

stand as candidates, would come about only if the control of this country by Communist armies were removed, or at any rate sufficiently relaxed to enable genuine supervision by an objective international commission to take place. To say, therefore, that we agree on free elections would be quite false unless we had agreed also on an effective programme of supervision. That we have not agreed on an effective programme of supervision is all too clear for reasons which I shall explain subsequently.

To illustrate to Mr. Molotov the grave difficulties we have in stating that we agree with him on this principle, I should like to enumerate some of the questions which we must face. Do the Communist representatives agree, for example, that any Korean citizen can be a candidate for the legislature, or do they intend that only candidates "approved" by the all-Korean "body" may seek election? As freedom for candidates to campaign is a vital part of free elections, are the Communists prepared to agree to the terms of the fifth item of the South Korean proposals calling for full freedom of movement, speech, etc., for candidates, campaigners and their families? Under the Communist proposals would the all-Korean legislature be completely sovereign within Korea and would the executive branch of the Government derive its authority from majority support in the Legislature or would the executive be separate from the Legislature? There are varying democratic solutions to these questions but it is most important in this case to know how the executive would be chosen. Is it perhaps intended that it should be chosen by the all-Korean "body" in which the Communists would retain veto power? Since the Communist representatives insist that the question of Korea's future constitution is not a matter for consideration by this conference, do they envisage that the freely elected legislature would be a constituent assembly empowered to draft a constitution by majority vote or do they perhaps intend that the Korean constitution should be drawn up by the all-Korean body in which a small minority of the population would have grossly inflated representation? These are not questions which we are asking in the expectation that Mr. Molotov will provide us with immediate satisfactory replies but they are questions which although they may be considered matters of detail are matters on which we must reach an understanding before we can be said to agree in principle.

In the second place, Mr. Molotov has made an interesting and not unconvincing argument for the establishment of an all-Korean body to prepare and hold the general elections. We are not prepared to reject out of hand the conception of an all-Korean commission for the purposes mentioned by Mr. Molotov, but so much depends on the composition and function of this commission that we could hardly be said to agree unless our conceptions of the commission are more alike than they seem to be. To us it is conceivable that for certain very limited purposes of removing the present barriers even a commission composed on a fifty-fifty basis might be acceptable. However, we would find it much more difficult to believe that there was justice in establishing a commission to settle all the electoral details for the whole country which was composed with such complete disregard to the division of population. It is clear, therefore, that the questions of composition and function are essential components of the principle of an all-Korean commission. They cannot be divorced from it and they cannot be left for