

**April 19, 1958**

**Record of a Conversation between Comrade N.S. Khrushchev and A. Hussein, Ambassador of Pakistan in the USSR**

**Citation:**

"Record of a Conversation between Comrade N.S. Khrushchev and A. Hussein, Ambassador of Pakistan in the USSR", April 19, 1958, Wilson Center Digital Archive, RGANI, f. 52, op. 1, d. 576, ll. 29-33. Contributed by Sergey Radchenko and translated by Gary Goldberg. <https://digitalarchive.umd.edu/document/209019>

**Summary:**

Hussein and Khrushchev discuss the Pakistani Prime Minister's letter to Khrushchev. The ambassador talks about the position that Pakistan occupies between the USSR and the United States and asks Khrushchev about his opinion on the Kashmir situation. Khrushchev proposes that, if Pakistan opens its airspace to USSR-India flights, they can arrange for the establishment of direct flights between the USSR and Pakistan.

**Credits:**

This document was made possible with support from Blavatnik Family Foundation

**Original Language:**

Russian

**Contents:**

Translation - English

19 April 1958  
Nº [left blank]

RECORD OF A CONVERSATION  
between Cde. N. S. KHRUSHCHEV and A. HUSSEIN,  
AMBASSADOR OF PAKISTAN IN THE USSR

After a mutual exchange of greetings Hussein said that he had been charged with passing to N. S. Khrushchev a letter from the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Feroz Khan Noon, and that, in addition, he would like on his own behalf to personally congratulate N. S. Khrushchev in connection with his appointment as Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

N. S. Khrushchev thanked the Ambassador and, familiarizing himself with a translation of the letter, said that at first glance he formed the impression that expressions of Dulles and other figures had been used who are stubbornly slowing the achievement of an agreement about relaxing international tension. This is unsurprising, N. S. Khrushchev continued. To our regret Pakistan is taking a position which does not contribute to a strengthening of the forces fighting to eliminate blocs and to establish friendly relations between all countries. The letter of the Prime Minister is imbued with the same spirit. We hope that the time will come when Pakistan will understand that such a position does not promote its interests and the interests of other peaceloving countries.

Hussein said letter of the Prime Minister somewhat disappointed him, and agreed that it has some shopworn phrases which have already been encountered in some documents and in the press. In Hussein's opinion, the last part of the letter which, he thinks, contains the key to the actual position of Pakistan, is the most important. Pakistan is chiefly interested in improving relations with all [its] neighbors. The government of Pakistan has the serious intention of taking a middle position, "a position between the two blocs". In the last two weeks, continued Hussein, the Prime Minister of Pakistan has made a number of speeches in which he has declared that if the Western powers do not help Pakistan solve the dispute over Kashmir then Pakistan "will exchange handshakes" with the USSR. Of course, we understand that it is not at all honorable for us to go the route of "an exchange of handshakes", added Hussein, but nevertheless these statements show that Pakistan does not have a strictly defined position with respect to peaceful blocs.

Hussein said further that if the conflict between Pakistan and India due to Kashmir were settled then both sides would be able to make a more effective contribution to international life. In Hussein's opinion, the Kashmir question is one of those problems which could be solved with the aid of the Soviet Union. The role of India in world politics would be considerably greater if it did not lose prestige as a result of its position with respect to Kashmir. For example, the Indian government rejected the quite reasonable suggestion of the UN mediator in the Kashmir question about a meeting of the prime ministers of Pakistan and India. This step of India's caused disappointment in Pakistan and world public opinion.

N. S. Khrushchev said that at the present time the prestige of India in international politics is very high since it consistently pursues a policy of peace and non-participation in blocs. Unfortunately, Pakistan takes the opposite position. It gets weapons from Western powers, participates in the Baghdad Pact, rattles sabers, and displays a hostile attitude toward the USSR and India. But this does not promote a strengthening of the domestic political or international position of Pakistan. As concerns UN mediation in the Kashmir question, N. S. Khrushchev continued, we do not have an especially high opinion of UN activity right now. It is a necessary organization and it needs to be strengthened but, unfortunately, it often becomes a champion of the interests of the US since the majority of its members support the US. Therefore it is hard for peaceloving countries to rely on the UN.

N. S. Khrushchev said further that if Pakistan left the Baghdad Pact and took such a position as for example, India takes, then such a step would be a contribution to the cause of rapprochement between India and Pakistan, and Pakistan, as an important

country, would feel firmer ground under [its] feet in international affairs. But, of course, the choice of a foreign policy is the internal matter of Pakistan.

Then N. S. Khrushchev said that the USSR is ready to improve relations with Pakistan. Why, for example, not come to agreement about air service between the two countries so that Soviet aircraft can fly to [New] Delhi over the territory of Pakistan? Direct air service could be established between the USSR and Karachi. This would be the shortest path between the East and West and one could fly, let's say, from London to Karachi in one day.

Hussein replied that direct air service between the USSR and Pakistan is a wonderful idea and he hopes it is accomplished. However, possibly some time will be needed for this since the government of Pakistan has concerns connected with the Soviet position on the Kashmir question. Hussein said that he was trying to convince his government "to forget" about these concerns for a time, and that the government of Pakistan is increasingly inclined to agree with this.

Then Hussein, stipulating that he was expressing his personal opinion, declared that the reasons for the Soviet Union's dissatisfaction with the policy of Pakistan are understood. The USSR maintains close ties with India at the same time. But the fact that right now India is closer to the USSR than Pakistan still does not mean that it will always be that way. As they say in Pakistan, an atheist is closer to God than a person professing a religion. I would not be surprised, continued Hussein, if next year the relations of the USSR with India and Pakistan fundamentally change. A strong movement for independent statehood headed by a person who enjoys great influence already exists in Kashmir.

N. S. Khrushchev replied that it is difficult for him to speak about the current situation in Kashmir specifically since he is not familiar with this question in detail. N. S. Khrushchev recalled that he formed a very good impression from a visit to Kashmir in 1955. N. S. Khrushchev said, we were convinced that the people of Kashmir had rallied around Prime Minister Nehru and the government of Kashmir. The members of the government of Kashmir are very educated and decent people, and we were glad to make their acquaintance.

N. S. Khrushchev said further that, as the Ambassador of Pakistan in the USSR, Hussein strives to ensure an improvement of relations between the two countries. N. S. Khrushchev continued, we regard the activity of the Ambassador with great respect, highly value his efforts in this direction, and believe that they will be crowned with success. For our part, we are ready to do everything possible to achieve this goal.

Hussein asked N. S. Khrushchev to use his influence to settle the dispute between Pakistan and India and to strengthen the peaceful relations between them. In response to N. S. Khrushchev's comment that the USSR favors peace between peoples Hussein said that peace has many aspects and might vary in its substance.

In reply N. S. Khrushchev stressed that the Soviet Union favors peace between countries in the form in which they were fashioned.

Hussein thanked N. S. Khrushchev for the conversation.

Recorded by: [signature]

(S. Chetverikov)