

## INDEX

1956 Constitution, 2, 10, 53-55, 57-58, Ayub regime, 10, 55-87, 92, 100, 108, 60, 64, 67-68, 73, 76, 84, 97, 113-15, 125-26, 129, 176, 234, 133, 231 236, See also Khan, Ayub, fundamental rights, 53, 60, 65, 68 General, President, Prime 1962 Constitution, 11, 57-58, 70-75, Minister 82, 84, 93, 97, 133, 231, 234 fundamental rights, 57, 75 Balochistan, 41, 49, 86-87, 93-95, 102, 1973 Constitution, 3, 11, 85, 92, 94-95, 109, 182-83 98, 105, 111-12, 120, 126, 132, insurgency, 182-83 134, 192, 231, 240, See also separatism, 182-83 Revival of the Constitution of Bangladesh, See East Pakistan 1973 Order, 1985 (RCO) Barelvi-Sunni, 119 Basic Democracy system, 69-70, 73-74, Article 2-A, 132, 151, See also Objectives Resolution, 1949, 78, 94 Article 58(2)(b), 164 Basic Democracies Order 1959, exercise of Article 58(2)(b) 69 Electoral College Act 1965, powers, 128, 139, 141, 143, 146, 158-59, 232 insertion and removal, 126-27, Begum Nusrat Bhutto v. Chief of the Army Staff and Federation of 159-60, 174, 208 Fundamental Rights, 11, 73, 75, 85, Pakistan, 112, 116, 118 97, 99, 102-3, 107, 115, 123, Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), 131, 136, 147, 153–55, 163–64, 223 172, 216 Benazir Bhutto v. Federation of Agartala Conspiracy Case, 80, 104 Pakistan, 147-48 Al-Jehad Trust v. Federation of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto v. President of Pakistan, (the 'Judges' case'), 157-58, 160, 158 - 59Bengal, 20, 23, 25-26, 37, See also East 170, See also judiciary, composition of Pakistan Allahabad Bhutto government (Benazir), 232, See High Court, 28 also Bhutto, Benazir, Prime Anti-Narcotics Force (ANF), 213 Minister first dismissal by President, 143-46 Army Act 1952, 100, 102, 115, 224 first tenure, 142-46 Asma Jilani v. Government of Punjab, 99-100, 112 second dismissal by President, Awami League (AL), 80, 86-88 158-59 second tenure, 156-59 Mukti Bahini, 88



INDEX 253

Bhutto government (Zulfigar Ali), 85-86, 88, 108, 111, 115, 123-24, 130, 237, See also constitutional negotiations, Bhutto government (Zulfigar Ali); Bhutto, Zulfigar Ali, President, Prime Minister Bhutto, Benazir, Prime Minister, 131, 146-48, 174, See also Bhutto government (Benazir); Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) assassination, 193 corruption and money-laundering charges, 162, 174, 188-89, 205 exile, 174, 188-89 Bhutto, Zulfigar Ali, President, Prime Minister, 11, 85-87, 111-14, 131, See also Bhutto government (Zulfiqar Ali); Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) conviction for conspiracy to murder, 112-13, 116 execution, 113-14, 118 Bombay, 19 High Court, 28, 32 Bose, 35 British India, 10, 17-38, 40-41, 48, 77, 171, See also East India Company Raj, the, 19, 21 bureaucracy All Pak Unified Grades, 92 bureaucrats as petitioners in writ jurisdiction, 82-83, See also writ jurisdiction Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP), 38, 63, 67-69, 92, 98, 129 processes of appointment, 65, 98, 128-29, 131, 144, 166, 184, 214-15, 227 Calcutta, 19

High Court, 28, 32 censorship, 191, 224, *See also* media, the; press, the Chaudhry, Iftikhar Muhammad, Chief Justice, 12, 222, 233, 238, *See* also Lawyers' Movement

activism, 3, 5, 12-13, 170-71, 180, 186-87, 194-95, 197, 201, 219 first dismissal, 171, 184 first tenure, 180-84 second dismissal, 190 second tenure, 186-87 third tenure, 194-220 Chief Election Commissioner, 126, Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA), 54, 60, 64, 88, 91, 117-18, 176 Chief of Army Staff (COAS), 126, 128, 146-47, 156, 167, 171, 175-76, 224 - 25China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), 223 Civil war of 1971 11, 85-88, 91, 99, 129, See also East Pakistan codification, 28-31 colonisation of India, See British India Constituent Assembly, 10, 24-25, 42-47, 51-54, 59, 224, See also National Assembly Constituent Convention, 52 constitutional negotiations, 85, 88, 100, See also Constituent Assembly Ayub regime, 70-71 Bhutto government (Zulfiqar Ali), 93-95, 99, 126 initial decolonisation, 22-26, 34, contempt of court, 1-4, 97, 101, 135, 160-61, 206, 211, 215, 219 Convention Muslim League, 72, 74 Cornelius, Alvin Robert, Justice, Chief Justice, 47, 50, 52, 60, 74, 79, 136 corruption, 3-4, 7, 12, 42, 61-62, 82, 114, 139-40, 149, 162, 170, 172-74, 181-83, 188-89, 194-95, 197, 199, 203-5, 212-15, 217, 221-23, 227, 231, 233, 237, See also moneylaundering; tax evasion;

Panama Papers

96, 144

Council of Common Interests (CCI),



254 INDEX

Criminal Procedure Code 1898, 28, 30, 49
Cripps Mission (1942), 25

Defence of India Act 1939, 36–37
Defence of India Rules, 36
Defence of Pakistan Rules (DPR), 80, 101
democracy, See also rights of representation
Charter of Democracy, 194, 196
devolution, 43, 55, 87, 104, 114, 173, 178, 207–8, See also provincial autonomy
discrimination, 119, 124, 135, 154, 231
Dogar, Abdul Hameed, Justice, Chief Justice, 190, 200

Dogar, Abdul Hameed, Justice, Chief Justice, 190, 200 Dogar Court, 201–3

East Bengal, See East Pakistan

East India Company, 19–20, 26–27 Charter Act, 1793, 27 East Pakistan, 40–41, 43–45, 51, 53, 56–58, 74, 78–81, 84–87, 91, 104, 109, See also Civil war of 1971 Bangladesh, 11 High Court, 65, 72–74 secession, 88 East Pakistan Safety Ordinance, 80 East-West Faultline, 56 economic policy, 14, 37–38, 41, 71, 89–90, 92, 94, 105, 108, 128–31, 139, 141, 168–69, 172–73, 177–80, 182–83, 223, 227,

232–33, 237 Ayub regime 'Great Decade', 57–58, 75, 80–82

enforced disappearances, 182–83, 224, 240

Fazlul Quader Chowdhry v.

Muhammad Abdul Haque, 72
Federal Court, 36–37, 46–48, 50–53,
240
Federal Investigation Agency (FIA),

Federal Security Force (FSF), 93, 113

Federation of Pakistan v. Gul Hasan Khan, 148 First World War, 21 Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR), 49, 60 Frontier Crimes Legislation, 1901, 49

Gandhi, 22 Gilani, Yousaf Raza, Prime Minister, 3–4, 198, 211 Government of India Act, 1858, 20 Government of India Act, 1919, 21 Government of India Act, 1935, 19, 23, 35, 39, 47, 94–95 Governor-General, 23, 36, 38–40, 42, 45–47, 51–53, 59

Hazoor Bakhsh v. Federation of Pakistan, 122 HRCP case, 182–84 Hudood laws, 118–19, 121–22, 124, 150, See also Shariat law Human Rights Cell (HRC), 216–17 Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), 183

India Independence Act, 1947,

18
Indian Civil Service (ICS), 3, 27, 29,
31–32, 38, 47, 63
Indian National Congress, 22
Indian Penal Code, 1860, 28, 33
Indian Political Service (IPS), 27
Indian Supreme Court, 153, 233
Indo-Pakistani War of 1965 75, 77,
87
Indo-Pakistani War of 1971 88
Intelligence Bureau
Director of, 67, 128
Interim Constitution, 1972, 93–95,
99–100
Inter-Services Intelligence, 207

Director-General of, 143 Islam, 48, 105, *See also* Shariat law constitutionalisation of Islam, 43, 73, 94

Islamabad, 85, 181, 196, 198, 201, 220 *Islami Jumhoori Ittehad* (IJI), 141-42



INDEX 255

Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (JUI), 93-94 Jinnah, Fatima, 74 Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 22, 24-26, 38-40, 45, 120 judiciary, composition of, 32, 121, 198, 202-3, 206, 232 appointments, 29, 120-21, 143, 156-58, 160-62, 210, 232 removals, 118, 137, See also Chaudhry, Iftikhar Muhammad, Chief Justice Junejo, Mohammad Khan, Prime Minister, 127-28, 131, 136, 140-41, 176 junta, 86, 88 Karachi, 164, 167, 223 Kargil War of 1999 166-67

Karachi, 164, 167, 223 Kargil War of 1999 166–67 Khan, Ayub, General, President, Prime Minister, 45, 54, 59, 69–71, 73, 75, 82, 125, 170, 176, See also Ayub regime Khan, Ghulam Ishaq, President, 141, 143, 146, 156

Khan, Imran, Prime Minister, 192, 201, 218–19, 222–23, *See also* Pakistan *Tehreek-i-Insaaf* (PTI) Khan, Liaquat Ali, Prime Minister, 39, 42

Khan, Yahya, General, 82, 84, See also Yahya regime

Khawaja Ahmad Tariq Rahim case, 144-46

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 218, 223, See also North-West Frontier Province (NWFP)

Lahore, 24, 201–2
High Court, 28, 33–36, 48, 50, 100,
113, 141, 143–44, 147, 157, 162,
201
land

land reforms, 61–62, 91, 96, 105, 130, 148, 232 landowning classes, 56, 61, 70, 74, 81, 90, 105, 125, 141

Law Reform Commission, 71 Laws (Continuance in Force) Order, 1958, 59, 63, 68 Laws (Continuance in Force) Order, 1977, 111

Lawyers' Movement, 3–4, 12, 171, 188, 190–92, 198–201, 205, 208, 211, See also Long March, democracy, Charter of Democracy

first phase, 184–86, 194 second phase, 194, 196, 198–99

Legal Framework Order, 1970, 87 Legal Framework Order, 2002, 174–76,

181 legalism, 5–6, 176

Leghari, Farooq Ahmed Khan, President, 156, 158, 160–61, 164 Lenin, 35

Liaquat Hussain v. Federation of Pakistan, 165, 183

locus standi, 67, 76, 148, 153 London, 23, 34, 221

Long March, 196, 198–202, 220, See also Lawyers' Movement

Lucknow pact, 1916, 22–23 Madras, 19

High Court, 28, 32

Malik Asad Ali v. Federation of Pakistan, 160–61 martial law, 1–3, 6, 10, 33, 53–55, 57–70, 75–76, 82, 84–94, 99–100, 106, 108, 111–12, 114–18, 123, 126–27, 131, 136–37, 158, 162, 169, 171, 181, 190, 227, 234, See also Chief Martial Law Administrator

(CMLA)
Martial Law Proclamation, 60–61
Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan case, 45–47,
50–53, 60, 104

media, the, 165, 170, 180, 184–85, 191, 195, 197, 199, 212, 216–17, 224, *See also* press, the; press, the

Mehram Ali v. Federation of Pakistan, 162-63, 183

military courts and tribunals, 64, 68, 86, 100, 105, 115–18, 124, 137, 164–66, 168–69, 183, 221, 240–41



256 INDEX

Mirza, Iskander, President, 44-45, 53-55, 60 money-laundering, 3-4, 162, 203-5, 221–23, See also corruption; tax evasion Mountbatten, Louis, 1st Earl Mountbatten of Burma, 26 Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), 125 Mughal Empire, 20 Muhajir Qaumi Movement (MQM), 142-43, 164, 204 Muhammad Nawaz Sharif case, 146 Muhammad Saifullah case, 140-41 Munir, Muhammad, Chief Justice, 47, 52, 60, 63, 70 Musharraf regime, 12, 85, 167, 169-96, 198, 208, 237, 240, See also Musharraf, Pervez, General, Chief Executive, President Musharraf, Pervez, General, Chief Executive, President, 12, 161, 196, 199, 202-3, See also Musharraf regime Muslim League, 22, 24-25, 32, 36, 38, 40-44, 55-56, 84, 131, 141, 145, 232, See also Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) (PML (N)); Pakistan Muslim League (Q) (PML(Q))Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), 175 National Accountability Bureau (NAB), 4, 173-74, 203, 213-14, 222

4, 173–74, 203, 213–14, 222
National Assembly, 70–74, 87–88,
93–95, 98, 100–1, 105, 127–28,
142, 145, 156, 165, 187, 193,
198, 208, 218
National Awami Party (NAP), 93–94,
104
National Finance Commission (NFC),
144
National Reconciliation Ordinance,
2007, 189, 192, 198–99, 202–7,

211–13, See also NRO case National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB), 173, 178 nationalism, 18, 22, 25, 31–32, 37, 80, 89–90, 92, 96, 105, 108–9, 120, 138, 140, 195, 228

North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), 41, 49, 58, 80, 86–87, 93–94, 109, 129–30, 139, 178–79, See also Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

NRO case, 203–7, 211, 213, See also National Reconciliation Ordinance, 2007, (NRO) nuclearisation, 163–64, 166–67, 172

Objectives Resolution, 1949, 43, 131–32, 151, See also 1973 Constitution, Article 2-A Oil and Gas Regulatory Authority (OGRA), 214 One Unit scheme, 51, 53, 80, 87 original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, 12, 97–98, 112, 140, 146–47, 153–55, 166, 168, 200, 212, 216, See also writ jurisdiction

Pakistan Lawyers Forum case, 176, 188
Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)

(PML (N)), 131, 139, 146–47,
149, 159–62, 164, 166, 174, 188,
193, 198–99, 201, 208, 211, 218,
220–21, 223, 237, See also
Muslim League
Pakistan Muslim League (Q) (PML

(Q)), 174–75, 177, 187, 193, See also Muslim League
Pakistan Penal Code (PPC), 121, 148
Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), 86–87, 89–90, 92–94, 98, 104–6, 109, 111, 113–14, 118, 125–26, 131, 139, 141–43, 145, 148–49, 156, 159, 162, 174, 188–89, 193–94, 196, 198–99, 203, 207, 211, 218, 223, 232–33, 237

218–21, 223–24 Pakistan v. People at Large, 133–34 Panama case, 222–23, See also Panama Papers

Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaaf (PTI),



INDEX 257

Panama Papers, 221-23, See also Panama case; corruption Patna High Court, 28 patronage in bureaucracy, 81, 92, 131, 149, 161, 194, 217, 237 in politics, 42, 74, 109, 114, 119, 124, 140, 174, 177, 187 populism, 61, 84, 89-91, 108, 124, 185, 196-97, 217, 233, 237 positivism, 60, 79, 107 poverty, 81, 89-90, 105, 179 praetorianism, 11, 107-67, 193-95 prerogative writs, 102 certiorari, 2, 65, 76, 97 habeas corpus, 2, 28, 36, 49, 65, 76, 78, 97, 102, 153 mandamus, 2, 65, 76, 97 prohibition, 2, 65, 97 quo warranto, 2, 65, 76, 97, 153 President, 3, 45, 54, 70, 141, 156, 176, 202, See Zardari, Asif, President; Zia-al-Huq, Muhammad, General, President; Bhutto, Zulfiqar Ali, President, Prime Minister; Khan, Ayub, General, President, Prime Minister; Khan, Ghulam Ishaq, President; Leghari, Farooq Ahmed Khan, President; Mirza, Iskander, President; Musharraf, Pervez, General, Chief Executive, President press, the, 78, 98, 162, 182, See also censorship; media, the preventive detention, 6, 36-37, 78-80, 96-97, 101, 103, 115, 137, 183, 231, 240 protests, 32-33, 42, 58, 61, 78, 82, 88, 90, 105, 111–12, 115, 122, 125, 160, 172, 189, 220, 222, See also Lawyers' Movement provincial autonomy, 25, 74, 78, 80, 88, 94-96, 104, 227, See also devolution provincialization, 109, 131

Provisional Constitution Order No 1 of 2007 (PCO), 190 Provisional Constitution Order (POC), 1981, 118 Provisional Constitution Order (POC), 1999, 171 Public and Representative Offices (Disqualification) Act, 1949, (PRODA)42, 45, 48, 62 Public Interest Litigation (PIL), 7, 12, 140, 147-48, 153-54, 156, 166, 224, 233-34 Punjab, 20, 25-26, 32-37, 41-42, 44, 49-51, 58, 80, 89, 94, 109, 113, 129-30, 138-39, 142, 146-47, 156, 178-79, 193, 208, 218, 223 High Court, 240 Rahman, Mujibur, 80, 86 refugees, 26, 37, 40, 59, 88 representation rights, 7, 21-22, 24, 41, 43-45, 52, 70, 86, 88, 95, 148 franchise, 21, 43, 54, 84, 86 Revival of the Constitution of 1973 Order, 1985, (RCO), 126-27 rigging of elections, 54, 105, 112, 142, 145, 193, 218-21, 235 rights, fundamental, 14, 71, 166, See also 1962 Constitution, fundamental rights; 1956 Constitution, fundamental rights; 1973 Constitution, Fundamental Rights Roundtable conferences, 23, 32 rule of law, 7, 10-11, 13-14, 16, 18-19, 29-32, 37, 46, 55, 82, 84, 100, 103-4, 107, 135, 137, 140, 169, 185, 195, 228, 230, 237-41 rule by law, 19, 104, 241 rule of difference, 30, 55, 110, 124, 148 Scrutiny Committee, 62, 68 Second World War, 24, 36, 230 separation of powers, 16, 67, 71, 74, 152, 163, 173, 204, 237, 240

Sepoy Mutiny, 1857, 20, 27, 35

sexual crimes, 121



258 INDEX

Shah, Sajjad Ali, Chief Justice, 145-46, 157 - 62Shariat law, 165, 167, 180 See also Hudood laws approach of courts, 7, 11, 110, 124, 131-37, 140, 149, 151-52, 157, 163, 204-5, 232, 234 process of Islamization of laws, 7, 108-10, 118-25 Shariat courts, 11, 110, 120-21, 149 - 51Federal Shariat Court (FSC), 120 Shariat Appellate Bench of the Supreme Court (SAB), 120, 148 Shariat benches in provincial High Courts, 120 use of Islam to legitimize regime, 11, 108-9, 124 Sharif, Mian Muhammad Nawaz, Prime Minister, 131, 142, 145-47, 159, 162-64, 167, 170-71, 174, 188-89, 193, 201, 221 - 22Shia, 119 Sindh, 20, 41, 109, 125, 130, 142-44, High Court, 141, 144, 152, 157 Singh, Bhagat, 35 Snelson, Sir Edward, 1-3 social media, 224 socialism, 88-89 Soviet-Afghan war, 118-19, 130, 140, 167 standing, 2, 153, See locus standi aggrieved person, 153 bona fide interest, 148 bona fide representative, 153 state necessity, doctrine of, 6, 50, 53, 99, 112, 115, 117, 120, 170, 172, 175-76 state of emergency, 39, 45, 58, 75, 77, 82, 85, 98-99, 102-3, 136, 163-64, 171, 189-92, 198-200,

Suleman v. President Special Military
Court, 117–18
suo motu actions, 123–24, 153, 185–86,
195, 197, 200, 212, 214, 216–17,
219–20, 224, See also original
jurisdiction of the Supreme
Court

Taliban, 177, 180, 193

Tariq Transport Company case, 67
tax evasion, 139, 221, See also
corruption; money-laundering
taxation, 23, 38, 61, 80–81, 86, 121,
152
terrorism, 174, 180, 220
'War on Terror', 177, 183
anti-terrorism action, 163, 166, 172,
177, 183, 191, 221, 228, 241
September 11 177
Twenty-First Amendment case, 221

ulema, 121, 133, 150

US-Afghan war, 177, 180, 188

Viceroy of India, 24, 26

West Pakistan, 40–41, 43–45, 51, 53, 55–58, 61, 78, 80–81, 84, 87–88
High Court, 1, 56, 58, 65, 68, 72–73, 76, 78
writ jurisdiction, 1–2, 6, 10–11, 14, 19, 28, 36–37, 45–51, 53, 56, 58, 63, 65–69, 71, 74–80, 82–83, 85–86, 97–98, 100–4, 114–18, 131, 136–37, 144–45, 151–53, 155–56, 166, 168, 183, 233–34, See standing; prerogative writs, See also original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court natural justice, 66, 76, 96, 123, 133

Yahya regime, 86–88, 99–100, *See also* Khan, Yahya, General

Zafar Ali Shah v. General Pervez Musharraf, 172 Zardari, Asif, President, 3, 162, 174, 189, 193, 199, 203, 205–8

202-3, 209

Steel Mills case, 182

104, 112, 136

State v. Zia-ur-Rahman, 100

State v. Dosso, 55, 60, 63-64, 68, 99,



INDEX 259

Zia regime, 11, 85, 106–43, 145, 148–49, 156, 158, 162, 168–70, 173, 176, 205, 232, 234, 237, See also Zia-al-Huq, Muhammad, General, President Zia-al-Huq, Muhammad, General, President, 11, 106–8, 110, 128, 131, 139–40, 145, 148, 165, 170, See also Zia regime