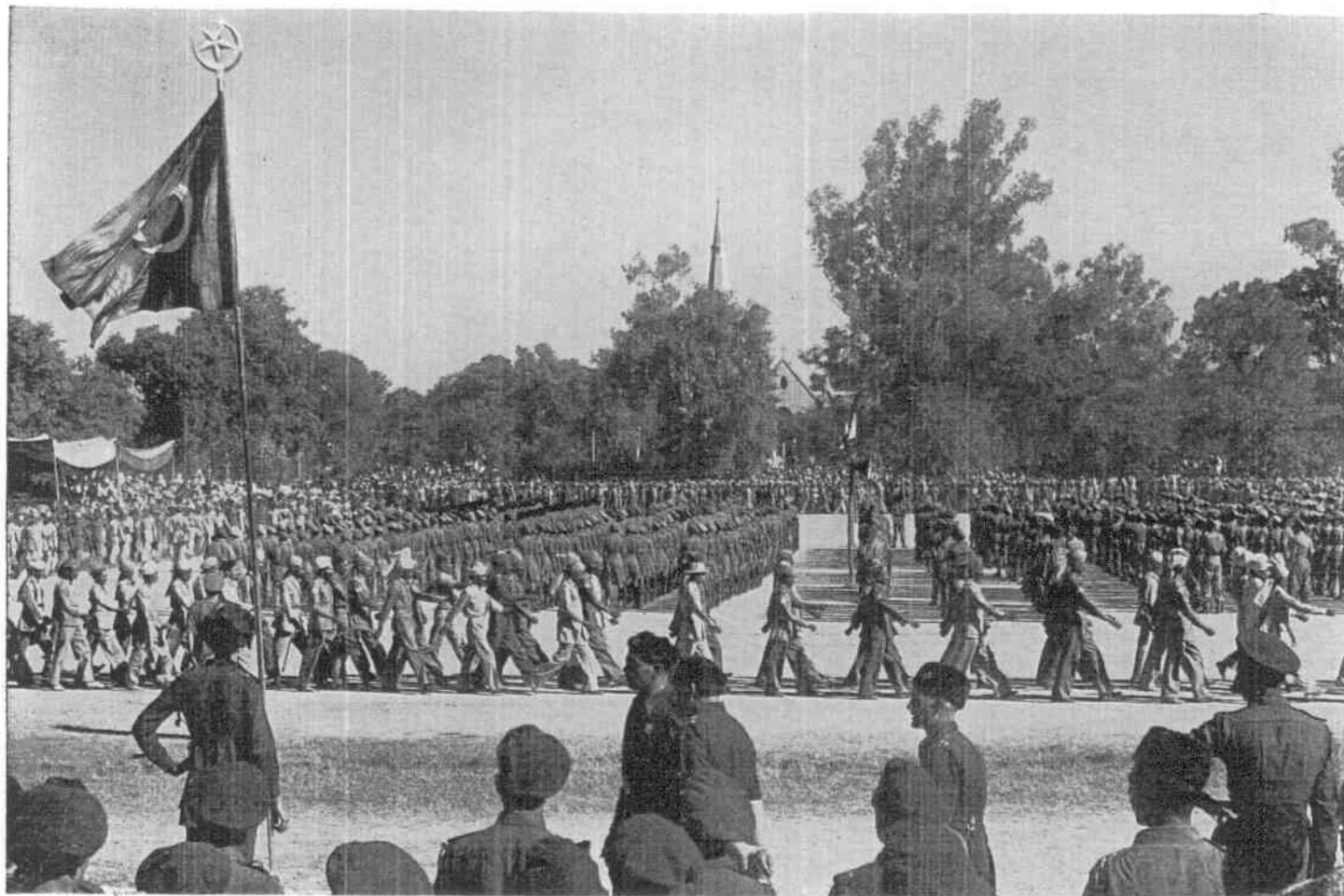




LIFE

JINNAH OF PAKISTAN

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IN REVIEW AT RAWALPINDI MEMBERS OF NEWLY FORMED SECURITY GUARD, ESTABLISHED TO HELP PRESERVE ORDER, MARCH BY TROOPS OF REGULAR PAKISTAN ARMY

PAKISTAN STRUGGLES FOR SURVIVAL

RELIGIOUS WARFARE AND ECONOMIC CHAOS THREATEN THE NEWLY BORN NATION OF 70 MILLION MOSLEMS

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR LIFE BY MARGARET BOURKE-WHITE

In the rugged hills near Pakistan's northern border last week turbaned Moslem tribesmen fought pitched battles with regular Indian army troops. Across the new Moslem nation trains pounded over the rickety railroads collecting arms and volunteers (*below*) for the tribal raids into the neighboring state of Kashmir. The Moslem League newspaper *Dawn* referred to the raiders in Kashmir as the "Liberation Army" and New Delhi announcements as "enemy communiques." Yet in the Pakistan capital at Karachi the country's creator-dictator, Mohamed Ali Jinnah (*see cover*), calmly insisted that it was none of his doing.

This seemed a strange claim when daily reports told of frequent Pakistani casualties and when Jinnah himself publicly denounced Kashmir's ruling prince for putting a predominantly Moslem state under Hindu India's protection. But what it meant was simple enough—Jinnah still had no real national program for Pakistan except the incitation of fanatic Moslem zeal.

If this led some of his 70 million followers to rush off to war and the rest to rally through the cities crying, "Free Kashmir!" (*opposite*), the Qaid-e-Azam (Great Leader) could not help it. There had to be some outlet for whipped-up Moslem emotions, and occasional army reviews and establishment of internal Security Guards (*above*) was hardly enough.

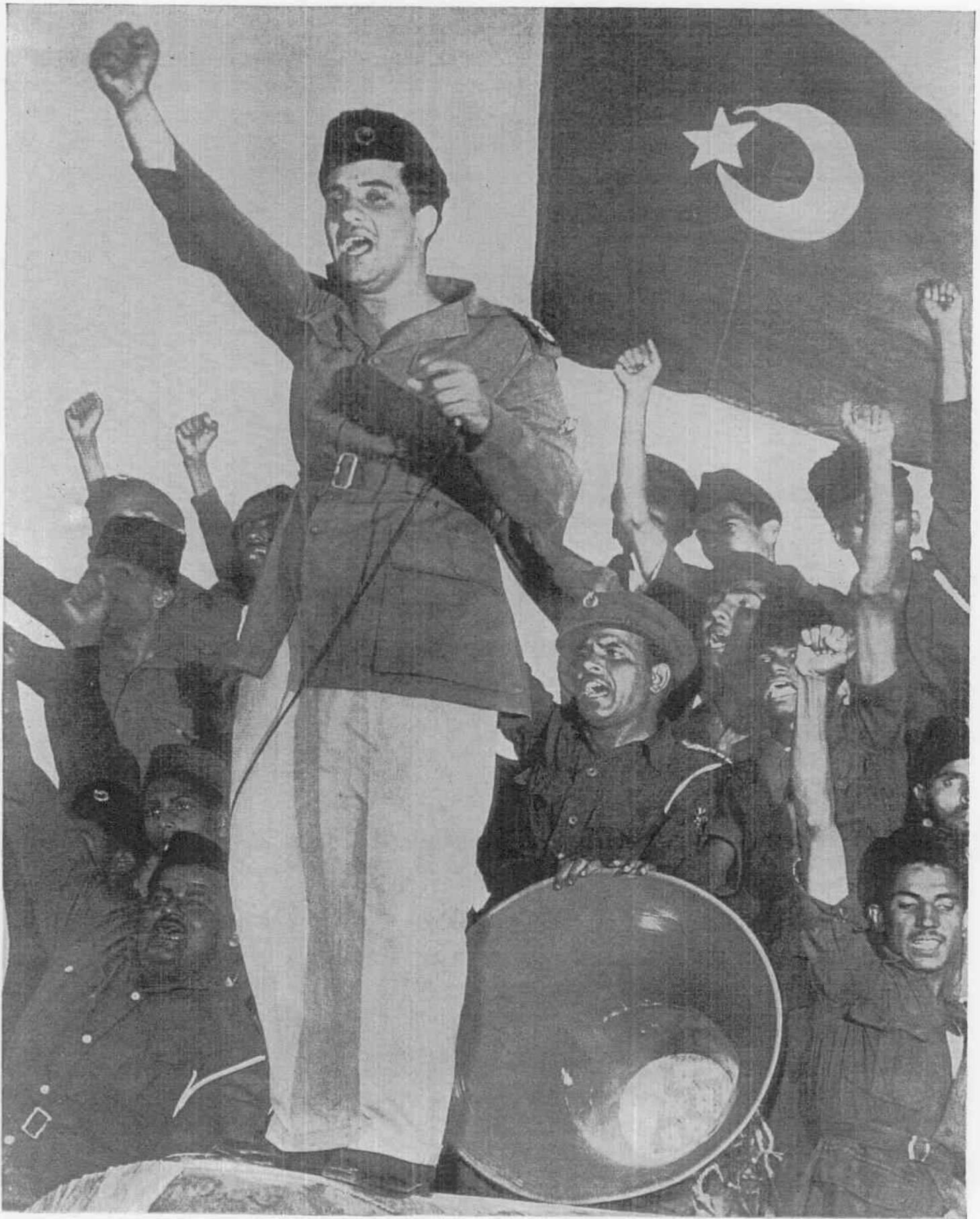
Yet Pakistan dared not risk and could not sustain a substantial military operation. In the division of British India, Pakistan got a regular army which now numbers some 150,000 men, but Hindu India got even more troops and almost all the ordnance factories and most of the ammunition stores. Provoking India into full-fledged hostilities might mean national suicide.

The Kashmir fighting was only the natural outgrowth of Jinnah's bitter seven-year campaign to force the Moslems and the Hindus apart. Now that he had signally succeeded, Jinnah seemed to have little or no realization of the frightful economic consequences his infant country faced. For the most part he remained in absolute seclusion, emerging only occasionally to denounce the villainous Hindu for all of Pakistan's many ills.

Yet Pakistan desperately needed India's textile mills to process its cotton (*pp. 18-19*), India's capital to develop its resources and India's industrial know-how to supplement its faith in Allah and the leadership of Jinnah. Powerful though that faith might be, it would not provide Pakistan with a workable economic system. Last week as the tragic division between Pakistan and India increased and as the 72-year old Jinnah grew sicker, it became apparent that Pakistan not only might lose its battle for survival but might also lose its leader as well.



MOSLEM TRIBESMAN shoulders rifle and cartridge belt to board unofficial truck convoy for Kashmir front.



'AZAD KASHMIR!' ("Free Kashmir!") is one of the rallying cries of 21-year-old Said Haroon as he exhorts Moslem bystanders to come to a National Guards meeting

in Karachi. The National Guardsmen drove around the capital in a large lorry, using a loudspeaker and waving the flag to recruit Moslems interested in joining the new Guards.

DESPITE LACK OF MONEY AND SKILLS NATION FIGHTS TO AVOID COLLAPSE

When Pakistan suddenly received its freedom last Aug. 15, proud and energetic patriots boasted that they had created a nation with more land than France and more people than Germany. Granting these comparisons, Pakistan still lacks most of the attributes of a modern nation. Today its capital of Karachi is partly a tent city (right). And, as the following paragraphs and the pictures indicate, it is fighting a close battle with economic bankruptcy.

LABOR



Of the approximately 70 million Pakistanis more than 80% are farmers, a very few are wealthy landlords and the rest are shopkeepers and artisans. Nearly all of Pakistan's financial and professional men were among the approximately four million Hindus who fled to India. From India, Pakistan got about six million impoverished Moslem peasants who for the most part left their agricultural implements behind. In return for freedom Pakistan has huge transient camps full of landless farmers and an almost complete lack of skilled technicians or businessmen.

FOOD



In only one field is Pakistan self-sufficient. The country grows enough basic foodstuffs to feed its people. In 1938-39 Pakistan had 43,900,000 acres under cultivation, much of it in wheat and rice, some in barley, maize and millet. Eastern Pakistan produces most of the rice, western Pakistan most of the wheat. In a normal-production year the surplus-food provinces of Sind, the West Punjab and East Bengal could feed the deficit areas of the Northwest Frontier and Baluchistan. But whether the overtaxed transportation system can now handle the load is questionable.

RAW MATERIALS



Jute, which is sometimes called "the golden fiber of Bengal," is Pakistan's most important commercial crop. In former years British India had a virtual world monopoly in jute, and in 1947-48 Pakistan is expected to produce 72.3% of the combined Indo-Pakistan yield. But Pakistan recently put a stiff export duty on jute and India promptly countered with a stiff import duty. Pakistan's next best money crop is cotton, which totals 1.5 million bales. Pakistan's coal, oil and iron reserves are largely undeveloped and, in consequence, so is her heavy industry (below).

INDUSTRY



As a producing country Pakistan must quickly industrialize to achieve self-sufficiency or else must establish a cordial interdependence with a processing nation. At present in all of Pakistan there are only 26,000 workers employed in industry. She has no big iron and steel centers, only 34 railway repair shops, no match factories, no jute mills, no paper mills and only 16 cotton mills against India's 857. Lacking the money or know-how to industrialize, Pakistan obviously requires a commercial rapprochement with Hindu India if her people are to be clothed.

TRANSPORTATION

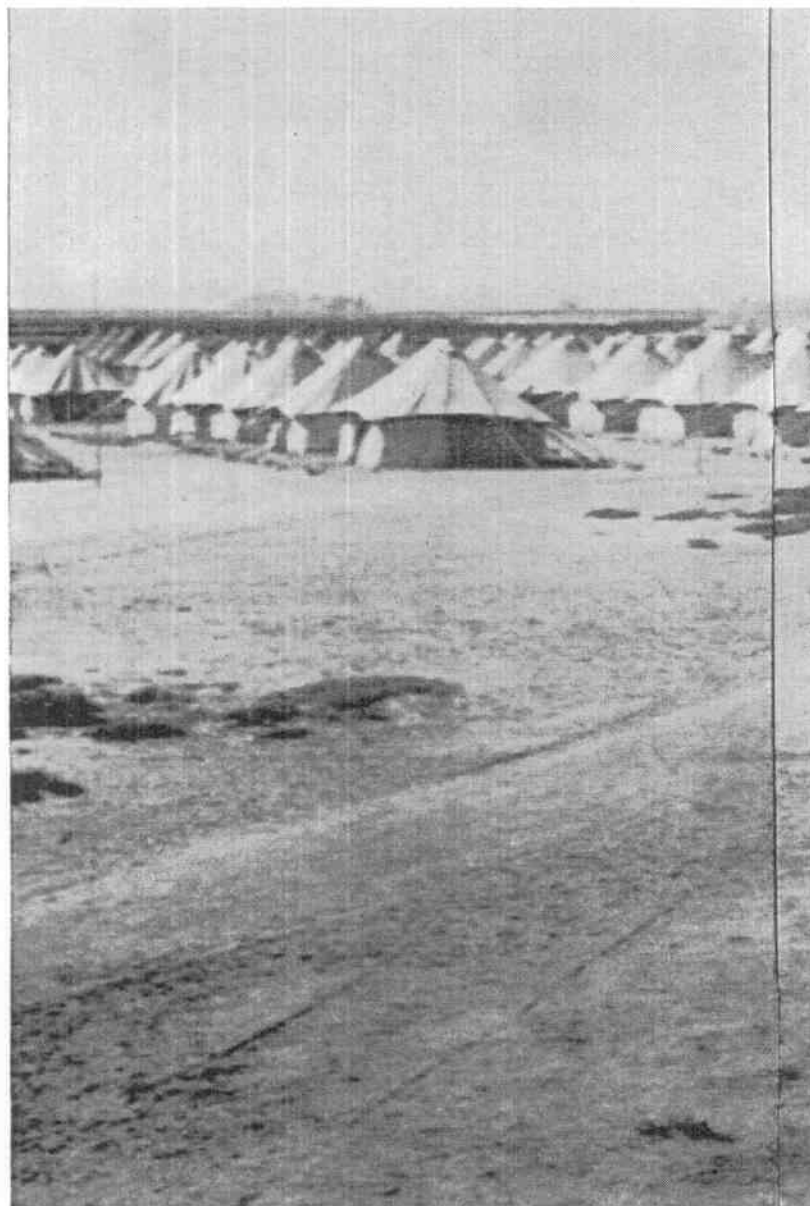


In all the 370,000 square miles of Pakistan there are only 7,260 miles of railway and only 9,575 miles of paved roads. There are an estimated 53,000 miles of dirt roads and trails. Trains operating between India and Pakistan have been carrying refugees since the partition riots, with little room left for pay loads of cotton or food. Pakistan has had difficulty in getting enough coal to keep the railways running and even then has had to pay about three times the normal price per ton. In September alone the country lost more than \$10 million on railway operations.

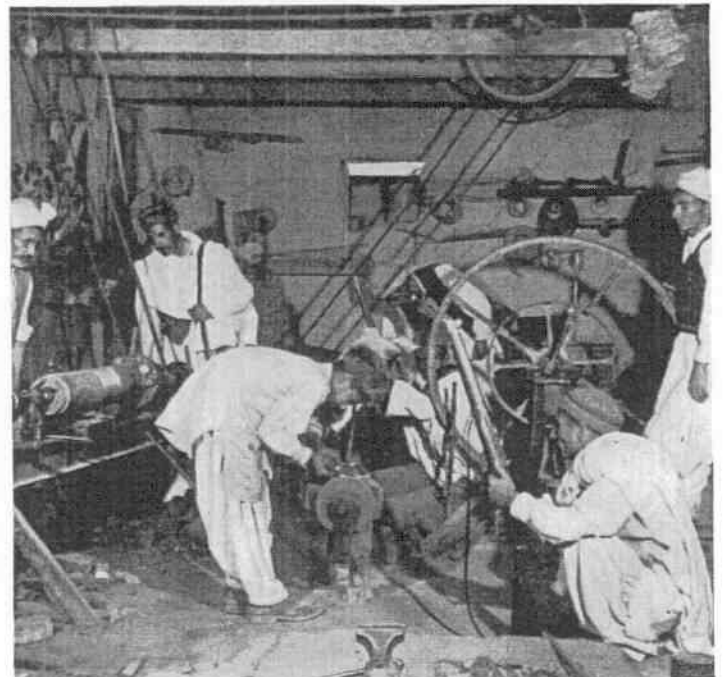
FINANCES



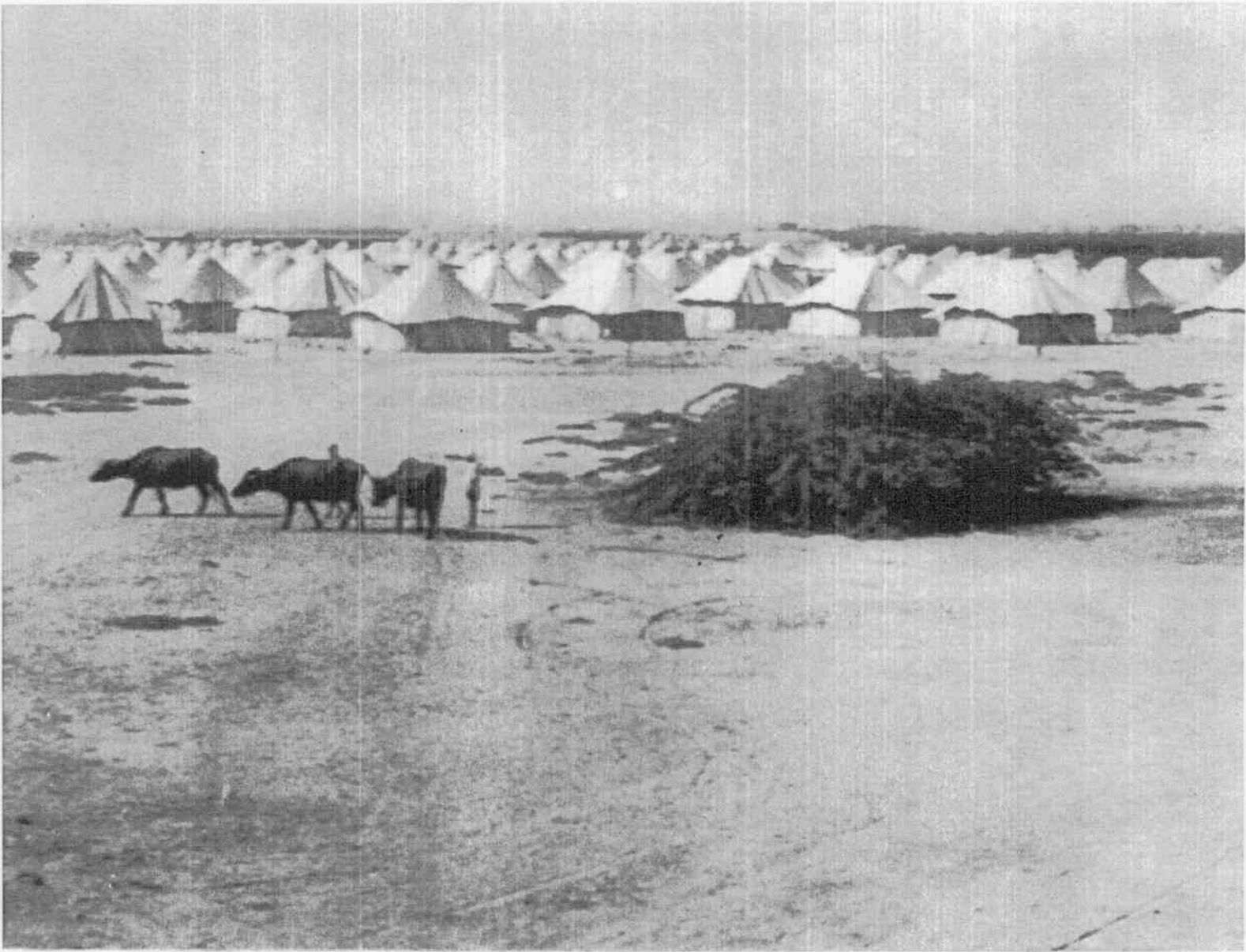
Pakistan's financial troubles are compounded out of her political, trade and industrial failures. At the time of the division Hindu businessmen took out all the gold bullion, jewels and other liquid assets they could carry with them. With normal trade cut off by the rioting and use of railroads for refugees, Pakistan's income probably will not exceed 450 million rupees for the current year against almost certain expenditures of 800 million. Officials talk hopefully of foreign investment or loans, but in Pakistan's present condition the risks are not very attractive.



GOVERNMENT WORKERS IN PAKISTAN'S CAPITAL OF KARACHI ARE HOUSED IN



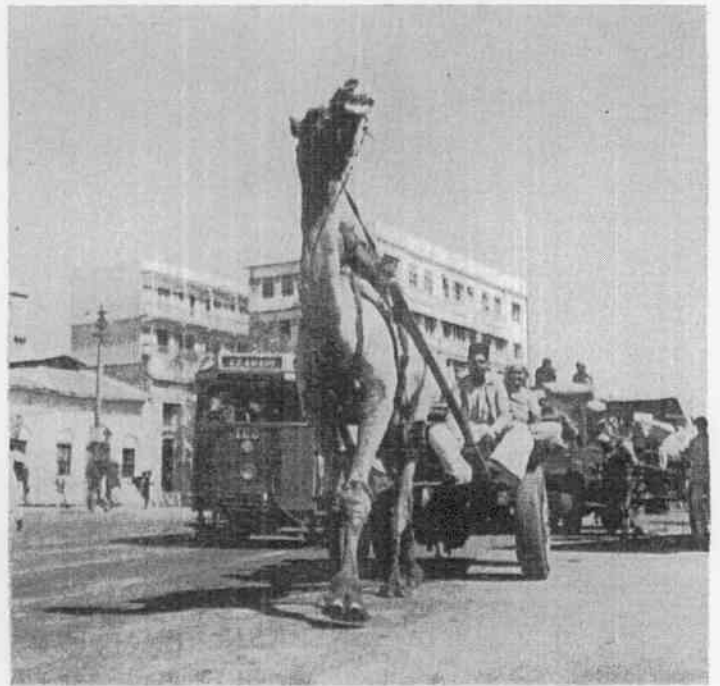
TINY ARMS FACTORY near Peshawar is as modern as much of Pakistan's industry. This factory has only five workers and it takes each one a full month to make a rifle.



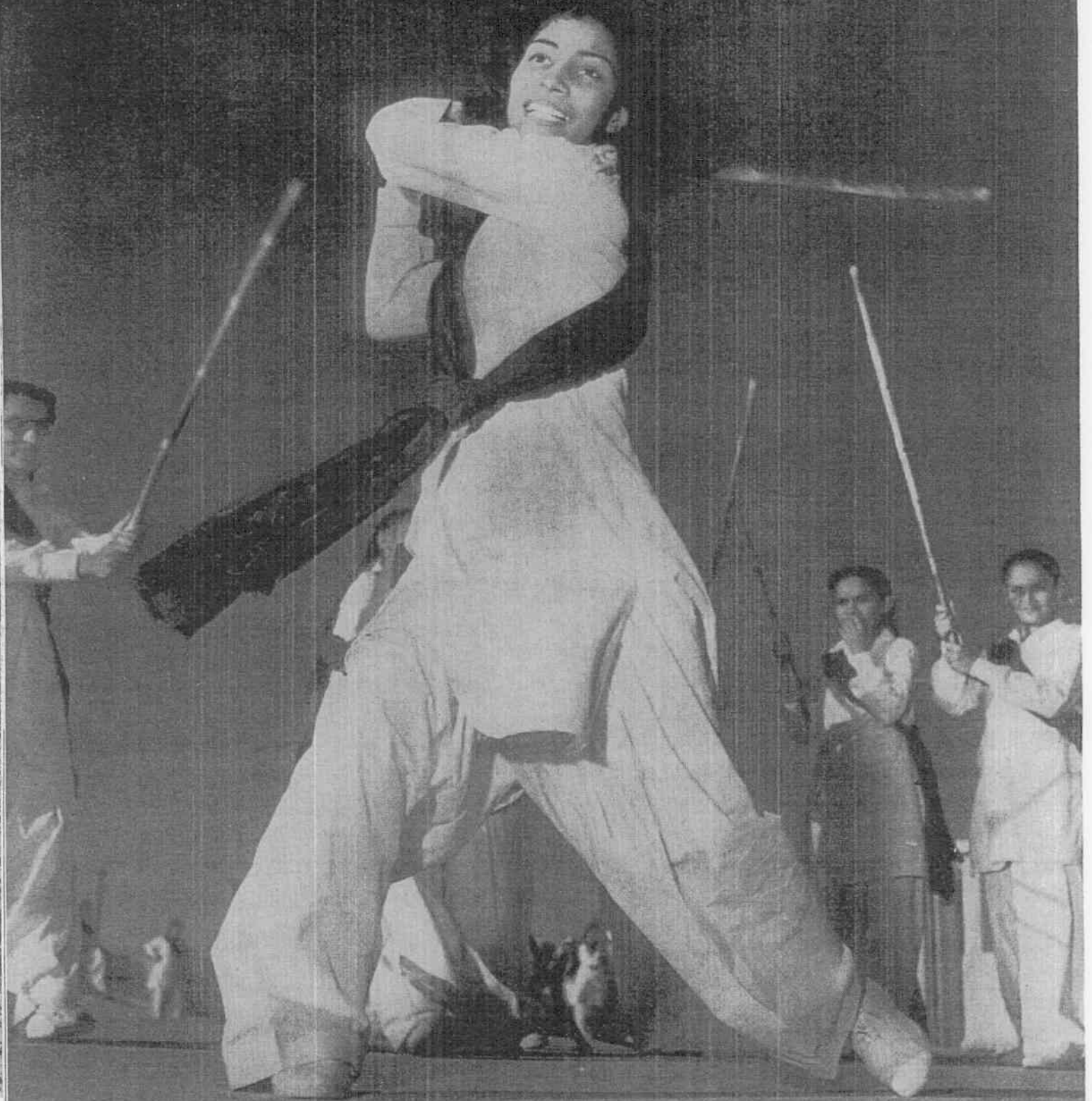
TENTS. THIS BIG SETTLEMENT TAKES CARE OF 600 CLERKS AND MESSENGER BOYS, WHO ARE NOT DISTURBED BY THE LIVESTOCK WHICH WANDER AROUND THE CAMP



MOSLEM COLLEGE in Karachi represents an effort to reduce Pakistan illiteracy rate of 97%. Girls in background are seated out of boys' view to preserve their modesty.



"ONE-CAMEL TOWN" would be a good description of Karachi in terms of world capitals. Although the city has some modern transport, communications are inadequate.



MODERN PAKISTAN WOMEN are symptomatic of the progress the new nation is struggling to make. Here, led by Zeenat Haroon, young members of the Sind province

Women's National Guard meet to practice the use of the bamboo *lathi* in self-defense. But most Pakistan women still prefer the old customs, even to the veiled face (p. 26).

