

June 28: a red-letter day for Serbs

Rachel Douglas situates the potential for explosion in Yugoslavia today in the historical context of the "Trust."

"A quick housecleaning in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and then in Croatia. For that is inevitable and must be carried out in Bosnia-Herzegovina this spring." So said Miroslav Solevic in a Feb. 22 interview with the Yugoslav League of Communists daily *Borba*. He is the former head of the Committee of Protests, a group based in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo (part of the Serbian Republic), formed with the self-assigned task of defending Serbs and Montenegrins there against attack by Albanians. Known as "the commissar of Kosovo Polje," Solevic boasts that his agitation brought about the leadership changes in Vojvodina and Kosovo provinces, and the Republic of Montenegro, in which supporters of Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic were installed.

Under the banner of suppressing Albanian nationalist "counterrevolution" and protecting the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, Milosevic has pushed through a constitutional change to restrict Kosovo's autonomy. In particular, law enforcement in Kosovo is to be run from Belgrade, which is the capital of Serbia as well as Yugoslavia's national capital. This maneuver was the immediate cause of the ongoing demonstrations and strikes in Kosovo, which prompted military occupation of the province on Feb. 27. But according to Solevic, "Everything that has happened so far has taken the form of minor tremors."

Soon after the end of this spring, which Solevic predicts to be so revolutionary, comes a red-letter day for Serbian nationalists. June 28, 1989 is the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo Field (Polje), where the forces of the Serb Kingdom were annihilated by the Turks. It is also the 75th anniversary of the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo.

Not only the supporters of Milosevic, but also the leadership of the Serbian Orthodox Church, have been inciting Serbs to make 1989 the year of retaking Kosovo. Because of the 1389 Battle of Kosovo Field, Kosovo is considered an Orthodox shrine of martyrdom, held for centuries by the Ottoman Empire. Today its population is predominantly Albanian (like the Ottomans, many Albanians are Muslims).

On Jan. 6, Orthodox Christmas Eve, the Yugoslav daily *Politika* carried the Christmas message of Patriarch German of the Serbian Orthodox Church. A few excerpts from this

document serve to show the high passions running around the Kosovo question:

"Our suffering people have manifested their love of God throughout their history following the undying example of their spiritual father St. Sava, and their love of the neighbor through the spirit of Saint Prince Lazar, great martyr of Kosovo, who, in order to save the honor of his people and to help save European Christianity, sacrificed himself and everything that was dearest to him. The import of his words does not pass away: 'Let us die so that we may live forever, let us give ourselves as a living sacrifice to God not as of old through transitory and deceptive feasting for our pleasure, but through an act of our blood' . . .

"Serbian Orthodox people are now enthusiastically building a memorial church to St. Sava at Vracar, and are carrying the relics of Saint Prince Lazar, Martyr of Kosovo, through the Serbian lands. . . . Giving thanks to God for entrusting such important undertakings to our present generation, we rejoice in what was achieved in 1988, and we pray to the newborn infant God that in the year that is ahead of us we may complete the construction of the memorial church to St. Sava at Vracar and, beginning the cycle of the holy services marking the 600th anniversary of the martyrdom of the great martyr, Saint Prince Lazar, and the Kosovo battle, we may celebrate the first holy liturgy there in the presence of a large number of the faithful children of St. Sava both from our motherland and from all over the world.

"Our unified and redoubled prayers of that day will be directed to the heavenly Creator in order to bring the 600 years of suffering in Serbian Kosovo and Metohija finally to an end. The ancient Pec Patriarchate, Visoki Decani, the wonderful church of Gracanica, and the Devic martyrs are Serbian Orthodox monasteries. They contain the graves and the relics of our saints. They are the title deeds of Serbian property and an inalienable heritage of the entire Serbian people."

World War I

The clashes among Serbian nationalists and others in the Balkans, who often sounded like Bishop German today, are what Venice and Russia manipulated in order to set off World

War I. The coincidence of the two June 28 anniversaries is no accident, as we shall see in the remainder of this article, adapted from *EIR*'s unpublished study of the Bolshevik Revolution and its patrons in the West, "The Roots of the Trust," by Allen and Rachel Douglas.

On the morning of June 28, 1914, the six-car entourage of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, began a triumphal parade down the main street of the Bosnian town of Sarajevo. A 1911 trip by the Archduke, to this same city, had been cancelled on the recommendation of his security adviser, Count Father Augustin Galen of the Prague Benedictine Abbey, who made a security reconnaissance visit to the town. This time, even though June 28 was the anniversary of the Serbs' defeat at Kosovo in 1389, which ended Serbian independence for 500 years, no one restrained the Archduke from visiting this hotbed of Bosnian and Serbian anti-Austrian ferment, on this worst possible date.

Along his route, on the Appel Quay, were stationed no fewer than seven assassins, armed with bombs and pistols. There may have been several times that number—"a regular avenue of assassins," as the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sarajevo called it later.

For an hour and fifteen minutes, the assassins strolled freely up and down the avenue, waiting for the Archduke's entourage to arrive. As it came into view, the first assassin, Cabrinovic, asked a police agent from the Archduke's security detail, in which of the six cars in the entourage the Archduke was riding. Informed that it was the third, Cabrinovic knocked the detonator cap off his bomb on a nearby lightpost, and hurled it at the Archduke. The bomb struck the Archduke's car, but it was on a time fuse and did not blow up until it had rolled off—it destroyed the car behind. After the caravan sped to the town hall, the Archduke decided to visit some of the wounded at the hospital. He asked Gen. Oskar Potiorek, the military governor of Sarajevo, if his safety could be guaranteed.

Assured by Potiorek that it could, the Archduke and the accompanying cars started back down the very same "avenue of assassins." While the entourage stopped, apparently contemplating a different route, another of the Young Bosnians, Mihajlo Pusara (regarded by the others as a police spy, because he was close to his cousin, a police detective), attacked a police officer and made it possible for Gavrilo Princip to fire freely.

The Archduke and his wife fell in a pool of blood, and were dead within minutes. Within the month, orders were given on all sides to mobilize. The greatest carnage in human history, World War I, was under way, and the gate was opened to the Bolshevik Revolution.

The organizers of the assassination

In 1953, the Supreme Court of Serbia (by then, one of the republics comprising the Socialist Federative Republic of

Yugoslavia) retried a 1917 case against Colonel Apis and his associates—the famous Salonika trial. Serbian intelligence officer Apis (real name: Dragutin Dimitrijevic) and company had been condemned to death in Salonika, not for the assassination of the Archduke, but for an alleged conspiracy against Alexander, the Serbian heir-apparent. In the course of this retrial, the following confession by Apis came to light, which had long been closely hidden, although rumors of its existence circulated:

"To the Military Tribunal for Officers.

"From the writ of accusation in the matter of the attempt upon the life of His Royal Highness the crown prince, I have seen that the guilt for that attempt is laid upon Rade Malobabic and Muhamed Mehmedbasic and that I myself am accused of complicity in that deed. My participation in this deed is based primarily on my great personal interest in both accused and my constant intercessions in their behalf.

"Being thus forced to justify before the tribunal the real reasons for this interest on my part, I shall have to bring to light a circumstance which binds me to the two accused and on account of which I have shown them so much consideration. In fact, I must explain why I am in conscience bound to stand by these two persons.

"The situation is as follows:

"Rade Malobabic is the man whom I engaged in my capacity as chief of the intelligence division of the general staff to organize my intelligence network in Austria-Hungary and who undertook to do this for me. This I did in agreement with the Russian military attaché, Mr. Artamonov, who also had personal interviews with Rade in my presence. Once Rade had started with the execution of this assignment, and feeling that Austria was making preparations for war against us, I thought that with the disappearance of the Austrian Heir Apparent Ferdinand, the party and the climate of opinion he headed would lose its impetus and that in that way the danger of war would be removed from Serbia or at any rate would be postponed. Accordingly, I engaged Malobabic to organize an attempt on Ferdinand's life on the occasion of his announced visit to Sarajevo.

"I decided this definitely only after Artamonov gave me assurances that Russia would not leave us without protection if Austria attacked us. To Mr. Artamonov on this occasion I did not impart any information on my plans regarding the assassination. To make my demand for his opinion as to the attitude of Russia well founded, I pretended that our intelligence activities might be detected, so that this also might be made to serve as an excuse for Austria to attack us. Malobabic completed the mission I assigned to him. He organized and carried out the assassination. His principal aides were in my service. They had a small honorarium which I was sending them through Malobabic. Some of their signed receipts are in Russian hands, since I was receiving the money I needed for this work from Artamonov." (From "Documents: New Evidence on the Sarajevo Assassination," by Stoyan Gavri-

lovic, *Journal of Modern History*, December 1955.)

In other words, the financial and political backing of the Russian General Staff was essential to the planned assassination. Whatever other agencies were involved, including the Freemasonic lodges of Salonika and Switzerland, the Serbian patriot, Apis, would not have taken on the assassination, without knowledge of full Russian backup.

In addition to Apis's account, we have that of Col. Bozin Simic, one of his closest associates in the Black Hand, as the Apis-controlled secret society *Ujedinjenje ili Smrt* ("Unity or Death") is usually known. Simic's testimony is excerpted in Luigi Albertini's *The Origins of the War of 1914*:

"Apis [Dimitrijevic] worked daily in association with the Russian Military Attaché Artamonov. . . . From Artamonov he learnt that Archduke Francis Ferdinand was to attend the big manoeuvres in Bosnia, which were to take place in the summer of 1914. In Dimitrijevic's eyes Francis Ferdinand was the man who had turned us out of Albania, Durazzo and Scutari, who wanted to tear up the Treaty of Bucharest. By his murder Dimitrijevic hoped to sow confusion also in the Austro-German military camarilla and delay the latent world war for which we were unprepared. . . . When war had become practically unavoidable Apis thought it his duty, before taking decisive action, to come to an understanding with Artamonov. He informed him of the preparations for the Sarajevo outrage. A few days later Artamonov gave his reply which ran: 'Just go ahead! If you are attacked, you will not stand alone.' Artamonov had sought exact instructions from his superiors. Who were they? Very probably Hartwig. Hartwig knew everything, according to Apis' firm belief. Probably St. Petersburg, too, where Hartwig had personal friends. What about [Russian Foreign Minister] Sazonov? We cannot say with certainty, since the policy of ambassadors often differed in many details from that of ministers. Artamonov was well aware of the activities of the Black Hand. He personally paid 8,000 French francs for propaganda in Austria."

In a 1938 memoir, printed in a German newspaper, Artamonov himself wrote about the months before the assassination:

"At the end of February 1914, together with General Staff Colonel Romanovsky, we were called back to give a report on the Balkan War. I was in St. Petersburg a long time. On April 30, I returned to Belgrade. At the same time, Captain Aleksandr I. Verkhovsky went to Belgrade. He was an expert at the General Staff Academy and had done all the analysis at the Staff Academy on the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. Verkhovsky was very talented, but had been inclined, in his young years, to socialist views and this had caused great official difficulties for him before the Russo-Japanese War."

Artamonov went on to record how, "after three years of uninterrupted work," he was finally granted a two-month vacation in Switzerland, at the end of May 1914. He introduced Verkhovsky to all the relevant people, and "I informed the Russian General Staff and Hartwig of my measures put-

ting Verkhovsky in charge."

An ill-timed vacation

Thus, the top Russian military official in Serbia for the previous three years, Artamonov, took a vacation in June, at a moment of high tension in the Balkans and right on the eve of the major Austro-Hungarian army maneuvers in Bosnia-Herzegovina, right on Serbia's border. Furthermore, he was replaced by an officer who, despite known ties into revolutionary circles in Russia, nonetheless enjoyed the complete confidence of the Russian General Staff to hold this sensitive position.

From Soviet historian N.P. Poletika, writing in 1935, we have a further elaboration of events on the eve of the assassination. After referring to the Black Hand members' confessions about Hartvig's and Artamonov's support for Apis, Poletika wrote:

"We may [also] suppose, that the circles of high officers of the General Staff and the War Ministry, grouped around Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich, knew already before Princip's attempt (from the telegrams of the Russian military agent in Serbia, Colonel Artamonov), that a *battue* was being prepared against the Archduke. [*Battue*, Russian *oblava*, is a hunting term, for the process of beating the prey out to be shot.] It is also not excluded, that Minister of Foreign Affairs Sazonov also knew about the probability of an attempt; on June 14 (a fortnight before the assassination!), he spoke to Romanian Prime Minister Bratianu, at their Costanza meeting, about the possibility of war between Tsarist Russia and Austria over Serbia, and posed, during this discussion, the 'prophetic question': 'What will happen, if the Austrian Archduke is killed?'"

In 1938, Artamonov claimed that "the report of the attentat [assassination] in Sarajevo came like thunder out of a clear blue sky." His own behavior at the time gives the lie to that version. Having received the news, Artamonov did not interrupt his vacation. His diary, which meticulously records every lira he spent for coffee, hotel rooms, etc., makes not the slightest mention of the news of the Sarajevo assassination—only the standard expenditures for the day, beginning with two liras for coffee!

Hard on the heels of the assassination of the Archduke, came the sudden heart attack of Hartvig, rumored to have been poisoned. It is noteworthy that Hartvig, fanatical pan-Slav that he was, did have close ties to Germany. In the evaluation of his contemporaries, Hartvig would not have allowed the Serbians to proceed to World War I, had he lived. Artamonov says that Hartvig's death was quite natural, since he smoked a lot "and drank strong tea."

Artamonov stayed on vacation and waited for a telegram from Verkhovsky, "but none came." He then continued his sightseeing, quitting Switzerland for northern Italy. With his family in tow, Artamonov took the train from Milan to Venice, where he stayed for two days, and went to Fiume for a

while, before returning to Belgrade, where he received “soothing reports from Verkhovsky.”

Albertini interviewed Artamonov in the 1930s, about this incredible behavior. Regarding the most crucial point, his ties to Apis, Artamonov told him: “Of course I was practically in daily contact with Dimitrijevic. I was Military Attaché, Dimitrijevic was head of Military Intelligence of the Serbian General Staff. Serbia and Russia were on extremely friendly terms and had discussions on mutual co-operation in case of war. Moreover I had to follow Austrian military preparations in Bosnia, because, as an enemy frontier, it was of concern to the Russian General Staff in case of war. My relations with Dimitrijevic were entirely confined to intelligence on military matters.”

Albertini concluded: “Nevertheless, in view of the post he held, Artamonov did not succeed in giving the present writer a convincing explanation of his departure from Belgrade precisely on the eve of the Austrian grand manoeuvres in Bosnia.”

Another source cited by Albertini, the Russian-Polish archeologist and member of the former Archeological Institute of St. Petersburg, Louis de Trydar-Bruzynski, stated in his 1926 memoirs: “The assassination was perpetrated with the support of the Russian Military Attaché at Belgrade. Captain Werchovski [Verkhovsky], who was assistant to the Military Attaché [Artamonov] and was later War Minister in the Kerensky Government, a young man whom I had known very well for years and all his family, told me quite frankly the truth about the origins, preparations and execution of the plot.”

On April 13, 1932, when this passage was reprinted in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, it was footnoted with the comment, “Alexander Ivanovich Werchovski [Verkhovsky] is still alive and holds a high command in the Red Army. His evidence, therefore, can still be obtained.”

The assassins

The assassins came chiefly from the “Young Bosnians,” which was evidently not a single organization, but a bunch of terrorist grouplets, coordinated by the Serbian Military Intelligence under Colonel Apis and the Black Hand. The members came from backward, peasant-dominated Bosnia-Herzegovina. The “spiritual leader” of the Young Bosnians, who was not on the scene at Sarajevo, was Vladimir Gacinovic.

In 1907, Gacinovic had been a student at the Serbian Eastern Orthodox Seminary in Reljevo, near Sarajevo, where he founded a “secret” revolutionary society named for St. Sava, patron saint of Serbia. He and about 30 other Bosnian and Herzegovinan youth received stipends from the Serbian government, to attend Vienna University. In 1911, almost at its inception, Gacinovic joined Apis’s Black Hand secret society in Belgrade. The same year, he went to Switzerland, where he would reside for several years and would be in

contact with Russian revolutionaries. However, he came back for a period, in the winter of 1912, to fight as a Montenegrin volunteer in the first Balkan War, then returned to Lausanne to take up his sociological studies. One of his closest associates was Mark Andreyevich Natanson-Bobrov, a well-known Russian terrorist since the 1870s, a cohort of the Okhrana (Russian secret police) assassin Azev, and almost certainly an Okhrana agent himself.

Natanson introduced Gacinovic to the cream of the Russian revolutionaries, including Lunacharsky and Martov. A contemporary described Gacinovic, leader of the Young Bosnians, as a “left-wing Socialist Revolutionary, if not actually a member, since he was not a Russian, then a co-opted member. With such a position he had contact with many Russians, exchanging letters, frequenting their meetings and lectures, even contributing to the Russian Socialist press.” (From Vladimir Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo*.)

One of the people who had the most profound impact on Gacinovic was Leon Trotsky, a friend whom he had known from Serbia in 1913. After the Sarajevo events, in the fall of 1914, Gacinovic regularly visited Trotsky at his Hotel Odessa on the rue d’Odessa in Paris, accompanied by his friend Sergei Khibalchich, the son of Nikolai Khibalchich of the Russian terrorist group *Narodnaya Volya* (People’s Will), who was executed for his part in the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881. Later, when Natanson returned to Russia on Lenin’s sealed train, he invited his friend Gacinovic to come along. Gacinovic declined, fearing that the Germans would arrest him for his part in the Sarajevo conspiracy.

On the ground in Serbia and Bosnia, the Young Bosnians were terrorist puppets, on strings pulled by the barely concealed hands of Colonel Apis, head of the Intelligence Department of the General Staff of the Serbian Army. Apis’s men armed the Young Bosnians and guided every step of their way into Sarajevo, protecting them from both the watchful eyes of the Austro-Hungarian government and the civil authorities of Serbia. From border crossing to safe house, Apis’s agents of the Black Hand passed the assassins along until they arrived in Sarajevo. The first two arrived on June 4, three and a half weeks before the assassination. Princip and an accomplice came into Sarajevo, registered under their own names with the police, and lounged around in bars and cafes in the town for the next 24 days—but the Serbian police and military never managed to discover them.

Yugoslavia—‘South-Slav-Land’

Giuseppe Volpi, the Venetian financier who exercised enormous influence in Montenegro and Serbia after the turn of the century, was constantly in and out of Serbia in 1913-14. K.E. Kirova, the chief Soviet chronicler of his activities, records that by 1913, “Volpi and his bank [the Banca Commerciale Italiana] were in the center of all intrigues in the eastern Mediterranean.” Volpi had many friends among the Apis-led 1903 regicides, who had brought the Karageorgevic

dynasty to power in Serbia by murdering King Alexander and Queen Draga of the Obrenovic dynasty; this same group was to run the Sarajevo assassination.

Furthermore, Volpi was deeply involved in the issue of *Yugoslavia*, which was of greatest importance for the assassination. During the investigations after the assassination, gunman Princip outlined his motives:

"The political union of the Yugoslavs [South Slavs] was always before my eyes, and that was my basic idea. Therefore it was necessary in the first place to free the Yugoslavs from the Svabe and from Austria; for every misfortune which hits the Yugoslavs stems from Austria. This spirit was especially developed among the youth in the Yugoslav lands and was a consequence of the embitterment of the people.

"This and all the rest moved me to carry out the assassination of the Heir Apparent, for I considered him, in regard to his activity, as very dangerous for Yugoslavia. . . . I am a Yugoslav nationalist, aiming for the unification of all Yugoslavs, and I do not care what form of state, but it must be free from Austria." (Quoted in Dedijer.)

Already during the early phase of World War I, Volpi and his circle had agreed, that Montenegro, the Balkan state he most closely controlled, could not possibly come out of the war as an independent state. As Volpi's biographer Romano put it, "To orient himself in Balkan intrigues, Volpi kept his eye on two reference points: Rome and Belgrade. He was convinced his enterprises now depended on the Italian government and the only Balkan government [Serbia] strengthened by the war. He had no illusions about Montenegro. He knew that the old feudal principality, baptized by the Venetians, 'belonged to the world of yesterday.' "

It is generally acknowledged that the "birth certificate of the future Yugoslavia" was the July 20, 1917 "Declaration of Corfu," which proclaimed the union of the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes as a single nation under the Karageorgevic dynasty of Serbia.

Without exaggeration, the nation of Yugoslavia can be called the personal creation of Count Carlo Sforza, who forged its government out of the Serbian government-in-exile and some Croatian figures, during their World War I exile on the Greek isle of Corfu, from 1914-17. The relevant details, on negotiations at the Hotel Bella Venezia in Corfu and the long walks to the Cannone by the sea, are provided in significant detail by Sforza himself in his 1936 book, *Europe and Europeans*. Sforza had spent much of the war hammering this alliance together. He reports, "It was during the World War, from 1915-1918, that I constantly saw Alexander Karageorgevic, either in Corfu or on the Macedonian front. . . . Leaning out of the window at the Hotel Bella Venezia at Corfu—before us lay the Hellenic seas which had carried the Italian galleys at Lepanto. . . . How often Alexander of Serbia discussed with me his anxieties and hopes!"

Sforza's career well illustrates the activity of the Venetian nobility prior to World War I. Though not of Venetian origin,

the Sforza family had been inducted into the Venetian nobility, a practice followed with some of the most crucial non-Venetian families, allied to Venice. His father reorganized the Venetian state archives in 1910-11, an intelligence deployment of the first rank. After helping to usher in the Young Turks coup of 1908, Sforza became counselor at the London Embassy in 1909, under the Marquis di San Giuliano as Ambassador. When San Giuliano became Prime Minister of Italy, Sforza was his Chef de Cabinet for a year. At age 38, he was appointed Italian Ambassador to China (1911-15), where he oversaw the transfer to Italian protection of various bishoprics formerly under French control and established the Italian Concessions in the Treaty Port of Tientsin.

After setting up the Yugoslav government in Corfu from 1914-17, Carlo Sforza became High Commissioner in Turkey from November 1918 to July 1919, a post of great importance for the Trust. As Italy's foreign secretary, he negotiated the Treaty of Rapallo of Nov. 12, 1920, which settled the Italo-Yugoslav conflict in the Adriatic, an accomplishment which entitled him to be called "cousin to the King," Victor Emmanuel.

While Count Sforza was putting together the Yugoslav government on Corfu, during the war, Volpi himself was becoming more and more overtly pro-Yugoslav. He worked with Sforza directly, when the two of them were involved in

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drafting the Treaty of Rapallo, by which Italy formally accepted the union of the South Slavs, in return for certain perquisites. Volpi's old friend and Apis's associate, former Serbian ambassador to Rome Dr. Milenko Vesnic, would soon emerge as the foreign minister of Yugoslavia. Volpi carried messages from Sforza to Vesnic, regarding the settlement of the Italo-Yugoslav border. His old Montenegrin friends denounced him, putting his picture on the cover of pamphlets that decried the sell-out of Montenegro.

The Sforza-Volpi concoction, Yugoslavia, was to become a main staging ground of the East-West intelligence nexus known as the Trust, since a good portion of the "White" Russian opposition, involved in that project, was based in Belgrade. Indeed, the Russian "Whites" took on delicate internal and, particularly, foreign intelligence missions for Serbia. "These are the special confidential agents of the central government." Antonio Baldacci described them in a 1943 article. None other than Artamonov, after his emigration from Russia, served in the 1920s and 1930s as an expert on the U.S.S.R., in the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry!

Another curious and most instructive piece of the after-history to the Sarajevo events, related to Yugoslavia, was the aforementioned Salonika trial. In the spring of 1917, Prince Alexander Karageorgevic, the Serbian heir-apparent, had Apis and his associates put on trial in Salonika, Greece. Even though Apis and his men had authored the 1903 coup, which put the Karageorgevics in power, Alexander feared the great power of Apis in Serbia, which he would no doubt continue to command after Yugoslavia was established, with Alexander as its king. Therefore, he brought Apis and the Black Hand to trial on charges of plotting his assassination, as well as for conniving with Germany on a separate peace.

Despite the intervention of Apis's former funder and employer, Verkhovsky, now minister of war under Kerensky in Russia, the colonel was convicted. Apis was shot by the side of a ditch on June 14, 1917.

The retrial, mentioned above as the source of "Apis's confession," took place in May 1953, under the auspices of the Communist government of Serbia (part of Tito's Yugoslavia). The Serbian Academy of Sciences had just published a two-volume work on the Salonika trial, by a Yugoslav historian named Zivanovic, who identified Apis and *Ujed-injenje ili Smrt* as a "progressive" force in Serbia. Apis's group had been in contact with the Communists in 1917, asserted Zivanovic, and was under the influence of the Russian Revolution. According to Albertini, at least two members of the Black Hand became Communists. In the mid-1950s, Wayne Vucinich remarked in his *Serbia Between East and West*, "There is indication that the ghost of the 1903 conspiracy and its successor, the Black Hand, still hovers in the background of Yugoslav politics." If Slobodan Milosevic emerges, with Russian backing, as the overlord of the economically collapsing and strife-torn Balkans, that may prove to be still true in 1989.

Soviet troops still in Afghanistan?

by Ramtanu Maitra

As the Afghani rebels began to mobilize their manpower for a full-scale assault on Jalalabad, a key Afghan city and the capital of Nangarhar province bordering Pakistan, Moscow issued a terse warning to Islamabad: The Soviet Union will not turn a blind eye to Pakistan's increasing involvement in Afghanistan.

The Soviet threat came on the heels of Kabul President Najibullah's March 11 letters to U.N. Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar. Najibullah said that Pakistan "continues to build up armed aggression and interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs." It is an echo of the Feb. 13 Soviet allegation against Pakistan.

On March 9, the Afghan News Agency (ANA) increased Kabul's volume against Pakistan, charging Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) with direct involvement in the rebels' Jalalabad campaign. Lt. Gen. Hamid Gul, head of the ISI Directorate, recently visited the rebel-held Kunar province of Afghanistan, ANA charged.

The Soviet threat and Afghan allegations against Pakistan is in all likelihood aimed most immediately at influencing the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) foreign ministers' meeting, which began in Saudi Arabia March 14. The Soviet-Afghan campaign to create a permanent split between Iran and the other Islamic states over Afghanistan, and play the "Iran card" to their own advantage is in full swing.

The propaganda offensive may also be intended to steal the march on a potential bombshell leaked recently by Pakistani intelligence, namely, that in spite of its pious pronouncements on the Geneva Accords, Soviet troops remain in the Wakhan Corridor of Afghanistan. If proved true, this could have a far-reaching effect on the political geometry of the Afghan crisis.

Playing the 'Iran card'

The ongoing OIC meeting is being hosted by Saudi Arabia, whose prompt recognition of the Afghan Government-in-Exile headed by the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen (IUAM) has posed a challenge to a number of Islamic nations, Iran in particular. The Iran-based eight-party grouping of Afghan rebels (known as the "Iran Eight") have continued to hold out for their demanded 100 seats in the Shoora, or Afghan Consultative Council, and have even threatened to call their own Shoora. All of these rebels are Shia Muslims, and are loyal to Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini.