

## *Abstract.*

The end of World War II marked the beginning of a new order in international relations, and a deep, radical change from the pre-war system featuring atrocious dictatorships, conflicts and alliances between insane nations leaders, culminating in the most atrocious massacre in the history of humanity.

The Second World War brought about 55 million deaths, many countries were reduced to a state of dire poverty and starvation; a situation certainly serious to face. However countries had to rise: there was a brand new future to plan.

Another legacy, however, was left by war: ideals, views, will and solemn affirmations of the last years of the conflict from which to start and lay the new foundations, depicting a new world order.

During the course of the conflict, in the last years in particular, when defeating the Nazi German seemed a realistic target, a series of conferences took place between 1943 and 1945 marking the key points from which to start again, putting an end to Hitler's power.

In Tehran (1943) they began to come up with the idea of a future league of Nations aiming at promoting peace, sorting out disputes among nations to avoid the slaughter and the dramatic events that had characterized the previous years. This process continued with the Dumbarton Oaks conference, Bretton Woods, Yalta and Potsdam, where these ideals and principles were discussed with increasing frequency.

Indeed the major issues were European democracy, political and economical cooperation, aid for people in need. It was on these occasions that they first spoke about the balance of power between the two great countries which would rule the world stage.

Of *balance of power* is spoken because what came out at the end of the conflict was a clear political scene: the winners, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, capable of being protagonists of the new world order, superior in military force, with great economic and political stability, divided the world into two spheres of influence, Western and Eastern Europe: it was the beginning of the Cold War, a constant state of tension which never led to confrontation between the two major powers, masters of the two blocs that divided international relations. The consolidated blocs were launching two distinctly different paths as shown by the Marshall Plan (1947), the North Atlantic Treaty (1949) to the west, the birth of the popular Democracies, the Comecon (1949), the Warsaw Pact (1955) to east.

European nations, once protagonists of world politics, were now living in the background: Italy, destroyed by the war, set off to a difficult recovery; France sought to stabilize its weak political situation, heritage of the years of conflict, while assessing its rule on colonies; Britain tried to consolidate the system of the Commonwealth, well aware of its minor role in international relations, as Guido Formigoni brilliantly suggests.

The United States, real leaders of Western development, were able to make a clear analysis of the situation. The U.S. President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, follower of Thomas Woodrow Wilson's grand design, had among his objectives the freedom and self-determination of peoples in the new post-war scenery, hoping they could be completely independent and without influence in the second half of the year to come.

Such ideals widespread quickly in the colonized areas, after periods of harsh impositions, exploitation and subordination that had caused the lost of their roots and cultural identity. Under the influence of

charismatic leaders, various national movements claiming for independence ,originated the *phenomenon of decolonization*.

Domestic outbreaks of tension that gradually took shape in both England and France, were managed differently by the two major European powers.

England proved to be more far-sighted realizing the deep political change which was taking place. It worked to consolidate its system of commonwealth of nations, even through gradual concessions, especially from the political point of view, rather than come to unnecessary clashes: too many had been the human victims, and it was necessary to maintain as much economic benefit as possible.

Differently from England, Paris still advocated a policy of force , out of date and anachronistic, eager to consolidate a political situation that no longer had reasons to exist.

Consequence of such a catastrophic policy was the increase in the phenomenon of decolonization, as the Tunisian, Moroccan and Algerian thorny cases testify. Guided by Habib Bourguiba and Youssef, symbols of freedom for their peoples, Tunisia and Morocco were able to achieve independence in 1956, through a stiff resistance.

The parable of Algeria had different implications: it was a tough fight, bravely conducted by the National Liberation Front led by Ahmed Ben Bella, who gradually came to new successes, and possibly threatened the French Fourth Republic, in a situation of complete political instability .

It all seemed destined to dramatic results for Paris but when the hero of the resistance Charles de Gaulle took the power everything changed since he understood the necessity to grant concessions to the Algerian nation , well aware of the ineffective policy so far adopted to manage colonies. After a cautious approach he must have realized the need to concede the independence to the Algerian nation after a final negotiation that seemed impossible and unrealistic only a few years before : in 1962 the Evian agreements were signed, the independent Republic of Algeria was born while France managed to ensure the greatest possible benefits.

Similar events, including less hard and more peaceful outcome of the above-mentioned cases or battles with victims and sacrifices in the name of independence, shook many countries and brought about full sovereignty over their territory and the epilogue of the old colonial system.

The emerging phenomenon of decolonization found echoes during the twenty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, held between September and December 1960. With the participation of Nikita Khrushchev and Fidel Castro, it ended with a resolution that would have condemned all forms of colonialism, imposing a complete and immediate liquidation of the colonial system; but the afro-Asiatic countries got a tougher resolution, which stated that the decolonization was to be terminated without any delay. The Afro-Asiatic newly independent countries considered the United Nations an important point of reference, a forum for international issues, as evidenced by the numerous admissions to the Organization of the countries that had a role in the forefront of international politics.

The fight to the remaining forms of colonialism, the support of the United Nations, a careful calculation of the benefits and negative aspects in deciding the future alliances ,on the one hand the possibility of being subjected to Soviet influence, which had supported the struggle of the new countries faithfully respecting the Marxist-Leninist ideology that saw colonialism as the acute phase of capitalist imperialism, on the other hand the possibility to join the giant American and Western bloc, all contributed to consolidate the

emerging afro-Asiatic bloc in international relations by bringing the specter of neutralism, in the words of Henry William Brands.

The countries of recent dependence, belonging to the Afro-Asiatic bloc, decided in a preliminary meeting which took place in 1954, to hold a new, major conference the following year in Bandung, this decision being taken by the so called countries of Columbus, name derived from an earlier meeting.

The conference was held in April 1955, in Bandung, Indonesia, summoned by five countries: India, Pakistan, the People's Republic of China, Ceylon, Birmania. On the whole the conference was attended by delegates from twenty-nine countries. The condemn of colonialism as well as the cold war were the major issues. They also tried to establish a common attitude towards the newly born afro-asiatic bipolar confrontation bloc.

The refusal of the coalition of Bandung to be part of one of the two poles ruling the world was stated, so was the policy aimed at establishing binding agreements with one of the two great powers believing that neutrality would be the best strategic policy ever, leading to an effective self development and independence from global governance, cancelling any form of submission while promoting a new and different form of colonialism that could also occur through political agreements and economic interdependence.

The conference ended in a final declaration in which these principles were reaffirmed by the addition of a promise of international political cooperation among the countries participating in the summit.

As a result of the thunderclap of Bandung, as it was defined by political Senegalese Leopold Senghor, the expression Third World entered into the international language. It can be traced back to an article by Alfred Sauvy on the *Observateur* which referred to the Third World as the emerging third force in world politics, an alternative to the international bipolarism, and in a strictly economic sense, indicating the emergent new economy, yet still to define in its fundamental features, typical of the newly independent countries opposing both the capitalist-style economy of the Western world and the strong centralized planning of the communist world of the Soviet Union and its satellite countries.

Bandung also proved to be a novelty in the world politics: China for the first time diverged from the Soviet policy, expressing the desire to enter into a different political path escaping the shadow of Soviet communism, rejected in the evaluation of the possible alliances, by the rising Bandung bloc. Even Tito's Yugoslavia was aware of the chance to get away from the communist system and the people's democracies set by Stalin, claiming at last, for their own place in foreign policy, sitting at the table of the protagonists next to China in the Bandung Summit.

The process outlined in Bandung continued with a new meeting in Egypt, Cairo, in preparation of the most important event in Belgrade, which took place a few years later; while condemnation of colonialism, and the establishment of non-alignment movement in international politics were stressed again, the political nature of the third bloc in international relations was debated extensively while the doctrine of neutralism and the binding nature of the coalition born in Bandung were no longer object of interest.

A summit held in 1961 in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, formally sanctioned the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement, as a third force opposed to the bipolar world of East-West, main object of this paper.

The phenomenon of decolonization was in its crucial phase (see the Evian agreements of 1962), and thus the Western colonialist policy continued to be widely condemned while divergent opinions in the interpretation of the phenomenon still existed.

In the end this was to prevail: they could not be aligned without being neutral and have an agreement of a more or less binding nature with one of the great powers, this was one of the most serious errors of the Third World countries, not compacted, without a proper identity, thus leaving everyone the impression that Belgrade and Bandung were missed opportunities.

The Belgrade conference marked the end of the most controversial political phase of the Non-Aligned Movement, influenced decisively by the international situation; indeed, the hardest time of bipolar confrontation had ceased soon after the war, the atmosphere between the great powers of the two blocs improved and the necessity of a strong line-up against the blocs of the Cold War was no longer urgent.

Still they had a long way to go before being able to determine the fate of entire populations after the process of decolonization while setting a policy of cooperation and guidance for long-term relationships with the great powers that dominated the world economy.

Actually, the countries of the third world, seemed to have come back at the starting point of their development although the United Nations were still the most important point of reference to support their needs and ideas. The issues of cooperation and development were the bases of the constructive dialogue between North and South, which eventually led to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in 1964 that discussed the need to set up a new concept in interstate relations between the countries of the third world and the Western powers, following the formula previously established, known as trade notes aid, stressing the need for a decisive economic approach and with tangible results and not merely symbolic and humanitarian.

Claiming for a correct cooperation between countries and focusing on the ideals set out in previous years, in 1968, at a conference in New Delhi, India, the countries of the Third World were able to get the major powers devolve 1 per cent of their GNP as aid for development.

The weak role played by the Soviet Union in international relations emerged clearly: the leading role played years ago through a condemnation of Western colonialism was not followed by an efficient policy of development and increase of welfare of the newly independent populations, proving its failure though not too much of a percentage, compared to the agreements in New Delhi, however relevant considering the small amount in question.

Subsequent meetings, such as that of Algiers in particular, did not determine any novelty in international politics and in the non-aligned movement since development issues and cooperation policy were strongly affected by the oil shock of 1973 and by the different position of oil exporting countries, perfectly aware by now, of their incredible source of wealth.

In the mid-seventies the new born European Economic Community took part in the international issues with its ideals of aid to overseas French territories and developing countries as evidenced by the first documents Journal of the European experience.

Under the European umbrella the Lomé and Yandè Convention were signed in order to meet the needs of the ACP countries (which stands for African, Caribbean and Pacific); however even the Community's

approach did not bring results capable of setting a long-term policy, falling into the same errors typical of the Western-setting approach.

The political and economic implications of recent years, however, ended up making the third force in world politics less and less compact, indicating different paths to the fate of the old coalition of Bandung: the oil-exporting countries started their own development playing upward in relations with Western states now possessing resources that would determine their economic fortunes, while others, such as China and India, rose themselves and entered the newly industrializing countries class, becoming in a few years leaders in the world economy; some countries in Latin America, overcame the international debt problem, thus proving themselves able to set their own policy of development ; finally, some countries continued to live in the most dire poverty, oppressed by a blind bureaucracy, unnecessary military forces, and above all by the corrupt political classes that reduced them to a deep state of misery.

These states formed what in international relations is referred to as fourth world, a matter of fact reality often forgotten by history and international politics, without any help or forms of cooperation and destined to experience dramatic years.

The long process started with the decolonization after World War II , passing through the stages of Bandung, Cairo, Belgrade and the events of the seventies bequeathed issues that were crucial to the balance of inter-state relations in the following years : the relationship between the Members no longer corresponded to a mere East-West division, too simple for the situation that had emerged.

The problems of the development of the Third World populations by Alfred Sauvy , the political cooperation with Western States and International Organizations sanctioned the primary role of the new dialogue between the North, rich and industrialized and the South, poor and condemned to much worse life conditions.

These states looked hopefully at the great powers, expecting their promises to become true, especially that of a kind of global balance major organizations, in particular the United Nations, had granted.

The dialogue between the North and the South of the world would have to create the setting of a policy of long-term relationships, able to grant advantages to both poles in their mutual interest .

Not only was it necessary abandon the protectionism of developing countries, fearful of a new form of colonialism and economic dependence, but also any western prejudices of an assumed political and economical superiority which had led to the imposition of the price of raw materials and products to be exported, counting on the military interdependence that existed in these countries.

The warning was clear and in this sense the situation turned out even better defined after the work of 1979-1980 of the *Independent Commission for International Development Issues*, also known as the North-South Commission, chaired by former German Chancellor Willy Brandt, which ended in a report delivered to the Secretary of the United Nations.

The report, known as *the Brandt Report. North-South. A program for survival*, presented the world political scene and the relations between the North and the South of the world with great clarity, indicating the only way to go to set a correct policy, to improve the plight of people without a voice to show the world their hunger and their poverty, not sparing appeals to individual countries that ruled the world, warning them of the dangers that would be derived from a different setting and a lack of understanding of the need for proper multilateral and bilateral interstate relations with the South of the world

It was a warning issued in the world, a genuine report in order to avoid a catastrophe or the clash of civilizations, according to the ideas of Samuel Huntington: it was, in its entirety, a program for survival.