

**REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF NATIONAL
INQUIRY, MALDIVES**

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Commission of National Inquiry (the “Commission”) was established pursuant to Presidential Decrees Nos. 2012/2 and 2012/3 and reconstituted pursuant to Presidential Decree No. 2012/4 under Article 115(o) of the Constitution of the Republic of Maldives (the “Constitution”) to conduct “independent and impartial investigations of the following issues; the events that transpired in the Maldives from the 14th of January 2012 to the 8th of February 2012, the change of government on the 7th February of 2012, whether the resignation of the then President Nasheed was illegally coerced, and whether the government changed legally on 7th February 2012.” In doing so, the Commission was mandated to “explore the facts, circumstances and causes of the events of 7th February 2012 that resulted in the transfer of power in the Maldives.”

The Commission worked over a period of six months. It sat in Malé and visited all principal sites. A total of 293 witnesses were interviewed by the Commission over the course of 224 hours. Fifteen witnesses were interviewed more than once.

Among other things, the following documents were comprehensively reviewed by the Commission:

- The Constitution of the Republic of the Maldives
- The Maldives Penal Code 2004
- The Armed Forces Act 2008
- The Police Act 2008
- Presidential Decree Nos. 2012/2, 2012/3, 2012/4, 2012/5
- Commitment to Strengthen the Commission of National Inquiry in the Maldives signed by the Government of Maldives and the Commonwealth Special Envoy
- Commitment to Strengthen the Commission of National Inquiry in the Maldives signed by President Nasheed and the Commonwealth Special Envoy
- The Commission of National Inquiry – Rules of Procedure
- The Timeline of Events published on 6 June 2012 by the Commission prior to its reconstitution

- “*A Coup D’état backed by Police and Military*,” by Ameen Faisal and Mohamed Aslam
- “*The Central Role of Mohamed Waheed in the Maldives Coup D’état*,” a note by the Maldives Democratic Party
- Press Reports in the international media, in particular, Reuters and Agence France-Presse
- Written Statement of President Nasheed dated 8 August 2012
- Report of the Human Rights Commission of the Maldives on human rights abuses in the Maldives on 6 and 7 February 2012
- “*Resignation Under Duress*,” by Hassan Latheef
- “*Arrested Democracy*,” by Anders Henriksen, Rasmus Kiefer-Kristensen and Jonas Parello-Plesner

In summary, the Commission’s findings are as follows:

- The change of President in the Republic of Maldives on 7 February 2012 was legal and constitutional.
- The events that occurred on 6 and 7 February 2012 were, in large measure, reactions to the actions of President Nasheed.
- The resignation of President Nasheed was voluntary and of his own free will. It was not caused by any illegal coercion or intimidation.
- There were acts of police brutality on 6, 7 and 8 February 2012 that must be investigated and pursued further by the relevant authorities.

With regard to the idea that there was a 'coup d'état', nothing in the Maldives changed in constitutional terms – indeed, the Constitution was precisely followed as prescribed. Moreover, in terms of the democratic intent and legitimacy of the authority of the Presidency, as foreseen in the Constitution, President Waheed properly succeeded President Nasheed. This coheres with the electoral prescription insofar as President Nasheed and his then-Vice President were on the same ballot and so the electorate was fully informed of the persons and exact role of the candidates for whom they voted and who ultimately took the oaths of office to serve under the Constitution.

Accordingly, there appears nothing contestable in constitutional terms under the generic notion of a 'coup d'état' that is alleged to have occurred – quite to the contrary, in fact.

The Commission gathered and received a considerable body of material which offered evidence of “the facts, circumstances and causes of the events of 7th February 2012 that resulted in the transfer of power in the Maldives”. It was soon apparent to the Commission from all it received and increasingly experienced that the context of the unforeseen transfer of power owed much to the challenges for governance of a young democracy which is deeply divided. Especially relevant are problems with basic institutions of democratic governance, notably the rule of law and administration of justice, the effective functioning of Parliament, and the politicization of the media.

Justice may take time, but needs to be speedy and needs to be seen to be done in order to reassure the public and inspire their confidence. This is unlikely to materialise in the absence of the rule of law which depends on effective institutions and the scrupulous conduct of responsible authorities over time. Above all, the Heads of the branches of government must by their own actions conform to the rule of law notwithstanding the political and practical challenges.

With a view to strengthening the rule of law and generating confidence, the Commission recommends that some immediate steps be taken. There appears some urgency in this regard to enable the country to pursue its social, economic and political development to the benefit of the people of Maldives.

II. THE MANDATE

The Commission of National Inquiry (the “Commission”) was established pursuant to Article 115(o) of the Constitution of the Republic of Maldives (the “Constitution”). The Commission received its mandate under Presidential Decree No. 2012/2 issued on 21 February 2012 and Presidential Decree No. 2012/3 issued on 23 February 2012 (the “Initial Decrees”) (Appendices I & II). The purpose of the Commission was to conduct an independent and impartial investigation into the events in the Maldives from 14 January 2012 to 8 February 2012. By letter dated 29 February 2012 (reference No. 1–(A) CBO/PRV/2012/133), President Mohamed Waheed Hassan Manik (“President Waheed”), clarified that, in fulfilling its mandate, the Commission should “explore the facts and circumstances surrounding the transfer of power in the Maldives on 7th February 2012” and that, in this regard, “acquire any information needed from all state institutions, concerned officials of the Government and other people by questioning them” (see Appendix III).

The Commission commenced its work on 25 February 2012 and suspended its operations on 16 May 2012 following the signing of the Agreement of Commitment to Strengthen the Commission (the “Commonwealth Agreement”) between the Government of the Maldives and the Commonwealth of Nations (the “Commonwealth”) on 15 May 2012. Separately, President Mohamed Nasheed (“President Nasheed”) agreed to join the Commonwealth Agreement.

Consequently, President Waheed issued on 17 June 2012 Presidential Decree No. 2012/4 (the “Decree”) (Appendix IV) “entrusting the Commission of National Inquiry with the independent and impartial investigations of the following issues; the events that transpired in the Maldives from the 14th of January 2012 to the 8th of February 2012, the change of government on the 7th February of 2012, whether the resignation of the then President Nasheed was illegally coerced, and whether the government changed legally on 7th February 2012.”

The Commission was guided in the performance of its functions by the Rules of Procedure (“RoP”) that were annexed to Presidential Decree No. 2012/4. Rule 1(1) of the RoP stipulated that the Commission was “to conduct an independent and impartial investigation into the events

in Maldives from 14th January 2012 to 8th February 2012.” In doing so, the Commission was to “explore the facts, circumstances and causes of the events of 7th February 2012 that resulted in the transfer of power in the Maldives.” Rule 1(2) of the RoP empowered the Commission to alter, amend and update the RoP “as needed by a majority vote of the Commission.” The Commission did not require such a vote. By Presidential Decree 2012/9 issued 27 August 2012 (see Appendix V), the RoP were amended to strengthen the immunities of Commission members and staff (new Rule 13(2)). A copy of the amended RoP is attached herewith as Appendix VI.

III. THE PROCESS

A. Composition

Three Maldivian citizens constituted the Commission established pursuant to the Initial Decrees:

Mr. Ismail Shafeeu – Chairman

Dr. Ibrahim Yasir – Member

Dr. Ali Fawaz Shareef – Member

Pursuant to the Commonwealth Agreement and the Decree, the Commission was expanded and strengthened to include a Maldivian citizen nominated by President Nasheed and a senior judge from Singapore who would co-chair the Commission with Mr. Shafeeu so as to “build on the work of the Commission and to enable an independent and impartial investigation to be conducted.”

In addition, two Independent Advisers were obtained from the Commonwealth and the United Nations (the “Advisers”) to support the Commission. The function of the Advisers would be to observe the conduct of the Commission and advise on the issues as may be required.

Thereafter, the Commission was, in accordance with the Decree:

- Mr. Ismail Shafeeu – Chairman
- Justice G.P. Selvam – Chairman
- Dr. Ibrahim Yasir – Member
- Dr. Ali Fawaz Shareef – Member
- Mr. Ahmed Saeed – Member

Justice G.P. Selvam is a retired judge of the Supreme Court of Singapore. Sir Bruce Robertson, a retired Court of Appeal judge from New Zealand, and Professor John Packer from Canada, a legal adviser nominated by the United Nations, were appointed as International Advisers on behalf of the Commonwealth and United Nations respectively.

At 18:05 on Wednesday, 29 August 2012, Mr. Saeed tendered his resignation from the Commission.

B. Facilities and Resources

The Commission conducted its proceedings from 25 February 2012 to 16 May 2012 and from 17 June 2012 to 30 August 2012. The Commission conducted its work from a wing of the Official Residence of the President of the Maldives (“Muleeaage”), while President Waheed has remained in the Vice Presidential residence. The Commission was very ably supported by a Commission Secretariat (the “Secretariat”) comprised of 18 staff who are independent civil servants recommended by the Civil Service Commission of the Maldives. The Secretariat was headed by Mr. Ahmed Ali Maniku and Mr. Mohamed Vajeeth, both of whom are retired senior civil servants with impeccable professional records. Translators were hired following an open call and comprehensive interview.

The Secretariat performed a range of comprehensive secretarial and administrative functions. These involved the arranging, recording, transcribing and translating of witness interviews, maintaining and safe-keeping a repository of documentary and multimedia evidence received by the Commission, facilitating exchange of correspondence between the Commission and third parties and provision of day-to-day secretarial support for the functioning of the Commission.

The Commission also enjoyed the benefit and use of other necessary facilities that enabled it to perform its functions without hindrance. Such facilities included computers, printers, stationary, electronic support, wireless internet, telephone and projection equipment and similar office equipment. All possible resources were made available to the Commission and every request for assistance was duly met.

Justice G.P. Selvam was assisted by Mr. Urvaksh Doctor pursuant to Rule 6 of the RoP. Furthermore, prior to its reconstitution, the Commission was initially assisted for some days in matters of legal technicality and framework by a Singaporean lawyer and a retired Indian judge (recommended by the Government of India). They had no access to evidence and did not participate in further activities of the Commission.

It is to be noted that when the Commission felt the need to prolong its term in order to deal with the number of witnesses who had come forward and evaluate other material before it, the Government of Maldives did not hesitate to extend all necessary resources.

C. Principles

The Commission, together with its Advisers, operated on the following basic principles:

- **Integrity and Independence**

The Commissioners were, at all times, to act with independence and integrity in carrying out the tasks and functions of the Commission. The Commission's proceedings and deliberations were to remain confidential at all times and no Commissioner or Adviser was to communicate with or disseminate confidential information to third parties outside of the Commission. The Commissioners were to behave and perform their duties independent of external influences.

- **Participation**

The Commissioners were to jointly and actively participate in the discussions and deliberations of the Commission. Their objective was to work together and use their best efforts to reach a conclusion by consensus as provided under Rule 15(5) of the RoP. By consensus of the members of the Commission, the International Advisers were encouraged to make recommendations during Commission deliberations and also assist in the questioning of the witnesses. The Secretariat only provided support for the Commission in response to its express requests, and did not participate in any fact-finding, discussions or deliberations of the Commission.

- **Good Faith**

The Commissioners were to act in good faith, at all times, in the best interests of the Commission. They were to be motivated in their conduct by a bona fide regard for the interests of the Commission and to function with a degree of objective and independent professionalism. Every Commissioner was bound to exercise independent judgement and act in his duty towards

the Commission with honesty and sincerity with regard to the truth or falsity of a proposition and without regard to the outcome of an action.

- **No Shutting-up and No Shutting-out**

The Commission was guided by the principle that no witness was to be shut up and no evidence was to be shut out. Witnesses were allowed to speak at length and express their views and grievances openly before the Commission. The Commission would request witnesses to structure their testimonies around events relating to the resignation of President Nasheed, but were not constrained from speaking if they described other events. Witnesses were also given the freedom to request breaks and speak in Dhivehi or English. Finally, the Commission provided an opportunity for every individual in the Maldives to come forward and submit information and views that could assist in satisfying its mandate.

- **Common Good and Public Interest**

The Commission understands its mandate as derived from the general framework of the Constitution of Maldives as a democratic State serving the common good in the sense of the combined interests of the whole citizenry in whom the sovereignty of Maldives resides. Thus it is the aim of the Constitution of Maldives, and therefore the aim of the Commission, to contribute to the freedom of the people of Maldives to control and enjoy their sovereignty as the sum of their free wills expressed through democratic means and institutions including the rule of law. The Commission further understands that there exists a compelling public interest, essential for common well-being, that the Commission completes its work in a timely fashion so the Maldives may pursue its political, economic and social development with general confidence.

D. Evidence

The Commission collected and received considerable testimonial and documentary evidence. It made site-visits to and within the Maldives National Defence Force Headquarters at Bandara Koshi (“MNDF HQ”), the Maldives Police Service Headquarters in the Hussain Adam Building (“Police HQ”), Republican Square and surrounding areas, the Maldivian Democratic Party

facility at “Haruge”, the television station known as Television Maldives (“TVM”, formerly MNBC1) and the President’s Office. The Commission also walked relevant streets and passages and visited other relevant locations. The Commission interviewed 293 witnesses over the course of 224 hours. This included all the living Presidents of the Republic, Members of the People’s Majlis (the “Parliament”), political party leaders and members, former and serving high officials of the civil service and security services as well as concerned citizens. 15 witnesses were interviewed more than once. Documentary evidence included written statements, bank statements, telephone logs, lists of SMS, video and audio recordings, photographs, letters, reports, textual analyses and publications. The Commission also received various documentary materials from the media including logs and records.

The Commission issued two notices on 18 March 2012 and 20 June 2012 respectively (see Appendix VII and VIII), requesting the general public to come forward and provide any information that could be useful in fulfilling the Commission’s mandate. Additionally, the Commission wrote individual letters to such persons who it felt were in possession of important information, requesting them to appear before it. It is noteworthy that the number of witnesses who volunteered to come forward and provide evidence significantly outnumbered the witnesses who were requested by the Commission to appear before it. In spite of the Commission’s lack of power to subpoena witnesses (typical in court proceedings), only one witness declined an invitation to re-appear before the re-constituted Commission. That witness did, however, appear on record before the earlier constituted Commission. One other witness agreed to appear before the Commission on grounds of anonymity, and was allowed to do so; his testimony proved to be non-material to this Report. A list of all witnesses who appeared before the Commission is attached herewith as Appendix IX.

Prior to every witness interview, the witness was informed that the Commission was not undertaking a criminal investigation but that it would not have any control over the testimony and evidence provided to the Commission once the inquiry was concluded and the Report was submitted to the government. Further, each interview was conducted solely in the presence of the Commissioners and Advisers. The Secretariat staff charged with operating the video and audio equipment left the room while the interview was taking place.

Witnesses were given the freedom to be accompanied by their lawyers, secretaries or person of confidence if they so wished. In some interviews prior to its reconstitution, the Commission was assisted by a Maldivian lawyer.

E. Documentation and Records

The Secretariat maintained all documents and materials that were always available to the Commissioners. Multimedia recordings of witness interviews, translated copies of witness testimonies and other evidence submitted by witnesses were professionally arranged and maintained for use upon request. The Secretariat also maintained records of the witnesses or others who came forward to provide information to the Commission. All witness recordings and submissions, together with media submissions, have been logged and kept under lock and key. The facilities of the Commission (i.e. Muleeaage) have also been always secured by locks and guards. A list of documentary evidence received by the Commission is attached herewith as Appendix X.

F. Communications

The Commission agreed that it would only communicate with the press and the general public by means of bi-weekly press conferences, occasional press statements and through its website (<http://www.coni.org.mv>). The Commission treated the press conferences as a forum to answer any pressing issues and matters. The Commission did not appoint a spokesperson to speak on its behalf and all communications were made collectively. The Commission made use of its official letterhead to communicate with relevant agencies and institutions such as the Human Rights Commission of the Maldives (“HRCM”), the President’s Office, the Maldives Police Service (“MPS” or the “police”), the Maldives National Defence Force (“MNDF” or the “military”) and the Police Integrity Commission (“PIC”) as well as individual members of the public. The Commission held nine press conferences and six press statements.

G. Work

The Commission followed the directions laid down under the RoP in the performance of its day-to-day functions. The Commission worked as one team in a professional and collegial manner. The Commission's working language was English and it was decided by consensus that its Report would be published in English as the original and authentic text.

The Commission worked through the holy month of Ramadan as well as on certain Saturdays. Witnesses were heard as per their convenience and requests for change in date and timings of interviews were granted. The Commission met on a number of evenings to satisfy witness requests and in order to complete its work. The Secretariat was always in support.

H. Deliberations and Decision-making

The deliberations of the Commission were open and free. Any Commissioner or Adviser was at liberty to advance views without restriction. The Co-chairmen expressly invited the Commissioners and Advisers to propose alternative propositions or explanations of events and to indicate such evidence as would support these. At the request of one Commissioner, further evidence was sought and scrutinized even in the last days of the Commission's work. The Commission deliberated in a closed room; the Secretariat was not involved in any way in the deliberations of the Commission.

All evidence received was reviewed and assessed by the Commission prior to the drafting of this Report. Everything was available to all Commissioners and the Advisers as they required.

The Commission notes that in many disputes, there can be difficulty in getting to what actually historically occurred as opposed to what an individual now honestly and sincerely believes to have happened. This phenomenon has been very acute in the Commission's inquiry. Many people have heavy commitments to certain positions and on occasion their recollections were simply wrong. They had a recall that could not be correct when viewed alongside videos, photographs and other evidence. It is unhelpful to call this "lying" but it must be allowed for as conclusions are sought.

A serious problem has been trying to restrict testimony to what witnesses actually knew from what they had seen or heard. The Commission was not assisted by what witnesses claim to have been told by others (often as hearsay several times removed) or what they picked up on social media (where there often seems to be scant regard for objective truth) or mere conjecture, supposition or a thesis to suit a desired conclusion.

A significant problem in getting to the truth has been the level of rumour, suspicion and idle gossip lacking any serious evidential foundation. This has been disseminated and repeated irresponsibly. Women and men have believed and relied on this material to the very great disadvantage of the nation. It has fuelled the division and discord which has sapped the country for six months. Repeating an error does not give it any substance nor does the volume or emotional content of the expression.

Sadly there has been an epidemic of baseless allegations against individuals. They seem to be the imaginings of people struggling to understand what happened and why. Just as a question has no evidential value unless the person answering accepts or adopts the fact contained in the question, allegations have no evidential value just because someone has articulated them repeatedly. Many people seem to think that because an allegation has been made, someone is under an obligation to counter or undermine it. When the allegation lacks substance or reality, nothing is required in response.

Irrespective of the drawbacks mentioned above, the Commission reached all its decisions by subjecting the evidence to the principles of consensus, logic, probability and consistency. The Commission stresses that there was no interference either in its daily functioning or its deliberations and decision-making.

I. Reporting

Pursuant to Rules 14(1) and 15(1) of the RoP, the Commission was to “report on its findings to the President, Speaker of the Majlis, Prosecutor-General, Attorney-General and on a read only basis to former President Nasheed” by 31 July 2012. This presupposed that the reconstituted

Commission would begin functioning from the beginning of June 2012. However, the Commission did not begin functioning until 17 June 2012. In addition, a large number of witnesses responded to the Commission's open call of 20 June 2012 (see Appendix VIII) wishing to be heard and, as a result, an extension of one month was requested and duly received pursuant to Presidential Decree No. 2012/7 issued on 30 July 2012 (see Appendix XI). Accordingly, the Report was due for submission on 30 August 2012.

The Commission was of the opinion that the Report should not be drafted "by committee" because of the inherent drawbacks of such method and the limits of time. The Commissioners agreed that a first basic draft would be prepared by Co-Chairman Justice Selvam. This draft was scrutinized individually by each Commissioner and the two Advisers who then met together to share reactions, views and suggestions which led the process of comprehensive modification through discussion, examination of evidence, deliberation, and agreement. The final Report, which was adopted unanimously, was signed by each Commissioner and the two Advisers prior to submission and publication.

The Commission decided that it would be in the best interests of the Maldivian public for the Report to be published immediately on its website after the submission of the Report to the stipulated recipients. The Executive Summary in this Report shall be translated into Dhivehi and published on the Commission's website. A full translation of the Report will be provided by the relevant Maldivian authorities. The Commission wishes to emphasize that in the event of any conflict between the English version of this Report and its translation into Dhivehi, the former shall prevail.

J. Conclusion on Process

The process followed by the Commission and described above greatly assisted the Commission in fulfilling its mandate in the most complete, fair, and responsible manner. This process not only provided the Commission with a robust foundation on which to prepare this Report, but also demonstrates the considerations, efforts and care by which the work of the Commission was undertaken during the period of inquiry in fulfillment of its mandate for the benefit of the nation.

IV. THE LAW

A. *The General Constitutional Framework*

The Maldives is a sovereign, independent, democratic Republic. It is a creation of the Constitution of the Maldives promulgated in 2008 by a Constitutional assembly known as the Special Majlis. It provides for the separation of powers comprising a legislature (the People's Majlis), an executive headed by a President, and an independent judiciary.

Article 4 of the Constitution declares that:

“All the powers of the State of the Maldives are derived from, and remain with, the citizens.”

The Maldives takes pride in having constructed a national constitution that succinctly and comprehensively states and supports modern principles of liberty, citizenship and statehood.

The principle of the rule of law is fundamental under the Constitution.

The laws are made by the People's Majlis (Article 5) which has several other powers and functions.

All executive powers are vested in the President (Article 6).

The judicial power is vested in the courts of the Maldives (Article 7).

All powers of the State of the Maldives must be exercised in accordance with the Constitution (Article 8).

The President must exercise executive authority as prescribed by the Constitution and law (Article 106(d)), including to “uphold, defend and respect the Constitution” (Article 106(c)).

Lastly, the President is obliged “to promote the rule of law, and to protect the rights and freedoms of all people” (Article 115(c)).

In the result, the President must govern and execute his function according to the doctrine of rule of law. That is to say, the President must exercise executive authority as provided for in the Constitution and the law.

The President may only do things that are authorized or permitted by the Constitution and the laws. He must accept and respect the authorities and institutions of the State and enforce and execute their decision. Article 268 of the Constitution declares that:

“the obligations imposed by the Constitution must be fulfilled. Any conduct contrary to this Constitution shall be invalid.”

In short, the President of the Maldives possesses no autocratic, dictatorial or authoritarian powers. His powers are limited.

B. Fundamental Rights and Freedoms

The Constitution guarantees the following three indispensable freedoms to the citizens of the Maldives:

“Art. 27

The Freedom of Expression

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.

Art. 28

Freedom of the media

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.

Art 29

Freedom of acquiring and imparting knowledge

Everyone has the freedom to acquire and impart knowledge, information and learning.”

Further, Article 19 of the Constitution provides that:

“No control or restraint may be exercised against any person unless it is expressly authorised by law.”

The fundamental right enshrined in Article 19 is reinforced by Article 45 which provides that:

“Everyone has the right not to be arbitrarily detained, arrested or imprisoned except as provided by law enacted by the People’s Majlis in accordance with Article 16 of this Constitution.”

The fundamental freedom from unlawful arrest is further expanded and explained by Article 46 of the Constitution which states that,

“No person shall be arrested or detained for an offence unless the arresting officer observes the offence being committed, or has reasonable and probable grounds or evidence to believe that the person has committed an offence or is about to commit an offence or under the authority of an arrest warrant issued by the court.”

These provisions embody the doctrine of rule of law as conceived by the English constitutional case *Entick v Carrington* [1765] 19 ST. TR. 1030. In that case, an action of trespass was brought by the plaintiff against the defendants (who were King’s Messengers) for entering his house and seizing his papers. The defendants pleaded a warrant of the Secretary of State which ordered them to search for the plaintiff and bring him together with his books and papers in safe custody

before the Secretary of State. Lord Camden C.J. held that the Secretary of State did not have any authority under statute or precedent to issue such a warrant. In a most famous passage, he held:

“If it is law, it will be found in our books. If it is not to be found there, it is not law.”

Further,

“Every invasion of private property, be it ever so minute, is a trespass. No man can set his foot upon my ground without my license, but he is liable to an action, though the damage be nothing; which is proved by every declaration in trespass, where the defendant is called upon to answer for bruising the grass and even treading upon the soil. If he admits the fact, he is bound to show by way of justification, that some positive law has empowered or excused him. The justification is submitted to the judges, who are to look into the books; and if such a justification can be maintained by the text of the statute law, or by the principles of common law. If no excuse can be found or produced, the silence of the books is an authority against the defendant, and the plaintiff must have judgment.”

The combined effect of Article 19 and Article 45 is that a Maldivian may not be arrested except in relation to an offence that has been committed or is about to be committed, or under an arrest warrant issued by a Court of law.

There is one exception to this fundamental constitutional right. That is where a state of emergency has been declared pursuant to Article 253 and 254 of the Constitution, the President may suspend certain fundamental rights, including the freedom from arrest and detention. These Articles read as follows:

“Article 253

Declaration of a state of emergency

In the event of natural disaster, dangerous epidemic disease, war, threat to national security, or threatened foreign aggression, the President may declare a state of emergency in all or part of the country for a period not exceeding thirty days.

Article 254

Content of the declaration

The declaration of a state of emergency shall specify the reasons for the declaration of an emergency, and include measures to deal with the emergency, which may include the temporary suspension of the operation of laws and infringement of certain fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed by this Constitution in Chapter 2.”

Article 274 of the Constitution defines the term “threat to national security” as:

“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.”

The President who declares a state of emergency is subject to the requirements of bona fides and objectivity as directed by Articles 254, 255, 256 and 257.

Even when a state of emergency validly declared is in force, certain fundamental rights of a citizen are expressly preserved. These include the right to life (Article 21), freedom of the media (Article 28) and right to retain and instruct legal counsel and assistance of legal counsel (Article 53). More significantly, the right and obligation to disobey unlawful orders is also expressly retained even during a state of emergency (Article 255(b)(16)).

In other words, the Maldives being a sovereign, independent and democratic State, even when a validly declared state of emergency is in force, does not become a totalitarian state and the rule of law remains.

C. Disobeying Unlawful Orders

Article 64 of the Constitution provides:

“No employee of the State shall impose any orders on a person except under authority of a law. Everyone has the right not to obey an unlawful order.”

The Constitution is significant in expressly enshrining this freedom.

The fundamental freedom not to obey unlawful orders is reiterated and applied to the security services (military and police services) in Article 245:

“No person shall give an illegal order to a member of the security services. Members of the security services shall not obey a manifestly illegal order.”

While the Constitution affords civil remedies for the breach of its provisions, it is not a penal code. However, Section 74 of the Police Act 2008 criminalizes such unlawful orders and executing such unlawful orders:

“Null and void orders

- (a) Any order or part of an order that is contrary to this Act or the regulations made under this Act, to the extent of inconsistency, shall be null and void.*
- (b) It is an offence for any employee of the Maldives Police Service to knowingly and with intent, issue an order that is null and void.*
- (c) It is an offence for any employee of the Maldives Police Service to knowingly and with intent, obey an order that is null and void.”*

A similar provision is found under Section 18 of the Armed Forces Act. However, it stops short of criminalizing such unlawful orders. The provisions relating to unlawful orders, as will be stated later in this Report, were invoked and mentioned many times in January and February 2012 and also before this Commission.

The predominant purpose of this freedom and obligation is to give effect to the doctrine of the rule of law and to prevent and proscribe autocratic orders and unaccountable conduct on part of superior officers in the civil service and the Defense Forces, namely the Military and the Police Force.

D. Presidential Succession

A President having been elected by universal and secret suffrage (Article 108) can have his term come to an end by resignation (Article 121), subsequent election, permanent incapacity or death (Article 123(b)) or removal (Article 100). In the event of a vacancy for any reason other than an election, the Vice President shall “succeed to the office of the President” (Article 112(d)).

E. Resignation and Succession

Article 121(a) of the Constitution prescribes that:

“The President may resign from office by writing under his hand submitted to the Speaker of the People’s Majlis, and the office shall become vacant when the resignation is received by the Speaker.”

Article 114 of the Constitution, in relevant part, prescribes that:

“An incoming President.....shall assume office upon taking and subscribing, before the Chief Justice or his designate, at a sitting of the People’s Majlis, the relevant oath of office set out in Schedule 1 of this Constitution.”

Further, Article 112(b) provides that:

“Every candidate for President shall publicly declare the name of the Vice President who will serve with him.”

F. Coercion in law

Coercion, as used in the Decree, refers to the American legal concept of illegal duress or the English legal concept of intimidation. This is a real threat delivered by one or more wrongdoers to another to harm and injure the latter or his family if the victim does not do something as demanded.

The first dominant element of the wrongdoing is the threat of an unlawful act, that is, to hurt and harm the victim or his family. A threat to do a lawful act is outside the definition of illegal coercion or intimidation. Anything that a person may lawfully do, the person may also threaten to do lawfully, whatever the motive or purpose of the threat.

The second dominant element of the wrongdoing is that fear or compulsion in the victim must arise in response to a real unlawful threat emanating from a wrongdoer and not because of a cause within himself. In the absence of an illegal threat from an intimidator, there can be no illegal duress or intimidation. This threat from an external source is an indispensable element of illegal duress or intimidation. In other words, there can be no illegal duress without an intimidation by an intimidator.

Because of the seriousness of the charge, person who alleges illegal duress or intimidation carries the legal burden as well as the evidentiary burden of proof. The standard of proof is that of moral certainty, that is, proof beyond reasonable doubt.

G. Coup D'état

The World Book Encyclopedia (1992) Vol. 4 at page 399 gives a non-technical explanation of the expression “coup d'état” as follows:

“Coup d'état is a sudden take-over of a country's government by a group of conspirators. Usually, the conspirators are public officials who infiltrate and then use their country's armed forces, police, and communications to seize power. A coup d'état may lead to few or many changes in the government. Famous coups in history include those carried out by

Napoleon Bonaparte in France in 1799, by the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917, and by the Communists in Czechoslovakia in 1948. During the 1900's, most coups have occurred in politically unstable countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. Coup d'état is a French term meaning stroke of state."

The Commission has found a more definite and useful technical definition of the expression coup d'état by Hans Kelsen. This is at once a cerebral and practical definition. Professor Kelsen's definition was cited in Makenete v Lekhanya, International Law Reports Vol. 115 at page 27. The definition was also considered in Bhutto v The Chief of the Army and Federation of Pakistan PLD 1977 SC 657.

According to Kelsen, a coup d'état occurs:

"whenever the legal order of a community is nullified and replaced by a new order in an illegitimate way, that is in a way not prescribed by the first order itself. It is in this context irrelevant whether or not this replacement is effected through a violent uprising against those individuals who so far have been the "legitimate" organs competent to create and amend the legal order. It is equally irrelevant whether the replacement is effected through a movement emanating from the mass of the people or through action from those in government positions. From a juristic point of view, the decisive criterion is that the order in force is overthrown and replaced by a new order in a way which the former had not itself anticipated."

The contents of section 6 of the Offences Against the State Act, 1939 (U.S.A.) are also helpful:

"Usurpation of functions of government.

6.—(1) Every person who usurps or unlawfully exercises any function of government, whether by setting up, maintaining, or taking part in any way in a body of persons purporting to be a government or a legislature but not authorised in that behalf by or under the Constitution, or by setting up, maintaining, or taking part in any way in a purported court or other tribunal not lawfully established, or by forming, maintaining, or

being a member of an armed force or a purported police force not so authorised, or by any other action or conduct whatsoever, shall be guilty of felony and shall be liable on conviction thereof to suffer penal servitude for a term not exceeding ten years or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

(2) Every person who shall attempt to do any thing the doing of which is a felony under the foregoing sub-section of this section or who aids or abets or conspires with another person to do or attempt to do any such thing or advocates or encourages the doing of any such thing shall be guilty of a misdemeanour and shall be liable on conviction thereof to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

The Commission shall now consider Maldivian law. Section 29 of the Maldives Penal Code (the “Penal Code”) under the Chapter “Acts against the State and Disharmony” provides that:

“Whoever attempts to commit or participates in or facilitates the commission of an act against the State shall be punished with imprisonment for life or exile for life or imprisonment or exile for a period between 10 years and 15 years.”

There is no definition of the expression “coup d’état”. However, Section 33 explains that:

“All forms of rebellion or insurrections shall be included within the provisions of Sections 29, 30, 31 and 32.”

Sections 29, 30, 31 and 32 of the Penal Code all deal with situations before the execution of a coup d’état, treason or assassination.

Having considered the authorities, the Commission shall be guided by Professor Hans Kelsen’s definition of coup d’état.

The word “mutiny” under the law of the Maldives is an internal matter within the military. Its aim is not to remove the President from office or to overthrow the government. That much is

clear from the contents of Section 33 and the definition of the expression “mutiny” under Section 48 of the Armed Forces Act 2008, which read thus:

“Section 33

Mutiny within the Armed forces

It is an offense for any serviceman under this Act to create a mutiny within the Armed forces, or to create discord, or to conspire to commit such an act, or to incite the commission of such an act, or to have knowledge of other persons committing such an act, or conspiring to commit such an act and fails to inform a superior of the same or delays in conveying such information.”

Section 48

Interpretation

(f) “Mutiny in the Armed forces” refers to a person who on being a serviceman of the Armed forces participates with another serviceman or a party of the Armed forces and showing force or threatening show of force or with the same intention in relation to the serviceman’s duties and assigned tasks and in times of war in a situation where you have to face enemies and insurgents, showing disobedience to assigned work and orders and motivating others to commit such acts. Further if shall be considered as “Mutiny in the Armed forces” under this Act for a serviceman or a large section of servicemen to attempt to commit any of the following acts:

- (1) To violate a right given by the Armed forces to your superior or senior most people.*
- (2) In times of war involving facing enemies, disobeying orders issued by your superiors and not attending assigned task and duties.*
- (3) Obstructing the allocated duties and assigned task of the Armed forces.*
- (4) Disobeying and showing of force to a serviceman of the Armed forces on duty.*
- (5) To forcefully try to enter or to show force, threat and try to enter by oneself or to let someone else enter into a place that a serviceman of the Armed forces is stationed for duty.”*

The Maldives Police Act 2008 does not contain the offence of mutiny by police. So the offence of mutiny is confined to the Military. Any illegal subordination by a policeman would be an internal matter subject to disciplinary proceedings.

V. THE CRITICAL EVENTS OF 7 & 8 FEBRUARY 2012

There is no dispute that before 11 am, while at the Military Headquarters at Bandara Koshi (the “MNDF HQ”), President Nasheed told others around him that he was going to resign. He instructed his Special Protection Group (“SPG”) to arrange for a press conference at the President’s Office. Pursuant to that event, he declared his intention to go to the President’s Office so that he could formally resign. While there, he repeated his intention to his Cabinet colleagues and to others with whom he spoke. He handwrote a letter of resignation and went in to a media conference held at 12:57 pm, where he confirmed this decision and gave reasons for the same.

His letter was received by the Speaker of the Majlis at 1:43 pm. In accordance with the terms of the Constitution, his presidency came to an end.

Later on the same day, Dr. Waheed was sworn-in at the Parliament before the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Speaker of Parliament as President of the Maldives.

The next day, 8 February 2012, the domestic and international media reported that President Nasheed claimed that he was forced to step down at gunpoint and that he urged his successor to step down so that he could continue in office. His direct speech to the press was reported as follows:

"Yes, I was forced to resign at gunpoint. There were guns all around me and they told me they wouldn't hesitate to use them if I did not resign. I call on the chief justice, to look into the matter of who was behind this coup. We will try our best to bring back the lawful government."

Reuters reported that it was not immediately clear as to who was holding the guns.

President Nasheed and his party, the Maldivian Democratic Party (“MDP”) also publicly proclaimed that there was a coup d’état fomented by the police, the military and the politicians.

Agence France-Presse (“AFP”) reported President Nasheed as having said that he had gone into the military headquarters on Tuesday, 7 February 2012, where he found about 18 "middle-ranking" police and military officers in control.

“They told me if I did not resign, they will resort to arms. I took it as a threat. I wanted to negotiate the lives of the people who had served in my government.”

Referring to the then-Vice President Dr. Waheed, President Nasheed said:

“I am afraid he's always entertained an idea to become the president. He's never been able to do that. When the opportunity was available to him, he took it.”

President Waheed vehemently denied that there was a coup and vowed to form a power-sharing unity government. AFP quoted him on 9 February 2012 saying that:

“It is wrong to describe the events as a coup. We did not know this was going to happen. I was not prepared at all.”

As a result of the resignation and the subsequent challenge to it, there was immediate uncertainty about the legitimacy of the change of government.

This Commission is entrusted with determining whether President Nasheed was illegally coerced and whether the change of government was illegal and unconstitutional. This involves a consideration of surrounding circumstances, particularly what transpired in the Maldives from 14 January 2012 to 8 February 2012.

As President Nasheed clearly resigned and now challenges the voluntariness and legitimacy of his action, the onus is on him to establish illegal coercion or unlawful intimidation.

VI. THE FACTS

A. *The Timeline of Events*

On 6 June 2012, the Commission published a Timeline of Events (the “Timeline”), which was a statement without comment on the facts and events relating to the change of government based on the evidence which had been heard until the suspension of the Commission on 16 May 2012 (Appendix XII). It can also be found at <http://www.coni.org.mv>.

The Timeline expressly said it was constructed on the basis of the evidence which had been heard up to that stage. It was issued to stimulate further comment and reaction. It achieved this end and was a potent force in the further evidence which was received. It must be noted also that despite the many alternative scenarios which have been produced internally and internationally, there has been virtually no challenge of any substance to what was recorded in the Timeline. Indeed it has been specifically relied upon often. As such, the Commission affirms its own reliance on the Timeline, and does not herein now repeat its content.

B. *The General Political Context*

President Nasheed assumed power and responsibility following an historical democratic election held in the Maldives on 28 October 2008.

President Nasheed and his then Vice-President Dr. Waheed ran on a coalition platform of disparate political parties. Individually, they belonged to different political parties.

In the first round of elections, no one received over fifty percent of the votes cast. The number of votes received by the presidential candidates and their running mates were as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. of votes</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Political Party</u>
Maumoon Gayoom	71731	40.63	DRP ¹
Mohamed Nasheed	44293	25.09	MDP ²
Hassan Saeed	29633	16.78	IND ³
Gasim Ibrahim	27056	15.32	JP ⁴
Umar Naseer	2472	1.40	ID ⁵
Ibrahim Ismail	1382	0.78	SLP ⁶

Consequently, there was a run-off election on 28 October 2008. Mohamed Nasheed contested with the support of other political parties under expressly negotiated agreements which were signed by the Parites. The coalition supporting him consisted of the Quamee Ittihaad Party, Adaalath Party and Jumhooree Party.

The result of the run-off elections was as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>No. of votes</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Political Party</u>
Mohamed Nasheed	97,222	54.21	MDP-Alliance
Maumoon Gayoom	82,121	45.79	DRP

After he assumed office, President Nasheed formed a Cabinet of 14 Ministers. They were from the MDP and other coalition parties.

Three years after his assumption of office, President Nasheed found himself at loggerheads with major political parties, including his principal coalition partners. A number of serious problems had developed, including the alleged failure to abide by the coalition agreements. The then-Vice President Dr. Waheed remained in office but he was marginalised on essential policy matters.

¹ Dhivehi Rayyithunge Party (“DRP”)

² Maldivian Democractic Party (“MDP”)

³ Independent

⁴ Jumhoory Party (“JP”)

⁵ Islamic Democratic Party (“ID”)

⁶ Social Liberal Party (“SLP”)

There was no consensus before the Commission as to the extent to which President Nasheed enjoyed the confidence of ordinary citizens and only a general election can answer that. However, as well as his political problems, there were on-going difficulties with Parliament and many institutions and groupings within the society. Among the matters of serious controversy were the lease of the Ibrahim Nasir International Airport, the operations of the Courts and the judiciary as an institution, and the erosion of his support-base within the religious community and eventual open confrontation with it. There was serious tension with large parts of the business establishment because of the changes in taxation policy and the provision of social services in respect of which there was an argument as to whether they could be afforded. There were also on-going problems between the Executive and the Parliament where President Nasheed's party never had a majority. A low-point was reached on 29 June 2010 when the entire Cabinet of Ministers resigned and substantial problems arose when efforts were made to receive Parliament's approval for the subsequently appointed Cabinet. In the event, most of the appointees of President Nasheed failed to receive parliamentary approval.

The 2008 Constitution provided for an array of institutions and offices important for a democratic society. They are only of value when they can operate in a robust, effective and constructive manner. This depends, above all, on them being independent, impartial, competent and responsible. They must, of course, be respected and accorded proper status within the community. That was not occurring with consequent frustration and disillusionment and to the detriment of the country.

The Commission makes no comment on the rights or wrongs of the various areas of conflict in Maldives but simply notes them as a matter of on-going fact in the community and persistent source of tensions.

Two other events deserve mention. On 23 December 2011, the opposition coalition organized a very large rally known as "Mahasinthaa" in which all the large political parties of the Maldives other than the MDP participated. Its objective was to protest against the alleged anti-Islamic policies of President Nasheed. On 30 January 2012, the then-Vice President Dr. Waheed met

with some leaders of the opposition political parties at his residence. He was asked if he “was prepared to carry out [his] legal responsibilities.” He is known to have replied in the affirmative. On the same day, the leaders of the opposition political parties held a press conference to announce their endorsement of the Vice President.

C. Conflict with the Judiciary

One of the election promises of the MDP and President Nasheed related to the judiciary. Their campaign manifesto promised:

“[To] ensure the full independence for the judiciary through a policy of non-interference. The executive’s role will be solely in the implementation of court verdicts.”

Apart from that, President Nasheed had an agenda that had been openly declared – judicial reform. The attempt to implement the policy evolved into a confrontation with the judiciary in general, and the Chief Judge of the Criminal Court, Judge Abdulla Mohamed (“Judge Abdulla”), became the focus of their antipathy and antagonism.

An example of the conflict with the judiciary is found in a violent demonstration on 20 October 2011 by MDP activists against the release of a judgment of the Supreme Court which was unable to deliver its judgment.

Several MDP members gave evidence about the unconventional behavior of Judge Abdulla. His conduct is not part of the remit of this Commission and is considered only as it is relevant to the mandate of the Commission.

In mid-January, Judge Abdulla made a decision which deeply displeased President Nasheed and the MDP stalwarts. On 13 January 2012, the Government arrested Dr. Mohamed Jameel Ahmed of the Dhivehi Qaume Party in connection with a virulently anti-government publication he had made which was felt to offend and incite. On 15 January 2012, Judge Abdulla ordered the release of Dr. Jameel Ahmed after the MPS failed to show any legitimate reason for his arrest. The next day, the MPS summoned Judge Abdulla for questioning. The same day, Judge Abdulla lodged an application to quash the MPS summons and obtained an interim injunction against the MPS. Armed with the interim injunction, Judge Abdulla refused to attend before the MPS.

The Government then decided to use the military to detain and incarcerate Judge Abdulla.

In the Maldives, no citizen can be arrested and detained except in relation to an offence suspected or committed or under an order of the Court. That is a fundamental right enshrined in the Constitution. That right, however, may be laid aside temporarily in case of a state of emergency based on a threat to national security or natural calamity. The Government invoked national security for the arrest and detention of Judge Abdulla.

The necessary papers were prepared and signed by the Police Commissioner and Home Minister, respectively, asking the military to arrest Judge Abdulla (see Appendix XIII). The military entered Judge Abdulla's home late in the night on 16 January 2012 and took him into detention – or 'brought him under their protection'. A speedboat transported him to the military training island of Girifushi ("Girifushi") and kept him there in detention for 22 days. He was not allowed to consult or instruct his legal counsel as entitled under the Constitution.

The next day, 17 January 2012, several groups protested against the unconstitutional act of the Government. That same day, ten police officers met with the Commissioner of Police, complaining that they were unhappy with "unlawful orders" being given to them by the Government and senior officers, making it difficult for them to act fairly towards political figures.

President Nasheed remained adamant in his resolve to keep Judge Abdulla in isolation in Girifushi. An order of *habeas corpus* to the military to produce Judge Abdulla before the court was ignored. On 18 January 2012, President Nasheed met with the police officers and insisted that the arrest and detention was lawful. Malé is a place where nothing is secret. An audio recording of President Nasheed's talk was leaked to the public by policemen.

Under the Constitution, fundamental rights are suspended only when a state of emergency is formally declared and published by the President in accordance with the relevant Articles of the Constitution. There must arise, as a matter of fact, a threat to national security. On the evidence that the Commission received, there was, on 16 January 2012, no threat to national security in Malé or the Maldives. Additionally, no declaration of a state of emergency had been made as

required by the applicable Articles of the Constitution. As such, the arrest and detention of Judge Abdulla was an unconstitutional and unlawful act.

Many prominent Maldivian lawyers objected to the detention of Judge Abdulla. President Nasheed ignored them. The HRCM also condemned the unlawful arrest of Judge Abdulla and asked for his release. It described the arrest and detention as a violation of the basic rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution and International Human Rights Law binding on the Maldives. Similar calls were made by many domestic and international institutions including the Judicial Services Commission of the Maldives, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the High Court of the Maldives, the Prosecutor General and the International Commission of Jurists.

On 26 January 2012, President Nasheed once again met and addressed the police. His speech was leaked to the public. On the same day, President Nasheed addressed a gathering of the military at the MNDF HQ. As reported in the local media, his address was, in part, as follows:

“According to the legal advice and consultation that I have got, about judges who have not been appointed legally, I have decided that their verdicts shall not be executed. It is I, who is here to execute their sentences when they reach their verdict. As I have taken a lawful oath in the name of Almighty God, it is my duty to effectuate justice and work towards improvement. It is also my duty to maintain and uphold the Constitution. I have come to a decision not to execute the verdicts of these judges and withhold their salary given by Finance, until judges can be appointed according to the law. With the blessing of god I will do everything I can in this, as the leader of the nation from the government. I greatly request your cooperation in this. Work with me to attain the kind of courthouse the Maldivian populace wants. As it is completely necessary of the person in a courthouse to be there in accordance with the law and as I had decided to proceed in that way, I felt that it would be smart to continue after I inform you of this and had discussed it with you. I want to give you an opportunity to express your opinions on this, and to speak up if you have anything to say. Before that I just want to mention that the perfection at which you carry out your demanding responsibilities and your dedication to it is greatly appreciated by all of the citizens. The opposing people will always claim that the government institutions are operated unlawfully and not according to the regulations. However, it has

been always clear to us, that they are not decisive, but the opinion of someone or some people about a particular matter. It will be extremely clear to you; how you must act. You have your line of command, I am sure that everything of yours will be fulfilled when you keep following it.”

This was regrettable. First, it was the paramount duty of the Head of State and Government of the Maldives to implement and enforce orders and decrees of the courts. President Nasheed promised this in his election campaign. To say that he would not execute court orders was a deliberate and public breach of the Constitution. Adding to this conflict with the judiciary, President Nasheed declared he would not pay the judges their salaries and allowances in direct contravention of the Constitution.

D. Specialist Operations at Artificial Beach

From the date of the detention of Judge Abdulla, the opposition political parties combined and staged political protest rallies calling for his release. The protests were a nightly event. In the beginning, these rallies were held at the north-western corner of Republican Square near the Maldives Monetary Authority (“MMA”). The protestors derived the power to assemble and protest from Article 32 of the Constitution. Commercial television stations were telecasting the rallies live, exercising their constitutional rights.

The anti-government protestors did not consider that they were contravening any law. If anyone was contravening the law, they asserted, it was President Nasheed. On the basis of this argument, they called for him to act within the bounds of the Constitution or to resign.

Calling for the resignation of a President, Prime Minister or national leader is commonplace in a democracy. There is often a call to accept moral or legal responsibility when something has gone amiss in a drastic way. Recently, there was a call for the Prime Minister in India to be accountable for the corrupt acts of other elements within the ruling government and resign. Also in Norway, there was a call for the Prime Minister to resign on the grounds of moral responsibility following a damning report reprimanding the Norwegian public authorities for failing to prevent or interrupt bomb and gun attacks by a right-wing extremist who killed 77 people last year.

While the protests were held first at Republican Square and later at Artificial Beach, the Specialist Operations division (“Specialist Operations”) of the MPS were always there on duty.

The Specialist Operations was formed in 2006. They were taught and trained in crowd and riot control. In addition, it is their sworn duty to maintain the peace including to protect peaceful and lawful assemblies from the attacks of antagonistic crowds.

According to President Nasheed, the Specialist Operations were established during President Gayoom’s presidency specifically to disrupt the activities of the MDP as a result of which he did not trust them fully. He was dissatisfied with their conduct at the opposition protest rallies. The Commissioner of Police and his Deputy Commissioners were also unhappy with them.

The problems with the Specialist Operations worsened when the MDP protestors pitched themselves in the vicinity of the opposition protest rallies from 4 February 2012. The next evening, the opposition protest was being telecast by commercial television channels. The Deputy Commissioner of Police ordered the Specialist Operations Commander to remove the live-feed cable of two commercial telecasters – VTV and DhiTV. The purpose was to interrupt the telecast. The Commander declined on the ground that it was an “unlawful order” because it would result in the invasion and destruction of private property of the media. Additionally, it would be an illegal interference with the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press to inform the public of the lawful activities of political parties. The Commander asked for a court order, but none was provided.

On the evening of 6 February 2012, President Nasheed and the Commissioner of Police asked Assistant Commissioner of Police Hussein Waheed to resign on the ground of no-confidence. The Assistant Commissioner went home saying he would give his answer within three days.

That same evening, President Nasheed attended a function to mark the National Day of Sri Lanka. He left the function early and went to Muleeaage, concerned about the conduct of the Specialist Operations at the Artificial Beach.

By then, the pro-government and anti-government protestors were facing each other. Both sides carried offensive objects like sticks, rods and bottles. Among the protestors were criminal elements. It was likely that there would be a violent clash. This was around 10 pm.

Nevertheless, President Nasheed gave orders for the withdrawal of the Specialist Operations from the area, but they refused to depart claiming it was an “unlawful order”. They further claimed it was their sworn duty to remain there to prevent a breach of peace and violence. They stayed put.

For the second consecutive night, the Specialist Operations refused to obey the Deputy Commissioner’s order to remove the broadcast cables being used by VTV and DhiTV to cover the protests saying it was an “unlawful order” and could not be executed without a court order.

President Nasheed then contacted the head of Marine Police who was off-duty and other MPS personnel who he believed were dependable. They were instructed to withdraw the Specialist Operations from the scene. The head of the Marine Police expected some Specialist Operations Commanders to be arrested and transported to the island of Dhoonidhoo (“Dhoonidhoo”).

The Specialist Operations refused to budge. They said that if the military were sent there as a peace-keeping force, they would withdraw. At the request of the Commissioner of Police, the MNDF Malé Area Commander dispatched a military command to Artificial Beach. The Specialist Operations withdrew from the scene and headed for Republican Square.

When President Nasheed learnt that the military was there, he was displeased. Immediately, he ordered the military to withdraw. The military withdrew to a nearby spot known as the ‘Saw Mill area’. A clash then ensued between the opposing groups.

On receiving news of the clash and acting on the orders of the Malé Area Commander, the military returned to the Artificial Beach. They placed themselves between the protestors and brought the situation under control. The Specialist Operations also learnt of the clash and, in spite of the Deputy Commissioner’s orders, rushed to Artificial Beach.

Some witnesses claimed that about this time, while they were retreating from Artificial Beach, Specialist Operations personnel attacked them at a restaurant known as Tuscalusa. It is not disputed that Specialist Operations pursued and attacked them. They also vandalized the MDP meeting place called Haruge and battered some MDP members including senior members of the Government. Thereafter, they returned to the Republican Square and joined the rest of the police.

E. Attempt To Arrest and Punish the Specialist Operations

Some witnesses were of the view that President Nasheed was himself shaping the events of the night with a view to declare a state of emergency. A valid declaration of emergency would suspend several vital fundamental freedoms under the Constitution. The tense situation at Artificial Beach, however, fizzled out by midnight.

The Specialist Operations were by now alive to President Nasheed's intention to arrest, incarcerate and punish them. On his order, the military approached them to make the arrests; the Specialist Operations, backed by the 'Blues' (i.e. the non-specialized police), objected and refused. The Specialist Operations stated their demands in plain and simple words. First, the Commissioner of Police must give the assurance that there would be no "unlawful orders". Next, the Commissioner of Police must give his assurance not to arrest, incarcerate or punish them for their actions on the night. Some policemen were heard to call for the resignation of President Nasheed.

Elsewhere at about the same time, MDP activists attacked the VTV building smashing doors and windows and setting fire to parts of the building. As a result, the VTV live-feed was interrupted for a brief time.

Also about the time, the MNDF HQ was put on Red Alert under directions of the MNDF Malé Area Commander, signifying preparations for war. This is the highest level of readiness in the MNDF HQ, reserved for external threats to national security or a natural calamity, and is accompanied by the sound of a siren which can be heard across the whole of Malé.

President Nasheed in his written statement dated 8 August 2012 to the Commission said that:

"... the MNDF headquarters was supposed to be on red alert (state of emergency)."

The announcement of Red Alert presupposed a prior declaration of a state of emergency by the President. The acts of the President on the night of 6 February 2012 and morning of 7 February 2012 were all based on the presupposition that a valid state of emergency had been declared.

No state of emergency was declared and proclaimed by the President on 6 or 7 February 2012. His evidence before the Commission was that he wanted to confer with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Speaker of the Parliament to discuss the question of declaration of a state of emergency. This was well after sunrise on 7 February 2012. It never happened. In any event, the Constitution does not require the Chief Justice and the Speaker to be consulted or for them to attend before the President before the President makes a declaration of emergency.

On the basis of the evidence heard by the Commission, there appeared no basis for a declaration of a state of emergency.

While the Specialist Operations stood firm at Republican Square, President Nasheed was at Muleeage, the Presidential Palace.

Inside MNDF HQ that night, as on most of the previous 22 nights, was President Nasheed's Minister of Defence, Tholath Ibrahim ("Tholath"), who at one time was part of the military. With him were all the MNDF Generals in Malé. Top among them was Malé Area Commander of the MNDF, Brigadier General Ibrahim Didi ("Gen. Didi") together with Brigadier General Ahmed Shiyam ("Shiyam") and Major General Moosa Ali Jaleel ("Jaleel"). Tholath was in consultation with President Nasheed. They coordinated their attention and operations against the Specialist Operations at Republican Square.

A team was sent from MNDF HQ to negotiate a peaceful settlement with the Specialist Operations at Republican Square. Nothing materialized. This time, the Specialist Operations asked for the Commissioner of Police to meet them personally and give the assurance they sought. The Specialist Operations remained in riot gear.

As time wore on, more policemen joined the Specialist Operations at Republican Square. On 7 February 2012, some of the new arrivals were off-duty. Some had been transferred away. They all rallied to the cause of the Specialist Operations at the Republican Square. The swell of support continued to grow.

The Commissioner of Police, however, refused to have anything to do with the Specialist Operations men at Republican Square. He took the view that their refusal to obey orders signified they were no longer members of the police.

While still at Muleeaage, President Nasheed decided to arrest the policemen at the Republican Square and incarcerate them in Dhoonidhoo.

On the ground at Republican Square, there was an impasse. Both sides wanted to avoid an armed or unarmed combat as it would irreparably divide the nation and their own families; the military had family connections with the police and vice versa.

There were other reasons for the reluctance of the military to engage the police in a hand-to-hand combat. Chief among these was the superiority and skill of the Specialist Operations in dealing with internal disorder and riots as opposed to the MNDF that is trained to deal with external aggression.

Then, there was a second effort was made at conducting negotiations. It appeared as though a settlement of sorts was reached. The Specialist Operations, together with the 'Blues', agreed to go to Iskandhar Koshi (their barracks) to meet with the Commissioner of Police. However, they stopped in their tracks when they were told that they could not take their riot gear with them. Once again, battle lines were drawn between the military and the police at the Republican Square. The impasse was prolonged.

It was in this state of affairs that President Nasheed chose to walk to the MNDF HQ to assess the situation and give orders. He arrived there at 4.37 am, just before the morning prayer call. Soon after, he ordered MNDF soldiers to enter Republican Square and deal with the situation. They were not successful, just like the previous two attempts earlier that morning.

While at the MNDF HQ, President Nasheed conferred with his Defence Minister, Home Minister, the Foreign Minister, a member of Parliament and high ranking military officers.

By this time, some politicians had called for the public to rally support for the police at the Republican Square. The then Vice-President, Dr. Waheed, had earlier that morning, issued a statement calling upon the security forces to uphold the Constitution and to refrain from unconstitutional and illegal instructions.

At about 7 am, President Nasheed walked out of MNDF HQ to deal with the situation personally and stood face-to-face with the police at the Republican Square. He was protected by his bodyguards who were armed as well as by other MNDF personnel. There is no evidence that either the Cabinet colleagues or military officers present advised him to enter Republican Square. President Nasheed failed to achieve his objective. He was heckled. The crowd comprising both police and civilians hurled abuse at him including clear calls for his resignation. President Nasheed returned to the MNDF HQ.

Back inside the MNDF HQ, the problem continued to be discussed. His advisers told him that there was no military solution to the problem without the use of lethal firearms. The President made it clear to all the military Generals and commanders that the use of lethal firearms was unthinkable. There was an order to lock up the firearms which was immediately executed. Even the bullets in the guns of the gate guards were retrieved and sent to the armory. In the event that anyone was tempted to get hold of the AK-47 rifles in the Coast Guard vessels, they were retrieved, transported to and secured in the Coast Guard armory on instructions of Gen. Shiyam. The police did not possess any lethal firearms. In addition, a group of Coast Guard personnel were sent to Dhoonidhoo to secure the armory there since the island was under the control of the police and the MNDF did not want the police to access lethal firearms. As the use of firearms was ruled out, a negotiated solution was the only way forward. But President Nasheed thought otherwise. He insisted on confronting and combating the policemen at Republican Square.

About then, MDP supporters who had gathered near the Reef Side junction walked towards the centre of the Republican Square calling for the arrest of the “mutinying” police. Once they were within close proximity, the police turned on them and a skirmish ensued in which MDP

supporters were subjected to violence causing injury to a number of senior MDP members, including Members of Parliament.

Around this time, roused to action by President Nasheed, the Defence Minister and the Chief of Defence Forces, MNDF soldiers came out of the MNDF HQ. Tear gas canisters were initially thrown by them and were subsequently hurled each way with devastating effect. At this time, the wind favoured the policemen. So, the MNDF soldiers were more affected by the gas. Republican Square descended into chaos. Command and control was completely lost for both the military and the police.

In Malé, on that day, there were some 300 active MNDF personnel which compared with about 1,000 police. Amid the chaos, some soldiers crossed over to join the police, giving them moral and material support. This was an unfathomable situation since the military and police were taught and trained to work together and not against each other.

Following the tear gas attack, the police and the anti-government protesters hurled stones and whatever else they found at the MNDF HQ. The policemen destroyed many things at the Police HQ. They also hurled chairs and other things through the windows at the MNDF HQ. The military returned to the MNDF HQ and closed the main gate.

Inside the MNDF HQ, President Nasheed took some rest and had a cup of tea. He had discussions with those present with him as well as some of his Cabinet and Government colleagues by way of a conference call. He also had telephone discussions with his close aides.

Around this time, a group of soldiers from Kalhuthukala Koshi marched down the streets and joined the protestors at the Republican Square. There is some discrepancy as to how they left Kalhuthukala Koshi, but the fact that they came and joined the protestors is undisputed.

At this time, Dr. Ibrahim Didi, the then President of the MDP (“Dr. Didi”), contacted President Nasheed and proposed that a peaceful solution to the problem be worked out. President Nasheed agreed. Dr. Didi attempted to contact MP Mariya Didi but was unsuccessful. He then contacted

MP Ibrahim Mohamed Solih, the MDP Parliamentary Group Leader, and communicated his idea to release an all-party joint statement. He also called the leader of the PPM, Abdulla Yamin, and the leader of the DRP, Ahmed Thasmeen Ali. They told him that they wanted to speak to President Nasheed directly. When Dr. Didi communicated the same to President Nasheed, the latter informed him to go to the office of the Indian High Commissioner, D.M. Mullay, who was arranging a similar dialogue. There was consensus that there should be a peaceful settlement, the idea being to give their support to President Nasheed for three days during which he should find a solution. This, however, did not materialize because other developments overtook these efforts.

F. Three Critical Participants

Shortly after the military retreat, three men arrived at the Republican Square:

- Retired Colonel Mohamed Nazim (“Nazim”). He had retired from the Defence Force after what, according to him, was unfair and unjust action against him by the MDP government. He won his case against the State. He is now the Minister of Defence.
- Retired Deputy Commissioner of Police Abdullah Riyaz (“Riyaz”). He was dismissed from the police force after what he too claims, was unfair and unjust treatment by the MDP government. A Court upheld him and ordered he should be reinstated. He is, at present, the Commissioner of Police.
- Mohamed Fayaz (“Fayaz”). He was an ex-policeman who was promoted to the post of Deputy Commissioner of Police by President Nasheed. He was later appointed as the Deputy Minister of Transport and Communication. He is, at present, the State Minister of Home Affairs.

They had been watching what was going on at Republican Square and felt it was their moral obligation and public duty to intervene. These three men, when they arrived at Republican Square, appeared to enjoy positive rapport with the opposition groups outside the MNDF HQ,

and quickly assumed leadership roles, particularly with the police. There is no suggestion that they were appointed or given specific authority.

They then extracted an assurance from the military officers that no lethal firearms would be used. As a result, they persuaded the crowd to move away from the main gate of the MNDF and generally calmed them down.

In these circumstances, Fayaz received a telephone call from the Defence Minister Tholath suggesting a meeting. Somehow, it was the other two who in fact went to the meeting after they received an assurance that they would not be detained inside the MNDF HQ. While inside, Nazim was warmly welcomed by some soldiers.

Nazim and Riyaz met Tholath in the presence of high-ranking military officers. Nazim conveyed to Tholath the crowd's demands for the resignation of President Nasheed and the resignation of the Commissioner of Police, Ahmed Faseeh, and both his deputies. It was agreed between Nazim and Tholath that President Nasheed would give a response by 1.30 pm on 7 February 2012. Tholath immediately indicated that President Nasheed's resignation was out of the question, but agreed to convey the message to him. Immediately thereupon, Nazim and Riyaz came out and met the crowd at Republican Square.

By then, it became public knowledge that India would not send her troops to intervene in the domestic conflict in Maldives.

At the Republican Square, Nazim addressed the crowd in these words:

“Assalaam alaikum. I hope everybody is okay. Yes, I have just met with the Defence Minister and all high-ranking military personnel and made a proposal of ours. The proposal was that the President should resign without condition. And, after that, to transfer all powers to the Vice President. Our second condition was that the Commissioner of Police Ahmed Faseeh and both his deputies resign at one. We told them these are non-negotiable conditions. These are not things up for further discussion. We assure the

beloved Maldivians, military and police who are with us that, God willing, these things will happen this way by the deadline we have set for 1:30 today. When I entered the military headquarters I was given a very happy scene. Everyone within the military lifted me up and very completely revealed their support for me. God willing, things will happen today as we want. I ask the military, police and people to patiently remain with us.”

G. Critical Events within the MNDF HQ

Inside the MNDF HQ, President Nasheed sought the rank and file to assemble before him. The officers stood beside him. He asked the rank and file:

“What do you think I should do?”

They were quiet. Then he addressed one soldier and asked him for his views. The soldier remained silent. The President then asked another soldier for his views. His response was that President Nasheed should resign.

The President then said that was the view of only 2 men. He wanted to know the view of the other soldiers. They were silent. President Nasheed then asked those who wanted him to resign to raise their hands. A very large majority of soldiers raised their hands in unison. The officers watched in silence.

Then one soldier asked the President, “What is the guarantee you will resign?” The President responded, “you wouldn’t see me on the streets any longer”. Evidence was heard that one soldier specifically asked the President to resign within three hours. President Nasheed then went on to say:

“As stated in the Constitution the Vice President will takeover. That is how it is stated in the Constitution. So, I don’t believe anyone should be angry. We can end this in a good manner. So please give the opportunity. I will talk to the people outside as well. I will tell them to give the route to go to the President’s Office. After going to the President’s Office I

will submit my resignation. I will ask of you - you should protect my family as well. You should facilitate that for me. I should talk about this with you. Right here, first right? When I go to President's Office, I will publicly say that, in my perception the best option for the country right now is my resignation. That's what I'm saying. Please keep monitoring; please keep an eye on things. Nothing should go out of control. Then another group should not go and arrest other people. Such a thing should not happen. You should be responsible. You are what remain. I am doing this to be sincere to you in my opinion. In my opinion I always tell you that the most important in the Maldives is you. No one else, I know that even a public vote won't say otherwise. But you should give me my half a cent. Look I also have many deliberations and many tasks."

President Nasheed's declaration of his decision that he agreed to resign spread like wild fire.

H. Other relevant events

After President Nasheed's intended resignation was publicly known there was a spontaneous "invasion" of MNBC1. Members of the public with the assistance of the military and police threw teargas inside the main compound and forcibly entered the premises. They burnt the MNBC flag and hoisted the national flag to signify that it was the national broadcasting station. MNBC's logo was changed to the logo of TVM, as it was known under President Gayoom's time. Some witnesses also saw Ali Waheed, the brother of President Waheed, at two separate events, both prior to the actual resignation of President Nasheed, and heard him claim that he was there "on the authority of his brother, the Commander-in-Chief."

This was about the same time that there was a second attack on Haruge property by some parts of the police and military together with members of the public.

I. Steps Leading to President Nasheed's Resignation

President Nasheed said he wanted to go to the President's office to resign. He also wanted to go to Muleeaage to change his clothes. His SPG said it would be unwise to do so and his jacket and tie were brought to him. He was keen to walk to the President's office, but he was again advised

against this. Eventually, about an hour after his announced intention to go to the President's Office, he went there in a car belonging to the military driven by his SPG driver. A bodyguard and the Defence Minister accompanied him in the car. A number of his SPG and other military walked beside the car. They drove into the President's Office from the south side. Riyaz, Fayaz and Nazim accompanied the President to the President's Office. They walked in front of the car.

Once there, President Nasheed alighted from the vehicle, walked directly to the lift across the courtyard and went to his room on the second floor. There, he met his secretary who was already packing his personal effects at his request. From there, he went to the meeting room on the same floor where he met with some Cabinet Ministers and senior officials. Although it was not the normal Cabinet meeting room, the Chief of Staff of the President's Office explained that this was because they had not had the time to prepare it for a meeting. Upon meeting with him, some Cabinet Ministers questioned the President's decision to resign and asked if there were any alternatives. He responded by saying that he saw no alternatives and the Home Minister and Defence Minister concurred with him.

From there, he went to a room adjacent to where the press had gathered. Nazim told him that the Speaker was asking about the letter of resignation. President Nasheed inquired of his legal secretary and she replied that it was not yet ready. President Nasheed then asked for a pen and a piece of paper and, in his own hand, wrote:

“Considering the situation in the country today, I believe great damage might be caused to the people and the country if I remain President. I therefore submit my resignation as President of Maldives”

Immediately thereupon, President Nasheed handed his resignation letter to his acting Cabinet Secretary, Hisaan Hussain (“Ms. Hussain”), who passed it to Abdul Hameed to take it to the dispatch section of the Cabinet Secretary's office.

From there, President Nasheed went to meet the media and said:

“Beloved citizens of the Maldives. I see that if I were to continue as President of the Maldives a lot of harm may befall Maldivians and the Maldives. Therefore, as of today, I am resigning from the post of the President of the Maldives. I have never wanted to rule by force. I came to this decision because, in my opinion, I sincerely believe, that if this government is to be maintained, it would require the use of extreme force and cause harm to a lot of citizens. Also, in my opinion, if attempts are to be made to maintain this government, it is very likely that the Maldives will become susceptible to foreign influences. I have always wished the best for Maldivians and will continue to do so in the future. I have made the decision today to resign for the benefit of Maldivians, with sincere respect and keeping in mind the high levels of support Maldivians have shown me. I hope that Maldivians will see a more prosperous tomorrow and I pray our lives will be good now and in the hereafter.”

This was an impromptu speech without notes or a draft.

While the resignation letter was at the Cabinet Office, Riyaz and Fayaz inquired if there was someone to deliver it to the Speaker and offered to facilitate its delivery.

Before leaving the President’s Office and walking as he wished to Muleeaage, President Nasheed went to the fifth floor and addressed his staff.

About the same time, Riyaz retrieved the resignation letter and accompanied President Nasheed to Muleeaage on his departure from the President’s Office. Riyaz then took the resignation letter to the Police HQ and an officer went to the home of the Speaker who signed the receipt at 1.47 pm. A copy of the resignation letter and the receipt is attached herewith as Appendix XIV.

Having received the letter of resignation, the Speaker facilitated the swearing-in of the new President in the presence of the Chief Justice at the Parliament at 3.36 pm.

President Nasheed remained at Muleeaage from about 2.00 pm until about 6.30 pm. Although he requested to leave earlier, he was advised by SPG to remain at Muleeaage until security clearance was received whereupon he was transported by car to his personal home accompanied by SPG.

As described above under section V, the next day it was reported by the International press that President Nasheed was claiming to have been forced to resign.

As per the testimony of Ms. Hussain, two days after the resignation, she asserted internally within the MDP that protocol had been violated in the transfer of power. Specifically, the assertion was that the resignation letter was not delivered to the Parliament by the official dispatch and that the delivery was made by private individuals. This claim received the support of Mr. Ahmed Mausoon, the Chief of Staff of the President's Office. Although it was apparently accepted within the Party, it was not pursued until President Nasheed and the MDP decided to appear before the Commission where he claimed the following:

"It [the resignation letter] didn't go to the Speaker... I didn't give them a letter. The President's office didn't give them the letter... I had no intention of sending this letter...According to the Constitution, Shahid [the Speaker] would have received my letter. But as soon as Hissan had [the] letter and she left it somewhere these three gentlemen [Riyaz, Fayaz and Nazim] went and grab[bed] the letter. They took the letter with them, and now I knew that they took the letter to Shahid's [the Speaker's] home. And there is no receipt. So I didn't send a letter. I was trying to get out of the resignation, I have never resigned. I was trying to get out of the situation... There is no receipt of the letter. Please find if there is? So, I would maintain, there was no resignation made in that letter. The only reason why it becomes a letter is simply because, there is an emblem but this is the President's Note Pad's... It has to have a number, it has to be a proper letter "Official Kanthah thah". This [is] official business. There is a law on official business and this says how, letters are supposed to be dealt, and they had also given me a time that I should resign before such a time, and I was convinced that he would shoot me at that time. Because in my mind this fellow has reached the depths and there is no way he could not get

this thing done. And the time that he gave the ultimatum that he gave was running out. And then there is another bigger protocol that we finally brought in .. all letters have to go through electronic mail. This is again to track letters to see that there are no rogue letters. This is the biggest rogue letter. Finally the biggest rogue letter was written by me.”

VII. OBSERVATIONS & CONCLUSIONS

In accordance with the order of issues specified in the third paragraph of the Decree, analysis of the applicable law and facts leads the Commission to the following observations and conclusions.

A. Context

With the adoption of the Constitution in 2008, the Maldives embarked upon a new era as a democratic State. It is evident that Maldives is experiencing the challenges of its transition. It is a young democracy with many new and fragile institutions and bodies which are contending with persistent elements and tendencies of a former political culture. The type of political traditions and culture which is required for these institutions and bodies to function effectively and mature needs to be fostered.

Perhaps the most fundamental requirement for a vibrant democracy is the rule of law which appears weak in the Maldives. Notably, the Commission was confronted regularly by allegations of the breach of the rule of law and clear absence of confidence in the institutions which are entrusted with upholding it. Indeed, this appeared central to the frustrations of government under President Nasheed and his own lack of recourse to the judiciary to redress grievances and settle disputes. He did not appear alone.

Similarly, a central requirement for democratic society is the independent and impartial administration of justice, especially the police and security services which are to serve and protect the citizenry without fear or favour. The Commission observes that there is a substantial lack of trust and confidence of at least a part of the population in these services. Far too many people appeared to have been persuaded that their interests would not be protected or served by the current system of administration of justice. Moreover, the system does not appear capable to reassure segments of the public and engage their confidence. It was remarkable for the Commission to learn, in the course of its inquiry, that self-evident use of force and out of control behavior by the police has not, to this date, appeared to have been addressed by the responsible

authorities or relevant institutions. In the absence of the effective and timely functioning of these bodies, the human rights and fundamental freedoms specified in the Constitution remain theoretical.

Democratic governance is epitomized by the existence and functioning of a representative, participatory and deliberative parliament where the will of the people is reflected in the law-making process. The practices and spirit of parliamentary bodies and procedures are crucial in this regard. This needs to be learned, lived and promoted. It is especially important that parliament is effective in the face of deep social divisions, and it is vital that such differences of political views and interests are respected and can be negotiated through peaceful deliberations. The Commission observed that the clear difficulties in the Parliament and amongst political parties have the effect, in part, that the politics of protest are conducted through the streets. This needs to change.

Finally, a cornerstone of democratic society is the freedom of expression including for the media such that genuinely held views may be shared and interests advanced. However, the freedoms of expression and the media are not unlimited and are, in fact, qualified by respect for the equal rights and freedoms of others and their reputations, as well as by public interests such as public order. In particular, the freedoms of expression and the media do not entitle to incite discrimination, hatred or violence. The State is also under a duty to promote tolerance and to protect individuals and communities from attacks upon their reputations. The Commission observes that the climate prevailing in Maldives is one rife with uncontrolled slander, libel, and defamations, as well as incitements to hatred and violence. The heavily politicized media also does not appear to distinguish itself by due restraint or journalistic ethics. This has contributed to a climate of fear, cynicism, and mistrust which is a major part of the context in which the events of 6 and 7 February 2012 unfolded.

B. Transfer of Power

All relevant constitutional provisions are in Section IV. Only a resignation in terms of Article 121(a) and a succession in terms of Article 114 are under consideration.

First, the vacation of the office of the President and the assumption of office by an incoming President are exclusively governed by the Constitution. Therefore, as long as the two processes are in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, nothing can alter or annul a resignation and assumption of office so performed.

There is no question but that each step prescribed by the Constitution regarding resignation of the President and assumption of office by an incoming President was fulfilled. This is subject only to the caveat about the possible non-compliance of protocols.

The fact that there were protocols which had been created for general office management could never vary or amend the relevant Constitutional provisions. Perhaps correspondence was recorded or noted in a particular way, and there were usual procedures about delivery, but they are not matters of substance and do not supersede Constitutional stipulations.

The Commission does not overlook the fact that it heard evidence that from time to time, President Nasheed would announce appointments, sign formal letters confirming them, but that his staff would hold back delivery for a period in case he changed his mind as he did, even when there had been publicity of the appointment. The wisdom of such a practice is not for the Commission to comment upon, but such practice can have no influence on what the Constitution required in respect of a Presidential resignation.

Consequently, subject only to the issue of the resignation not being voluntary as a result of illegal coercion, the assumption of office of the President by Dr. Waheed on the afternoon of 7 February 2012 was in accordance with the Constitution.

C. Illegal Coercion

As stated earlier, the onus is on President Nasheed to demonstrate how his clear resignation was not valid or effective because it was not a voluntary act and was a reaction to illegal coercion.

A variety of matters were raised in support of this contention and we turn our attention to those of substance. When this was first raised on 8 February 2012, it was said that a gun had been held to his head. This was then refined to suggest that it was a metaphor and that there was no weapon. What President Nasheed told the press is noted in Section V of this Report.

As noted in Section IV, President Nasheed at an early stage made clear that lethal firearms were not to be used. This was a theme he continued with up until the time of his resignation and referred to it in his impromptu speech to the media (see Section VI(B) of this Report).

It is an inevitable conclusion of the totality of the credible evidence that the only available firearms which were anywhere near the President between 4.37 am and 1:30 pm on 7 February 2012 were those which were carried by his SPG. There is no evidence to suggest that the arms in possession of the SPG were a threat to him.

The next level of contention is encapsulated in the publication by two leading members of the MDP, Ameen Faisal and Mohamed Aslam (“Aslam”), entitled *“A Coup D’état backed by Police and Military”* (the “MDP Paper”). The MDP Paper uses the words “coup” and “mutiny” tautologically as though they mean one and the same thing. The MDP Paper also uses the expression “rebellion” to describe the transfer of power on 7 February 2012.

As to resignation by coercion, the MDP Paper contains only two sentences:

“Also, the fact that the President went to the President’s Office under dangerous conditions and three civilians and select Military Personnel were closely monitoring the President’s movement inside and issuing orders to the staff inside, signifies that the President’s resignation took place under duress.”

“The Report asserts that the President’s resignation had been tendered under duress as he faced a situation where he was certain his own life and the safety of his people was compromised.”

It is clear that on the journey from the MNDF HQ to the President's Office, the car transporting President Nasheed travelled through an abusive mob and many insults were hurled at him. But, he was protected by his SPG and there is no credible evidence that the other military personnel were antagonistic towards him. Rather, they were there to ensure his safety during the journey. As to the position within the Presidential Office building, the Commission does not accept that his activities were closely monitored or that the military or the three civilians were issuing orders. Even if they had been, that does not signify coercion.

President Nasheed initially said that it was Nazim who delivered the threat to kill him and his family and sack the whole of Malé. The Commission pointed out to him that Nazim never met him before he announced his decision to resign. President Nasheed clarified that the threat had been issued when Nazim met Tholath and the Generals and that it was conveyed to him by Home Minister Hassan Afeef ("Afeef"). Afeef claimed to have heard it from Tholath. Tholath denied communicating any threat to Afeef. All those present in the initial meeting between Nazim and Tholath testified that no threat was conveyed.

President Nasheed added that he heard Nazim issue the threat when Nazim addressed the public at Republican Square. President Nasheed further referred to a video footage, which, according to him, showed Nazim carrying a pistol. The Foreign Minister in President Nasheed's government, Ahmed Naseem ("Naseem") said that Shiyam, who was with President Nasheed in the MNDF HQ, had a gun that he could take out anytime and shoot President Nasheed. Yet another witness, the Minister of Tourism in President Nasheed's government, Ms. Mariam Zulfa, said that it was Riyaz who had a gun. This was because according to her there was a bulge in the pant pocket of Riyaz. The Commission is forced to conclude that this is evidence which although it may be the presently-held view of those people, is so inconsistent with the totality of the material that it cannot be relied upon. Finally, all the credible evidence showed that neither Nazim, nor anyone else, delivered the threat alleged by President Nasheed. The Commission has read the entire speech Nazim made to the public and police at Republican Square. It does not contain a threat as alleged by President Nasheed or otherwise.

There was also very clear and conclusive evidence to justify the Commission to conclude that President Nasheed was safe and free within the MNDF HQ. First Lieutenant Ali Ihusan (“Ihusan”) was an eyewitness to the main events at the MNDF HQ and at Republican Square. He stated before the Commission that President Nasheed was walking freely within the MNDF HQ and that if there was any hostility towards him, he would have been enclosed in a room and not allowed to go outside. Further, Tholath testified that people working for President Nasheed inside the MNDF HQ including himself, were working freely and none of them felt threatened at that time. The Commission also heard from Shiyam who testified that he was with the President all the time and that there was no threat nor any word of anger against him. He added that there was nothing stopping President Nasheed from leaving the MNDF HQ just like Naseem who left from the back gate on a motorbike. Many other witnesses said that President Nasheed was safe and free when he was at the MNDF HQ. Further, Gen. Didi, in his testimony before the Commission, also rejected the notion that firearms could have been used to threaten President Nasheed.

Coercion as a result of unlawful activities by other people was a constant theme from many witnesses. Because illegal or unlawful acts or omissions were going on in the community, it seemed to be the view of a number of witnesses that this had the effect of coercing the President to resign. The Commission does not comment on the allegations of such activities because they are not within our mandate but there is clear and unequivocal evidence before us that there are serious allegations of wrongdoing by the military, the police and private citizens. For the Maldives to move forward, these matters must be addressed. However, the Commission is unable to see how it can be contended that such wrongdoings perpetrated upon others can be said to have any coercive effect upon the President. Indeed, until the time of his resignation, President Nasheed possessed of many powers under the Constitution that he could have utilized including the lawful use of force. He chose not to. That decision may be classified as praiseworthy, but he cannot now contend that because he made those choices, that he was “forced” into resigning because of what others were doing around him.

There were a multitude of allegations that there was some plot to force President Nasheed to resign. It was impossible to find any clear or consistent theory as to who, when or how these

things might have occurred. A great many names were bandied about, but with no evidential basis for the allegation. Chief among those named were the present President Dr. Waheed, former President Gayoom, present Minister of Defence Retired Colonel Mohamed Nazim, present Chief of Armed Forces General Ahmed Shiyam, leader of Jumhooree Party Qasim Ibrahim, ex-Minister of Defence Tholath Ibrahim, present State Minister of Home Affairs Mohamed Fayaz, present Commissioner of Police Abdulla Riyaz and Interim Deputy Leader of PPM Umar Naseer, and leader of the Adaalath Party Sheikh Imran Abdulla. President Gayoom was accused of planning and financing the coup d'état. Belatedly, President Nasheed provided the Commission with a list of some 67 names, whose bank accounts and telephone logs he requested be scrutinized. These allegations were unsupported by any evidence.

All sorts of allegations were made against Retired Colonel Nazim on how he purportedly stalked President Nasheed, controlled his movements and dictated what he should say. Nazim, it was said, even wanted the pen used by President Nasheed to write his resignation. There was ample credible evidence rebutting these false allegations. Such allegations are very easy to make and some naively suggested that if the Commission trolled through scores of bank accounts, telephone records, SMS logs and intelligence reports, all would be revealed. The Commission lacks the ability to do so comprehensively, although when it made specific requests in individual cases, information was provided and revealed nothing of consequence.

The Commission summoned all the personalities named above. General Shiyam, Retired Colonel Nazim, State Minister Fayaz, the then-Defence Minister Tholath Ibrahim and Commissioner Riyaz consented to the Commission's scrutinizing their bank accounts. The Commission found nothing untoward or incriminating.

Aslam, while appearing before the Commission, read about an SMS attributed to Mr. Saleem, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Environment. The SMS spoke of a distribution of 2.4 million Rufia to the "mutinying" policemen. The Commission summoned Mr. Saleem. He debunked the message effortlessly, claiming that he did not recall sending such a message. After hearing him, the Commission would not invade and investigate the privacy and personal affairs

of all and sundry as desired by President Nasheed and his aides in the absence of minimally credible supporting evidence.

Although no part of the Commission's mandate, there have been frequent references to a coup d'état. The notion that there might be a coup d'état was first postulated by President Nasheed's Youth and Labour Minister, Hassan Lateef, who in the presence of the Minister of Transport, Adil Saleem, asked President Nasheed whether what they were witnessing was a coup. The President replied:

"This is nothing but a coup."

After the MDP Paper, several witnesses have asserted before the Commission that there was a coup d'état on 7 February 2012. So the Commission has decided that it would, in the interest of the Maldives and the international community, nevertheless exceed its remit under the Presidential Decree and make its findings and declare its conclusion on this issue.

The best expression of the allegation of the coup d'état is in the MDP Paper and another note published by the MDP on 21 June 2012 entitled "The Central Role of Mr. Mohamed Waheed in the Maldives Coup d'état" (the "MDP Note"). The basic proposition of President Nasheed is that there was a coup d'état and that it was perpetrated by those politicians who suffered a major electoral defeat in the presidential election in 2008.

This Commission does not accept that there was a coup d'état.

To begin with, the proposition that there was a major political defeat inflicted by the MDP on its political opponents is unconvincing, as demonstrated by the electoral results in Section VI of this Report. To the contrary, there remained a robust opposition. Rather, it is evident that President Nasheed lost the support of the coalition supporting the MDP which had brought him to power and it is an irrefutable fact that MDP never enjoyed a clear majority in the Parliament.

By the end of 2011, President Nasheed was seriously alienated. It might be that various quarters wanted to bring down President Nasheed. It is possible that some politicians had bizarre and fanciful ideas of bringing him down. One of them dreamt of a “ladder revolution”. None of these dreams materialized.

President Nasheed and his supporters say that the military and others did not support him. They abandoned him. They were disloyal to him. They did not have proper plans to protect him in the situation he found himself on 7 February 2012. The Commission finds that these accusations are without foundation. A coup d'état required positive action against President Nasheed. Non-action and inaction cannot constitute a coup d'état. Moreover, the Constitution does not call for loyalty of anyone to the President. It calls for the loyalty to the Constitution.

On 6 and 7 February 2012, President Nasheed did not consult or inform the military about his plans and intentions. He did not seek their advice. Accordingly, there was nothing about which the senior officials could plan or advise.

Reliance was placed on the fact that some senior officials were in plain clothes during an emergency. This cannot be evidence of a coup d'état.

Whether there could have been any form of ‘planning’ of a coup d'état against the President leading up to the day of 7 February 2012 was convincingly discussed in evidence by an MNDF officer when he said:

“If it was a plan, President Nasheed was involved in the planning. Because his decisions were the things which lead to these events. His decision to pull out MNDF and police from Artificial Beach is the starting or ignition of this whole thing. His decision to remove the cordon to do whatever he wanted [led to] MDP people [coming] in through the cordon area and I think they were trying to solve the issue but police attacked them. But that decision to move the cordon, the decision to not have any other course of action [and] then just attacking the police... the decision of pulling in all MNDF personnel into the

headquarters at a time when it was pretty critical outside.. so all these decisions if this was a plan, the person who made decisions could be, I mean, involved in the planning. See, most of the events that day [were] spontaneous. There is no question about it. But I wouldn't say there [were] no plans to overthrow the government. Every day we have plans to overthrow government all year [round] since 2003...and through 2008 we saw people doing it."

In sum, the Commission concludes that there was no illegal coercion or intimidation nor any coup d'état. The Commission has received no evidence supporting or to substantiate these allegations. This disposes the main mandate of the Commission.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

As there was no illegally coerced resignation of the President on 7 February 2012, and as the subsequent transfer of power followed precisely the prescriptions of the Constitution, the Commission has no recommendations on these matters.

With regard to the facts, circumstances and causes of the events of 7 February 2012 that resulted in the transfer of power in the Maldives, the Commission makes the following general recommendations:

1. Immediate steps be taken to provide assistance and encouragement to the following State institutions with a view to their increased effectiveness and general performance in the service of the common good and public interest:
 - a. The Maldives Police Service and the Police Integrity Commission
 - b. The Judiciary and the Judicial Services Commission
 - c. The People's Majlis
 - d. The Human Rights Commission of Maldives
2. With respect to the administration of justice, in particular concerning allegations of police brutality and acts of intimidation, there is an urgent need for investigations to proceed and to be brought to public knowledge with perpetrators held to account and appropriately sanctioned.
3. The judiciary must enjoy public confidence and where there are allegations about judges' conduct, the Judicial Services Commission must act in a timely and definitive way and report.
4. The operation of a Parliament requires particular practices which have been cultivated in similar institutions over centuries, and the People's Majlis would be assisted in understanding these so that they can better carry out their constitutionally mandated functions.

5. There is also an urgent need to address an apparent climate of popular discontent and division engendering hatred between individuals and communities, propelled by the politicization of the media. To counter this trend, attention needs to be directed towards the promotion of journalistic ethics, tolerance and public reconciliation.

Overall, the Maldives needs to be assisted in strengthening the rule of law such that the institutions of the State may enjoy the public confidence necessary for a democratic society.

Dated in Malé, Maldives, this 30th day of August 2012

SIGNED

(Mr. Ismail Shafeeu)
Chairman

SIGNED

Justice G.P. Selvam
Chairman

SIGNED

Dr. Ibrahim Yasir
Member

SIGNED

Dr. Ali Fawaz Shareef
Member

SIGNED

Sir Bruce Robertson
International Judicial Adviser

SIGNED

Professor John Packer
International Legal Adviser



تذکرہ سرسره سر: 2012/2

مکرمہ سوغات و ہدیہ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ مَالِكِ الْمُلْكِ، ذِي الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ؛ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ
عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ، وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ الْكِرَامِ .

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و تاج پستری است که در آن یهودی را رختخواب و مسجدهای
نارسیه آید

[illegible]

۱۔ سو کہ اگر کسی کو قرضہ ملے یا نہ ملے اس کی قرضہ دہی و نہ دہی سے متعلق نہ ہو
 ۲۔ سو کہ اگر کسی کو قرضہ ملے یا نہ ملے اس کی قرضہ دہی و نہ دہی سے متعلق نہ ہو
 ۳۔ سو کہ اگر کسی کو قرضہ ملے یا نہ ملے اس کی قرضہ دہی و نہ دہی سے متعلق نہ ہو

وَصَلَّى اللّٰهُ وَسَلَّم عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ، وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ أَجْمَعِينَ؛ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ .

د تکریم خیر سارنور دوس، رنج پر ستر دوس، زړه رومو دوس
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 دوسو دوس، دوسو دوس، دوسو دوس، دوسو دوس، دوسو دوس، دوسو دوس

Wings!

دُبَّ سُرْدُوتُ عَرَبِيَّتْ بَرَسَمِ

مکرمہ شریفہ



مَدْرَسَةُ الْوَحْدَةِ

۱۱۰۰ شوشه اری شوشه شوشه ۱۱۰۰ شوشه شوشه شوشه

مکرمہ شریف و مکتبہ دارالعلوم دیوبند

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ مَالِكِ الْمُلْكِ، ذِي الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ؛ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ
عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ، وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ الْكِرَامِ .

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 أَجْمَعِينَ؛ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ.

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دعوت

عَرَفُورِ مَرِخ

سرسره سر: PRV/2012/133 - (1) - 1

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مَرَّ نَجْدٌ بِمَعْمَرٍ إِذْ هُوَ قَدْ دَخَلَ الْمَدِينَةَ وَنَزَلَ فِي بَيْتٍ مِنْ بُيُوتِهَا
 نَجْدٌ بِمَعْمَرٍ وَنَزَلَ فِي بَيْتٍ مِنْ بُيُوتِهَا وَنَزَلَ فِي بَيْتٍ مِنْ بُيُوتِهَا
 وَنَزَلَ فِي بَيْتٍ مِنْ بُيُوتِهَا وَنَزَلَ فِي بَيْتٍ مِنْ بُيُوتِهَا

1. 7 ژوئن 2012 نوں، قزو، قزاقستان دے قریبی سرحدی علاقوں وچ کھڑا ہون والے سولہ سالہ لڑکے نے اپنے گھر کے باہر سے ایک بندوق خرید لی۔

2. $\frac{1}{x^2} = x^{-2}$ $\frac{d}{dx} x^{-2} = -2x^{-3} = -\frac{2}{x^3}$ $\frac{d}{dx} \frac{1}{x^2} = -\frac{2}{x^3}$

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2012 29 رجب المرجب

زَعْرَدُ

[Handwritten signature]

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

١٥٠ شرح ١٥٠ شرح

تاد مفر ادر سرفم سرخ ادر مارا



ಮೈಸೂರಿನಲ್ಲಿ 2012/2 (21 ನೇ ಮಾರ್ಚ್ 2012) ರಲ್ಲಿ
 ಇದ್ದುಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಕರಿಗೆ
 ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳನ್ನು;

ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಕರಿಗೆ ಇರುವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳನ್ನು
 ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟಪಡಿಸುವುದು, ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು ಪಾಲಿಸುವುದು
 ಮತ್ತು ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು ಅಳವಡಿಸುವುದು, ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು
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 ಅಳವಡಿಸುವುದು, ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು ಅಳವಡಿಸುವುದು

ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಕರಿಗೆ ಇರುವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳನ್ನು
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ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಕರಿಗೆ ಇರುವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳನ್ನು
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وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ وَسَلَّم عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ، وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ أَجْمَعِينَ؛ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ.

ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಿಸಿರುವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳನ್ನು
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ಕೆ.ಎ.ಎ.ಎ.ಎ.

ವಿಜಯನಗರ

ಮೈಸೂರು

Decree Number 2012/4

Changes brought to the 'Commission of National Inquiry'

Decree of the President of the Maldives

I, Mohamed Waheed, President of the Republic of Maldives order and decree the following.

Whereas, identifying the need for an independent and impartial investigation of the change of government and related events of 7th February 2012, for the ongoing peace of the Maldives;

Whereas, entrusting the Commission of National Inquiry with the independent and impartial investigations of the following issues; the events that transpired in the Maldives from the 14th of January 2012 to the 8th of February 2012, the change of government on the 7th of February 2012, whether the resignation of the then President Mohamed Nasheed was illegal and coerced, and whether the government changed legally on 7th February 2012;

This Decree shall thus reconstitute the 'Commission of National Inquiry' established under the Presidential Decree Number: 2012/2 (21 February 2012);

Thus, the commission now constitutes of Mr. Ismail Shafeeu, Justice G. Pannirselvam, Dr. Ibrahim Yasir Ahmed, Dr. Ali Fawaz, and Mr. Ahmed Saeed. The co-chairs of the Commission shall be Mr. Ismail Shafeeu and Justice G. Pannirselvam. The work of the commission shall commence according to the annexed 'Regulation of the Commission'.

I request Prosecutor General Uz. Ahmed Muizzu to oversee the work of the Commission to ensure that it is in line with existing laws;

On completion of the said investigations, I request the Commission to submit a report to the President of the People's Majlis, Prosecutor General, Attorney General and me.

This decree was written and signed on 27th of Rajab 1433 of the Hijri Calendar, which falls on the 17th of June 2012 being a Thursday, in Male', the capital of Maldives.



(National Emblem)

President of the Republic of Maldives

Decree Number 4/2012

Revising [the Composition of] the "Commission of National Enquiry"

Presidential Decree

I, Mohamed Waheed, President of the Republic of Maldives, hereby order and decree as follows:

WHEREAS, it is necessary, for the perpetual national interest of the Maldives, to conduct an independent and impartial investigation of the change of Government that occurred on 7th February 2012 and the events that transpired therewith;

WHEREAS, the Commission of National Inquiry is tasked with the mandate of conducting an independent and impartial inquiry into the events that occurred in the Maldives from 14th January 2012 to 8th February 2012 and the events leading to the change of Government on 7th February 2012 in order to determine whether the resignation from Office of the then President Mr. Mohamed Nasheed was a result of duress and whether the change of Government on 7th February 2012 was illegal;

NOW, THEREFORE, I hereby proclaim this Decree to:

Revise [the composition of] the Commission of National Inquiry established under Presidential Decree Number 2/2012 (21 February 2012) as provided herewith in this Decree;

Declare that the Members of the Commission of National Inquiry shall be Mr. Ismail Shafeeu, Justice G. Pannir Selvam, Dr. Ibrahim Yasir Ahmed, Dr. Ali Fawaz Shareef, Mr. Ahmed Saeed; and that the Co-Presidents of the Commission shall be Mr. Ismail Shafeeu and Justice G. Pannir Selvam, and that the Commission shall carry out its mandate in accordance with the "Rules of Procedure" forming part of this Decree;

Appeal to the Prosecutor General Uz. Ahmed Muizzu to carry out oversight of the work of the Commission of National Inquiry and to ensure that its work is carried out in accordance with the laws of the Maldives;

Request the Commission of National Inquiry to submit, upon completion of its work, a report of its findings, to myself, the Speaker of the People's Majlis, the Prosecutor General and the Attorney General.

DONE in Male', the Capital of the Republic of Maldives, this Twenty Seventh day of the month of *Rajab* in the *Hijri* Year Fourteen Hundred and Thirty Three, corresponding to the Seventeenth day of June in the Year Two Thousand and Twelve.

Mohamed Waheed
President of the Republic of Maldives

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಸಂದರ್ಭ: 2012/9

"ಅಧಿಕಾರವು ಇದ್ದು ಸರ್ವವನ್ನೂ ಸಂಸ್ಕರಿಸುವ" ಓ ದೇವರಾಜಾ ಸರ್ವವನ್ನೂ ಸಂಸ್ಕರಿಸುವ
ಯೋಗವನ್ನು ಹೇಳುವುದು

ಮಹಾಶಯದ ಸಂಸ್ಕರಣೆ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳುವ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ مَالِكِ الْمُلْكِ، ذِي الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ؛ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى
سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ، وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ الْكِرَامِ.

ಇದನ್ನು, ದೇವರಾಜಾ ಸರ್ವವನ್ನೂ ಸಂಸ್ಕರಿಸುವ ಮಹಾಶಯದ ಸಂಸ್ಕರಣೆ ಹೇಳುವುದು.

ಇದನ್ನು ಸಂಸ್ಕರಿಸುವುದು ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳುವ 2012/4 ಯ ಅಧಿಕಾರವು ದೇವರಾಜಾ ಸರ್ವವನ್ನೂ
ಸಂಸ್ಕರಿಸುವುದು ಇದ್ದು ಸರ್ವವನ್ನೂ ಸಂಸ್ಕರಿಸುವ "ಅಧಿಕಾರವು ಇದ್ದು ಸರ್ವವನ್ನೂ
ಸಂಸ್ಕರಿಸುವುದು ದೇವರಾಜಾ ಸರ್ವವನ್ನೂ ಸಂಸ್ಕರಿಸುವ" ಯೋಗವನ್ನು ಹೇಳುವುದು ಸಂಸ್ಕರಿಸುವುದು
ಸಂಸ್ಕರಿಸುವುದು

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2. د اېښتو پر مهال د دغو ټولنو د غړو، 27 د اړيکې 2012 د اړيکې تر ټولو.

Commission of National Inquiry

RULES OF PROCEDURE

1. Purpose

- (1) The Commission of National Inquiry (CoNI) was established under a Presidential Decree (Decree Nos. 2012/2 and 2012/3) under Article 115 (o) of the Constitution of the Maldives to conduct an independent and impartial investigation into the events in Maldives from 14th January 2012 to 8th February 2012. The Commission will also explore the facts, circumstances and causes of the events of 7th February 2012 that resulted in the transfer of power in the Maldives. Following the conclusion of the hearings, the Commission will compile and submit a report to the President, Speaker of the Majlis, the Attorney General and the Prosecutor General including any recommendations it deems appropriate and in the public interest.
- (2) These Rules and Procedures will serve as guidance for all functions of the Commission and the Commission staff. These rules may be altered, amended and updated as needed by a majority vote of the Commission.

2. Citation and Commencement

- (1) These Rules may be cited as the Rules of Procedure of the Commission of National Inquiry and shall come into force on 17th June 2012.

3. General

- (1) The Commission has the authority to determine their staff requirements and hire their own staff.
- (2) The Commission encourages public to provide names and addresses of all persons they feel ought to be heard, and to provide Commission copies of all relevant documentations including statements of anticipated evidence, at the earliest opportunity.

- (3) The Commission may grant standing to people whose participation may be helpful to the Commission in fulfilling its mandate. The Commission will determine on what terms standing may be granted.

4. No determination of liability

- (1) The Commission is not to rule on, and has no power to determine any person's civil or criminal liability.
- (2) Notwithstanding the above, the Commission is not to be inhibited in the discharge of its functions by any likelihood of liability being inferred from facts that it determines or recommendations that it makes.

5. Composition of Commission

- (1) The Composition of the Commission shall be the following:-
 - a) Mr. Ismail Shafeeu, Chairman of the Commission
 - b) Justice G Pannir Selvam, Chairman of the Commission
 - c) Dr. Ibrahim Yasir
 - d) Dr. Ali Fawaz Shareef
 - e) Mr. Ahmed Saeed

6. Appointment of Secretary and Other Staff

- (1) The Chair of the Commission may appoint a secretary and other staff:-
 - a) To attend the sittings of the commission;
 - b) To record their proceedings;
 - c) To keep their papers;
 - d) To request and record the evidence of witnesses; and
 - e) Generally to perform such duties connected with the inquiry as the commissioners may instruct, subject to the directions, if any, of the Chair.

7. Terms of reference

- (1) The Commission is required to inquire into and report on the events in Maldives from 14th January 2012 to 8th February 2012.

- (2) The Commission is required to inquire into and report on the facts and circumstances leading to the transfer of power on 7 February 2012 and to determine whether the resignation of President Mohamed Nasheed was obtained under duress, as claimed by him, and whether the transfer of power was illegal.
- (3) The Commission, in the pursuance of its mandate, shall:
 - a. hold such inquiries and make all such investigations as are necessary to fulfill its mandate;
 - b. review the material previously gathered by CoNI and identify any gaps and lacunae that may exist in such material;
 - c. obtain further material evidence from individuals, organizations and state institutions as may be required including documents, photographs, audio and video footage, bank statements, minutes of meetings, telephone records, and any other relevant sources of evidence and may if necessary seek court orders for such purpose;
 - d. examine any persons or persons who may have been directly involved with or may be in a position to provide relevant information or material evidence relating to the events that resulted in the transfer of power;
 - e. Put in place such measures that ensure the security and confidentiality of such testimony;
 - f. Undertake rigorous deliberation to draw conclusions from the evidence obtained.
- (4) The Commission shall carry forward from the work already done.

8. Sittings of the Commission

- (1) The Chairman shall conduct its hearings and preside at its deliberations.
- (2) The presence of a majority of the members of the Commission shall be required at its sittings. The Commission shall, nonetheless, endeavour to conduct its sittings in the presence of all its members.

- (3) All hearings and sittings of the Commission shall take place in private.
- (4) Only members of the Commission shall take part in its deliberations.
- (5) The Commission shall endeavour to reach its decisions on the basis of consensus failing which the decisions shall be taken by a majority of the Commission. The Commission may appoint legal counsel, who will assist the Commission throughout the inquiry.
- (6) The Commission may appoint legal counsel, who will assist the Commission throughout the inquiry.

9. Powers and proceedings

For the purpose of conducting the inquiry, the Commission shall have the power to:-

- (1) Procure and receive all such evidence, written or oral as the Commission may think it necessary or desirable to procure.
- (2) Request any person in Maldives to attend any meeting of the Commission to do all or any of following within such period as appears to the commission to be reasonable-
 - a) Give evidence;
 - b) Produce any document, record or other thing in his custody or under his control that relate to a matter in question at the inquiry;
 - c) To produce any other thing in his custody or under his control for inspection, examination or testing.
- (3) Set time allocations for the conduct of interviews. For this purpose, Commission will send a request in writing to the person before he or she is interviewed.
- (4) Examine all such persons as witnesses as the Commission may think it necessary or desirable to examine, and determine the order in which those witnesses shall be examined.

10. Evidence

- (1) Where a person is giving oral evidence at the inquiry, only the members of the Commission may ask questions.
- (2) A person as a witness may be called more than once.
- (3) Require the evidence (whether written or oral) of any witness to be made under a declaration.
- (4) The Commission may admit any evidence (written or oral) which might be inadmissible in a court of law. The strict rules of evidence will not apply to determine the admissibility of evidence.
- (5) Subject to Commission's discretion, the Commission may, as much as practicable and appropriate for a fair inquiry, refer and rely upon;
 - a) Any existing records or reports relevant to the subject matter of the inquiry
 - b) The statement of a witness given to the inquiry on a previous occasion
 - c) Any summary of background facts prepared by Commission
- (6) The Commission shall treat all documents and information it receives as confidential.
- (7) The Commission may prepare summaries of background facts and documents relevant to the subject matter of the inquiry.
- (8) The Commission, if necessary may have the evidence assessed by an expert.

11. Right to Counsel

- (1) Any one interviewed by or on behalf of the Commission is entitled to have one personal counsel present for the interview to represent his or her interests.

12. Code of Ethics

- (1) Every member of the Commission shall act on the following, when discharging the responsibilities and exercising the powers of the Commission:

- a. In the performance of functions act in accordance with the Constitution and the Laws;
- b. Promote the Rule of Law, and protect the rights and freedoms of the people;
- c. Uphold national duty and safeguard the interest of the people when discharging the responsibilities and exercising the powers of Commission;
- d. When discharging the responsibilities and exercising the powers of Commission, no one shall be discriminated against based on race, national origin, colour, sex, age, mental or physical disability, political or other opinion, property and wealth, birth or other status, family or native island, language or dialect, social status or position;
- e. Not to be influenced by any person or party when discharging the responsibilities and exercising the powers;
- f. Apply the Constitution and the Law impartially and without fear, favour or prejudice;
- g. Refrain from committing any act, or having any kind of involvement, or expressing any views or opinions, which may lead to the impartiality of the person being questioned, and refrain from any act which might question or compromise the independence, impartiality and fairness of the Commission;
- h. refrain from taking advantage of the prestige of his/her position or use any information acquired therein, for personal gains or to obtain similar benefits to another person;
- i. Information acquired shall not be used or disclosed to a third party.
- j. At all times and in all their actions, conduct themselves in a socially acceptable manner.
- k. Shall not act on behalf of any particular person or individual or be seen to be promoting or protecting any particular person or individual's opinions, rights or interests.

- (2) Ethics stipulated in Paragraph 1 shall apply to the Secretary, other staff and International Advisors of the Commission.
- (3) If the Chair and the Co-Chair recommends to the President that a member is in breach of this Article, the President then reserves the right to remove that member from the Commission.

13. Rights and Protection of the members

- (1) No criminal or civil suit shall be filed against any member of the Commission or staff of the Commission in relation to committing or omitting an act in good faith while undertaking responsibilities of the Commission or exercising the powers of the Commission.

(2) The Commission members and staff have immunity from all legal claims and proceeding regarding the work that they do in carrying their duties

14. Time-Frame.

- (1) The Commission shall submit its report, as per paragraph 15(1), by 31 July 2012,

15. Reporting

- (1) The Commission shall submit a report on its findings to the President, Speaker of the Majlis, Prosecutor-General, Attorney-General and on a read-only basis to former President Nasheed.
- (2) The report may contain findings of the investigations, recommendations and also anything else that Commission considers to be relevant to its mandate of it.
- (3) Report shall carefully consider and accurately represent the evidence received. Every witness to the inquiry shall be named in the appendices to the report.
- (4) The contents of the report are to be treated confidential until the report has been published by the Commission, as subject to an obligation of confidence owed by each one involved in the Commission.

- (5) The Commission shall use its best efforts to reach its conclusions by consensus failing which the Commission shall reach its decisions by majority of the Commission.
- (6) The report shall be signed by the Chairmen of the Commission.

16. Record management

- (1) During the course of the inquiry the Commission shall ensure that the record of the inquiry is comprehensive and well ordered.
- (2) At the end of the inquiry, the Commission must transfer the custody of the inquiry record to the appropriate public record office.

17. Miscellaneous provisions

- (1) The Commission shall not rule on and has no power to determine the civil or criminal liability of any person, but the commission is not to be inhibited in the discharge of its functions by any likelihood of liability being inferred from facts that it determines or recommendations that it makes.
- (2) Every witness requested to attend or appearing before the Commission shall have the same privileges and immunities.
- (3) Any matter not covered in this Rules of Procedure shall be decided by a majority of the Commission.

18. End of inquiry

- (1) The inquiry comes to an end on the date, after the submission of the report of the inquiry, on which the Chairman notifies the President that the inquiry has fulfilled its terms of reference or on any earlier date specified in a notice given to the chairman by the President.



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دَعُوْا، حُرُوفٌ مُّدْرَجَةٌ

سَرْمَتَه جُر: (IUL)CNI/2012/4

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4. اِس اِرِسَد پَرُو اِرِسَد
5. اَرَوَرَسَنَو اِرِسَد پَرُو اِرِسَد

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20 دسمبر 2012

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Appendix IX

Commission of National Inquiry

Male', Maldives

Record of Interviews done by the Commission

#	Date	Name	Adress
1	7.3.2012	Ali Ihusaan (1/2)	Raazdhan / S.Feydhoo
2	11.3.2012	Solih Moosa	Ma. Adhaarasam
3	11.3.2012	Amaanulla Ahmed Rasheed	Ma. Kaneska
4	12.3.2012	Ahmed Zahir	M.Halaveli
5	15.3.2012	Mohamed Ziyad	M.Muraga villa.
6	21.3.2012	Moosa Fathuhee	Dhafthar No: 5568
7	21.3.2012	Mohamed Fazeel	Ma. Janbugasdhoshuge
8	21.3.2012	Mohamed Nafiz	M.Jereyniam
9	21.3.2012	Abdulla Ramzee	Asaree manzil / Th.Thimarafushi
10	21.3.2012	Abdula Iqbal	Dhafthar No: 7352
11	22.3.2012	Ibrahim Shaneez	Dhilsaadhu / N.Kendhikulhudhoo
12	22.3.2012	Musthafa Mohamed	Dhilbahaaruge / Lh.Naifaru
13	22.3.2012	Ahmed Abdul Satthaar	Nooranhiya / Ha. Hoarafushi.
14	22.3.2012	Ibrahim Raoof	Bineemage / R.Kandholhudhoo
15	22.3.2012	Khuzaimath Adnan	Naseema villa / Adh.Maamigili
16	22.3.2012	Nafiz Umar	Thandiraimaage / K.Gafaru
17	22.3.2012	Mohamed Nazim	Dadroom / L.Gan
18	22.3.2012	Abdulla Shifah	Janburoalumaage / V.Felidhoo
19	25.3.2012	Shaif Hussain	Jinkoa / S.Hulhudhoo
20	25.3.2012	Mohamed Shujau	Husnuheenage / Gdh. Husnuheenage
21	25.3.2012	Ibrahim Adnan Anees	Beach villa / Ga. Maamendhoo
22	25.3.2012	Ahmed Abdul Rahman	Asareege / F.Nilandhoo
23	25.3.2012	Farhad Fikree	Dhafthar No: 2054
24	25.3.2012	Ahmed Faseeh	M.Dhiygali



25	25.3.2012	Abdulla Riyaz (1/2)	Dhafthar No: 1714
26	27.3.2012	Hussain Shifaz	Beach villa / Ga. Maamendhoo
27	27.3.2012	Mohamed Nashid	Sosan villa / L.Mundoo
28	27.3.2012	Nizar Hassan	Athirimatheege / Gdh.Kan'duhulhudhoo
29	27.3.2012	Fathimath Leena	Rediamge/ B.Thulhadhoo
30	27.3.2012	Fathimath Mihna	H.Aabaadhuge
31	28.3.2012	Ahmed Nilam	M.Hikiunimaage
32	29.3.2012	Abdul Raheem Abdul Latheef	G.Kan'ditholhi aage
33	1.4.2012	Hussain Waheed	G.Heylhi
34	2.4.2012	Ahmed Muneer	Dhilaasaage / Th.Omadhoo
35	2.4.2012	Ahmed Shameem	Randhoadhige / S.Hithadhoo
36	3.4.2012	Abdull Fairroosh	Khaneeru villa / S.Feydhoo
37	3.4.2012	Fareed Ismail	Dhafthar No: 8517
38	4.4.2012	Ibrahim Didi	H.Dhooriha
39	5.4.2012	Ahmed Saamee	H.Gasdhoshuge'dhekunubai
40	5.4.2012	Abdulla Ibrahim	Irumatheege / Ga.Gemanafushi
41	8.4.2012	Ibrahim Didi	H.Dhooriha
42	12.4.2012	Ismail Nazim	H.Guraathunge
43	15.4.2012	Abdulla Firushan	Ma.Ken'dhikulhudhoo
44	15.4.2012	Mohamed Hameed (1/2)	Ma.Coral Berry / Male'
45	16.4.2012	Nasrulla Ibrahim Majudhee	Dhafthar No: 3113
46	19.4.2012	Abdul Mannan	Hazaarumaage / B.Maalhos
47	19.4.2012	Abdul Raoof	Ma.Fas'eri
48	22.4.2012	Mohamed Sobah	G.Haazal house
49	23.4.2012	Ahmed Mujuthaba	Manhal / L.Gan thu'ndi
50	23.4.2012	Mohamed Areef	Kasthoorige / B.Eydhafushi
51	23.4.2012	Ali Rasheed	Kan'du'as / Ha.Dhidhdhoo
52	23.4.2012	Mohamed Rasheed	M.Ootyge
53	23.4.2012	Abdul Rahman Munaz	Flower / N.Manadhoo
54	22.4.2012	Adnan Usman	Bashimaage / Lh.Kurendhoo
55	24.4.2012	Moosa Ibarhim	G.Dim light
56	24.4.2012	Ahmed Rashad	Niyadhurugasdhoshuge / Dh.Kudahuvadhoo
57	24.4.2012	Ahmed Faisal	H.Dhekenanfaruge
58	24.4.2012	Rajunee Shuaib	Hiriali / K.Himmafushi



59	26.4.2012	Moosa Ali Jaleel	H.Raalhaahaa
60	29.4.2012	Ali Waheed Hassan Manik	M. Silver Scene
61	30.4.2012	Abdulla Yaameen	G.Dhoovehi
62	30.4.2012	Yoosuf Rafeeu	M.Bigfish
63	02.05.2012	Ahmed Thasmeen Ali	H.Ruvamage
64	02.05.2012	Imran Abdulla	Malhaaru / M.Kolhufushi
65	02.05.2012	Misbah Abbas	Bahaaree Villa / Gdh.Rathafandhoo
66	03.05.2012	Mohamed Shareef	Ma. Vah'maizandhoshuge
67	06.05.2012	Mohamed Didi	Igurumaage / S.Feydhoo
68	06.05.2012	Mohamed Fayaz (1/2)	M.Nan'naarige
69	06.05.2012	Ilham Ahmed	Orkidmaage
70	07.05.2012	Dr.Hassan Saeed	Dhiygaagasdhoshuge / S.Feydhoo
71	07.05.2012	Mohamed Rasheed (Meyley)	G.Sharoora
72	08.05.2012	Dr.Mohamed Waheed Hassan	M.Urika
73	08.05.2012	Dr.Abdul Majeed Abdul Baaree	H.Lantan
74	09.05.2012	Dr.Mohamed Jameel Ahmed	East Light / Gn.Fuvahmulah
75	09.05.2012	Dr.Ibrahim Didi (1/2)	G.Dhathuge
76	09.05.2012	Mohamed Nazim (1/2)	M.Seenukarankaage
77	09.05.2012	Mohamed Fishaavin Saleem	H.Isfahaan
78	10.05.2012	Thal-hath Ibrahim Kaleyfan (1/3)	Araaroot villa
79	10.05.2012	Mohamed Jinah	Fonimaage / S.Maradhoo
80	10.05.2012	Abdulla Muizz	Aa.Dawnshine
81	13.05.2012	Abdul Salaam	Bokarumaage / S.Maradhoo
82	13.05.2012	Naushad Ali	Mahumaage / Ha.Kelaa
83	13.05.2012	Umar Naseer	H.Dhonjeymuge
84	14.05.2012	Shafraz Abdul Rasheed	Hiria'seyri / Gdh.Thinadhoo
85	14.05.2012	Hassan Musthaaz	Asseyri / Th.Thimarafushi
86	14.05.2012	Saudulla Moosa	Pinkrose / M.Kolhufushi
87	14.05.2012	Ahmed Shuaib Rasheed	Violet Fehi / S.Hulhudhoo
88	26.06.2012	Ali Ihusan (2/2)	Raazdhan / S.Feydhoo
89	26.06.2012	Mauroof Khaleel	Ma.Zeppline / Male'
90	26.06.2012	Ahmed Faiz	Dhaftharu / Male'
91	27.06.2012	Abdhullah Ali	M. Shabeena / Male'
92	27.06.2012	Ali Abdulla	Kaamineege / N.holhudhoo



93	27.06.2012	Dhaaoodh Yahya	G.Dhanmaru
94	27.06.2012	Laila Manik	M.Gulisthaanuge / Male'
95	27.06.2012	Nathasha Mahir	H.Green / Male'
96	27.06.2012	Mariyam Zubair	Kalhumagige / Seenu Hulhudhoo
97	27.06.2012	Mohamed Mahir Easa	Hiyaavahi / Lh.Hinnavaru
98	28.06.2012	Thayyib Shaheem	Welcome Gate / Lh.Naifaru
99	28.06.2012	Abdhullah Shareef	Dearest / Seenu Feydhoo
100	28.06.2012	Moosa Fathuhy	Nayaanooru / Seenu Hithadhoo
101	28.06.2012	Mohamed Maaif	G.Shaamil / K.Male'
102	28.06.2012	Mohamed Nazim	M.Bird Line
103	28.06.2012	Ahmed Muhsin	Gulfamuge / Hdh.Naavaidhoo
104	28.06.2012	Ibrahim Rasheed	Rangiriteege / Adh.Maamingili
105	28.06.2012	Ibrahim Rasheed Ahmed	Athireege / Th.Buruni
106	28.06.2012	Ahmed Naseem	H.Finikuri / Male'
107	01.07.2012	Hussain Shuhaadhu	G.Kalhagaarimaage
108	01.07.2012	Aishath Shazla	Fescoge / Lh.Naifaru
109	01.07.2012	Ahmed Hussain	Silver Light / F.Dharanboodhoo
110	01.07.2012	Ibrahim Ihusan	Esheveli / Seenu Maradhoo
111	01.07.2012	Mohamed Ameen	Javahirumaage / Baa Dharavandhoo
112	01.07.2012	Adam Shareef	G.Thalvaaruge / Male'
113	01.07.2012	Ahmed Athoof	G.Selvio
114	01.07.2012	Mohamed Rasheed	H.Green weed
115	01.07.2012	Mohamed Niyaz	H.Moscoge
116	01.07.2012	Vidhaadha Umar	H.Murecs
117	01.07.2012	Abdulla Yaamin Moosa	M.Gaus
118	01.07.2012	Ahmed Fikuree	Dhafthar No : 4754
119	01.07.2012	Mohamed Saeed	Dhafthar No : 4924
120	02.07.2012	Laila Ali	M. Yagoothuge / Male'
121	02.07.2012	Mohamed Imran Shareef	M.Thanthaara / Male'
122	02.07.2012	Ahmed Easa	H.blue Mountain
123	02.07.2012	Abdul Rafiu	Galgaasge / K.Dhiffushi
124	02.07.2012	Mohamed Amir	G.Oinaashi / Male'
125	02.07.2012	Imran Zahir	Azum / Meemu Muli
126	02.07.2012	Aminath Sheeza	G. Haalam / Male'



127	02.07.2012	Hushaam Mohamed	Hirigaa / Lh.Hinnavaru
128	02.07.2012	Ali Shathir	Alivaage / AA.Feridhoo
129	02.07.2012	Abdulla Haseen	Linet / N.manadhoo
130	03.07.2012	M.Adil Saleem	H.Maadhil
131	03.07.2012	Mohamed Naeem	MA.Cool Wave / Male'
132	03.07.2012	Ismail Mohamed	Milaafaruge / Hdh.Vaikaradhoo
133	03.07.2012	Eeva Abdhullah	M. Dheyliya Villa
134	03.07.2012	Fareesha Abdulla	Bageechaage / GA.Fares Maathodaa
135	03.07.2012	Aminath Jameel	M.Vaagali / Male'
136	03.07.2012	Abdulla Saeed	M.Areesh / Male'
137	03.07.2012	Hamid Abdul Gafoor	H. Shady Corner
138	04.07.2012	Former President Mohamed Nasheed	G.Kenereege / Male'
139	04.07.2012	Former President Mohamed Nasheed	G.Kenereege / Male'
140	04.07.2012	Former President Mohamed Nasheed	G.Kenereege / Male'
141	04.07.2012	Former President Mohamed Nasheed	G.Kenereege / Male'
142	05.07.2012	Ahmed Shiyam	G.Mialani
143	05.07.2012	Abdul Raheem	G.Kan'ditholhi aage
144	05.07.2012	Hassan Afeef	G. Bodugaadhoshuge
145	07.07.2012	Abdulla Shafeeq Ali	Hazaarumaage / N.Foddhoo
146	07.07.2012	Ibrahim Ali	Dhaftharu- 6180 / Male'
147	07.07.2012	Mohamed Rasheed Qasim	Dhaftharu / Male'
148	07.07.2012	Ahmed Shafraz Naeem	G.Rankokaa Villa
149	07.07.2012	Mohamed Mazin	G.Tharijehige / Male'
150	07.07.2012	Mohamed Rasheed	M.Gulnooruge / Male'
151	07.07.2012	Hussain Ali	Maajehige / Gdh.Nadalla
152	07.07.2012	Hassan Khaleel	Finifenmaage / N.Manadhoo
153	08.07.2012	Fayaz Ibrahim	Welcome Villa / S.Hulhudhoo
154	08.07.2012	Ahmed Easa	Hiiyfaseyhage / N.Kendhikulhudhoo
155	08.07.2012	Ahmed Shareef	Ma.Rafratge / Male'
156	08.07.2012	Mohamed Nashid	M.Manadhoo / Male'
157	08.07.2012	Ahmed Nazeer	Dhaftharu / Male'
158	08.07.2012	Ibrahim Asim	Saam / Hdh.Neykurendhoo
159	08.07.2012	Mohamed Naseem	H.Vimla Annex / Male'
160	09.07.2012	Maufoof Zakir	Dhaaira / B.Kendhoo



161	09.07.2012	Mohamed Haleem	M.Million / Male'
162	09.07.2012	Moosa Waseem	Masthakaage / Lh.Naifaru
163	09.07.2012	Abdul Azeez Solih	Fehivilaage/ R.Alifushi
164	09.07.2012	Mohamed Musthafa Qasim	Gurahaage / R.Inguraidhoo
165	09.07.2012	Aishath Nasiha	H.Heenaagasdhoshuge
166	09.07.2012	Hussain Ziyad	Dhaftharu / Male'
167	09.07.2012	Hussain Hameed	Ranthari / Gdh.Gaddhoo
168	09.07.2012	Ibrahim Waheed	G.Maaoshi / Male'
169	09.07.2012	Hussain Zakariyya	H.Snow Drop / Male'
170	10.07.2012	Mohamed Shifaz	Madhoshimaage / Ha.Baarah
171	10.07.2012	Adnaan Mohamed	Araamuge / Sh.Fonadhoo
172	10.07.2012	Aminath Shaaneez Saeed	M.Nirolhu / Male'
173	10.07.2012	Mohamed Qasam	Sunny Dale / Ga.Dhiyaadhoo
174	10.07.2012	Mohamed Rasheed	Hulhu Male' Flat 2308
175	10.07.2012	Adam Haleem	Dhaftharu -3063 /Male'
176	11.07.2012	Ismail Shareef	M.Liuziyaana / Male'
177	11.07.2012	Ibrahim Khaleel	Hulhu Male' Flat 33-1-04
178	11.07.2012	Azvar Ahmed	Raiy Villa ge / N.Manadhoo
179	11.07.2012	Mohamed Zahid	Javaahiru Vaadhee /Th.Buruni
180	11.07.2012	Fazaail Musthafa Luthufee	Ma.Victory / Male'
181	11.07.2012	Aishath Nuzuhath	G.Pernis /Male'
182	11.07.2012	Aishath Rasheed	Handhuvareege / S.Feydhoo
183	11.07.2012	Easa Jameel	Moon / Hdh.Neykurendhoo
184	11.07.2012	Mohamed Aboobakuru	Nooraanee Villa / Ha.Dhiddhoo
185	11.07.2012	Mohamed Abdulla	Miyalanige / B.Maalhoo
186	11.07.2012	Nazeeha Ahmed	M.Dheefram Aage / Male'
187	11.07.2012	Aishath Suha	Ma.Kullhafaage / Male'
188	12.07.2012	Mohamed Nadheem	Dhaftharu 2365
189	12.07.2012	Badheeuulla Aboobakuru	Fenfiyaazuge / Ha.Thuraakunu
190	12.07.2012	Mohamed Zubair	Dhaftharu 6341
191	12.07.2012	Hawwa Sohwa	M.Seyboo Villa / Male'
192	12.07.2012	Mohamed Seeneen	M.Maamuli
193	12.07.2012	Saeed Ahmed	Dhaftahru Male'
194	12.07.2012	Misbah Abbas	Bahaaree Villa / Gdh.Rathafandhoo



195	12.07.2012	Mufeedha Moosa	Vaarey Villa / AA.Ukulhas
196	12.07.2012	Abbas Mohamed	M.Aa Alimas / Male'
197	12.07.2012	Abdulla Waseem	Endheri 6 / Hulhu Male'
198	15.07.2012	Ahmed Nasih	Nooreege / Gdh.Gaddhoo
199	15.07.2012	Abdulla Yazeedh	Dhaftharu 6704
200	15.07.2012	Hussain Salah	Gumreege / K.Kaashidhoo
201	15.07.2012	Ali Shareef	Cinamale 2 1401
202	15.07.2012	Mujuthaba Saeed	Janavareege / Ga.Kolamaafushi
203	15.07.2012	Adam Faisal	Victory House / B.Goidhoo
204	15.07.2012	Aishath Shiura	Fehige / N.Holhudhoo
205	15.07.2012	Aishath Shamla	H.Fairy Palace
206	15.07.2012	Abdulla Shaaz	Gandhakoalhimaage / Male'
207	15.07.2012	Moosa Fuad	M.Kinbidhooge
208	16.07.2012	Abdulla Naseer	G.Water Loo / Male'
209	16.07.2012	Ahmed Jilvaz Mahir	Merry Land / S.Hithadhoo
210	16.07.2012	Abdul Hameed Hassan	G.lanka
211	16.07.2012	Mohamed Fazeen	Haze lin / B.Thulhaadhoo
212	16.07.2012	Ahmed Nareesh	Fenigellidhaage / Ga.Kolamaafushi
213	16.07.2012	Ismail Manik	M.Charlot
214	16.07.2012	Abdul Hadhee	Transylavnia / GDH.Thinadhoo
215	16.07.2012	Abdulla Naseer	H.Aakaasia
216	16.07.2012	Abdulla Zuhair	Rabeeuge /N.Manadhoo
217	17.07.2012	Ahmed Naish	M.Huvandhu Gandhakoalhige
218	17.07.2012	Ahmed Shafaz	Javaahiru Vaadhee / K.hura
219	17.07.2012	Munshidh Ahmed	Ma.Fashuvi
220	17.07.2012	Hussain Adam	Kakaage aage / Male'
221	17.07.2012	Areesha Ali	Ma.Ranvilu / Male'
222	18.07.2012	Mahmood Raazee	Ma.Maadheli / Male'
223	18.07.2012	Moosa Fathuhee	Kosheege / Lh.Hinnvaru
224	18.07.2012	Ismail Ahmed	Jade / Th.Thimarafushi
225	18.07.2012	Hussain Abdulla	RS - 3869
226	18.07.2012	Aishath Shaistha Rasheed	M.Siskin / Male'
227	18.07.2012	Mohamed Ibrahim	Naaz / Sh.Milandhoo
228	18.07.2012	Hussain Ilham	G.Happy Side



229	19.07.2012	Imthiyaz Fahmee	M.Afzaa / Male'
230	19.07.2012	Hassan Thaufeeq	Nishan / Sh.Kanditheem
231	19.07.2012	Abdulla Mausoom	Raihaanuge / S.Feydhoo
232	19.07.2012	Mohamed Musthansir Bin	Dhaftharu 8583 / Male'
233	19.07.2012	Khalid Ali	Manzil / N.Manadhoo
234	19.07.2012	Hussain Rasheed	Rangiriteege / Adh.Maamingili
235	22.07.2012	Reeko Moosa Manik	M.Gul-Hazaaruge / Male'
236	22.07.2012	Mohamed Aslam	Gulfamuge / Gdh.Maathodaa
237	23.07.2012	Ahmed Naseem (1/2)	H.Hikifinifen maage / Male'
238	23.07.2012	Abdul Latheef Ibrahim	Dhaftharu 5418
239	23.07.2012	Hisaan Hussain	M.Noogiri / Male'
240	23.07.2012	Ahmed Shahid	Ma. Chanbeylee maage / Male'
241	24.07.2012	Ahmed Naseem (2/2)	H. Hiki Finifenmaage
242	24.07.2012	Hamid Fathhulla	Ma.Maafolheyge / Male'
243	24.07.2012	Shinaz Moosa	Vaarey Villa / AA.Ukulhas
244	24.07.2012	Ahmed Shuaib Rasheed	Violet Fehi / S.Hulhudhoo
245	24.07.2012	Shiham Mohamed Waheed	H.Azaadhevaadhee / Male'
246	24.07.2012	Adam Haleem	Haliviu / Sh.Lhaimagu
247	25.07.2012	Ahmed Mausoom	Ma.Pleasant Waves
248	25.07.2012	Hassan Bushree	Blue Bell / S.Hulhudhoo
249	25.07.2012	Ali Nahid	G.Paakeezaa / Male
250	25.07.2012	Hassan Jaleel	Snow Ball /S.Hulhudhoo
251	25.07.2012	Mohamed Luhushan	M.Venus Thari / Male'
252	25.07.2012	Hafsa Abdul Latheef	Villa De Sosun / Dh.Meedhoo
253	25.07.2012	Riyasa Fahmee	Hikandhigasdhoshuge / S.Hithadhoo
254	28.07.2012	Ibrahim Mohamed Solih (1/2)	M.Sunny Lodge / Male'
255	28.07.2012	Mohamed Saeed	M.Assidha / K.Male'
256	28.07.2012	Ibrahim Mohamed Solih (2/2)	M.Sunny Lodge / Male'
257	28.07.2012	Nasrulla Solih	Leak Villa / Gn.Fuvah Mulah
258	28.07.2012	Ibrahim Arif	Gulzaaruge / Lh.Kurendhoo
259	28.07.2012	Rasheeda Ahmed	Vaaruge / S.Hulhudhoo
260	28.07.2012	Athira Ali	Lily Park / Gdh.Rathafandhoo
261	29.07.2012	Mohamed Nazim (2/2)	M.Seenukarankaage
262	29.07.2012	Ahmed Fayaz (2/2)	M.Nan'naarige



263	29.07.2012	Abdulla Riyaz (2/2)	Dhafthar No :1714
264	29.07.2012	Ibrahim Hoodh	Aaseenuge / S.Hithadhoo
265	30.07.2012	Dr.Mohamed Waheed Hassan (2/2)	M.Urika
266	30.07.2012	Ali Ibrahim	Asareege / Gdh.Thinadhoo
267	30.07.2012	Qasim Ibrahim	M.Maafannu Villa
268	30.07.2012	Ahmed Saleem	Rabeeu manzil / Ha.Hoarafushi
269	30.07.2012	Dr.Ibrahim Didi (2/2)	G.Dhathuge
270	30.07.2012	Maumoon Abdul Qayyoom	Ma.Kin'bigasdhoshuge
271	31.07.2012	Ibrahim Haneef	Bilimagumaage / S.Hithadhoo
272	31.07.2012	Mohamed Hameed (2/2)	Ma.Coral Berry / Male'
273	31.07.2012	Ahmed Ibrahim Didi	M.Karishmaa Villa / Male'
274	01.08.2012	Mohamed Shafeeq	H.Shafeeq Ge / Male'
275	01.08.2012	Aishath Velezinee	Ma.Shimaag / Male'
276	01.08.2012	Hassan Luthufee	Falhoamage / S.Feydhoo
277	01.08.2012	Naushad Ali	G.Adhnee aage / Male'
278	01.08.2012	Ruqiyya Ahmed Didi	Ma.Comrad Villa / Male'
279	01.08.2012	Mohamed Riyaz (MP)	Ma.Daizy Villa / Male'
280	01.08.2012	Abbas Adil Riza	H.Nookurikeela
281	01.08.2012	Mariya Ahmed Didi	G.Oinaashi / Male'
282	02.08.2012	Thol-hath Ibrahim Kaleyfaan (2/2)	M.Araarootge / Male
283	02.08.2012	Mariyam Zulfa	M.Vainujeheyge / Male'
284	02.08.2012	Ibrahim Hameed	Ma.Coral Berry / Male'
285	05.08.2012	Hassan Ahmed	Hazaareege / R.Alifushi
286	05.08.2012	Shuaib Ali	G.Hidhaa / Male'
287	05.08.2012	Adam Migdhadh	H.Rose Merry
288	05.08.2012	Mohamed Niyaz	Ma.Nooru Villa
289	05.08.2012	Abdul Hameed Abdul Kareem	Lucky / Lh.Hinnavaru
290	05.08.2012	Maizaan Ali Manik	H.isdhoo
291	06.08.2012	Aishath Hudha Ahmed	M.Dheefram Aage / Male'
292	06.08.2012	Asim Mohamed	G.Measurin
293	06.08.2012	Imaran Ibrahim	M.Maakunge
294	06.08.2012	Shamveel Shareef	M.Sunny Cost / Male'
295	06.08.2012	Ali Thoriq	G.Gofi
296	06.08.2012	Ahmed Shamah Rasheed	M.Siskin / Male'



297	07.08.2012	Abdulla Mohamed	Lilymaage /Hdh.Nolhivaranfaru
298	07.08.2012	Aminath Shauna	Tristar / S.Hulhudhoo
299	07.08.2012	Ameen Faisal	H.Thandiraiymaage / Male'
300	07.08.2012	Ibrahim Rasheed	M.Pompiyaa
301	09.08.2013	Shifa Mohamed	G.Etna
302	26.08.2014	Ibrahim Mohamed Didi	Beach villa / S.Hithadhoo
303	27.08.2015	Hassan Latheef	H.Seaweed
304	27.08.2016	Ahmed Faseeh	M.Zaviya
305	27.08.2017	Mohamed Shifah	H.Themaage
306	27.08.2018	Mohamed Ziyad	M.Muraga villa.
307	27.08.2019	Ahmed Nilam	M.Hikiunimaage
308	27.08.2020	Thol-hath Ibrahim Kaleyfaan (3/3)	M.Araarootge / Male



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



COMMISSION OF NATIONAL INQUIRY

Male', Maldives

List of documentary evidence provided by the witnesses

CoNI Ref No	Submitted by
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/001	Lieutenant Mohamed Haleem
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/002	Ministry of Defense and National Security
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/003	Ibrahim Adnan Anees
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/004	Imthiyaz Fahmee (MP)
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/005	Former president Mohamed Nasheed
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/006	Former president Mohamed Nasheed
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/007	Bank of Maldives
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/008	Bank of Maldives
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/009	Bank of Maldives
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/010	State Bank of India
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/011	President's Office
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/012	Dr.Ahmed Shiham (Chanbeylee)
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/013	Shuaib Ali (Ma. Dhilkushage, A 076181)
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/014	Mohamed Riyaz (Parliament Member for Dhaandhoo)
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/015	Dr.Abdul Majeed Abdul Bari
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/016	Jamiyyathul Salaf (Ref no: 1433/L/052)
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/017	Shifa Mohamed (Former Education Minister)
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/018	Mohamed Aslam (Former Housing Minister)
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/019	Fazna Ahmed
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/020	Mohamed Zubair (A 048170)
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/021	Hisaan Hussain
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/022	Mohamed Hashim Umar
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/023	Mohamed Ameen (Baa Eydhafushi)
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/024	Mariya Ahmed Didi
coni/submtd.doc,ref/2012/025	Mariya Ahmed Didi

con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/026	Sabra Noordeen (A 050162)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/027	Adam Shareef (Former MD of MNBC)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/028	Adam Shareef (Former MD of MNBC)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/029	Mohamed Hameed (MC Hameed, A 058507)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/030	Mohamed Hameed (MC Hameed, A 058507)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/031	Abdul Mannan (Maldives Police Service)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/032	Abdulla Shiyad Mohamed (A 040339)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/033	Azim Zahir
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/034	Aishath Velezinee
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/035	Ibrahim Nashid (A 060509)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/036	Mohamed Nazim (Defence Minister)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/037	Aishath Velezinee
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/038	Mohamed Ameen (Javaahirumaage, Baa Dharavandhoo)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/039	Document from TVM (Ref no: con/ref-tvm/2012/036)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/040	Ibrahim Nasheed (G. Noomara Villa, A 060509)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/041	Brigadier General Ahmed Nilam
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/042	Raajje TV (Ref no: RTV/2012/60)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/043	Bank of Maldives (Ref no: BML/LEGAL/2012/886)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/044	State Bank of India (Ref no: MST/481)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/045	Dr. Aishath Shaistha Rasheed (A 044585)
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/046	Mohamed Aslam
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/047	Documents submitted from MDP
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/048	DQP - Reference to letter no DQP/2012/48
con/submtd.doc,ref/2012/049	Thol-hath Ibrahim - Statement

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم: 2012/7

"تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم" تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم
سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم

تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ مَالِكِ الْمُلْكِ، ذِي الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ؛ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى
سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ، وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ الْكِرَامِ.

تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم

تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم 2012/4 تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم
تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم 31 تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم 2012
تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم CNI/2012/188 19 تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم
2012 تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم
2012/4 تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم
تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم
تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم 30 تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم 2012 تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم تَیَمَّرَتُ سَرَسَرَهَتُم



وَصَلَّى اللّٰهُ وَسَلَّم عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ، وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ أَجْمَعِينَ؛ وَالْحَمْدُ
لِلّٰهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ .

د. محمد عارف سید، راجہ سید محمد، راجہ سید محمد، راجہ سید محمد،
راجہ سید محمد، راجہ سید محمد، راجہ سید محمد، راجہ سید محمد،
راجہ سید محمد، راجہ سید محمد، راجہ سید محمد، راجہ سید محمد،
راجہ سید محمد، راجہ سید محمد، راجہ سید محمد، راجہ سید محمد.

د. محمد عارف سید
راجہ سید محمد
راجہ سید محمد



COMMISSION OF NATIONAL INQUIRY

MALE', MALDIVES

TRANSLATION OF CONI'S TIMELINE FOR EVENTS OF JANUARY 16 TO FEBRUARY 7

14 January 2012 to 6 February 2012

1. On 15 January 2012 Criminal Court ordered the release of Dr. Mohamed Jameel Ahmed after Maldives Police Service (MPS) failed to show court any legitimate reason for his arrest.
2. On 16 January 2012 Maldives Police Service summoned Judge Abdulla Mohamed.
3. On January 2012 Chief Judge lodged an appeal at High Court to cancel police summons. High Court ordered an injunction on the summons, until Court reaches a verdict on the appeal.
4. With the injunction in place, Chief Judge did not arrive at the police station.
5. The military entered Chief Judge's home late in the night on 16 January 2012 and brought him under their protection.
6. Ten police officers met with the Police Commissioner on 17 January 2012 saying they were unhappy with unlawful orders being given to them by the government and senior police officers, making it difficult for them to act fairly towards political figures.
7. Once Chief Judge was arrested, starting from 17 January 2012, nightly demonstrations were held near the Maldives Monetary Authority (MMA) by members of the Opposition Coalition. Coalition protesters called for the release of Chief Judge and for the government to return to the Constitution.
8. President Nasheed met with police officers on 18 January 2012. It was a meeting held to reassure members of the police unhappy with the issue of Criminal Court Chief Judge that the arrest was not unlawful. Audio of what the President said during the meeting was leaked. The audio was leaked by the police.

9. Police Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner continued to express dissatisfaction with reluctance among Specialist Operations (SO) police to control the protesters.
10. Two commanders active in controlling protesters were transferred to Bodyguard Training. Three officers stationed in other parts of the country were put under the command of officers in charge of controlling protests.
11. A team of Maldivian lawyers lodged a case at the International Criminal Court on 23 January 2012 regarding the arrest of the Chief Judge of the Criminal Court.
12. President Nasheed met with the police on 26 January 2012. He repeated what he said when he met with them on 17 January. An audio recording of the meeting was also leaked.
13. Male' City Council erected a corrugated iron fence near MMA on 29 January 2012 where the nightly demonstrations were being held, limiting the room for assembly in the area. Police released a statement saying protests were not allowed in the MMA area. They appealed to protesters not to demonstrate in the vicinity and to do so only in vacant public spaces.
14. Vice President met with some leaders of the [Opposition] Coalition on the night of 30 January 2012 at Hilaaleege, his residence. He was asked at the meeting whether he was prepared to carry out his legal responsibilities. He said he was ready to do so. Coalition leaders held a press conference after the meeting to announce their endorsement of the Vice President.
15. A policeman's uniform caught fire on 31 January 2012 when a fireball was thrown at the police during the protests near MMA.
16. 1 February 2012 Police dispersed the coalition demonstrators as soon as the coalition protests began near MMA.
17. Coalition protests began at Artificial Beach on 2 February 2012. At the protest, Adhaalath Party leader Imran Abdulla calls for MNDF to arrest President Nasheed within five days.
18. MDP protesters began demonstration at Artificial Beach on 4 February 2012 before Coalition began theirs. Coalition protests were held in front of the PPM (Progressive Party of Maldives) Meeting Hall on Boduthakurufaanu Magu.
19. During protests on 5 February 2012, Deputy Commissioner ordered SO Commander to remove the live-feed cable strung across Boduthakurufaanu Magu by VTV and DhiTV television stations. The order was not carried out on the basis that it was not a legitimate action without a court order.

6 February 2012

20. Police Commissioner met with Assistant Police Commissioner Hussein Waheed and told him President Nasheed wishes him to resign as the manner in which he carries out his duties had resulted in a loss of confidence. Assistant Commissioner went home saying he would give his answer within three days.

6 February 2012 (Monday 19:00-20:00hrs)

21. Police Special Operations (SO) forces came to a state of readiness at the Henveiru Stadium in anticipation of potential events related to protests.

21:00-22:00

22. As on other nights, Coalition protests began at the Artificial Beach. MDP also began protests in the area.
23. Two Police SO officers at the Henveiru Stadium went to the area to observe how protests were proceeding. Seeing the atmosphere was not good, police at the Henveiru Stadium deployed to the Artificial Beach.
24. As protesters on both sides exchanged verbal abuse, police strengthened security in the whole area. They separated protesters into two groups on either side of the stage at the Artificial Beach with two police lines between them.
25. Police also moved journalists covering the protests behind the two police lines.
26. On the second consecutive night, SO refused to obey the Deputy Commissioner's order to remove the broadcast cable being used by VTV and DhiTV to cover the protests saying it was an illegal order and could not be executed without a court order.

23:00-00:00

27. At the protests Adhaalath Party announces that its National Council had unanimously decided President Nasheed was not a worthy leader and had declared their full support for Dr. Mohamed Waheed Hassan Manik.
28. It was also said at the protest that as President Nasheed had admitted in the international media to have acted against the Constitution, it was the President, the Home Minister and the Defense Minister that the police should arrest.
29. Home Minister informed Police Commissioner to remove police from the area where protests were being held.
30. Police Operations chief, dispatched to the scene of the protests by the Commissioner reported back that the situation was not good.

31. When Home Minister asked the Commissioner to remove police from the protest area for a second time, Commissioner told the Minister the situation was not good.
32. President Nasheed called the Commissioner and ordered the police to be removed from the area.
33. Deputy Commissioner inspected the area on orders from the Commissioner and reported the situation was not good.
34. President Nasheed called the Commissioner a second time and ordered him to remove the police from the area, saying he lost confidence of the Police.
35. As police had to be removed from the area, the Commissioner asked the Male' Commander of the Maldives National Defense Forces (MNDF) to have the military take over the area.
36. Commissioner ordered Deputy Commissioner and Special Operations head to remove police from the area.
37. Tactical Advisor of the Special Operations objected to removing police from the area His reasons were that the situation in the area was not good and protesters on both sides were in possession of weapons that could be used for violence.
38. On advice of the Tactical Advisor police refused to leave the area and said they would only leave on arrival of replacements.
39. Suspending the 'Journey of Justice' meeting at the MDP Haruge, a large number of them arrived at the Artificial Beach and joined the MDP protest.
40. President Nasheed personally called three officers who were not a part of the Operations and ordered them to remove police from the area. These three officers arrived at the Artificial Beach and attempted to remove the police from the area.
41. When the officers asked the police to leave the area, the Police Commander said they would not leave unless replacements arrive. President Nasheed phoned the Deputy Commissioner to say he was not adequately carrying out his responsibilities, and asked him to stay at home.
42. Without consulting with any other party, MNDF Male' Area Commander decided to deploy the military to assist police operations at the Artificial Beach.
43. A military platoon and a SWAT team arranged themselves on Boduthakurufaanu Magu, west of the Artificial Beach, away from the protesters.
44. On orders from the police commander all SO (Special Operations) officers left the Artificial Beach area and headed for the Republic Square.

45. As the Commissioner's conscience remained unconvinced that removing police from the area was the right decision, a letter of resignation was ordered. The letter was thus prepared and left on the Commissioner's table.
46. President Nasheed assured the Male' Area Commander that none of the MDP protesters in the area would cause unrest and ordered him to move the military officers from the Artificial Beach to the Military Headquarters.
47. On receiving the order from President Nasheed to have his officers removed from the area, the Male' Area Commander considered the situation and, seeing the atmosphere as uneasy, gave the order for them to move to the Saw Mill area instead of the HQ. He thought they may have to return to the Artificial Beach soon if they left.
48. Once the military left, protesters on both sides started throwing stones and water bottles. Both sides exchanged dangerous assaults. Some protesters and journalists were injured during the attacks.
49. On receiving news of the attacks, acting on orders of the Male' Area Commander, the military returned to the Artificial Beach. They placed themselves between the two sides and controlled the unrest.
50. When police, who were now at the Republic Square, received news of the violence at the Artificial Beach via police, 'intelligence' and the radio, SO police consulted among themselves and set out for the Artificial Beach in their vehicles without waiting for any further orders.
51. Noise at the Republic Square became so loud, the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner as well as other officers inside the Conference Room ran downstairs.
52. When they came down some of the vehicles had left the area. Deputy Commissioner and Operations Head tried to stop the remaining vehicles from leaving. The Deputy Commissioner stopped the last truck in the convoy and took away the keys. Some officers who had been in the truck headed to the Artificial Beach on foot. A few police officers stayed at the Republic Square.

7 February 2012 (00:00-01:00hrs)

53. Coalition alleged on a live television programme that protesters on the two sides had been provoked into a confrontation in order to declare a state of emergency.
54. Commissioner and an Assistant entered Bandaara Koshi.
55. MNDF Male' Area Command informed the Ground Commander at the Artificial Beach that the police were arriving there for a confrontation with the military and ordered him to arrest the police.
56. When police arrived at the scene they did not confront the military. They called on the protesters to leave the area.

57. Coalition announced that the protests for the night is over. However, a large number of Coalition protesters remained on the streets in the area.
58. Some SOs who went to the Artificial Beach went to the MDP Meeting Hall and caused severe harm to people and property in the area.
59. A military SWAT squad went to the MDP Meeting Hall area and began manning it.
60. Police returned to the Republic Square, and like all other nights, gathered to fall-in as is customary after Operations are over.
61. Deputy Commissioner ordered SOs to fall-in on the helipad in the Republic Square. He also ordered the 'Blues' to go to the conference hall at the military headquarters.
62. Police centres Bandaara Koshi and Kalhuthukkalaa Koshi had their alert sirens going.

01:00-02:00

63. A large number of 'Blues' arrive at the Conference Hall on receiving the Deputy Commissioner's order for the 'Blues' to do so.
64. Six SO Commanders were separated from other officers on orders from the Deputy Commissioner. An officer not part of the command structure encouraged this.
65. Senior police officers active at the Republic Square called the Commissioner and asked him to come there to meet with the officers present. Commissioner did not agree to the request.
66. MNDF left Bandaara Koshi and cordoned off the 'Green Zone'.
67. On request of the Commissioner, a Deputy Commissioner went inside Bandaara Koshi. The Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner and Defense Minister consulted and agreed to arrest the SO Commanders.
68. Defense Minister ordered the military to arrest the police officers identified by the Deputy Commissioner.
69. A ten member squad of military officers left Bandaara Koshi to make the arrests.
70. The SO Commanders who had been separated from the rest of the officers phoned their friends to say they were going to be arrested and taken to Dhoonidhoo [prison island].
71. On hearing that SO police were to be arrested, 'Blues' in the Theater hall came and joined them.
72. At this point, the two former SO officers who had been transferred to bodyguard training and an officer from the Academy joined the police and began playing a lead role.

73. The Commanders who had been isolated went and joined the police gathered on the helipad in the Republic Square.
74. When the military arrived at the Republic Square to arrest some police officers, all the officers on the helipad stood up and came towards the military to object.
75. Military ground commander notified Military Operations that making the arrests was difficult.
76. Glass on the outside of the VTV building was smashed and the inside of the building was set on fire VTV live feed was interrupted for a brief time.
77. A large number of people belonging to Coalition gathered on the corner of Orchid Magu and Chaandhani Magu claiming it was to protect the Constitution.
78. Police cordoned off the Republic Square to stop the public and journalists from entering it.
79. As the number of police in the Republic Square increased, a military platoon on Ameer Ahmed Magu near Bandaara Koshi was coming to a state of readiness and put on gas masks. There were about 200 police officers at the Republic Square both in uniform and plainclothes.
80. A meeting resumed at the MDP Haruge. Some members of the MDP Parliamentary Group addressed the meeting.
81. Police at the Republic Square were heard calling for the resignation of President Nasheed.
82. The media reported that a large number of police officers had been arrested, numbering up to a 50 at the time. The media also reported that the MDP meeting had maintained it would not leave the Meeting Hall until justice had been established, and also that it had called for a state of emergency to be established.

02:00-03:00

83. One of the three police officers highly active on the Republic Square began issuing orders to the police with a megaphone. He commanded all police officers at the Republic Square to remain united as one.
84. A Deputy Commissioner appealed to the police to leave the area voluntarily instead of waiting for the military to remove them. However, the police did not heed the Deputy Commissioner's advice. When he moved away, the police officers in the area demanded that he promise not to issue any illegal orders. But the Deputy Commissioner responded in a manner that implied that he could not make a false promise.
85. Coalition protesters began braking the temporary fence erected around the MMA area by the Male' City Council.

86. The military ground commanders who had stated that it was difficult to make the police arrests were taken to the Operations Rooms and asked to meet with Generals and senior officers. The Defense Minister presided over this meeting.
87. Military ground commanders reiterated at the meeting that making the arrests were difficult. The reason given was that when the 'force ratio' needed in such an operation was considered, the police far outnumbered the military and had the same weapons as the military.
88. When some senior military officers proposed negotiating with the police, it was approved at the meeting.
89. MNDF behind cordons fired gas canisters at Coalition protesters gathered near Reef Side.
90. Vice President speaking via the media at his residence in Hilaaleege called on the military and the police not to obey any illegal orders.

"Yes! It is also my duty to say something at a time of such national crisis. I support the peaceful activities of the many to protect the country's constitution and its faith. It is important at this time that all Maldivian institutions especially those of law enforcement to protect and maintain the Constitution and laws. I call upon everyone not to obey an illegal order. In this sorrowful time, I also call upon the Maldivian security services not to leave room for those seeking to dissolve our security and not to allow any harm to be caused to people and their property, especially the media. It saddens me very much that VTV and other places have been damaged tonight. I call upon those who cause such damage to refrain from doing so. I also assure you that I will do everything I can as the Vice President of this country to free us from this dangerous and tragic time. May Allah return our country to a peaceful and secure state Amen."

91. Media reported that it has been said at the MDP Haruge that President Nasheed is in good health.
92. A large number of Coalition members were gathering near the MMA Police had cordoned off the area and banned the public from entering it.
93. The military got ready to disperse the police at the Republic Square. As a first step, a military officers team was sent to negotiate with the police.
94. The military entered into discussions with about 10 police officers playing a lead role at the Republic Square.
95. Police said they will only return to work again if the Commissioners guarantees they would not have to obey any illegal orders. Police also asked that no action be taken against the police officers who had partaken in the night's activities.
96. The military assured the police they had no intention of a confrontation between them.

97. During the discussions the military requested police to go to Bandaara Koshi to meet with the Commissioner. The police, however, wanted it to be at the Shaheed Hussein Adam Building [main military headquarters].
98. The police negotiation team entered Bandaara Koshi for further discussions with their senior officers which concluded in the decision should the police go to Iskandhar Koshi, the Commissioner would meet them. Negotiation team proposed it to the police once outside.
99. Police arranged themselves in platoons ready to go to Iskandhar Koshi.
100. When the police started towards Iskandhar Koshi military conveyed an order from the Home Minister that they should leave without weapons and all riot gear.
101. One of the police officers playing a lead role at Republic Square addressed the police and offered the advice that no police officer should lay down their weapons.
102. Police decided that since giving up their weapons and riot gear was a precondition for going to Iskandhar Koshi, they would not go.
103. Military negotiation team said if the condition was not met, they might have to charge.
104. A military platoon in combat uniform arranged themselves on the eastern side of the Republic Square near the Big Flag.
105. Although the police came to a state of readiness when the military platoons formed, some senior police officers were meeting with ground commanders and appealing for non-confrontation.
106. Members of the public gathered at the Republic Square called for President Nasheed's resignation.

03:00-04:00

107. The vehicle for jamming mobile signals was near President's official residence, Muliaage. But the signal jammer in the vehicle had been broken a week previously.
108. The news spread that the military had ordered that the police phone network be disconnected. But the police continued to call friends and others on their phones.
109. In a phone interview with the media at 03:15 President Maumoon called on the police and military to obey the laws.

"Yes the news I received. What I am hearing. I am very upset about who did this, and I condemn those who did it. This is private property. Also it is a tragedy that Maldivian people's possessions and lands are being damaged and set on fire. This is very wrong. What I can say is that I condemn this in the loudest voice. Something like this should not be done. I also make the appeal that nobody

should do anything to damage anybody's property or possessions or their lives or bodies. This is our nation. We should not destroy our country with our own hands. We all should obey the laws. Obey Islam. Everybody must according to law. Nobody is exempt. The government has to do the same. The military, the police, the public, parties, everybody should act according to the law. We should all be friendly and resolve this problem and take our country to a safe shore. I would like to say that. Do not set fire to anywhere. Do not do anything you will regret later. Everybody act in the ways that our glorious religion has instructed. Obey our Constitution. Respect our laws. Let's all unite to save the country. That is what I want to say. What I must say is that it is because the government is acting against the law. Because things are being done against the Constitution and the laws. Especially this judge of the Criminal Court Abdulla Mohamed was taken from his house in the middle of the night is a major atrocity. Something like that should not be done. I too believe that humans err. If somebody commits an offence, there are ways to deal with in law. The same for offences committed by judges. Therefore, it can be examined through these means. However, contrary to this, uprooting someone without notice while they are at home with their family and planting him elsewhere is a major crime. It is also condemned in religion. And it is condemned in our laws and international laws. It should not be done. I call for his immediate release. I call for his release and for the restoration of all his rights as a human being and as a citizen of the Maldives. I also call upon the government and the security forces to do everything according to the law and Constitution. I have to say what I already said before. To act according to our religion and our Constitution. Act according to the law. As you said, given that I am so far away from the events that are happening in the Maldives it is not easy for me to comment on anyone or anything in particular. Because I do not have the complete information. But, as a peace lover and a lover of all things good for the Maldives and its people and a lover of Maldivian development, I also call upon everyone to act in a way that will develop the country, resolve its conflicts, and bring prosperity to its people. I call upon everyone to refrain from doing anything that would harm someone's life, property or body."

04:00-05:00

110. Police at the Republic Square were appealing to the public not to come into the area where they were stationed.
111. More people kept coming to the MMA area. Coalition protesters took apart over half the fence erected in the area.
112. When President Nasheed said he wanted to come to the military headquarters, the military began preparing for it. When the president said he was coming on foot, the Security Co-coordinator dispatched to escort him met the president on the Western corner of the Friday Mosque. In addition to bodyguards, MP for Dhaandhoo Area Mohamed Riyaz was with the president.

113. When President Nasheed entered the main gates of Bandaara Koshi, he addressed some military officers gathered there and said police out there had mutinied and needed to be arrested. He then went inside and into the Defense Minister's office.
114. An additional military platoon came out and arranged themselves in front of the Shaheed Hussein Adam building on the east of the Republic Square.
115. Military began to warn the police in the Republic Square to vacate the area. Police took up their shields and came to a state of readiness.
116. The Fajr prayers were called at the time.
117. Coalition protesters brought down completely the fence erected near the MMA area.
118. When they felled the fence, military fired gas canisters into the crowds to try and control them. But some of them entered the Republic Square. Police were warning the public to stand back.
119. Police made it clear to the military they were ready for a confrontation. Police were warning the public to be calm and to leave the area.
120. Some members of the police tried to calm down fellow officers.
121. At the time MNDF Male' Area Commander and two other senior officers were at the Square.
122. The Officer in Charge of the Armoury ordered his subordinates not to hand over the keys without his prior permission to anyone, no matter who gives the order.
123. All bullets used in patrol were confiscated from all military officers on duty.

05:00-06:00

124. A Minister asked one of the military officers at the gates to arrange for some MDP people coming towards Reef Side to be allowed into the Republic Square through the police barricades. A senior officer in the Male' Area Command said he would make the arrangements and went inside.
125. The police cordons near MMA were moved forward past the MMA while police cordons near the Reef Side and Islamic Centre junction were moved back towards the Bandaara Koshi.
126. A number of MDP activists armed with wooden planks and sharp implements arrived in a pick-up truck came through the Islamic Centre lane and entered the Republic Square to confront the police.
127. Police and Coalition protesters confronted them and pushed them back.

128. Police ordered the public not to enter into the confrontation between the police and the military. Police assured the public that nothing will go wrong.
129. Police cordoned off the western side of Republic Square and pushed the public back.
130. Members of the military carrying shields on the eastern side of the Square pushed back up to Jumhooree Hin'gun.
131. President Nasheed ordered the Commissioner to go to the Republic Square to meet with the police.
132. It was announced at the Republic Square that the Commissioner will meet the police.
133. Commissioner left the Bandaar Koshi and went into the Shaeedh Hussein building without meeting with the police.
134. Police said they would not initiate a confrontation with the military But said they were ready for a confrontation if the military were to initiate one.
135. It was announced that the Commissioner would not meet the police in the Republic Square. He ordered the police to go to the Iskandhar Koshi if they wanted to meet him.
136. Police arranged themselves in platoons with the police in riot gear at the front and they began to pray loudly. Verbal exchanges took place between senior police and military officers.
137. Military officers who had come out to confront the police and were near the Shaheed Hussein Adam building retreated back into the Bandaara Koshi.
138. President Nasheed met with the platoon that retreated into the Bandaara Koshi. He asked the commander if he had any reservations in carrying out the order to arrest the police. When he answered in the affirmative, the president replied it was all right for him to stand aside without participating in the Operations. Two other commanders said they too had reservations and stepped aside.
139. The Minister arranged for a new ground commander.

06:00-07:00

140. When the Coalition protests were going on at the MMA area, the police had cordoned off the Reef Side area and the Islamic Centre lane.
141. Members of the public at the Republic Square provided the police with water and food.

07:00-08:00

142. President Nasheed went for a walk inside Bandaara Koshi He met and talked with about three groups of military persons during the walk.

143. Suddenly, without consulting with the military, President Nasheed went to the Republic Square and began addressing the police. In addition to the bodyguards who accompanied him, Defense Minister and Chief of Defense Forces were with him. When he spoke, some MPs were also beside him.

"I am still talking to the Maldivian police. I think you have done something wrong I accept that given the way things happened you may not have properly realized what you were doing or where you were going. But, it is still my wish that you hand yourselves over to the police station or to the military. I assure you that I will not allow anything bad to happen to you."

144. Police refused to accept President Nasheed's proposal to hand themselves over to the military.
145. President Nasheed called over to him one of the policemen who he sent over to the military. When he called a second policeman, even though he came over, returned to sit with the police who had started protesting.
146. When a policeman called for President Nasheed's resignation, a senior police officer stopped him. When the president began returning to the military headquarters, the police shouted loudly.
147. En route to the military headquarters, President Nasheed stopped to speak to two MPs where Ameer Ahmed Magu and Jumhooree Magu meet.
148. Police called on the public to leave and for journalists to stay in a designated area.
149. President Nasheed returned to the Bandaara Koshi and called many people on the phone.
150. Some people affiliated with MDP gathered at the Reef Side, calling for traitors to be arrested.
151. MNDF came out of BK to block all roads leading to the Republic Square.
152. Police continued to demand that they not be given any unlawful orders. Police were also calling loudly for the public to refrain from joining in the conflict and to stay away from it.
153. All MNDF were ordered into Bandaara Koshi because President Nasheed wanted to meet with them. Even the soldiers manning the cordons abandoned their posts when ordered into the meeting.
154. MNDF entered Bandaara Koshi, removed their gear, and sat down in the area designated for religious sermons.
155. Police arranged themselves into U-shape lines to the east of the helipad on Republic Square and began reciting their mission [azum] loudly.

156. As the police were finishing their recital, a group of MDP protesters holding hands approached the police from the back. Police and Coalition protesters confronted them and dispersed them. Several MDP people and police were injured during the attempts to stop the confrontation. Rumors spread among the police that one of their members had been stabbed in the neck with steel rod.
157. President Nasheed watching the scene from the second floor of Bandaara Koshi came running down, crossed the main gate area and stood on the sports verandah. From there he returned to the main gate area, and on the way stopped at the Officers' Mess Room and looked inside.
158. When the noise outside the main gate area of Bandaar Koshi became very loud, members of the military who were waiting to meet with the president ran towards the main gate assuming that people were trying to force their way into the military headquarters.
159. When the military who were running towards the gate realised that nobody was trying to force their way in, they returned to the building without venturing out. Those who did go out arranged themselves in a line across Ameer Ahmed Magu.
160. Standing inside the main gates of Bandaara Koshi, President Nasheed kept ordering the military to go out and confront the police. Some ministers and an MP with the president kept repeating his orders. Some military personnel, who had gone out without their gear kept returning inside to collect it.

08:00-09:00

161. Police approached the military personnel standing across Jumhooree Hin'gun and asked them not to attack them. Some of the military who had come out of the building joined with the police.
162. While members of the military who had come out began to engage in verbal exchanges with the police instead of preparing for a confrontation, a gas canister was thrown from behind the police near the gates of Bandaara Koshi.
163. From here onwards police released a lot of gas. A large number of the military and public at Republic Square dispersed from the area as a result. The way the wind was blowing that day, all the gas travelled south towards Bandaar Koshi. Shortly afterwards, the police moved forward spraying tear gas as they approached. The police and the public threw at the military anything they could get their hands on. The confrontation on both sides was intense and the public, military and the police sustained varying degrees of injuries.
164. Public and the police confronted the military and pushed them back as far as their main headquarters. As the military retreated, they were firing riot guns.
165. Once most of the military on retreat had entered the headquarters, the main gates were shut. Some members of the military could not get in and had to remain outside.

166. Police and public were throwing bottles and various other things in the whole area. Chairs and various other household equipment were also thrown onto the streets and into the Bandaara Koshi from within the building.
167. Windows on the first floor of the military headquarters were opened and shields were distributed to military personnel and the public.
168. All areas near the Republic Square were brought under police control. The area was under the supervision of the police and the public.
169. President Nasheed's wife and two children were moved from Mulee Aage to a safe area by her security detail on her request.

09:00-10:00

170. Cabinet Secretariat notified all cabinet members via SMS, except Vice President, that the cabinet meeting was on that day. Although the Vice President's secretariat was aware of the meeting, Dr Waheed did not receive the message. Two senior members of the Vice President's secretariat did not report for work that day.
171. En route to the cabinet meeting, president of MDP Ibrahim Didi (Dr Didi) called the president on the phone and discussed how to bring about a resolution to the political turmoil. Dr Didi's proposal was to talk to all the main political parties and issue a joint statement. President Nasheed agreed to the suggestion.
172. Dr Didi contacted the leader of DRP on the phone and asked him for assistance in issuing a joint statement. Thasmeen replied that he cannot proceed without a sign to do so from President Nasheed.
173. Parliamentary Leader of PPM Abdulla Yameen was also contacted. Yameen also replied that he could not proceed without a sign from President Nasheed himself. Dr Didi called President Nasheed and conveyed the message.
174. Dr Didi met with those who attended the cabinet working session at the Izzuddheen Hall at President's Office and told them discussions were underway, with guidance from President Nasheed, to issue a joint statement from all political parties.
175. When some Ministers asked why President Nasheed was not present, and objected to such a discussion being chaired by Dr Didi in his absence, Chief of Staff at the President's Office placed a conference call to the President. The call could be heard by everyone present.
176. During the discussions between the president and the cabinet one Minister asked why Criminal Court Chief Judge had not been released as previously agreed. President Nasheed replied even that could not be accomplished. When another Minister asked him how he was and how things were at the military headquarters, he replied everything was fine at the headquarters and that he had just had a cup of tea and was lying down resting.

177. Some ministers left the meeting then, saying the meeting could not go ahead without President Nasheed.
178. When the session was over Dr Didi phoned President Nasheed again and asked his opinion on how to continue with the problem of the joint statement, the president told Didi to proceed in consultation with North Machchangolhi MP Mariya Didi and Hinnavaru MP Ibrahim Mohamed Salih (Ibu).
179. Former Assistant Commissioner of Police Abdulla Riyaz and former Deputy Commissioner Mohamed Fayaz had a discussion on the phone from their respective homes about the events at Republic Square and decided to go to the Square. Fayaz had been on the phone with police officers at the Republic Square since the night before, gathering information. Riyza was calling Fayaz and getting updates from him.

10:00-11:00

180. Mariya Ahmed Didi did not answer the phone, so Dr Didi rang Ibrahim Mohamed Salih who said he will respond after talking to President Nasheed.
181. When he did not hear from Salih after a while, Dr Didi again phoned President Nasheed who told him that the Indian High Commissioner D.M.Mullay was attending to it and that he would be contacting Dr Didi
182. High Commissioner Mullay phoned Dr Didi and asked him if he could come to the Indian High Commission (Athireege Aage)
183. When Dr Didi arrived at the High Commission Abdulla Yameen was already there. Mullay said Ahmed Thasmeen Ali was also to attend the meeting. High Commissioner said he had called Thasmeen and he would make all the administrative arrangements for the meeting once he arrived.
184. The main purpose of the meeting held at the High Commission was to speak with opposition leaders and secure a three day grace period for the government to try and resolve the conflict.
185. When Abdulla Yameen questioned Dr Didi's status at the meeting he said he was there as a representative of President Nasheed at his behest.
186. Ibrahim Mohamed Salih phoned Yameen and said President Nasheed had decided to resign.
187. Yameen told Dr Didi, who phoned the president for confirmation. Without giving him an answer, President Nasheed asked Dr Didi to hand the phone over to Yameen. In his conversation with Yameen, he said he had decided to resign and asked Yameen to arrange protection for him and his family. Yameen said he would do everything he can to do so.

188. Yameen left saying there was no further need for the meeting as President Nasheed had decided to resign.
189. At the police main headquarters, Shaheed Hussein Adam Building, the police flag was lowered completely and the national flag lowered to half-mast.
190. The three police officers who were outside the command structure and who had been active at the Artificial Beach area on 6 February 2012 were apprehended and detained within the police station.
191. Military personnel who were at the gates of their headquarters waved at the police in celebration.
192. A group of military personnel wanted to join the police outside MAC asked President Nasheed if he should arrest them. The President ordered that they should not be arrested.
193. The military personnel who came from Kalhuthukkalaa Koshi joined the police.
194. The public and police at Republic Square called for President Nasheed's resignation.
195. When a military General advised the president that the only way to stop the police now was to use guns, Nasheed prohibited the use of guns under any circumstances.
196. Police at the Republic Square warned that the military may open fire at them. They also warned the public to lie down if the military started firing.
197. Former police officers Mohamed Fayaz and Abdulla Riyaz, with former military officer Mohamed Nazim, went to the main gates of the headquarters. Their wish was that the military did not fire into the police gathered at the Republic Square. The military demanded from them [the three men] to push back the police at the gates of their headquarters.
198. Mohamed Fayaz spoke to the police gathered at the Republic Square and persuaded them to go back as far as the Shaheed Hussein Building and emptied the area near the gates of Bandaara Koshi.
199. Fayaz appealed to the military very loudly not to use any lethal weapons. A military general asked Fayaz to get the police to renew their oath. Fayaz replied that it could not be done in such a situation.
200. Fayaz proposed that the three branches of government discuss and find a resolution to the problem of the police gathered at the Republic Square. He made the proposal, while standing outside the gates of the headquarters, to the Chief of Defence Force and generals inside. With this proposal police made efforts to bring the Speaker of the Parliament and Chief Justice to the area.
201. Fayaz went into the crowds gathered at the republic Square with a megaphone and addressed them to explain his proposal and to calm the crowd down.

202. Police were unsuccessful in their attempts to bring the Speaker of the Parliament and Chief Justice to the area.
203. A Chief Inspector at the main headquarters of the police was brought out to be sent home as a protective measure. However, when he refused, he was taken to Ghaazee Building. As he was being taken to a speedboat to carry him to Dhoonishoo [prison island], as a protective measure, police and members of the public attacked him.
204. Deputy Commissioner and some senior officials were taken out of Male' on police speedboats.

10:00-11:00

205. Abdulla Riyaz and Mohamed Nazim entered Bandaara Koshi on invitation from Defence Minister. When Nazim entered the premises a large number of military personnel greeted him and celebrated.
206. Riyaz and Nazim met with the Defence Minister. In addition to the Defence Minister, Chief of Defence Force, generals and Staff Officer were also present at the meeting.
207. Media reports reported members of the public at the Republic Square as saying President Nasheed had been arrested.
208. When Qaumei Party leader Dr Hassan Saeed received news that Indian military were arriving to help resolve the situation, he clarified the news from the Indian High Commission. Deputy leader of the Qaumei Party announced to the public at the Republic Square that Dr Hassan Saeed had received assurances from the Indian High Commission that Indian military will not be coming to the Maldives.
209. Led by the Qaumei Party, two members of the public filed a case at the Supreme Court in relation to President Nasheed's legal status.
210. After Abdulla Riyaz and Nazim conducted their negotiations inside Bandaara Koshi, Nazim emerged to address the Republic Square. He said he had made two proposals.

"Assalaam alaikum. I hope everybody is okay. Yes, I have just met with the Defence Minister and all high-ranking military personnel and made a proposal of ours. The proposal was that the President should resign without condition. And, after that, to transfer all powers to the Vice President. Our second condition was that, the Commissioner of Police Ahmed Faseeh and both his deputies resign at once. We told them these are non-negotiable conditions. These are not things up for further discussion. We assure the beloved Maldivians, military and police who are with us that, God willing, these things will happen this way by the deadline we have set for 1:30 today. When I entered the military headquarters I was given a very happy scene. Everyone within the military lifted me up and very completely revealed their support for me. God willing, things will happen today as we want. I ask the military, police and people to patiently remain with us."

211. Some former police and military personnel were active in the Republic Square.
212. MNDF started patrolling different areas of Male'.
213. Assistant Police Commissioner Hussein Waheed, who had previously been asked to resign, was brought back to the main police headquarters in a police van. When he arrived, he met with some of the political figures in the Coalition waiting there in anticipation of the arrival of Chief Judge of the Criminal Court in Male'.
214. President Nasheed came down to the yard in the military headquarters and met with some military personnel of other ranks and asked their opinion on what he should do next. He addressed a particular person within the group, who replied that he should resign. President Nasheed replied that it was the response of only one person and asked if others in the group shared the opinion. They all lifted their arms up in agreement. Although Chief of Staff and military generals and other officers were present, they did not partake in the interaction.
215. It was announced at the Republic Square that President Nasheed had decided to resign and that the resignation will be at the President's Office in front of the media. Members of the public began to celebrate at the Republic Square when they heard the news.
216. Nazim appealed to the people gathered not to harm the President on his way to the Office.
217. President Nasheed wanted to walk to the Office to resign [only a few metres away] and even though he said nobody would harm him, the military was of the opinion that it would be risky and refused.
218. Speaker of the Parliament released a statement regarding the unrest in Male':

"The Maldivian nation is currently facing a frightening and tragic situation. I appeal to all the people of the Maldives and to its institutions to wholly obey the Constitution and the laws of the land. I also call upon all the people and institutions not to engage in any unlawful activities under any circumstances. All citizens should remain friendly and calm, and give priority to peace. What we are seeing today is not something that anyone of us want to see on our beloved land. None of us want people to damage the life and property of others or the property of the state. We should always remember that we are people steadfast in our Islamic faith and call upon you to maintain our sense of brotherhood as instructed in the religion. My prayer is that this country will always remain safe and peaceful."

12:00-01:00

219. Chief Judge of the Criminal Court was brought to Male' in a police speedboat.
220. Media arrived for a press conference at the President's Office on their invitation

221. President Nasheed arrived at the President's Office in a car. The military were around the car, maintaining security. But some people from the crowd on the street hit the car on the boot a few times and a cigarette butt was thrown at the front of it. A large number of people from the general public were shouting loudly at the time. Some people were shouting filth.
222. Nazim, Fayaz and Riyaz went into the President's Office ahead of the car in which the President was travelling. Following behind the car were the President's SPG, Chief of Defence Force and Military Operations Commander.
223. When the car arrived at the President's Office, the President went up the lift designated for him. With him were the Defence Minister, Security Co-ordinator and bodyguard.
224. Before getting into the lift, President Nasheed instructed a member of staff to show Nazim, Fayaz and Abdulla Riyaz to a comfortable place.
225. Off the lift, the President went to his room (Utheemu Room). He was alone.
226. He then went to Siththimaavaa Maalam to meet with the cabinet. Normally, cabinet meetings are held at Izzuddheen Maalam.
227. Minister of Fisheries and Agriculture, Minister of Education, Minister of Tourism, Arts and Culture, Minister of Human Resources, Youth and Sports, Minister of Economic Development, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister of Defence and National Security, Minister of Finance, Minister of Transport and Communication, Special Envoy to the President, Chief of Staff at the President's Office, and Cabinet Secretary were in attendance.
228. At the meeting the President said he had to resign and gave his reasons. He said under the circumstances he saw it best to resign.
229. 230.A Minister disagreed. Another suggested that he negotiates with the people gathered. And another proposed seeking external assistance. President Nasheed indicated that he did not see negotiations were possible given the situation at Republic Square, and said there was nothing else to do except resign.
230. Having concluded the cabinet meeting, en route to Dharumavantha Maalam where the press conference was to be held, President Nasheed stopped at Ghaazee Maalam. The Cabinet Secretary and Chief of Staff accompanied him.
231. While he was at the Ghaazee Maalam, Nazim, Fayaz and Riyaz also came in.
232. Nazim told President Nasheed that Speaker of Parliament Abdulla Shahid had enquired after the resignation letter President Nasheed was sending to the Majlis.
233. President Nasheed asked the Cabinet Secretary about the resignation letter who replied that it had not yet been prepared. The president asked him to bring a pen and paper. When the President's official Letterhead paper and a pen were brought, President

Nasheed wrote the resignation letter in his own hand and signed it. He was standing at a podium in the room.

234. Having written the resignation letter President Nasheed went into Dharumavantha Maalam for the press conference. Nazim, Riyaz and Fayaz followed him into the room.
235. President Nasheed announced his resignation himself, in the presence of the cabinet members, in front of the media, live, at 12:57 p.m.

"Beloved citizens of the Maldives. I see that if I were to continue as President of the Maldives a lot of harm may befall Maldivians and the Maldives. Therefore, as of today, I am resigning from the post of the President of the Maldives. I have never wanted to rule by force. I came to this decision because, in my opinion, I sincerely believe, that if this government is to be maintained, it would require the use of extreme force and cause harm to a lot of citizens. Also, in my opinion, if attempts are to be made to maintain this government, it is very likely that the Maldives will become susceptible to foreign influences. I have always wished the best for Maldivians and will continue to do so in the future. I have made the decision today to resign for the benefit of Maldivians, with sincere respect and keeping in mind the high levels of support Maldivians have shown me. I hope that Maldivians will see a more prosperous tomorrow and I pray our lives will be good now and in the hereafter."

13:00-14:00

236. Abdulla Riyaz asked the Cabinet Secretary if the resignation letter President Nasheed wrote had been sent. When he replied that the letter was in Dispatch, Riyaz and Fayaz collected the letter from the Dispatch to take it to the Majlis. When Dispatch handed the letter over to Riyaz he was instructed to fill out a receipt and return it.
237. Police Commissioner signed his resignation letter at the main police headquarters.
238. After announcing his resignation, President Nasheed went up to the fifth floor of the President's Office and met and greeted some members of staff in Rehendhi Maalam.
239. President Nasheed said he wanted to return to his official residence Mulee Aage on foot, and did so.
240. Before he left, the military arranged a three-line strong cordon to reinforce security on the road to Muliaage.
241. Riyaz and Nazim accompanied President Nasheed. Riyaz had the President's resignation letter in his hand at the time.
242. When President Nasheed went into Mulee Aage, Riyaz went to the main police headquarters and handed over the resignation letter to a police officer to take it to the Speaker. He also asked him to fill out the receipt and return it to the President's Office once the letter had been received at the Majlis.

243. Speaker of the Parliament received President Nasheed's resignation letter at 13:43
244. The police officer who delivered the letter to the Speaker returned to the main police headquarters with the receipt of delivery, which was then sent to the President's Office.

14:00-15:00

245. President Nasheed requested to go to his own home from the official residence of Mulee Aage. The Security Co-ordinator, via the Bodyguard, told President Nasheed to wait at Mulee Aage until security arrangements were put in place for him to make the move. The Co-ordinator made the request for time because he had discussed with senior military officers and not received the security clearance.
246. Police revealed in the media that no senior officials of President Nasheed's government were allowed to leave the country.

15:00-16:00

247. Vice President Dr Mohamed Waheed Hassan Manik took the oath of office as President at the administrative office of the Majlis. The oath was administered by Chief Justice Ahmed Faiz Hussein in the presence of the Speaker of Majlis.

"I do swear in the name of Almighty Allah that I will respect the religion of Islam, that I will uphold the Constitution of the Republic of Maldives and the fundamental rights of the Maldivian citizens, that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the Republic of Maldives, and will discharge the duties and responsibilities of the office of President honestly and faithfully in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Maldives."

18:00-19:00

248. As he had repeatedly requested, arrangements were made for President Nasheed to return to Kenereege [his family home]. He left Mulee Aage through the southern gate and went to Kenereege accompanied by Security Co-ordinator, the military, and bodyguards.

Inside MNBC One (7 February 2012, Tuesday)

249. MNBC One continued their transmissions throughout the night of 6 February 2012. In addition to showing the meeting being held at the MDP Haruge, some senior official's in

Nasheed's administration were on, speaking in support of the government. In between, they also broadcast patriotic songs about the military.

250. Coalition members at the Republic Square expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that none of the unrest there was being shown on MNBC One.

06:00-09:00

251. Some political figures who support the government said, in a live programme shown on MNBC One, that President Nasheed was safe, and that the events involving the police were the work of a few. While this programme was being shown, the ticker at the bottom of the screen said: 'Unsuccessful coup'.
252. 253. A large number of MDP activists were seen active near the MNBC One and the MDP Meeting Hall.

09:00-10:00

253. After discussions among senior executives at MNBC One, to protect itself from potential attacks from a public dissatisfied with lack of proper information, and after discussions with senior VTV executives, a decision was made to broadcast a clean-feed from VTV.
254. MNBC One was not providing sufficient information to the public, so Adhaalath Party's Sheikh Imran Abdulla arrived at MNBC One to rectify the situation. He was sent away by MDP activists in the front yard of MNBC One.
255. When Sheikh Imran was sent away from MNBC One he called a senior police officer at the Republic Square and asked them to send police over to MNBC One.
256. When the live programmes on MNBC One was interrupted, Ali Waheed (SilverScene) [President Waheed's brother] went over to MNBC One to check what was happening. When he was sent away from MNBC One by MDP activists in the yard, he lingered outside for a while and went home.

10:00-11:00

257. When a police team arrived at MNBC One, some MDP activists started attacking them with stones and wooden planks. When this happened, the senior officer in the team phoned an officer at Republic Square and told him that MNBC One could not be approached without reinforcements.
258. When police and military arrived at MNBC One in a truck, MDP activists attacked them.
259. More police and military arrived at MNBC One, sprayed tear gas, and dispersed the MDP activists.
260. MNBC One began broadcasting VTV live-feed of the events at Republic Square.

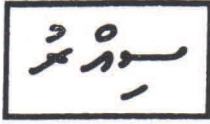
261. Police and military were unsuccessful in their attempts to open the main gate of MNBC One, which was locked. They fired a riot gun at the gate but it did not open until after the lock was shaken about and broken.
262. Some Coalition activists also entered MNBC One with the police and military.
263. Police, Military and civilians went to the MDP Meeting Hall and caused great destruction.
264. Police entered the administration area of MNBC One, and led all members of staff there into Studio Three
265. The military who accompanied the police to MNBC One went into Studio Three and assured them that no staff was in danger, and told them to continue with their jobs. They also said that if any member of staff felt they were in danger, the military would ensure their safe passage home.
266. Some MNBC One staff were taken home under military protection.
267. Some members of the Maldives Broadcasting Commission were active within MNBC One.
268. The name of MNBC One was changed to Television Maldives and it continued broadcasting with the TVM logo.
269. Ali Waheed went to MNBC One a second time and waited in the yard. When he heard of President Nasheed's intended resignation, he went into MNBC One to see how things were going.
270. Once President Waheed took oath of office he instructed Ali Waheed to take over TV. He notified the staff, and did so.

Inside the Police Headquarters (7 February, Tuesday 10:00-13:00)

271. With the incidents related to the Police gathering at Republic Square, senior police officers who felt the leadership of Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners were not up to par, held a meeting. They discussed the most suitable person to temporarily take over police leadership. It was also said seeking the Commissioner's opinion was a good idea and it was suggested he should be invited to the meeting.
272. 273. Two senior police officers met with Commissioner Faseeh. They questioned him about how he intended to deal with the situation. They also provided the information that President Nasheed was resigning. The Commissioner replied he had decided a long time ago to resign.
273. The two officers informed the Commissioner they were meeting in the conference room and told him they would like him to attend. They returned to the meeting.

274. The most senior officer present at the time, Assistant Commissioner Mohamed Sadiq, was proposed and supported as the person to take over the leadership temporarily. Sadiq, however, refused.
275. When all other senior officers refused to take over, after a vote, it was decided that Chief Inspector Abdulla Fairoosh will take over as interim leader of the Maldives Police Service.
276. As the meeting concluded, the Commissioner arrived and told them to serve without political influence and advised them to do everything right. He shook hands with the officers and returned to his office.
277. It was announced at the Republic Square that Abdulla Fairoosh had been given leadership of the police.
278. When senior police officers advised him that he should give a press conference and that he should be in official dress when he does so, Fairoosh went home to put it on.
279. Inside the police headquarters he met with the media and went into the crowds gathered to announce he had taken over the police.
280. On request of senior political figures of the Coalition, senior police officers met with them in a conference room on the fifth floor of the police headquarters. Police requested that political parties do not interfere with police business. They also requested that supporters of political figures be kept off the streets. While the meeting was going on, President Nasheed phoned the leader of DRP and told him of his intention to resign. The DRP leader conveyed the message to the meeting.
281. Among the people who attended the meeting were DRP leader, PPM Parliamentary Group leader, and senior members of the Coalition.
282. The meeting was concluded when the political leaders went to meet and greet Chief Criminal Court Judge who was being brought back to Male'. The political leaders who were at the meeting met with Chief Judge at a lounge on the ground floor of the police headquarters.

Note: This English version of the CoNI timeline done by the Minivan News has been edited for accuracy of translation. The CoNI thanks the Minivan News.



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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم



سید محمد رفیع خاں

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نہایت خوشنویسی و حسن خط و کمال در نگارش

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ਮਕਸੂਦ ਅਰਥ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸਾਡੇ ਮਨ ਵਿਚ ਬੁਰਾਈਆਂ ਦੀ ਥਾਂ ਸੁਖ ਦਾ ਰਾਜ ਹੋਵੇ।

دکتر محمد علی حسینی

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7/2/2012

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شماره
CBO-2012/82



شماره : CBO-774/2012/223
تاریخ : 7-2-2012

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شماره : CBO-2012/82

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شماره	CBO-2012/82
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دولت فلسطین
وزارت داخله

شماره	CBO-774/2012/223
تاریخ	7-2-2012

شماره	CBO-774/2012/223
تاریخ	7-2-2012



دولت فلسطین
وزارت داخله

شماره	CBO-2017/82
تاریخ	7/2/12
ملاحظات	1349
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APPENDIX XVI

OVERVIEW AND OBSERVATIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ADVISERS

Following the Presidential Decree No. 2012/4, we were appointed as Advisers to the Reconstituted Commission of National Inquiry. We have worked closely and harmoniously with it. We were involved in the review and assessment of the evidence which had been heard by the original Commission and in the hearing of the 203 additional witnesses. There were some who had previously given evidence which the reconstituted Commission felt it was essential to hear again in person. Initially we tended to identify issues about which the Commission members could ask questions, or sent notes to them, but this was soon seen as inefficient and we were invited to question directly.

This was a fundamental part of the work of the Commission. For the evidence collecting exercise to have value all witnesses had to be questioned and challenged about their recollections of events and the basis for them. Equally they had to be confronted with alternative evidence so they had the opportunity to comment upon it. Some found this process unsettling. Many were familiar and only comfortable with making assertions and not being required to justify or explain how they had reached their view.

Although the Commission's terms of reference cover a relatively confined period it is apparent that the issues which lead to the transfer of power go back a long way. There are tensions within the Constitution itself with a Presidential system engrafted onto a Parliamentary system which will always be problematic. The creation of Independent Commissions and Offices will only be the safety valve intended when they are adequately resourced and fulfil their mandates in a timely and decisive manner.

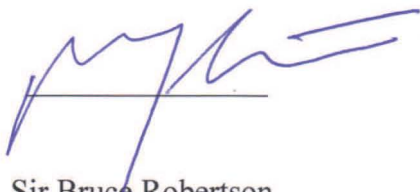
Fundamental to the operation of a modern democratic society is the existence of an operating and absolutely independent Judiciary which has the confidence of the entire community. Radical action is required to breathe utility into much of the State framework, especially to ensure the proper administration of justice. This cannot wait.

We have been impressed by the manner in which the Commission has undertaken its unprecedented and awesome task. Four of the five members acted at all times with independence and integrity in carrying out the important task for the future of the nation. The other member was not at all times willing or able to act independently and resigned the evening before this report was submitted and published. Despite a clear and unequivocal agreement to maintain confidentiality about the work and deliberations of the Commission, this was breached. Without any justification, it created discord and mistrust in a community which desperately needs reconciliation.

We have seen nothing but objective and independent professionalism in the institution. The Commission has sensibly and sensitively heard all who wanted to make a contribution. It has firmly and fairly held participants to telling what they had heard and seen for themselves and deflected them from conjecture and speculation without facts. The nation has been well served by the Commissioners and any assertions of bias or lack of objectivity levelled against those remaining have no justification. They reflect badly on those making unfounded allegations.

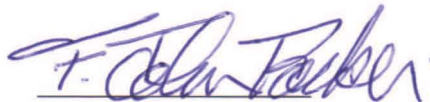
The evidence as it unfolded described a national obsession with street demonstrating at an alarming level. Some would want to call an example of the rights of freedom of expression and assembly. In reality it is rather more bully-boy tactics involving actual and threatened intimidation by a violent mob. This perpetual behaviour is sapping public life and hindering the Maldives' development as a modern democracy.

The Maldives has commendably committed to the Commission to resolve these vital and sensitive issues. It is now essential that all Maldivians look to the future so that together they can enjoy the clear potential which is available.



Sir Bruce Robertson

International Judicial Adviser



Professor John Packer

International Legal Adviser