

## Pakistan's Gramsci: The Life and Legacy of Sibte Hasan (1916-1986)

by Raza Naeem\*

*Abstract:* Sibte Hasan was an organic intellectual before the age of the so-called mass and social media. He was one of the founding members of the Progressive Writers Association in colonial India, as well as the Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP), along with Sajjad Zaheer and Faiz Ahmad Faiz in postcolonial Pakistan. Like the famed Italian thinker and activist, Antonio Gramsci, Hasan endured repeated jail terms, first during his sojourn in the United States, and then in Pakistan in 1951-55, and again during the Ayub dictatorship. Both thinkers chose to write in their native languages, Italian for Gramsci and Urdu for Hasan. But unlike Gramsci, Hasan was lucky to escape continuous jail terms, as well as an overzealous prosecutor who had decided in Mussolini's Italy that Gramsci's intellect had to be stopped from functioning for twenty years. Hasan's intellect though, flourished after his release from prison. Both Gramsci and Hasan were also concerned with producing organic and original theories, using Marxist concepts to apply to their material realities rather than the other way round. Hasan was one of the prominent protagonists in the battle of ideas in post-independence Pakistan which has continued to shape the debate over issues of identity, progress, religion and secularism – intellectually and in the public imagination. Not being a 'specialist', 'expert' and a drifter towards power and authority, Sibte Hasan took on big, much-needed subjects in his many works: whether the history of socialism in *Musa say Marx Tak* (From Moses to Marx); the people's history of Pakistani culture and its popular movements in *Pakistan main Tehzeeb ka Irtiqā* (The Evolution of Culture in Pakistan); or the departed cultures of the ancient Orient in *Maazi kay Mazaar* (Tombs of the Past); and documenting *The Battle of Ideas in Pakistan* and *Inqalab-e-Iran* (The Iranian Revolution), all from within a firmly Marxist and materialist perspective. Another unheralded achievement of Sibte Hassan was the progressive journalism in Pakistan he did along with Faiz Ahmad Faiz, in such leading progressive newspapers

as *Imroze*, *Pakistan Times* and *Lail-o-Nahar*. Reading these interventions and editorials today, one can in fact compile a veritable people's and social history of the period in Pakistan ranging from the 1950s to the 1980s on topics of staggering variety that continue to speak to us today, beset as Pakistanis are by an existential struggle between modernity and backwardness, secularism and fundamentalism, democracy and dictatorship, authoritarianism and pluralism. 2016-2017 is still being celebrated as Sibte Hassan's birth centenary year, connecting him to a long line of distinguished south Asian predecessors like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Altaf Hussain Hali, Iqbal and Allama Niaz Fatehpuri, amidst a continuing crisis of Pakistani/South Asian state, society and culture. This paper is therefore a tribute to, and a remembrance of, one of Pakistan's most important thinkers, who prepared, mobilized and inspired a whole generation of activists and intellectuals during the long nights of military dictatorship and obscurantism in Pakistan through his roles in Pakistan's nascent communist movement and the PWA; for the almost single-handed propagation and popularity of Marxist thought at a difficult time for Pakistan; and resisting against dictators, religious orthodoxy and literary mandarins alike. It draws upon both my original translations of Sibte Hasan's prose into English, and memories of his life and times in Karachi.

The year 1916 was very kind to the Indian subcontinent. Notwithstanding the fact that the third year of the first great world war was raging on, three distinguished personalities from the fields of art, critical prose and literature were born: the great painter and innovator of abstract art, Shakir Ali; one of the region's greatest short-story writers and poets, Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi; and Sibte Hasan, Pakistan's own Gramsci and gadfly.

In an article published in the UK Guardian last year and much circulated on the social media, Sarfraz Manzoor credited the eminent Pakistani writer Saadat Hasan Manto with predicting the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan and being prophetic about the direction of Pakistan-US relations. Manto didn't live long in independent Pakistan, but it was public intellectuals like Sibte who educated generations of enlightened, secular-minded, progressive Pakistanis and thus prepared them for the long dark nights of military dictatorship and the rise of fundamentalism and obscurantism. Some of his writings like *A Tragic Warning* are no less prophetic than anything Manto had written about in the 1950s.

Like Antonio Gramsci, the Italian thinker and activist, Hasan endured repeated jail terms, first during his sojourn in the US, and then in Pakistan in 1951–55 and again during the Ayub regime. Both thinkers chose to write in their native language: Italian for Gramsci and Urdu for Hasan. Both Gramsci and Hasan were concerned with producing organic and original theories, applying Marxist concepts to their material realities rather than the other way round. Chances are that Pakistan's younger breed of comrades knows their Gramsci, but not their Sibte Hasan.

Sibte Hasan was born on July 31, 1916 in a village called Ambari in Azamgarh District of Uttar Pradesh. He came from a crusty *zamindar* family which boasted of traditions of intense loyalty to the British as well as outright rebellion to them, in the 1857 War of Independence. He describes the influence of rationalist scholar Niaz Fatehpuri while still a schoolboy in the following words: '*During (my) school*

*education, the favours of Allama Niaz Fatehpuri upon me, I cannot ever forget. In the seventh class, for the first time, I read Niaz Fatehpuri sahib's magazine 'Nigar', after which I brought and read his books. Reading Niaz Fatehpuri's writings radicalized my thought, the ability to think with my own mind away from blind following. I learnt this from Allama Niaz Fatehpuri that whatever appears to be correct, accept it, whatever appears incorrect, reject it. It is because of his writings that I became wary of mullahism. Mullahism is a very bad thing and it has created a lot of damage. '*

The young Sibte was further radicalized towards rejection of his family values, attracted to rebellion and revolution by the contradictions within his own family. He says, *'Then I saw one or two very extreme events. Once I had gone to a relative's place. I was returning from there in the evening that I saw a commotion at the house. There was a huge neem or guava tree outside our house. A man was tied to it and my late younger paternal uncle had a paper and he was forcibly affixing the farmer's thumb on it and the latter was screaming. His thumb was moving because of the screaming and uncle was furiously trying to affix it to the paper by making it static. God knows what happened to my late uncle, perhaps seeing my reaction or just by seeing me he felt embarrassed and let go of the man immediately. He went away sobbing. I still remember this incident and whenever I think about it, I feel very sad. I did not have the courage to say anything to uncle but I felt very bad.'*

After getting his B.A. from Allahabad University, Sibte went to Aligarh Muslim University where he studied law. This was again a formative period in his life, because here he came into contact with the Communist Party of India (CPI) and became a communist after reading the work of Dr K. M. Ashraf, a distinguished historian very close to the CPI. This period in young Sibte's life is immortalized in eminent Progressive writer, journalist and film director Khwaja Ahmad Abbas's epic autobiographical novel *Inqilab*, in which the protagonist Anwar, an Aligarhian like Abbas meets a comrade 'Subhanovsky' who lectures the former on the finer points of libido, and inhibitions, as well as terms like dialectics,

bourgeois, proletarian, Oedipus complex and fixations. There is no doubt that comrade Subhanovsky is modeled on Sibte Hasan.

From Aligarh, Sibte started a distinguished journalistic and literary career, mentored by two towering personalities of the Urdu firmament, Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, famed for his satirical *Laila kay Khutoot*; and Maulvi Abdul Haq, celebrated to this day as 'Baba-e-Urdu'. This intellectual journey is lovingly and delightfully recorded in Sibte's memoirs 'Shehr-e-Nigaraan', the title referring to Hyderabad Deccan, in his own words, ' where my consciousness became aware of the beauty of life and where I learnt to love human beings.' It is also an unforgettable record of Sibte's days spent in the company of remarkable comrades and contemporaries like the leading Progressive poets Makhdoom Mohiuddin and Ali Sardar Jafri, and an accurate picture of the crumbling milieu of the feudal, oppressive Asif Jah dynasty.

The heady, creative days of Hyderabad Deccan were interrupted in 1946, just on the cusp of the partition of India, to go to the United States, where Sibte completed his M.A. in Political Science from Columbia University in New York. The Cold War had just begun and Sibte too became a victim of the McCarthyite witch-hunts as a result of which he was first arrested, and then deported. He arrived in Lahore in 1948 and started work with the newly-minted Communist Party of Pakistan (CPP) together with his comrades Sajjad Zaheer, Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Ashfaq Beg. However the CPP was later banned on a trumped-up charge of attempting to overthrow the Liaquat Ali Khan government. Sibte Hasan was arrested alongwith scores of comrades in 1951 in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case and remained in jail until 1955. After Pakistan's first military coup in 1958, led by General Ayub Khan, he was again arrested. Thus the comparison to the famed Italian Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci is not accidental; however unlike Gramsci, Sibte Hasan's internment mercifully proved temporary and he went on to research and write his seminal works.

It is not possible in this short tribute to do justice to each of Sibte's 11 works in Urdu and the lone one in English. Most of these works like *Moosa say Marx Tak*, *Naveed-e-Fikr*, *Maazi kay Mazaar*, *Shehr-e-Nigaraan*, *Pakistan mein Tehzeeb ka Irtiqa* and *Inqilab-e-Iran* require separate discussions and expositions. The first four aforementioned books have gone into almost 20 reprints each, making Sibte Hasan a bestselling writer and a household name in Urdu popular literature; an astonishing feat for a thinker who by his own admission shied away from poetry and fiction, and was attracted to the critical prose essay.

The life and legacy of Sibte Hasan can be understood in three ways: as one of the founders of the Progressive Writers Association (PWA) in colonial India; as one of the leaders of the CPP in Pakistan; and as one of the pioneers of progressive journalism in Pakistan while working for such distinguished newspapers as *Imroz*, *The Pakistan Times* and *Lail-o-Nahar*.

There are also two other, much less-acknowledged ways to understand the significance of Sibte Hasan as a public intellectual who despite his command over Urdu, Farsi and English consciously chose to write in Urdu. The first is as one of the most important protagonists in the battle of ideas in Pakistan which had initiated in colonial India between the followers of the two 'Syeds': namely Jamaluddin Afghani and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan; then between the followers of Muhammad Iqbal and Maulana Maududi. While in colonial India, these debates were limited to the role of Islam in public life and affairs of the state; and the strategies of anti-imperialism and British (or Ottoman) loyalism, in newly-independent Pakistan, the debates encompassed the role of Urdu, 'Pakistaniat', and by extension modernity and backwardness, 'Islam' and 'Progress', and the role of nation and culture. On one side were popular, but nevertheless important writers like Naseem Hijazi and many ex-Progressives (it would be best to call them renegades) like Muhammad Hasan Askari, Akhtar Hussain Raipuri and M. D. Taseer, all of them writing in Urdu; on the Progressive side were equally distinguished names like Safdar Mir, Manto, Qasmi and Sibte Hasan.

Sibte entered the debate with the publication of his book *Pakistan mein Tehzeeb ka Irtiqā* in 1975.

Unfortunately despite the importance of this topic, the book continues to be ignored even by sections of the Pakistani left. In this writer's humble opinion, it is Sibte Hasan's most important work specifically dealing with Pakistan, and whose relevance increases as Pakistan moves towards celebrating the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its independence this year.

*The Evolution of Culture in Pakistan*, which was published forty-odd years ago, is one of his seminal works, but surprisingly ignored even by those on the left. Sibte sahib's intent in writing the book was nothing less than what Gramsci had similarly intended for the Italian national condition in his *Prison Notebooks*: to ascribe a central role to culture in explaining the people's history of Pakistan. He writes, *"There is great fanfare about culture these days in Pakistan [...] There is no denying that culture plays a very important role in shaping and construction of personality, but the negligence which has hitherto been shown towards cultural problems, whether these discussions would contribute to remedying it, no one can tell."*

From this definition, Sibte sahib moves onto the synthesizing elements of culture, which for him, form the basis for all the new and old cultures of the world. These are physical conditions, instruments and tools, systems of thought and feeling, and social values. Hasan adopts a wide panorama enveloping the ancient cultures of the Indus Valley, the Aryans, the Greek, Saka and Kushan influences, the Arabs, Turks and Iranians, and the rise and decline of Mughals before concluding with a reflection on Mughal culture in the mirror of its Western contemporary.

A number of things stand out in Hasan's analysis. First, as mentioned before, this book came out in the mid-1970s when the democratic government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was in power and there was much debate on the definition of Pakistani culture among both the left and the right. Sibte sahib wrote about the evolution of Pakistani culture in a detached manner – one not given over to emotion but tracing a

5,000-year-old civilization in a scientific manner. In his hands, the narrative of our cultural evolution becomes a history from below, a people's history, rather than a mere chronicle of the exploits and adventures of kings and rulers and palace intrigues.

Second, Sibte sahib's account painstakingly establishes the fact that the Subcontinent's history has been a history of the separation of religion and politics. For example, one of the most powerful kings of the Mameluk dynasty in Delhi, Ghias-ud-din Balban, would say openly that matters of state were subject to national convenience rather than to the laws devised by theologians. Sibte sahib writes, *"It is correct that the rulers used religion for the benefit of their class and did not find anything wrong with using the services of maulvis, pundits and clerics, but they were unwilling to accept religious representatives as their masters."*

The third distinctive feature of Hasan's work is the space he devotes to popular movements of the Subcontinent. One is the Bhakti movement, which is usually dismissed as a "Hindu" movement, but was in reality a joint movement of lower-class Hindus and Muslims. The other popular movement, which Sibte sahib treats as more than a historical footnote, is the Roshaniya movement founded by the 'Pir-e-Roshan' Bayazid Ansari during the reign of Mughal emperor Akbar. Despite leading an egalitarian movement, says Sibte sahib, *"Historians and religious scholars too have presented Pir Roshan's character in a very biased manner and tried to prove him an infidel, heretic, dacoit and even a robber. His historical greatness should be reviewed in the light of the longstanding enmity between the Mughals and Pakhtuns. The Pakhtuns never accepted Mughal suzerainty; in fact, where and whenever they had an opportunity, they used it to rebel."*

Women, too, have their fair share in Sibte Hasan's narrative, especially the present underdevelopment of women and the growth of brothels in the Subcontinent under the influence of Muslim notables:

*"Upper and middle class women were paralyzed because of purdah. Dancing and singing, which was*



*considered a sacred prayer in Hindu society, was deemed as the forbidden tree among Muslims thanks to the cleric's fatwas. And thereby Muslim notables began to patronize the dancing and singing establishments. This is how this sacred art became a source of entertainment for the full-bellied and for the satisfaction of lust in the cities."*

The Mughal period also comes alive in these pages and Sibte sahib gives more credit to this era for leaving a lasting influence on the region than many are willing to do. One of his great achievements in the chapter on the rise and fall of the Mughals is the way he has treated Aurangzeb, the last major Mughal emperor. Historians either usually depict him as a fundamentalist successor to the four caliphs or a cruel tyrant who showed no mercy to his own father, brothers and progeny in his quest for unlimited power. Despite being a committed secularist, Sibte sahib refuses to take sides, rather describing the man and his times as they were.

Writing about the celebrated battle of ideas between Aurangzeb and his learned free-thinker brother Dara Shikoh, he writes: *"If Aurangzeb won and Dara Shikoh lost in this civil war, it was because such was the need of the times. Regarding the charge that the sharia-compliant Aurangzeb betrayed his brothers and put his aged father in prison, in the period of personalized rule, this was the norm everywhere regardless of West or East. To shed the blood of father and brothers for throne and crown was not really a new tradition and had Dara Shikoh won out, he would have treated Aurangzeb in the same manner as the latter with the former."*

One of the most crucial arguments of the book is the thesis that the chief blame for the decline of the Mughal Empire and subsequent British domination in India lay with the scientific and commercial short-sightedness of the Mughals. Very much like their Ottoman contemporaries, even as farsighted a ruler as Akbar refused to either set up the printing press or even to learn more about it, justifying this historic blunder by arguing for the inferiority of machines in relation to his calligraphers, fearing it would leave

them unemployed. In a moving and lyrical passage, Sibte sahib writes, *“We should search for the main reasons of the decline of Mughal culture in their self-sufficient society, which did not find the need for invention and innovation; in those instruments and tools which had not changed since centuries; in that feudal system which did not have space left for further progress; in that authoritarian personalized rule in which the authority to decide the fate of country and nation belonged to the king and the nobles, and the ruled had no right of representation at any level.”*

When the book was published in 1975, forty-odd years ago, it immediately set off a debate in South Asian Marxist circles regarding the social conditions in India before the arrival of the British, and what impact the latter’s development had on modes of production. Since this was the first time such a thesis had been presented in Urdu, it drew in eminent Pakistani intellectuals such as Safdar Mir, Muhammad Ali Siddiqi and Hamza Alavi.

The second way in which Sibte Hasan appeals especially to my generation is his spirited defence of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Muhammad Iqbal against the dogmatists of both the right and the left. In fact, Sibte rehabilitated their role as the predecessors of the Progressive tradition. About Khan, whose bicentennial will be celebrated in 2017, Sibte observed: *‘The objections to Sir Syed are still taking place. These were of two types: firstly, the fundamentalists put fatwas on him for being an infidel and natyry (sic). Secondly, those with nationalist thought labeled him as a British lackey, that in his zest for adopting new thoughts and ideas, he had become a great supporter and exaggerator of the British government and on order to pave the way for British strategy and decisions, he had begun appearing as an Anglophile to an extreme degree. This objection to him was true to a great extent. Actually Sir Syed was politically a conservative and understood the security of India to lie in continued British rule and instead of orienting himself with the national aspirations of India, was seeing the Muslims as a separate nation. But socially he was a progressive. He started a systematic campaign for organizing thinking in favour of*

*modern ideas and against superstition. Seen like this, his ideas were also constantly changing. In his initial period, he wrote an essay 'A Refutation of Earth Movement' in which he had tried to prove the idea of the earth's movement as false, but gradually his thought began to adopt a scientific direction. In the matter of religion, his basic argument was that there cannot be any contradiction between the word and work of God, that is, this nature cannot be opposed to the word of God, and if it appears to us to be so, we are definitely erring somewhere in understanding the word of God. That is why we need to explain, interpret and comment on the word of God on a new basis. So in our history of culture and ideas, his role has definitely been remarkable, which is impossible to deny. Now the fact that he was loyal to the British and supported their strategy does not carry any weight anymore, as he has turned our current of thought towards scientific ideas and he has a huge contribution in the enlightenment and mature vision which has come to us. He freed us from the trap of superstition, religious prejudice and outdated way of life. It is a result of his strong personality and steadfastness of thought, that powerful groups of enlightened and modern-thinking educated people gathered around him, who are even today known as the Sir Syed school.'*

Sibte's great contemporary, Khawaja Ahmad Abbas has referred to the former in his autobiography *I Am Not An Island* as 'one of the "Russians" or communists...propagating communism through literature', which is quite unfair given that Sibte was one of those who not only vehemently protested the expulsion of writers like Manto, Askari and Rashid from the PWA; but also survived the destruction of the CPP following its banning, as well as the Sino-Soviet split later on with his prestige intact, and because of his immense stature was acceptable to every camp. In an exchange with the famous modernist, free-verse poet Rashid, Sibte answers to some of the former's objections and allegations regarding communism and freedom of expression: *'As far as the personal freedom of any writer is concerned, I wholeheartedly agree with his view, rather I think that personal freedom is the birthright of every man, whether he is a writer or a non-writer, since it is only in an air of total freedom that man's creative abilities and natural*

tendencies can prosper. Submission really reduces his life to a drying stream. How well has Rashid sahib put it in his preface to 'La-Insan' that, "Slavery reduces both the price and the stature of an individual. Both love and thought are reduced to being wanting and deficient." But his accusation that Progressive people advise the poet to withdraw from his individual right in the choice of topic, is unfounded. Which Progressive poet of India or Pakistan has instructed which poet or artist to create this kind of literature and not to create that type of literature. Although the creative man is strange because even while obeying orders he can create great masterpieces. After all, Ferdowsi wrote the 'Shahnameh' at the request of Mahmud Ghaznavi; and Michaelangelo and Raphael painted the frescoes of the Church of Rome at the order of the Pope; and Shakespeare wrote most of his dramas for the sake of the belly on the direction of the theatre owner. Just yesterday Urdu poets (including Ghalib, Mir and Sauda) used to write ghazals-on-demand on rhyming couplets. This does not mean that we are in favour of order, instruction or advice. But my view too is that every artist should always follow his 'vision'. Every person knows that no one ever told Faiz, Ahmad Nadeem Qasmi, Farigh Bukhari, Ismat Chughtai, Krishan Chander or other Progressive writers to write this or that kind of story, poem or ghazal; in fact everyone followed their 'vision' according to their own philosophy of life and aesthetic taste.'

Here Sibte Hasan comes off as anything but a dogmatic communist.

Another unheralded achievement of Sibte Hassan was the progressive journalism he did along with Faiz Ahmad Faiz, in such leading progressive newspapers as *Imroze*, *Pakistan Times* and *Lail-o-Nahar*.

Reading these interventions and editorials today, one can in fact compile a veritable people's and social history of the period in Pakistan ranging from the 1950s to the 1980s on topics of staggering variety – political culture, political and constitutional arguments, the problems of people's peace, election preparations, Pakistan-India relations, foreign affairs (United States, Pakistan and the Muslim world), social welfare, education, culture and civilisation, constitution-making, literature and the arts, East

Pakistan, religion and extremism, etc. that continue to speak to us today, beset as we are by an existential struggle between modernity and backwardness, secularism and fundamentalism, democracy and dictatorship, authoritarianism and pluralism.

*“But the political angle of this tragedy is even more troubling than the administrative angle. It will be decided by court whether the murderous act by the driver Feroz was a private act or a conspiracy was brewing in its depths, although it can be said without the fear of rebuttal that this tragedy is the natural result of the religious frenzy and extremism which has been on display in our country recently. Religious scholars give fatwas denouncing socialism as un-Islamic. Addresses, sermons in mosques and political processions present socialism as the greatest enemy of Islam. Newspapers publish such statements and essays against socialism which inflame the religious sentiments of readers and accusations of apostasy and disbelief are being made even from television and radio. The present elections are being understood as a war between Islam and disbelief and jihad against socialists is being treated as a sacred duty. Socialists are threatened that we will pull out your tongues from the nape of the neck and Indonesianize Pakistan. Socialists are attacked and their houses marked to facilitate score-settling at an opportune moment, that is, such an aggressive environment of hate, intolerance and religious bias has developed in the country that if a person murders some socialist, it will be an occasion of sorrow, not surprise. So Feroz himself confessed that he did not run over the people due to being in an agitated state or negligence, but because he wanted to kill Poland’s socialist president since that was the greatest service to Islam in his opinion.*

*It appears from the news of the national press that Feroz was a very active member of the P. I. A’s ‘Islamist’ union and his association with Jamaat-e-Islami is also no longer a secret. This union has created a climate of violence at Karachi airport and beating up socialists has become the custom of the union*

*workers. The next step of this style of thought and action could be to murder a socialist in order to attain the status of a brave warrior or martyr.”*

Replace the word “socialism” with “secularism”, and these words could have been written today, struggling and stumbling as the Pakistani state and society are at the moment, with collateral damage in the wake of the two most recent events exposing the nexus between religious fundamentalism and violence, namely the hanging of the murderer of slain Punjab governor Salmaan Taseer, Mumtaz Qadri and the horrific bomb blasts at schools in Peshawar and shrines in Punjab and Sindh in the last couple of years.

But they weren't. In fact these prescient words were written less than fifty years ago.

2016 is still being celebrated as the birth centenary year of Sibte Hasan. He was not only Pakistan's own Gramsci but also its gadfly, constantly provoking and questioning its elite and people alike with uncomfortable questions, in the best Socratic tradition. Yet he has been studiously excluded and ignored by all the major literary festivals celebrated in Pakistan this year, including the city where he chose to live his long and productive life. The revolutionary poet Habib Jalib paid him a tribute in the following words, which will endure:

*'He was culture and conscience incarnate, Sibte Hasan*

*As he departed the assembly too became a dream*

*He didn't care to preserve just a few flowers*

*Rather he wished that the entire garden bloom*

*His imprints will lead the discussion forward*

*This flamboyant evolution will not cease*

*We will teach and be taught how to live*

*From his ideas and thoughts, will all the lovers of the word*

*He spoke true that life itself takes their steps*

*When men and women are not afraid to die*

*The usurpers will not be there forever, how well he used to say*

*When the weak-bodied and the scorned all rise*

*His name rings in every street O Jalib*

*For the very mountains and the valleys have been awakened by his thought'*

*\*Bio: The writer is an academic, writer and award-winning translator based in Lahore. He has also devised a special summer course on Sibte Hasan's writings to be taught at the Lahore University of Management Sciences. The translations from the Urdu are his own.*