is what we might call the open system. The other consists of a series of closed systems. The basic assumption of the open system is that all industrial countries of the free world will accept responsibility for the economic, commercial, and political well-being of all developing countries without discrimination. They will, through systematic consultation, concert their efforts to achieve that objective. The closed system, on the other hand, assumes that specific industrial countries or groups of countries in the north will maintain special relations with specific developing countries or groups of countries in the south, and will establish preferential and discriminatory arrangements to reinforce these relations. This is the situation, for example, that exists with regard to the African States of the French Community and, to a lesser extent, within the British Commonwealth.

The United States has been the leading proponent of the open system, but the existence of even incomplete closed systems, as in Africa, has led to demands that we extend similar arrangements to Latin America, many of whose products compete directly with those of African nations. Up to this point we have been firmly loyal to the principle of nondiscrimination; but recently the pressure for a special trading regime with Latin America has become more clamorous, in part at least because the European Economic Community has been expanding the closed system, in practice if not in principle.

The activities of the European Economic Community—the Common Market—in this connection are rooted in colonial arrangements. The provision of preferential access to the products of certain African countries resulted initially from the preferential regime that existed within the French community. At the present time, of the 38 independent African States, 18 former French, Italian, and Belgian territories are already associate members of the European Common Market. Two more areas of Africa may well come in: the Maghreb countries of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, and (in the event that Britain enters the Common Market) the 12 African members of the British Commonwealth. After the coup in Nigeria in January 1966, the Nigerian Government signed an as yet unratified agreement with the Common Market for associate membership, which would have entitled Nigeria to the privileges both of the British Commonwealth preference system and the preferential system of the European Community. I am not quite sure what is going to happen to that arrangement, given the present state of turmoil in that unfortunate country.

Talks underway with Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda broke down last year because the African States refused to grant preferences for imports of the Six in return for full access for their exports to the Common Market, but there are indications that such talks may be revived, since the African States in question have had second thoughts and may now be ready to work out some reciprocal arrangements although insisting on special protection for their own industries. Since the European Community has provided its African associates with more than $1.5 billion of aid over the past 7 years, the African States have found associate membership profitable in addition to the trade advantages; and this does not include substantial grants of aid still provided directly from Paris to the nations of the French community and directly from Brussels to the Belgian Congo.