Introduction

During the past several months various protests have escalated in numerous cities and towns in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), including Berlin, Magdeburg, Halle and Leipzig. Most recently, Leipzig has become the focal point for these peaceful demonstrations which take place every week following Monday prayer meetings at the Saint Nicholas Church. Despite arrests and violent repression by the security forces to disperse the protesters, the number of protests has only increased and are being attended by larger crowds who are shouting more emphatically their demands. Posters and flyers have been distributed and most recently chants have resounded in the Augustusplatz Square near the Saint Nicholas Church calling for democratic reforms, freedom of choice, liberation of arrested demonstrators, and recognition of the newly formed opposition group called Neues Forum.

Concurrently, the number of citizens crossing the frontier towards the West has been increasing. The continuing mass exodus is proving to be an embarrassment for the leaders of the GDR as the state celebrates its fortieth anniversary and most importantly this flight of young people undermines the already unstable economy.

In large measure one can attribute these developments to the reform measures implemented in the USSR by President Mikhail Gorbachev. The new course of glasnost and perestroika introduced by Gorbachev favouring transparency as well as political and economic reforms has been infectious and ignited hopes in other East Block countries for similar measures. In June, elections in Poland have resulted in the victory of the Solidarity party and creation of the first non-communist government in Eastern Europe in forty years. In Hungary, reforms are likewise underway within the Communist Party, and winds of change are appearing, moving away from the communist led regime.

It is safe to say that the situation in East Germany can be perceived as an echo response to the events taking place in its neighbouring East Block countries.
On October 7, Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in East Berlin for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. During a speech delivered before the SED Party leadership, he acknowledged that political and economic problems existed in East Germany but declared that “matters relating to the German Democratic Republic are decided not in Moscow, but in Berlin”. This remark apparently stunned the SED leadership headed by Erich Honecker.

The visit by the Russian President set off a wave demonstrations in different cities in East Germany. While many in the crowd shouted “Gorbi! Gorbi!” others stood firm by chanting “We’re staying here”, “We are the people”. The protesters in front of the Palace of the Republic clashed with police and security forces; mass arrests were carried out in East Berlin and other cities.

On Monday October 9th it is anticipated that new demonstrations will take place in Leipzig, after the service at Saint Nicholas Church. Given the turn of events, it is anticipated that even larger crowds will assemble outside the Church, and the same is expected to take place in other cities and towns throughout the GDR. Concerns have been raised by human rights activists and the Western media.

Many are concerned about possible reactions by the German Democratic Republic government. This is especially true given the repressive measures taken on October 7th and October 8th. Unconfirmed reports are circulating that Erich Honecker has told the district SED leadership that the demonstrators are acting as agents to undermine the social state. All such actions, so it is said, must be vigorously prevented by whatever means necessary. Furthermore, Western journalists have reported that efforts have been made by the Volkspolizei (police) and security forces to prevent them from taking pictures, interviewing those taking part, or reporting on events. A growing concern within diplomatic circles revolves around the role the USSR might or might not play in quelling the recent turmoil, this is especially the case given past intervention taken by Soviet forces in East Block affairs and, more recently, in Soviet republics.

Definition of Key Terms and Key Players

George H. W. Bush
Born in 1924, in Massachusetts, USA, he served as Vice President under Ronald Reagan for two terms and was then elected as President of the United States taking office in January 1989.

Erich Honecker
Born in 1912, Germany, Honecker began his political career in the 1930s, serving as an official of the Communist Party of Germany, which led to him being imprisoned during the Nazi regime. After World War II, he resumed his political activities. As General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), he led the German Democratic Republic from 1971 until the fall of the wall. A
hardliner, Honecker strongly opposed Gorbachev’s political and economic reforms, rejected all calls for openness and consequently refused to adopt such measures.

**Mikhail Gorbachev**

Born in 1931 in South-West Russia, he became a persuasive speaker after studying law in the 1950s. After being a member of the Central Committee of the communist party for several years, he joined the Politburo in 1980. He was a close friend of Andropov, to whom he acted as second in command during Andropov’s years as Soviet leader. In 1985 he became the Secretary of the Communist Party, being the first secretary to be born after the Russian revolution. Overall, his ideology was based on the idea of political and economic openness and reform.

**Glasnost**

Meaning “openness” or transparency, this policy reform instituted by Mikhail Gorbachev in the late 1980s allowed for open discourse of political and social issues, permitting people to express their own views.

**Helmut Kohl**

Born in 1930 in Western Germany, he served as Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1982 until 1998. In 1987 he received Eric Honecker, in the first visit of a leader of East Germany to West Germany. He built close ties with the United States and France.

**Perestroika**

Meaning “restructuring”, the term refers to the reforms of the Soviet political and economic order introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985; it strove to make socialism more efficient and amenable to the people’s needs.

**Politburo**

The Politburo was the supreme policy-making authority of a Communist Party.

**Ronald Reagan**

Born in 1911 in Illinois, USA, after a career in acting and in the private sector, he entered politics and became Governor of California and then President of the United States for two terms from 1981 until 1989. During his second term he conducted a strong stance against the Soviet Union and other communist regimes around the world, under the so called Reagan Doctrine. He negotiated and signed with Mikhail Gorbachev in 1987 the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF Treaty), for the elimination of intermediate range and shorter range missiles.

**Stasi (Ministerium für Staatsicherheit)**

Ministry for State Security, it was the East Germany official state secret police.

**Background Information**

**Situation in the German Democratic Republic**
The GDR had been governed since its creation in 1949 by a single official party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, SED). Its policies were closely aligned with those of the Soviet leadership. Despite outward structural institutional appearances, the First Secretary of the SED was for all intents and purposes the chief decision maker in the GDR: Walter Ulbricht (1949-1971) and thereafter Erich Honecker (since 1971). The East German communist leadership under Honecker, mostly of advanced age and aligned with the conservative and interventionist policies of Leonid Brezhnev, vehemently dissented with the reforms that Gorbachev began to implement in the Soviet Union. One of the members of the Politburo in East Berlin stated “Would you, if your neighbour repapers his apartment, feel like you should also repaper your apartment?”

Since the late seventies, the economic situation in East Germany gradually began to deteriorate. Although it was more prosperous than the rest of Eastern European countries, and official data would record an income per capita greater than in Spain, citizens in East Germany knew that their salaries and lifestyle were significantly lower than those in West Germany.

Between 1984 and 1988 a total of 150,000 citizens left East Germany to the West. The number increased significantly from the beginning of 1989 and grew in number each month.

The Protestant Church in East Germany enjoyed a special status and various privileges. It served as a “roof for the opposition “, thus allowing dissidents to voice their concerns, and at the same time it acted as a moderator between the government, citizenry, and protesters. Initially, the Church served as a forum for ecological concerns, peace and human rights but by the mid-1980s became a centre for political demands made by opposition groups.

**Situation in the USSR and its sphere of influence**

*Opening in the USSR – Glasnost and Perestroika*

The appointment of Mikhail Gorbachev as head of the Communist Party in 1985 initiated a period of political and economic reform and liberalization in the Soviet Union known as *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

During the 1980s, the economic situation in the Soviet Union had deteriorated and Gorbachev initiated a profound reform, gradually moving the country from a rigid centralized economic planning system to a more liberal open market economy. At the same time, political reforms were implemented to allow a slow opening of political participation and the dismantling of the Communist Party’s monopoly on power.
A major foreign policy shift likewise occurred in 1989 when the Soviet Union abandoned the Brezhnev Doctrine which affirmed the right of the Soviet Union to intervene in the affairs of Warsaw Pact member states when the existing communist system appeared to be under threat. The Doctrine limited the sovereignty of countries within the Warsaw Pact and justified Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

**Situation in Eastern European Countries: Poland and Hungary**

In the other countries of Eastern Europe, the economic situation was also deteriorating during the 1980’s and in early 1989 a few signs of a political thaw began to appear.

First signs of change appeared in Poland during the early eighties when opposition to the communist regime regrouped to form a new movement which named itself “Solidarnosc” or “Solidarity”.

Solidarity first began as a labour movement and then grew into a political party. Polish Cardinal Karol Wojtila was elected as Pope John Paul II of the Catholic Church. He inspired opposition groups in Poland and later in other Eastern European countries. In June 1989 free elections took place in Poland and Solidarity assumed the reins of government.

In Hungary, changes occurred rapidly during 1989, and its own leaders began a process of political reforms.

**Position of other countries regarding the matter**

**People’s Republic of China**

East Germany was able to develop its own relations with China, particularly during the 1980’s, outside from the Sino-Soviet tensions. In 1986, Honecker made a state visit to China, being the first visit from a leader from the Soviet block after the breaking of political relations between China and the Soviet Union in 1956. Following the Tiananmen massacre, the Chinese response was viewed positively by GDR officials.

**Western Europe**

After the Second World War, France remained concerned about the “German question” and was sometimes reluctant to support measures proposed by the United States and Great Britain, such as German rearmament. At the same time, France had to deal with its internal political affairs, with a strong presence of the French Communist Party. In 1989, the French Government was
cautious about the developments in East Germany and did not anticipate German unification in the short term.

Since 1984, Margaret Thatcher, Great Britain’s Prime Minister, developed a constructive relationship with Mikhail Gorbachev, considering him “a man we can do business with”. On September 23, 1989, Thatcher visited Gorbachev in Moscow and expressed concern about the destabilization in Eastern Europe and the consequences this could have on the international situation, and stated that the reunification of Germany was not in the interest of Great Britain or Western Europe.

United States of America
As part of its confrontation with the Soviet Union and the expansion of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe, the United States officially recognized the German Democratic Republic only in 1974, while strongly supported the development of Western Germany. During the second presidency of Ronald Reagan, the United States raised the level of confrontation with the Soviet Union and actively supported the changes in Eastern Europe. During his visit in Western Germany in 1987, Reagan captivated all viewers with his “Tear down this Wall!” speech, in which he stated “General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization, come here to this gate. Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate. Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!”

President Bush visited Hungary and Poland in mid-1989 and supported the reforms taking place. He announced several measures that were soon to be adopted, including US funding in Hungary, and emphasized how the Solidarity Party would help develop a brighter Poland. By embracing change, Bush was able to face the challenges of the time.

Major Countries and Organizations Involved
German Democratic Republic (GDR)
Established on October 7, 1949, in the portion of Germany occupied by the Soviet Union, with its capital in East Berlin; also known as East Germany.

Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)
Established on May 23, 1949, in the portion of Germany occupied by the United States, Great Britain and France, with its capital in Bonn; also known as West Germany.

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation)
Created on April 4, 1949, is a military alliance among the USA and western European countries that agreed to collectively defend any members against an attack. The Federal Republic of Germany joined NATO in May 1955.

**New Forum (Neues Forum)**

Political organisation created in East Germany in September 1989, it was active in the demonstrations during September and October 1989. It called for an open discussion on the situation in East Germany and democratic reforms.

**SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands)**

Socialist Unity Party of Germany, established in 1946, was the ruling Marxist–Leninist political party of the German Democratic Republic.

**Solidarnosc | Solidarity**

A labour movement created in 1980, headed by Lech Walesa, in opposition to the communist government. It was initially violently repressed by the government but continued to exist and eventually developed into a political party. In June 1989 Solidarity won the first free elections in Poland and formed a government.

**Soviet Union or USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)**

The USSR was created in 1922, after the end of the civil war that followed the Russian revolution of 1917. It was a union of Soviet republics, with a highly centralised government in its capital Moscow, under the control of the Communist Party, the sole legal political party. After the Second World War, the Soviet Union gained controlling influence over several Eastern European countries, including GDR.

**Warsaw Pact**

Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, signed in Warsaw on May 14, 1955, by the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Albania (withdrew in 1968). As a collective defence treaty, it obliged all members to defend one another in the event of Western aggression.

**Protestant Church in the GDR**

Only institution allowed retaining autonomy in GDR. Although the Church did not advocate the Monday Leipzig demonstrations, this stemmed from the peace prayers held in the institution. As politics started to appear in various parishes, the Church provided people with a place to gather and share political information otherwise restricted and controlled by the state and security forces.

**Timeline of Events**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description of event</th>
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<tr>
<td>February 4 - 11, 1945</td>
<td>Crimea Conference, near the city of Yalta, attended by Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt.</td>
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Key points of the meeting in regard to Germany: the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany; division of Germany and the city of Berlin into four occupied zones.

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>July 17 – August 2, 1945</td>
<td>Potsdam Conference, among Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (replaced by Clement Attlee on June 26), and U.S. President Harry Truman, to determine the political and economic status of post-war Germany. The question of a peace treaty and the reconstitution of a unified German national state were postponed indefinitely. The Allied Control Commission comprised of the four occupying powers was to run the country until a final settlement could be reached.</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 23, 1949</td>
<td>Creation of Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), capital Bonn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 7, 1949</td>
<td>Creation of German Democratic Republic (GDR), capital East Berlin. Aligned with the East Block.</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 16 and 17, 1953</td>
<td>Protests begin in East Berlin with a strike by construction workers and continued the following day as a general anti-government uprising that culminated with the intervention of the Soviet Army violently crushing the protests in several cities of East Germany.</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 6, 1955</td>
<td>West Germany joined NATO.</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 14, 1955</td>
<td>Warsaw Pact.</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 23-November 10, 1956</td>
<td>Uprisings in Hungary against the communist government take place. The government collapses, and a new one is established. Soviet Troops crush the uprising. Debates in the UN regarding the legitimacy of such intervention prove to be difficult, especially in the Security Council.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 13, 1961</td>
<td>Construction of the Berlin wall was initiated.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Spring revolution in Czechoslovakia, with several attempts to grant additional rights to citizens. These measures violently suppressed by the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact members who invaded the country in August 1968.</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 22, 1973</td>
<td>The Security Council, by Resolution 335, recommends the General Assembly to admit West Germany and East Germany as members of the United Nations.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 1, 1975</td>
<td>Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, in Helsinki, Finland, on August 1, 1975, among all European countries (except Albania and Andorra), United States and Canada. Although not binding, the “Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States”, known as the “Helsinki Accords”, recognized the inviolability of frontiers and the territorial integrity of states, and had the purpose of reducing tensions of the Cold War.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Gorbachev is elected Secretary General of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.</td>
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</table>
June, 1987  
During the visit of Ronald Reagan, President of the USA, to West Berlin, he gave the striking “Tear Down this Wall” speech in front of the Brandenburg Gate.

December 1988  
Speech of Gorbachev at the General Assembly of the United Nations, in which he declares that “freedom of choice is a universal principle that should allow of no exceptions”, and states that “threat of force can no longer be an instrument of foreign policy”. Overall, he insists on the idea that the people in each country are entitled to decide the kind of political and economic system they wish to live under.

January 1989  
West Germany Interior Ministry registered 39,832 migrants from East Germany at reception centres in West Germany during 1988, double the number in 1987.

January 17, 1989  
At the follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Vienna, a document is signed among European countries, including East Germany, undertaking to respect the right of every person to leave every country, including its own and return to it.

February 21, 1989  
Václav Havel is sentenced to nine months prison in Prague. Later in the year, demonstrators in Leipzig shall protest against Havel's arrest.

February, 1989  
During this month, 5000 persons leave East Germany to the West.

March 3, 1989  
Hungarian prime minister demands the withdrawal of Soviet Union troops from Hungary. Gorbachev declares that there will be no more Soviet intervention in Hungary.

March 13, 1989  
Protests in Leipzig following a prayer for peace at Saint Nicholas Church take place. The police break in and several persons are arrested.

April 12, 1989  
Demonstrations in Georgia, where protesters demand that Georgia leave the Soviet Union. The crisis culminates with intervention by the Soviet Army; at least 19 demonstrators are killed.

May, 1989  
During this month, more than 10,000 citizens flee East Germany to the West.

June 1989  
Free elections in Poland, with the triumph of the Solidarity Party.

June 8, 1989  
The GDR People’s Congress officially declared that the repression in Beijing’s Tiananmen Square was "a defeat for counter-revolutionary forces." Later that year, GDR citizens feared the possible implementation of the “Chinese solution” in their own country.

June 12 & 15, 1989  
Gorbachev visits West Germany, meets with Helmut Kohl and the two leaders sign a Joint Statement recognizing the right of every state "to freely choose its own political and social system" and the "respect for the right of all peoples to self-determination" as irrevocable principles.

July 7, 1989  
Warsaw Pact conference in Bucharest, Bulgaria. The Soviet Union abandons the Brezhnev doctrine of “limited sovereignty of its member states” and announces
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<tr>
<td>July 1989</td>
<td>“freedom of choice”.</td>
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<td>August, 1989</td>
<td>During this month, 30,000 citizens flew from East Germany to the West.</td>
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<td>September 4, 1989</td>
<td>Following the regular Monday prayer for peace at Saint Nicholas Church, a peaceful demonstration in Leipzig takes place with the participation of around 1,000 demonstrators demanding the right to travel to the West and shouting “We want out”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 10, 1989</td>
<td>During the night, the Hungarian government opens its border to Austria for East German citizens, and in the following weeks, tens of thousands of East Germany citizens travel to West Germany via Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Austria.</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 11, 1989</td>
<td>Another demonstration at Saint Nicholas Church in Leipzig. The police seal off the church yard and several protesters are arrested.</td>
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<tr>
<td>September 18, 1989</td>
<td>The Monday demonstration at Saint Nicholas Church is joined by more demonstrators, who now shout “We are staying here”. More arrests follow.</td>
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<td>September 19, 1989</td>
<td>The opposition group <em>Neues Forum</em> files an application with East Germany authorities to be registered as a citizens’ association. The application is rejected on the allegation that it was a &quot;subversive platform&quot;.</td>
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<td>September 25, 1989</td>
<td>More than 5000 citizens participate at the Monday demonstration at Saint Nicholas Church and call for democratic reform.</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 2, 1989</td>
<td>Massive Monday demonstration in Leipzig, with more than ten thousand demonstrators calling for “freedom, equality, brotherhood”, “We are staying here” and “Allow Neues Forum”. The police intervene and demonstrators are arrested.</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 3, 1989</td>
<td>East Germany closes its borders.</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 6 &amp; 7, 1989</td>
<td>Government sponsored celebrations take place across the GDR for the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic. During the festivities, the guest of honour, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, declares “… matters relating to German Democratic Republic are decided not in Moscow, but in Berlin …” and then allegedly pronounces the saying “Life punishes those who come too late”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 8, 1989</td>
<td>On the evening of the 7th, young people demonstrate in front of the Palace of the Republic and the police carry out massive arrests in East Berlin and other cities.</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 9, 1989</td>
<td>Honecker gives the command that protests should be put down immediately. In Leipzig more than 50,000 people demonstrate for reform; the city hosts the largest protest demonstration in the GDR’s forty year history.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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Relevant UN Treaties and Events

- **United Nations Charter**, special attention to Article 2, paragraph 7 and Article 34.

Previous Attempts to solve similar Issues

**Germany 1951**

France, Great Britain, and the United States requested the establishment of an impartial, international commission that would be in charge of carrying out an investigation in East and West Germany to determine if the conditions in both countries allowed for healthy and free elections to be held.

As a response, the representative of the German Democratic Republic declared that the creation of such commission would intervene in the internal affairs of East Germany, and would act against the UN Charter.

On December 20, 1951, the General Assembly approved resolution 510(VI), to appoint a commission composed of representatives of Brazil, Iceland, the Netherlands, Pakistan, and Poland to carry out the investigation proposed previously by France, Great Britain and the United States. Poland refused to participate, alleging that such commission acted against the UN Charter.

On April 30, 1952, the commission presented a partial report regarding West Germany, but could not complete its mission, for it was unable to establish a contact with German Democratic Republic authorities.

**Hungary 1956**

On October 27, 1956, France, United Kingdom and the United States requested the Security Council to address the events occurring in Hungary on October 22 and the following days, in accordance with Article 34 of the UN Charter, alleging that foreign military forces (of the Soviet Union) were violently repressing the rights of the Hungarian people. The representative of the Soviet Union declared that the events were internal matters of Hungary and therefore the Security Council could not interfere, as that would contravene Article 2, paragraph 7 of the UN Charter.

The matter was included in the agenda of the Security Council and discussed during four sessions, on October 29 and November 2, 3 and 4.
The United States presented a draft resolution requesting the Soviet Union to remove its armed forces from Hungary. It failed due to the veto by the Soviet Union. Subsequently, the United States presented a resolution that called for an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly in order to review the Hungarian question; the resolution was passed by 10 votes to 1 (S/RES/120).

The General Assembly met from November 4 to November 10 and adopted several resolutions. The first, on November 4 (Resolution 1004 (ES-II) on the situation of Hungary) called upon the Soviet Union to desist from any form of intervention in the internal affairs of Hungary and to withdraw all its forces from Hungary; affirmed the right of the Hungarian people to have a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being; requested the Secretary General to investigate the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary, to designate observers, and to propose methods to bring to an end the foreign intervention in Hungary; called upon the Soviet Union and Hungary to allow the access of UN observers; and further requested the Secretary General to inquire the needs of the Hungarian people in terms of food, medicine and other similar supplies and invited humanitarian organizations to cooperate in making available supplies as may be required by the Hungarian people.

**Czechoslovakia 1968**

On August 21, 1968, within just a few hours of the Soviet tanks crossing the border, the UN Security Council met for a special meeting to discuss what to do about the invasion. Czechoslovakia’s Ambassador to the UN requested the immediate withdrawal of the armed forces of the five states of the Warsaw Pact and that the state sovereignty of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic be fully respected.

The Soviet Ambassador, instead, stated that the UN could not interfere with internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the “fraternal” relationship between socialist countries.

On the following day, a resolution was proposed by the United States, Great Britain and other countries that condemned the invasion, but it was blocked by the Soviet Union, with the support of Hungary that held a non-permanent seat on the Security Council.

**Possible Solutions**

Bearing in mind that among the functions and powers of the Security Council is to “maintain international peace and security”, to “investigate any dispute or situation that might lead to international friction”, and to “encourage the peaceful settlement of local disputes”, while considering that the Security Council is organized to function continuously, the following are some possibly suitable solutions:

- Call upon no interference from third countries in the internal affairs of the German Democratic Republic.
- Promote political discussion and freedom of expression in order to prevent escalation of violence.
- Request member states and humanitarian organisations to provide assistance to refugees.
- Call upon all relevant UN agencies to lend assistance (i.e. refugees, humanitarian crisis).
- Call for a meeting of the UN General Assembly to examine the situation in the German Democratic Republic.
- Request the Secretary General to appoint observers to study the events in Leipzig and other cities in the GDR.

**Bibliography**


**Appendix or Appendices**

I. Map of Europe

II. Map of Germany Democratic Republic and German Federal Republic

III. Photographs of people leaving East Germany

IV. Photographs of Leipzig demonstrations
I. Map of Post WWII Europe


II. Map of West and East Germany

III. Photographs of people leaving East Germany


IV. Photographs of Leipzig demonstrations

September 18, 1989: People in front of the cordon of People’s Police. Photo: Johannes Beleites, Chronicle of the Berlin Wall.
September 25, 1989: People near St. Nicholas Church, before the start of the demonstration. Photo: Johannes Beleites, *Chronicle of the Berlin Wall*.

October 9, 1989: Peaceful demonstration at Karl-Marx-Platz. (Photo: Martin Naumann), *Chronicle of the Berlin Wall*.

October 9, 1989: Masses of people waiting on Karl-Marx-Platz square for the peace prayer meeting to end. (Photo: Martin Naumann). *Chronicle of the Berlin Wall*. 