defence and National Security. *Maldives National Security Policy 2012.* Male', Maldives: Republic of Maldives, 2012.

_____. *Maldives Strategic Defence Directive 2008.* Male', Maldives: Republic of Maldives, 2008.

Ministry of Legal Reform, Information and Arts. *Functional Translation of Maldives Constitution 2008.* Translated by Dheena Hussein. Male', Maldives: Republic of Maldives, 2008.

Ministry of Tourism, Arts and Culture. *Tourism Year Book 2013.* Male', Maldives: Republic of Maldives, 20 October 2013.

Online Sources

"3rd Nov 1988 Attack on Maldives Attackers Being Brought to Male' [Unseen]." You Tube. 20 November 2012. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YK8ysQQkHKI (accessed 2 June 2014).

"B4E 2010 - Mohamad Nasheed, President, Republic of Maldives." You Tube. 7 May 2010. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uPytsV9gXO0 (accessed 2 June 2014).

Ahmed, Farah. "State Presents Evidence against MP's Murder suspect." Haveeru Online. 10 February 2014. http://www.haveeru.com.mv/dr_afrasheem/53619 (accessed 2 June 2014).

Azeez, Azuhaar Abdul. "Govt Failed to Block Terrorism Financing, Says MDP." Haveeru Online. 13 May 2014. http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/54804 (accessed 2 June 2014.).

Commercial Crime Services. *Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships, Report for the period 1 January to 31st December 2012.* International Chamber of Commerce. http://icc-ccs.org/piracy-reporting-centre/request-piracy-report (accessed 2 June 2014).

Conille, Pierre. "Clip 10 - 2008 Forum Former President of the Maldives Speaking." YouTube. 27 May 2009. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cxFgivd7HSg (accessed 2 June 2014).

Department of National Planning. *Economic Survey Report 2007-2008*. Republic of Maldives. http://planning.gov.mv/publications/reports/Economic_survey_report_2007.pdf (accessed 2 June 2014).

_____. *ICPD Beyond 2014 Maldives Operational Review 2012, Progress, Challenges and Way Forward*. Republic of Maldives. http://www.planning.gov.mv/publications/2013/ICPD%20Beyond%202014%20-%20Maldives%20Operational%20Review%202012-13.05.2013.pdf (accessed 2 June 2014).

Department of National Planning, Ministry of Finance and Treasury. *Household Income and Expenditure Survey - Findings 2009-2010*. Republic of Maldives. 22 May 2012. http://planning.gov.mv/hies/HIES2012/FINAL%20HIES%20report%20for%20website.pdf (accessed 2 June 2014).

Dikshit, Sandeep. "India Warns Maldives of "Adverse Consequences" for Ties." The Hindu. 5 December 2012. http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/india-warns-maldives-of-adverse-consequences-for-ties/article4164824.ece?ref=relatedNews (accessed 2 June 2014).

European Strategy and Policy Analysis System. *Citizens in an Interconnected and Polycentric World, Global Trends 2030*. Paris, France: Institute for Security Studies European Union, 2011. http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/ESPAS_report_01.pdf (accessed 8 June 2014)

Freedom Watch Maldives. "Mohamed Nasheed Speaks Exclusively to Al Jazeera via AlJazeera." 8 February 2012. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7gbG-M7GogE&list=PL6FECFD3D85FA8CE6 (accessed 2 June 2014).

Gerges, Fawaz A. "End of the Road: Al Qaeda's Fall." Boston Review.1 September 2011. http://bostonreview.net/fawaz-a-gerges-al-qaeda-end-of-the-road (accessed 2 June 2014).

Gianiotis, Spiro A. "Holiday Costs Barometer 2012." Scribd. http://www.scribd.com/doc/78397720/Holiday-Costs-Barometer-2012 (accessed 2 June 2014).

Hamdhoom, Ahmed. "Maldives and Sri Lanka to Sign Four Agreements." Haveeru Online. 21 January 2014. http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/53356 (accessed 2 June 2014).

_____. "Maldives Rules Out Leasing Airport to Foreign Company." Haveeru Online. 4 December 2013. http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/52695 (accessed 2 June 2014).

Haveera Daily. "Bolivian Ship Hijacked in Maldivian Waters is Freed." Haveeru Online. 4 April 2012. http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/41247 (accessed 2 June 2014).

______. "Coastguard Rescues Somalian Fishing Vessel." Haveeru Online. 3 December 2009. http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/28206 (accessed 2 June 2014).

______. "Jumhoory Party Manifesto is for the People." Haveeru Online. 3 August 2013. http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/50358 (accessed 2 June 2014).

______. "President Gayoom: Events of 3rd November Show Maldivians' Steadfastness in Defending Nation's Independence." Haveeru Online. 3 November 2008. http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/24517 (accessed 2 June 2014).

Haveera Videos. "Inside the Chamber: Majilis Unrest." YouTube. 4 March 2012. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lemLr0eyoAo (accessed 2 June 2014).

______. "Police Reveal Suspects in Afrasheem Murder." You Tube. 4 December 2012. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PNKPNsMZgFc (accessed 2 June 2014).

Hendwark, Brian. "What does Jihad Really means to Muslims?" National Geographic News. 24 October 2003. http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2003/10/1023_031023_jihad.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

Hilmy, Hassan. "Maldives- A Vivid Diamond for China and India." Haveeru Online. 10 May 2012. http://www.haveeru.com.mv/opinion/41932 (accessed 2 June 2014).

IHS Jane's 360. Jane's Sentinel Assessment- South Asia, "Executive Summary, Maldives, Recent Developments and Key Challenges, Risk Pointers." HIS. 10 October 2013. https://globalsso.ihs.com/KeystoneSTS/SSOLogin/Login.aspx?altertheme=janes&theme=ENERGY&ReturnUrl=https%3a%2f%2fglobalsso.ihs.com%2fKeystoneSTS%2fSaml2%2fDefault.aspx%3faltertheme%3djanes (accessed 2 June 2014).

Island Vulnerability. "Small States Conference on Sea Level Rise, 14-18 November 1989, Male', the Maldives." http://www.islandvulnerability.org/slr1989.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

"Know Your Own Strength." *The Economist.* 30 March 2013. http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21574458-india-poised-become-one-four-largest-military-powers-world-end (accessed 2 June 2014).

"Majlis Opening Ceremony 1/3/2012 Maldivian Flag Broken." YouTube. 29 February 2012. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fJoT6etv6ZQ (accessed 2 June 2014).

Maldives Institute for Psychological Services, Training and Research. *Rapid Situation Assessment of Gangs in Male'.* Sri Lanka: The Asia Foundation, August 2012. http://asiafoundation.org/publications/pdf/1150 (accessed 2 June 2014).

Maldives Police Official Website. "Annual Police Report 2008." http://www.police.gov.mv/ (accessed 2 June 2014).

_____. "Annual Police Report 2009." http://www.police.gov.mv/ (accessed 2 June 2014).

_____. "Annual Police Report 2010." http://www.police.gov.mv/ (accessed 2 June 2014).

_____. "Annual Police Report 2011." http://www.police.gov.mv/ (accessed 2 June 2014).

_____. "Annual Police Report 2012." http://www.police.gov.mv/ (accessed 2 June 2014).

_____. *Strategic Plan 2014-2018*. http://www.police.gov.mv/uploads/downloads/ publications-11/de190f3b8051244dd4198001ca86bb0c.pdf (accessed 8 June 2014).

Maldives Today. "November 3rd Coup Attempt of Maldives." http://www.maldives today.com/2010/11/03/november-3rd-coup-attempt-of-maldives/ (accessed 2 June 2014).

MaldivesCoup. "BBC HardTalk, March 15th, 2012 (Part 1)." You Tube. 26 March 2012. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xrv2u1vHVtw (accessed 2 June 2014).

_____. "Maldives Coup - BBC HardTalk, March 15th, 2012 (Part 3)." You Tube. 26 March 2012. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sE6VHURLI-U (accessed 2 June 2014).

Maldivian Democratic Party. Manifesto "Anne Dhivehiraaje." http://raeesnasheed2013. com/manifesto/ (accessed 2 June 2014).

Ministry of Defence and National Security. Defence White Paper 2012, *Reshaping the Defence Sector for a Secure Maldives*. Republic of Maldives. http://www.defence. gov.mv/english/index.php/publications (accessed 2 June 2014).

_____. "Our Structure." Republic of Maldives. http://www.defence.gov.mv/english/ index.php/about-mod/our-structure (accessed 2 June 2014.)

Ministry of Foreign Affairs Maldives. *Foreign Policy of the Maldives 2013, Building Resilience Making Maldivians Proud.* Republic of Maldives. http://www.foreign. gov.mv/new/tpl/show/content/foreignpolicy/ (accessed 2 June 2014).

Ministry of Planning and Development. *Strategic Economic Plan of Maldives*. Republic of Maldives. http://planning.gov.mv/yearbook2013/yearbook.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

Ministry of Planning and National Development and the Office of the United Nations Resident Coordinator. *The Maldives Two Years after the Tsunami.*

http://www.unicef.org/maldives/Two_Years_After_the_Tsunami_Report%281%29.pdf (accessed 2 June 2014).

Ministry of Planning. *Statistical Yearbook of Maldives 2013*. Republic of Maldives. http://planning.gov.mv/yearbook2013/yearbook.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

Mohamed, Mariyath. "Home Minister Umar Naseer Orders Preparations for Death Penalty." Minivan News. 23 January 2014. http://minivannews.com/politics/home-minister-umar-naseer-orders-preparations-for-death-penalty-75842 (accessed 2 June 2014).

Mohamed, Naseema. "Rebellion of the Southern Atolls British Government gives Afeef asylum in Seychelles." National Committee for Linguistic and Historical Research, Male'. http://www.qaumiyyath.gov.mv/docs/whitepapers/history/southern%20rebellion.pdf (accessed 2 June 2014).

Moosa, Hussain Fiyaz. "President Discusses Somalis Deportation." Haveeru Online. 28 June 2012. http://www.haveeru.com.mv/news/43011(accessed 2 June 2014).

Niyaz, Ali. Mazlan and Murad Law Associates. Unidad de Investigaciones Sobre Seguridad y Cooperacion International Discussion Paper. "Terrorism and Extremism; A Threat to Maldives Tourism Industry." ReadPeriodicals.1 October 2010. http://www.readperiodicals.com/201010/2232069431.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

"Opposition Press Briefing." You Tube. 10 February 2012. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WObK-yOYMdI (accessed 2 June 2014).

"Political Dissent Quashed in Maldives." Channel 4 News. 10 November 2006. http://www.channel4.com/player/v2/player.jsp?showId=3066 (accessed 2 June 2014).

Politics.com. "RaajjeTV Broadcasts Live, a Live Recording of BBC HardTalk." YouTube. 14 February 2012. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=87uOCFi9D7Q (accessed 2 June 2014).

Progressive Party of Maldives. Manifesto 2013 "Gulhigen." http://raeesnasheed2013.com/manifesto/ (accessed 2 June 2014).

Raajje News Blog. "Maldives: 24 Years after Nov 3 Massacre: Are the Terrorists Back Masquerading as a Political Party?" Part 1. Raaje News. 20 October 2012. http://raajjenews.blogspot.com/2012/10/maldives-24-years-after-nov-3-massacre.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

Radhakrishnan, R. K. "Maldives Denies China Role in GMR Row." The Hindu. 10 December 2012. http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/maldives-denies-china-role-in-gmr-row/article4181805.ece (accessed 2 June 2014).

Reuters. "Abdulla Yameen Elected President of Maldives." YouTube. 16 November 2013. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8PikYfeX3iE (accessed 2 June 2014).

Rilwan, Ahmed. "MDP Suggests Extremist Ideologies Prevalent within the Security Services." Minivan News. 15 May 2014. http://minivannews.com/politics/mdp-suggests-extremist-ideologies-prevalent-within-the-security-services-84886 (accessed 2 June 2014).

Roberts, Patrick. "Trouble in Paradise–Islamist Radicalism in the Maldives." *Jane's Intelligence Review* 23, no. 5 (May 2011): 14-17. Air University Library and Defense Technical Information Center. http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/aulimp/citations/gsa/2011_188542/188053.html (accessed 2 June 2014).

Sun.mv. "Agreement Leasing Airport to GMR was Signed Against the Law: AG." 20 June 2013. http://www.sun.mv/english/13610 (accessed 2 June 2014).

_____. "Indian government loan delayed probably due to GMR issues: Finance Minister." 28 October 2012. http://www.sun.mv/english/6850 (accessed 2 June 2014).

Swami, Praveen. "Paradise is Perched on the Edge of Hell." The Hindu. 21 February 2012. http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/paradise-is-perched-on-the-edge-of-hell/article2880064.ece (accessed 2 June 2014).

United Nations. *United Nations Convention on Law Of the Seas.* http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf (accessed 2 June 2014).

Webadmin. "Trouble in Paradise: Maldives and Islamic Extremism." The Globe. 12 February 2012. https://www.google.com/#q=Trouble+in+Paradise%3A+Islamist+radicalism+in+the+Maldives (accessed 2 June 2014).