
Frontier Crime Regulation under Human Rights and Constitutional Perspectives, An Analysis of Pakistan Government Policies

_____ Sara Qayum

The citizens of FATA continue to be governed by a colonial-era law, the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) of 1901, which negates basic constitutional rights and protections for the residents of FATA, including their rights to political representation, judicial appeal, and freedom from collective punishment. The Constitution of Pakistan of 1973 explicitly excludes FATA from the legal, judicial and parliamentary system of Pakistan, including barring residents from full representation in parliament and from bringing appeals to a higher court outside the territory. The government of Pakistan has recently promised to reform the FCR but this has not yet happened. This Article will discuss FCR 1901 as it is against human rights perspective because the system governs in FATA violates basic human rights and must be drastically reformed as soon as possible. The constitution of Pakistan gives equal rights to its citizens; the FCR has snatched these rights from the people of tribal areas. In end conclusion and recommendation will be given.

Keywords: FATA, frontier crime regulation, human rights, constitution of Pakistan

Dr. Sara Qayum

Assistant Professor/HOD, Department of Law,
Hazara University, Mansehra

Introduction

The people of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (Fata) have suffered for more than a century from the strict and inhuman laws of the Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR). The British Raj imposed it on the areas to divide the tribes. What the British did to protect their imperial interests in a colony can be understood but what we are doing to our own country defies comprehension. The resident of FATA continues to be governed by a colonial-era and protection for the resident of FATA including their right to political representation, judicial appeal and freedom from collective punishment. The constitution of Pakistan 1973, explicitly excludes FATA from legal, judicial and parliamentary system of Pakistan.¹

The situation is worse in our Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA) where the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) made by the imperial rulers is still operational and intact. This controversial law differentiates people living in tribal belt with the rest of co-nationals. While, the Constitution of Pakistan gives equal rights to its citizens, the FCR has snatched these rights from the people of tribal areas. It includes the right of freedom of expression, association and development.² Even with all the resources of both human and natural means, these regions are not focus of governmental consideration in terms of socio-economic progress. The nonexistence of fair organizations to protect the benefits of societies against the overwhelming state machinery left them backward and tarnished. Continuous apathy, neglect and mismanagement have turned these areas into safe havens for terrorists, criminal and drug dealers. Moreover, after 9/11, certain elements exploited the traditional hospitality and goodwill of the people of the tribal regions and indulged in objectionable activities. Rightly or wrongly, these regions are today viewed as epicenters of crime and violence.

The Constitution of Pakistan provides certain guarantees and ensures basic and equal rights of its citizens in its various clauses. Ironically, these rights were neither ensured nor fully implemented in our country under quasi-democratic regimes.

Resultantly, a pluralistic human rights culture as envisioned by its founders could not flourish in our society, leaving majority of its people on the helm and clemency of state institutions, which are either inefficient or insensitive to basic human rights of our people

FATA an introduction

The FATA end to end the Afghan border, and definite zones within the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP), are designated as tribal regions and are not matter to normal administration control. Despite continued efforts, supported by constant armed operations, the colonial management reserved what was at finest a

questionable stick these areas until the British left India in 1947. In 1947, after independence, the Quaid-e-Azam, in his sagaciousness and far-sighted dream, withdrew the armed forces from the areas around the tribal areas as a gesture of good will and a leading step in the direction of incorporation of the tribal areas with the rest of the country.

Soon after Independence, the various tribes in the region entered into an agreement with the government of Pakistan, pledging allegiance to the newly created state. Some 30 instruments of accession were subsequently signed, cementing this arrangement. Accession did not subsume the political autonomy of the tribes. The instruments of accession, signed in 1948, granted the tribal areas a special administrative status. Except where strategic considerations dictated, the tribal areas were allowed to retain their semi-autonomous status, exercising administrative authority based on tribal codes and traditional institutions. This unique system, given varying degrees of legal cover in each of the country's earlier constitutions, was crystallized in Pakistan's Constitution of 1973. To the tribal agencies of Khyber, Kurram, North Waziristan and South Waziristan were later added Mohmand Agency (in 1951), and Bajaur and Orakzai (in 1973).³

In the ensuing years the successive governments however decided to leave the tribal areas to their own devices and only minimal social projects were undertaken. In 1971-72 the total developmental budget for six agencies (equivalent of districts) was a paltry Rs. 4.4 million. Thus, for twenty-five long years, the tribal areas, 10,500 square miles in extent and with a population of around 4 million were little more than a sociological curiosity. The tribal areas were considered as beyond the pale of Pakistan.

The FATA is governed by an administrative system and a judicial system different from the rest of Pakistan—the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) of 1901. The FCR is a culturally acceptable recognition of the tribal structure of the FATA, where the population is ethnically different from the majority of Pakistan's citizens, and precludes forced assimilation. FATA residents do not have access to national political parties, and political parties are forbidden from extending their activities into the agencies of FATA. The FATA is under the direct executive authority of the President of Pakistan. Laws framed by the National Assembly of Pakistan do not apply in the FATA unless so ordered by the President, who is empowered to issue regulations for the tribal areas. The President's representatives to the FATA, who are called political agents, can punish an entire tribe for crimes committed on the tribe's territory by issuing fines, making arrests, implementing property seizures, and establishing blockades.⁴

2.1 Political Administration of FATA

The British policy towards the tribal belt was based on a mix of persuasion, pressure and armed intervention. Britain instituted its "Forward Policy," which essentially consisted of 'pacifying' the tribes as far west as possible. This eventually led to the 1897-1898 Tribal Wars. Realizing it would never be possible to completely subdue the frontier tribes, the colonial administration decided to implement the Close Border Policy which involved establishing a number of tribal agencies, enclosed by a chain of posts and cantonments, where the Pukhtun tribes would be allowed to govern their society according to their own.

To ensure control, London stationed troops in these agencies but also granted these areas a semi-autonomous status in return for tribal acquiescence to colonial rule. This special status was codified in treaties that required *maliks* (tribal elders) to keep the border passes open for trade and strategic purposes in return for allowances and subsidies they could distribute among their tribes. Nevertheless, the tribal areas showed some of the strongest anti-British resistance on the sub-continent during British rule.

FCR 1901

Although the founder and first Governor-General of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, withdrew Pakistan's army from FATA, Pakistan retained the colonial administrative and legal structures, codified in a special legal framework, the Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) 1901. The FCR mixes traditional customs and norms with discretionary police, judicial and executive authority in the political agent. By doing so, it chose to treat FATA's population as separate from, and unequal to, other Pakistani citizens. Pakistan continued to provide allowances and subsidies. In return the local tribes declared their loyalty to Pakistan.⁵

The political agent (PA), a federal, and at times provincially recruited, bureaucrat heads the local administration of each FATA agency. He is all-powerful. Backed by and levies (tribal militias), as well as paramilitary forces that operate under army control, the PA exercises a mix of extensive executive, judicial and revenue powers and has the responsibility of maintaining law and order and suppressing crime in the tribal areas.

The FCR preserves the Pukhtun tribal structure of *jirga* (council of elders), to which the political agent can refer civil and criminal matters. The *jirga* ascertains guilt or innocence after hearing the parties to a dispute and passes verdicts on the basis of *rewaj* (custom). However, the PA retains ultimate authority. The political agent initiates cases, appoints the *jirga*, presides over trials and awards punishments without even the technical possibility of revision by a regular court of law.

The PA grants tribal elders the status of *malik* (with the consent of the governor) on the basis of male inheritance. But the PA can also arbitrarily withdraw, suspend or cancel *malik* status if he deems the individual is not serving the interests of the state. *Maliks* receive financial privileges from the administration in line with their tribe's cooperation in suppressing crime, maintaining social peace and in general

supporting the government. The state relies on the services and collaboration of these *malik*sto administer FATA. Like the British before them, the Pakistan state rewards the loyal *Malik*s with a special status, financial benefits and other official rewards.

This anachronistic legal arrangement continues to this day. So while FATA is formally a part of Pakistan, it more closely resembles a colony whose population lives under laws and administrative arrangements that set it apart from the rest of the country.⁶

However, particularly relevant to Pakistan's involvement in the "war on terror", are FCR clauses that empower the political agent to punish an entire tribe for crimes committed on its territory by fines, arrests, property seizures and blockades. The political agent can order detention of all or any members of the tribe, seize their property or block their access to the settled districts if he has "good reason" to believe that a tribe or its members are "acting in a hostile or unfriendly manner," have "failed to render all assistance in their power" to help apprehend criminals, "connived at, or abetted in a crime" or "suppressed evidence" of an offence.

And while Pakistan's 1973 constitution guarantees fundamental rights for citizens residing in the entire territory of the country, which includes the tribal areas, Article 247 (7) bars the Supreme Court and the High Court from exercising any jurisdiction under the constitution in relation to a Tribal Area, unless parliament by law allows it.⁷

3.1 Historical Background

FCR by itself is a small law having seven chapters spread over 61 sections. The Britishers promulgated it through regulation-III of 1901 in 1901. To establish the grandeur of the British Raj and to overawe the frontier tribesmen, the sole obstructionist in their imperialistic designs, the colonial rulers introduced special procedures for the trial of cases by excluding the technicalities of the ordinary courts of law. Since the procedure for trial of civil and criminal cases as contained in these regulations is radically different from the ordinary court procedure, it would be of interest to have some idea of the historical background of this regulations laws and customs.⁸

After the annexation of Punjab and NWFP in 1849, the British Government here introduced the law courts of British India, with their hordes of half trained Hindu lawyers who lived by encouraging petty litigation, and soon became a vehicle for the continuation of the pukhtoon's personal feuds.²⁸ Therefore, they found that the ordinary civil and criminal laws were not suitable for these areas. Although civil disputes were quite few in those days, yet the incidence of crimes, especially murders and dacoits, were so alarming that the ordinary laws and courts found it impossible to check them. Therefore, the Government started introducing reforms in the province. The Frontier was likened to a gunpowder magazine and to introduce reforms in such a land as this, it was asserted like holding a match to the

gunpowder, and explosion was, of course inevitable. Hence, in response to British occupation and reforms beyond the hills, the tribesmen became more furious and increased the number of raids and dacoits in settled districts. Another incident in 1872, which enhanced the promulgation of such regulation, was the assassination of viceroy, Lord Mayo by an Afraid evidently as a result of “tor” case. This incident made the situation very critical and worst. Immediately after this the Government enforced the Frontier Crimes Regulation and established a separate law code for the Frontier based at least in part on local customs, providing for the trial by official Jirgas selected by Deputy Commissioner/Political Agent, as well as suspension of the usual rules of evidence and reduction of the need for outside legal counsel.

Under this Regulation, the DC/PA with the concurrence of Commissioner was authorized to take steps for ordering the removal of villages, restricting the erection of hamlets without the sanction of Commissioner, detention of all or any member of the tribe acting in a hostile or unfriendly manner and the imposition of fines on village communities in certain circumstances. He was further authorized to refer the case of a person accused of murder or any other heinous offences, where sufficient proof was not forthcoming for judicial conviction, to the decision of council of elders, convened according to the Pathan or Baluch usage, and cause the decision to be carried out as if it was a decision of a court. The sentence which should be awarded by the council of elders, however only extended to the inflation of fine on the convicted person.⁹

A few years after the promulgation of this regulation, it was found that the figures of murder and other crimes were going upward, so this regulation was made more effective and “The Punjab Frontier Crimes Regulation of 1887” was issued. The major change brought in this regulation was the power of the council of elders to award punishment of rigorous imprisonment up to seven years. In the coming years the figures of violent crimes in general and of murders in particular reached the highest ever recorded. So the Lt. Governor of Punjab recommended the revision of this regulation and expressed that Jirga system is very essential in these circumstances. The revised draft was approved by the Government and brought on to the statute book as the “Frontier Crimes Regulation, 1901. This scheme was not materially different from the earlier one as section 8 & 11 empowered the DC to refer both civil and criminal cases to the council of elders for decision. The DC and Commissioner inherited the same power in this regulation. The power of awarding sentence of imprisonment was also enhanced by the regulation from seven years to fourteen years.¹⁰

FCR and Pakistan Constitution

Even the much proclaimed constitution of 1973, which is considered to be ensuring all fundamental right of the citizens, contains contradictions and anomalies with regard to FATA and its people. According to article 1 of the 1973 constitution, FATA is a part of Pakistan. Fundamental human rights are guaranteed in articles from 8 to 28 while Islamic principles and objective resolution have also

been incorporated in the constitution through article 2-A. seeing it through this angle the 1973 constitution seems ideally protecting and ensuring the fundamental rights of the citizens but when it comes to the FATA it has altogether different dimension. Under article 247 all these provisions are rendered null and void for the FATA and a new modus operandi of a separate administrative system are explained. Under this arrangement no act of the parliament extends to these areas unless the president directs so. The president is not only declared the constitutional figurehead but also the chief executive for FATA. It is only the executive authority not any legislation that extends to FATA. All the previous constitutions including the much proclaimed one of 1973 have failed to deliver rights and welfare to FATA and perpetuated the bureaucratic rule instead of constitutional rule and democratic rights.¹¹

4.1 Article: 247 Administration of Tribal Areas

247. Administration of Tribal Areas.-(1) Subject to the Constitution, the executive authority of the Federation shall extend to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, and the executive authority of a Province shall extend to the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas the rein.¹²

(2) The President may, from time to time, give such directions to the Governor of a Province relating to the whole or any part of a Tribal Area within the Province as he may deem necessary, and the Governor shall, in the exercise of his functions under this Article, comply with such directions.

(3) No act of **1[Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)]** shall apply to any Federally Administered Tribal Area or to any part thereof, unless the President so directs, and no Act of **1[Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)]** or a Provincial Assembly shall apply to a Provincially Administered Tribal Area, or to any part thereof, unless the Governor of the Province in which the Tribal Area is situate, with the approval of the President, so directs; and in giving such a direction with respect to any law, the President or, as the case may be, the Governor, may direct that the law shall, in its application to a Tribal Area, or to a specified part thereof, have effect subject to such exceptions and modifications as may be specified in the direction.

(4) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution, the President may, with respect to any matter within the Legislative competence of **1[Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)]**, and the Governor of a Province, with the prior approval of the President, may, with respect to any matter within the Legislative competence of the Provincial Assembly make regulations for the peace and good government of a Provincially Administered Tribal Area or any part thereof, situated in the province.

(5) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Constitution, the President may, with respect to any matter, make regulations for the peace and good government of a Federally Administered Tribal Area or any part thereof.

(6) The President may, at any time, by Order, direct that the whole or any part of a Tribal Area shall cease to be Tribal Area, and such order may contain such incidental and consequential provisions as appear to the President to be necessary and proper:

Provided that before making any Order under this clause, the President shall ascertain, in such manner as he considers appropriate, the views of the people of the Tribal Area concerned, as represented in tribal jirga.

(7) Neither the Supreme Court nor a High Court shall exercise any jurisdiction under the Constitution in relation to a Tribal Area, unless **1[Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament)]** by law otherwise provides:

Provided that nothing in this clause shall affect the jurisdiction which the Supreme Court or a High Court exercised in relation to a Tribal Area immediately before the commencing day.¹³

4.2 Articles 246 and 247 of the constitution amended for three objectives.

Firstly, the tag ‘tribal territory’, commonly described in Urdu as ‘ilaqaghair’ (other people’s territory) must be discarded as it distorts the perspective on both sides. Secondly, the territory should be transformed from a president’s fief into a parliament-controlled area.

And, thirdly, the area should fall under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

1. FCR and human Rights

The provisions of the FCR are in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Constitution of Pakistan. The superior judiciary of Pakistan, including the Federal Shariat Court, has made categorical judgments against the FCR and has recommended its repeal. In addition, there is a strong desire among the common tribal people that the FCR should be done away with.¹⁴ However, certain elements, having stakes in the present system, want to retain the status quo in the name of tradition and people’s culture.¹⁵ The government continues to dither on its reform agenda despite the fact that the tribal areas have undergone great socio-economic changes, which necessitate corresponding changes in the legal, administrative and judicial orders. For instance, the FCR is silent about crimes against women and there is no representation of women in the FCR judicial system. The Human rights commission South Asia on Thursday challenged the

Frontier Crimes Regulation before the Peshawar High Court, requesting that the residents of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas be given equal rights like other citizens of Pakistan. A writ petition was filed by the Human Rights Commission, South Asia, through its Pakistan correspondent Syed Mohammad Iqbal Kazmi and NWFP/Fata correspondent Abdul Samad Khan Marwat. (Advocate)

The petitioner prayed the court to issue directives to bring the FCR, 1901, in conformity with the Constitution. The court was prayed to order for bringing discriminatory provisions of the FCR under the umbrella of laws prevalent in the rest of the country. It described the FCR as discriminatory, un-Islamic and against fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution of Pakistan as well as against the Charter of United Nations Human Rights. It stated that the residents of Fata were Pakistanis like other citizens under Article 1 of the Constitution and had got legal rights to be treated at par with other citizens. They pointed out that fundamental human rights enshrined in Articles 4, 8, 9 and 25 of the Constitution were being denied to the residents of Fata who were equal citizens of the country. The government was misusing the FCR for the aggravated law and order situation in the country, they said, adding that its true evaluation would reveal it was subjugation of the fundamental rights of the Fata inhabitants. They said that various superior courts had declared FCR a discriminatory law.¹⁶

2. FCR as Inhuman law

6.1 Article 40 of FCR

Under the FCR a person or tribe, as the case may be, accused of the breach of peace or for the purpose of maintaining good behavior, is required to execute a bond (Sections 40, 41), failing which the accused or his tribe can be imprisoned for a life term up to three years (Sections 43, 44) without any right of appeal in any civil or criminal court (Section 48).

The constitution protects the fundamental rights of citizens by giving them the right to approach the high courts and the Supreme Court. The tribesmen convicted under the FCR, however, cannot file an appeal against the Political Agent's judgment in the superior courts. This is due to Article 247 (7) of the constitution, which bars the exercise of jurisdiction of the courts in the Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA).¹⁷

According to the article 40 of FCR if any tribal commits any crime his whole tribe will be responsible for his wrong act and government can arrest any person of his tribe. So it is clear that it is against human rights because every person is responsible for his/her wrong act another concept is that in tribal culture if a person commit crime only his family supports him rather than his whole tribe so as Anthropological point of view FCR should be amend that tribal responsibility

should be changed to family responsibility and government can arrest his other family members and not his other tribal.¹⁸

Another point is that if any murder case happened near one's home that person will be responsible for murder. It is clear that each government is responsible for the safety of all citizens and no citizen is responsible for the safety of other citizens so why should a government arrest a person for a not committed crime.¹⁹

According to FCR tribal people have no right of appeal to any court in the country. They can solve their disputes under the authority of political administration of Pakistani government. So it is also against human rights because why a person can not go to court for his/her rights.

Another and last reason for the wrongness of FCR is that FATA is under the control of Pakistani government than why there is different law for people of one country. Pakistani government should amend FCR in the context of present culture of tribal people and universal human rights.²⁰

3. Amendments and Changes Needed in FCR

The FCR has been declared a black law and in total contradiction with constitution and international human rights laws by national and international human rights activists and organizations. The Prime minister and the President of the country promised to abolish the law, or bring changes to it, but they have not been able to do so despite almost three years in their respective offices. It was also a part of the terms of reference of the 18th Constitutional Amendment Committee to look into this issue. Unfortunately, the 18th Constitutional Amendment is silent on the issue of bringing any reforms in Fata.

The Constitution says that Fata is a part of Pakistan but the reality is that because of the FCR, its inhabitants are not treated like other citizens of the country. This is also in large part due to Article 247 of the Constitution, which restricts the operation of Pakistani laws in these areas and bars the courts from exercising their jurisdiction.²¹

The Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) of 1901 governs FATA residents. The FCR provides a government-appointed Political Agent ultimate judicial and executive authority, including the ability to carry out communal punishment, including formal detention, by holding all members of a tribe potentially responsible for alleged infractions committed by any tribe member.²²

The Constitution of Pakistan of 1973 explicitly excludes FATA from the legal, judicial and parliamentary system of Pakistan, including barring residents from

voting in parliamentary elections and bringing appeals to a higher court outside the territory. Pakistan has recently promised to reform the FCR but this has not yet happened.

No Constitution exists for FATA, “Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) is a system, not a constitution.” any legislation introduced by Parliament can only be applied in an area where the jirga allowed it. He added that new constitutional reforms should be introduced where jirga members should be elected and political agents must be answerable before them.²³

On Pakistan’s 62nd Independence Day, former President Asif Ali Zardari announced the long awaited political reforms in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan. President Zardari lifted a ban on the activities of political parties, which had deprived the inhabitants of FATA from forming political parties and the right to association and freedom of speech as enshrined in the Constitution of Pakistan for the rest of its citizens. The people of FATA can elect members to the Pakistani parliament; however, these elected members can neither legislate for FATA nor do they have the authority to represent their constituencies. The people must be provided with an opportunity to take part in the legislation of their immediate areas within FATA.

The following amendments and changes needed for FCR

- The territory of FATA should be transformed from a president’s fief into a parliament-controlled area because at present, the people of FATA are only symbolically represented in the Pakistani parliament; however, such symbolism does not benefit the citizens because, according to Pakistan’s Constitution, legislation for FATA remains the exclusive authority of any sitting President of Pakistan. The area of FATA should fall under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Lastly in the recently announced reform package, the establishment of an “Appellate Court” for cases decided under the FCR is regressive. The federal government should have extended the writ of the High Court of Pakistan, which can put the arbitrary powers of the Political Agent under a legal check.²⁴
- Democratization of FATA is critically important for Pakistan and for U.S. security goals in the region. International terrorists are taking advantage of the isolated status of FATA and are using the territory as a base of global terrorism against the wishes of its inhabitants. President Zardari’s FATA reforms package aims to amend the FCR (Frontier Crimes Regulations 1901), which was enacted by the British colonial authorities almost a century ago.
- Articles 246 and 247 of the Constitution of Pakistan restrict the jurisdiction of Higher Courts to FATA and place the affairs of FATA under the direct supervision of President of Pakistan. Until and unless, these Articles are never amended, the situation in FATA wouldn’t be ameliorated.²⁵

4. Conclusion

There is a dire need for changes in the system governs of FATA but given a highly conservative society, they cannot be achieved in any radical manner's FCR as a whole is not a black law as propagated by some element which clearly not familiar with these regulations. The Pakistan government thoroughly reform or abandon the FCR, allows the areas resident to participate without discrimination in the country's political life and ensure that the human rights of all the areas are fully protected. The Govt of Pakistan should not just respond to military force but it needs to provide the basic rights of its citizens living there. It has to follow through on its promises to bring the region out of this human rights black hole and place the people of FATA under the protection of law and constitution.

End Notes and Bibliography

Khan and Nuri (2005) “Fata Reforms, History of Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan “Islamabad Policy Research institute, retrieved from:<https://fatareforms.wordpress.com/2005/03/24/history-federally-administered-tribal-areas-pakistan/>

Julka.Amit, (2011)“Taliban and Anti-Taliban, A People’s history of FATA”, Indus Asian online Journal, retrieved from <https://iaoj.wordpress.com/2011/09/30/%E2%80%98taliban-and-anti-taliban%E2%80%99-a-people%E2%80%99s-history-of-fata>

Shinwari.A.Naveed, Understanding FATA,Attitude towards Governance,Religion and Society in Pakistan’s Federally Administered Tribal Areas,(Volume IV,CAMP)available at <https://archive.nyu.edu/handle/2451/42283>

Pakistan FATA Policy available at <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/pakistan/fata-pak.htm>

Rehman.Zia, (2015)“Governing FATA,the big debate”, available at <https://www.dawn.com/news/1117447>

Ullah.Ataf (2015),”Governance reforms in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan”: The past and Present, Journal of political science Vol. 22 Issue 1, p215-235. 21p.available at <https://web.a.ebscohost.com/Constitution of Pakistan,1973 Article 247> retrieved from <https://pakistanconstitutionlaw.com/article-247-administration-of-tribal-areas/>

Wazir.K.Maqbool,(2007)”FATA under FCR,(Frontier Crime Regulation): An Imperial Black Law”, Research Journal of Area Study Centre available at https://books.google.com.pk/books/about/FATA_Under_FCR_Frontier_Crimes_Regulation.html?id=6JekIAEACAAJ&redir_esc=y

Sarfraz.Hamid,”The Frontier Crime Regulations(FCR):A socio Political Assessment”, Research Journal of Area Study Centre, University of Peshawar

Nichols. Robert,”(2014)The Frontier Crime Regulations: A history in Documents”, Oxford University Press available at <https://www.amazon.com/Frontier-Crimes-Regulation-History-Documents/dp/0199066736>

Sattar ,Talat,(2016)”Frontier Crime Regulations: A Draconian law against the Tribal people”, Pakistan links<https://pakistanlink.org/opinion.htm>

See Article 247 at The constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan available at http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681_951.pdf

<http://pakistanconstitution-law.org>

Mehsud.Rafi Uddin,(2016) “Human Rights violation in Fata”, The Express Tribune retrieved at <https://tribune.com.pk/letter/1087842/human-rights-violations-in-fata>

“FCR,(2015)”A bad law nobody can defend”, published by Human Rights Commission of Pakistan

Kazmi,iqbal(12 Feb,2010)“Court moved against FCR” published by Human Rights Commission South Asia available at <https://www.dawn.com/news/949691>

Malaal.A.Muhammad,(2016) “Inhuman law of FCR” (Frontier Crime Regulation available at aghaz online retrieved from <http://hrcp-web.org/hrcpweb/wp-content/pdf/ff/23.pdf>

Mahmood,Arshad,(2010) “time to repeal the FCR,The Express Tribune retrieved at <https://tribune.com.pk/letter/96047/time-to-repeal-the-fcr-2>Utmani Muhammad,(2014) “Oppressed voices from FATA”What is wrong with the Frontier Crimes Regulation?,retrieved from <http://utmani.blogspot.com/p/under-construction-1.html>

Alam,Intikhab,Niaz,Shah,Musawir,”Frontier Crime Regulation (FCR) and writ of state: A Study on the local people’s perception in Khyber Agency”, vol 09,issue 01,Jan 2017Pakistan Journal of Criminology available at <http://www.pjcriminology.com/publications/frontier-crimes-regulation-fcr-and-writ-of-the-state-a-study-on-local-peoples-perception-in-khyber-agency/>

Wazir.K.Asmatullah,”Fata reforms: journey so far and the way forward”, The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor ,PIPS research Journal Conflict and Peace Study Vol 6,issue 1 pg.45 available at <http://pakpips.com/web/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Complete.pdf>

<https://www.dawn.com/news/651369/major-changes-made-in-fcr-fata-people-get-political-rights>

Nawaz.Allah,”FATA Reforms”,(2014)available at <http://www.dawn.com/news/1101053/fcr-fata-woes>

Mehsud.Rafi Uddin,(2016)”FCR in FATA,a violation of human rights” published in Daily times Pakistan available at <https://nchr.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Report-on-FATA-Reforms.pdf>

Summary report (2005)” Fata,FCR& Human Rights: challenges & Reponses” Changes to FCR being considered,parlimantrian.commission isb retrieved from <https://www.dawn.com/news/157877/>