



YUGO NEWS



This Issue: *Yugoslav sanctions eased, NATO air strikes, Mladic bio*

7 September 94

French peacekeepers in Sarajevo attacked and destroyed a Bosnian Serb anti-aircraft cannon that had been firing on civilians.

The Serb gun was a 20mm anti-aircraft cannon firing from the Serb suburb of Ilidza directly at civilian targets in government-held Butmir and on Sarajevo's only commercial supply route -- a steep road up Mount Igman west of the capital. The gun had been shooting at civilian vehicles for weeks in violation of Sarajevo's exclusion zone.

This is the first instance of UN ground troops using force against a gun violating the exclusion zone. Ground troops were used because the UN wanted to avoid air strikes on a heavily populated area where civilian casualties would have been inevitable.

✦ ✧ ✧

President Clinton sent his greetings to Macedonia's President Gligorov, on the occasion of the Macedonia's Independence Day. His letter read:

"Please accept my warm congratulations on the occasion of your country's National day. Under your leadership, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has made noteworthy efforts to maintain peace among its ethnic groups in a region torn apart by ethnic conflict. I would also like to recognize your historic role in leading your country toward full integration into the international community of nations.

"Despite the difficult political and economic conditions challenging your country, I am confident that the Macedonian people are committed to building a democratic, multi-ethnic state that

pursues its goals peacefully. I commend your statesmanship in managing problems with your neighbors and your outstanding progress towards building a new nation in ethnic harmony. As the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia continues along the road of democracy, I can assure you of the continued goodwill and support of the United States of America.

"On behalf of the American people please accept my best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of all your people."

Note: A standard political form letter, but note the use of the Greek/ compromise name for the country, rather than the name Macedonians themselves use: "Macedonia".

8 September 94

A Serb armored brigade launched a counter-offensive against Bihac, from Bosnia and Krajina. The area had recently been held by deposed Muslim rebel leader, and erstwhile Serb ally, Fikret Abdic.

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Two British jets, participating in Operation Deny Flight, were fired on over Bosnia. The jets avoided one Serb-fired missile, returning to their aircraft carrier in the Adriatic Sea.

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Serb President Milosevic agreed to allow 200 civilian UN observers to be stationed on the boarder between Bosnia and Serbia. They will enforce the Yugoslav embargo of Bosnian Serbs, making sure trade to Bosnia from Serbia is food and medicine, not weapons and fuel. In return, the "contact group" will recommend to the UN Security Council that the embargo against Serbia be loosened. This would open Yugoslav airports to

international flights and lift the ban on sporting and cultural events, among others.

The UN observers will be drawn from 30 countries of the London Conference on Yugoslavia, and will report to boarder police and the Security Council on violations. The relaxing of the embargo only lasts one month, and must be extended to remain in that state.

9 September 94

The Bosnian Serb deportations of non-Serb residents of Serb-occupied territory are increasing. Military age men are being separated from other non-Serb civilians, then detained.

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UN representative Akashi asked Japan, his home country, to send peacekeepers to Croatia and Macedonia.

10 September 94

Repeating a call he made at the Islamic Foreign ministers conference in Pakistan, Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic urged the UN to lift its arms embargo on his country. Siladzic is on a tour of Middle East countries.

The Gulf Arab states have sent millions of dollars in aid to Bosnian Moslems and treated wounded Bosnians in their hospitals. None have officially given direct military aid to the Moslem-led Bosnian government.

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The UN threatened Bosnian Serbs with NATO air strikes if they keep firing on the Bihac enclave. The fighting appeared to subside after the warning was delivered. The Bosnian Serbs had fired tank and mortar rounds into the city of Bihac, targeting army and police

buildings; government forces were returning mortar fire.

11 September 94

A crowd of 800,000 people turned out for **Pope John Paul's** open-air Mass in Zagreb, Croatia. The Pope urged Croats to make peace with Muslims and Serbs.

Despite an invitation to Croatian **Orthodox leaders**, only a retired Orthodox priest showed up at the Mass. Muslim, Protestant and Jewish representatives attended the service.

While the visit was designed to celebrate the 900th anniversary of the Catholic archdiocese of Zagreb, President Franjo Tudjman clearly saw it as **conferring a blessing** on his nationalist government. But before he left the Pope appeared to take issue with the glorification of national state power in Croatia: "The man who gives the first priority to the state becomes its object and instrument to pursue anti-human ends," he said.

A frail but determined Pope promised to visit **Sarajevo**, a trip he hoped to make last Thursday, "as soon as circumstances allow." Initially he had sought to visit Belgrade, capital of Serbia, and Sarajevo, the besieged Bosnian capital, as well as Zagreb.

Senior representatives of the Catholic and Serbian Orthodox churches met at a **world religious gathering** in Assisi, Italy. Orthodox Serbs are deeply hostile to the Polish-born Pope, history's first Slav pontiff, whose calls on the international community to "disarm the aggressor" in Bosnia they took as an invitation to the West to bomb them. The Vatican's recognition in January 1992 of Croatia was also seen by Serbs as part of a plot to hurry the breakup of the Yugoslav federation.

The **EU offered Serbia a deal**: Keep a promise to cut off war supplies to Bosnian Serbs and sanctions will be eased. The first steps would be a return of Serb-dominated Yugoslavia to

international sports and cultural events and the resumption of air traffic in and out of Belgrade airport. In return the EU will be allowed to station 135 monitors on the Bosnian Serb border. The EU monitors will be teamed with 150 Yugoslav monitors.

14 September 94

Croatian President Tudjman and Bosnian President Izetbegovic discussed Bosnian forming a **confederation** with Croatia. They agreed to open roads, establishing joint municipal and other local districts, and create a Croat-Muslim army under joint command. The meetings between Izetbegovic and Tudjman have taken place during a low point in Muslim-Croat relations. The purpose of the meeting was "salvaging a five-month-old rapprochement in Bosnia which is threatening to relapse into warfare."

17 September 94

135 international monitors, flying in Yugoslav helicopters began surveying the **Bosnian Serb border**.

18 September 94

A platoon of French **peacekeepers** was **blockaded** in their barracks near Poljina when Bosnian Serbs placed anti-tank mines on their access road and posted armed guards.

Bosnian Muslims and Serbs battled near **Sarajevo**. The Bosnian Army fired mortars at the Serbs, who responded with mortars and anti-aircraft guns. Small arms fired and RPG's were also noted.

Gen. Rose, commander of UN forces in Bosnia, was outraged at the resumption of shelling of Sarajevo after seven months of relative peace, and issued a statement warning each side to cease fighting or face air strikes.

19 September 94

The Bosnian Serbs removed their

blockade of the French peacekeepers in Poljina. Also removed during the blockade were three 120mm mortars and a T-55 that had been in **UN storage**. The mortars were then used in yesterday's battle near Sarajevo. The fighting closed the airport for a day.

The incident began with a government offensive against the Serbs. Bosnian Muslim infantry supported by mortars launched an attack northwards from **Sarajevo**, with the probable objective of seizing and blocking the Serb logistic road from Pale to Vogosca. Less than 30 minutes later the Bosnian Serbs moved on the weapons collection site at Poljina and began bombarding the city.

Bosnian President Izetbegovic agreed to halt provocative attacks on Bosnian Serbs around **Sarajevo** after UN peacekeepers threatened government forces with NATO air strikes.

One **UN peacekeeper was killed**, and one wounded, when their car hit a land mine near Palaski, Croatia.

Bosnian Serb **deportations** of non-Serbs have not ceased. Several thousand are being deported each day. Most are robbed before being allowed to cross the lines. Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic assured the UN 10 days ago that the ethnic cleansing would stop.

The US invaded Haiti today.

20 September 94

The Bosnian Serbs refused to restore **Sarajevo's power supplies**. Sarajevo's utilities have been cut off for six days. The Bosnian Serbs also threatened more punitive attacks on the city's civilian population. General Manojlo Milovanovic, the Bosnian Serb Army (BSA) chief of staff, told the UN the Bosnian Serbs would give gas, water and electricity back to the city only if the Moslem-led government restored power to cut-off Serb communities.

The UN told the Bosnian Serbs to

remove their big guns from **Sarajevo's exclusion zone** or NATO air attack.

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Just hours after the airlift resumed, a **French C-130** was hit by small arms fire while landing at the Sarajevo airport.

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Bosnia applied for membership in NATO's "**Partnership for Peace**" program.

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The Clinton administration, worried about a possible break with Europe over Bosnia, hopes its showdown over Haiti will enhance **US credibility** as the administration presses a new effort to maintain allied unity in the Balkans.

Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic is in Washington this week for talks and Bosnian President Izetbegovic may meet President Clinton later this week.

✦ ✕ ✧
A **French APC** fired on a Bosnian Serb gun that was targeting civilians in

Sarajevo. The Serbs stopped firing, but it was not known if the gun was destroyed.

21 September 94

Karadzic supporters have recently been meeting **untimely ends**. Recent weeks had seen the deaths under strange circumstances of the director of Pale Television, of the deputy chief of the Bosnian Serb secret police, and in Serbia proper of the security chief of the nationalist Serbian Radical Party.

✦ ✕ ✧
Five members of the nationalist **Serbian Radical Party**, including party leader and wanted war criminal Vojislav Seselj, received suspended sentences for a May brawl in Yugoslavia's parliament.

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The Bosnian Serbs began withdrawing their current group of **Sarajevo exclusion zone** violating heavy weapons.

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The UN is working on contin-

gency plans for the swift **withdrawal of peacekeepers** from Bosnia if the arms embargo is lifted or air strikes are intensified. In some circumstances, "a significant number of highly combat-capable ground forces" may have to be brought in to protect the withdrawing peacekeepers, the Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali said in an apparent reference to NATO.

The UN has **38,500 peacekeepers** from 32 countries in the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia, Croatia and Macedonia. More than 20,000 of them are in Bosnia.

The US has said it will unilaterally lift the arms embargo on **October 15th** unless Bosnian Serbs accept the 'contact group' peace plan.

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The **Red Crescent**, a member of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, requested that the UN grant it observer status in Bosnia. The Red Crescent is the Muslim equivalent of the Red Cross.

Serb Travel Agent

Vojkan Djurkovic describes himself as a nice guy, just trying to help people get to where they want to go.

Not so, according to hundreds of Muslims who say Djurkovic and his henchmen stole their homes and belongings and forcibly deported them. They accuse Djurkovic and his Orwellian-sounding Civilian Committee for the Exchange of Population of carrying out a mass purge meant to make the region pure Serb.

Djurkovic, who portrays himself as a humane man who volunteers his time to help non-Serbs wanting to leave the region, said "I help them to be transferred to where they will feel better."

The deportees say they were forced from their homes after months of intimidation organized by Djurkovic. They said they finally had no choice but to go to his organization and apply to leave. Then, after paying a \$125 transportation 'fee', they say they are stripped of all remaining money and valuables and dropped at the edge of no-man's land for a perilous walk into Muslim-held territory.

But Djurkovic denies wrongdoing. During his meeting with the rights activists, Vojkan described himself as a "humanitarian worker" forced to take money from grateful Muslims, "although I've never asked for it." He claimed anything owned by a Muslim leaving Serb-held territory is actually a part of that territory, "Therefore they cannot take that away."

"Vojkan told us it is better to go willingly," said one deportee.

22 September 94

Five UN **peacekeepers** were **wounded** in separate incidents near Sarajevo. Bosnian Serbs were responsible for at least one of the attacks. After two further attacks in which no one was wounded, the UN ordered retaliatory **NATO air strikes**.

A Serb T-55 was destroyed by a US A-10 Thunderbolt and two British jets.

The Bosnian Serb army said it would retaliate.

23 September 94

In return for a pledge by the Serbian government to work for a peace in Bosnia, halt shipments of supplies to Bosnian Serbs, and accept civilian monitoring of Serbia's borders, the UN Security Council approved a resolution that **relaxes sanctions** on the former Yugoslavia for 100 days. The Belgrade airport will be reopened to civilian passenger flights, Yugoslavia will be allowed to

participate in sports and cultural exchanges, and passenger ferries will resume service between Bar, Montenegro, and Bari, Italy. Sanctions will be reimposed within five days of a report by the UN Secretary General that Serbia is shipping weapons to Bosnia or interfering with UN operations.

A second resolution was approved which **punishes the Bosnian Serbs** for their continued intransigence and their interference with UN operations. Financial, commercial, and political activity will be frozen until they agree to the 'contact group' peace plan.

The third resolution **condemns Bosnian Serbs** ethnic cleansing, declares property transferred under duress null and void, and demands full access by the UN to Bosnian Serb areas.

24 September 94

The Bosnian Serbs have **increased attacks on UN** peacekeepers since NATO's air strike two days ago. The BSA has directly targeted UN troops in Gorazde and Bihac. The UN described the overall military situation as stable.

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Milan Martić, President of Serb **Krajina**, speaking on the easing of sanctions against Yugoslavia, said "the Serbs will not waver to finally realize their national goals and form a single state."

25 September 94

General Mladic, commander of the Bosnian Serb army, threatened UN troops, saying he could not take responsibility for the safety of peacekeeping operations on his territory. (See "Patriot as Patriot" on Pg. 5 of this issue for Mladic's biography).

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Amidst a weekend of meetings with UN secretary General Boutros-Ghali and Bosnian President Izetbegovic, **Clinton** is hoping the split between Bosnian Serbs and their former backers in Serbia will force the Bosnian Serbs to accept the 'contact group' peace plan.

Fundamental disagreements be

tween the US and its allies -- mainly Britain, France and Russia -- over lifting the arms embargo have increasingly worried US officials and raised sharp trans-Atlantic tensions.

The issue is reaching a critical stage because Clinton is facing a **congressional mandate** to begin forcing the issue in the security council by October 15th if the Bosnian Serbs continue refusing to accept the 'contact group' peace plan.

Bosnian Prime Minister Silajdzic said Bosnia felt **abandoned by the US**. He noted that the Moslems accepted the peace plan and the Bosnian Serbs did not, yet the arms embargo against Moslems continues while sanctions against Serbs in Serbia who have backed their Bosnian Serb brethren have been eased.

26 September 94

Power was restored to parts of the city, but the **Sarajevo airport** was closed due to Bosnian Serb threats. Under an agreement brokered by the UN, repair teams will be allowed access to damaged electricity pylons around the city, while power would also be restored to Serb areas of Bosnia.

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After meeting with Bosnian Prime Minister Siladzic, **Clinton set aside \$20 million** to help rebuild Bosnia's economy and run the government in Sarajevo. He also agreed to ask Congress for an additional \$10 million. \$10 million already is in the pipeline to Bosnia.

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Nine **UN convoys** have been halted in central Bosnia for three days. The Bosnian Serbs are blocking routes to Sarajevo in retaliation for Thursday's NATO airstrike.

27 September 94

The Bosnian Serbs shelled a **UN warehouse** in northern Bosnia. Three Bosnian civilians were wounded.

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Bosnian government troops **fire mortars** at Serbs with the Sarajevo exclusion zone.

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Croatian President Tudjman and Defense Minister Susak are also meeting in the US this week with high-ranking American officials and UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali.

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Croatia and Bosnia signed a trade agreement.

Quote

"If you confront us with the choice -- either UN blue helmets or weapons -- we choose weapons. They at least guarantee our people's survival." (Bosnian President, Alija Izetbegovic)

Source

Wall Street Journal, The Economist, New York Times, InterNet*, FBIS Daily Reports.

* i.e., the 'Information Superhighway' popularized by VP Gore.

"PARIAH AS PATRIOT"

Gen. Ratko Mladic, Commander, Bosnian Serb Army

Two years ago Lawrence Eagleburger, then Secretary of State, included Mladic in a list of Serb leaders with "political and command responsibility for crimes against humanity". Asked point-blank about Serb atrocities committed against Muslims, Mladic responds: "I don't see it that way. I did what everyone else has done, to defend my own people. That is our patriotic duty." Unruffled, he continued: "It would be true to say of me that I had horns on my head if I had invaded Vietnam, Cambodia or the Falkland Islands. I did not go to the gulf or Somalia. I was defending my own home. In fact, my house was one of the first to be burned down." (In May 1992, a month after Serb rebels declared war on the Bosnian Government by shelling Sarajevo, Mladic watched the house he shared with his brother in Sarajevo go up in flames.)

Questioned about the two-year pounding of Sarajevo by Serb heavy guns and other acts of aggression against Bosnian civilians by Serb forces, Mladic lists brutalities committed by the other side. "Croats in March 1992 began a war of terror against Serb civilians from the Kupres Plateau up to Doboj," he says. "They began a policy of genocide against Serbs in Samac, Modrica and Deneta, the Neretva valley up to Mostar. In June and July, Muslims burned down more than 100 Serbian villages along the Drina."

By the time Mladic was made commander of the Serbian army in Bosnia in May 1992, Serbian militias had already conducted a vast "ethnic cleansing" campaign, driving hundreds of thousands of Muslims from their homelands over a seven-week period. Mladic was not given full authority over the widely scattered militias until a year ago, but the "cleansings" have gone on.

Lately, Mladic has been under attack not only in Washington but also in Belgrade. The 'contact group' peace plan for Bosnia calls on Mladic and the other Bosnian Serb leaders to give up control of a third of the territory they have seized. The plan has been accepted by the Muslim-dominated Bosnian Government and Bosnia's Croats, but the Bosnian Serbs have rejected it. In response, in early August the international community issued renewed threats of harsher economic sanctions against Yugoslavia (now comprising Serbia and Montenegro), until then the Bosnian Serbs' sole supporter. Faced with such threats, Serbian President Milosevic warned Mladic and Bosnian Serb President Karadzic that rejection of the peace plan would result in a severing of political and economic ties. Mladic's retort was to the point: "If you do that, I'll bring the war to your doorstep!"

"I was born in what was called Old Herzegovina," he says, referring to a strip of mostly mountainous territory that was an ancient Serbian dukedom. "Bosnia and Herzegovina was an artificial creation of the Communist system and before that in the Austrian Empire. We Serbs reject the term 'Bosnia.' We are Serbs and we know who we are." Yet being a Serb did not play a critical role in Mladic's life until he was 48. In the last Yugoslav census before the old federation collapsed, he listed his nationality as Yugoslav, not Serb.

He was in many respects a quintessential Yugoslav, born of parents who had joined the Communist-led partisans to fight German invaders and their Croatian henchmen, the Ustasa. Mladic's father died fighting the Fascist Croatian Ustasa. Other Serbian partisans died in combat against Muslim Ustasa, still others against Serbian royalists called Chetniks. Of the 1.7 million Yugoslavs killed during World War II, 1 million were victims of the civil war that raged within the larger conflict. Tito constructed his Yugoslavia as a delicately balanced mechanism designed to prevent a resumption of the ethnic slaughter among the South Slavs. Until his death in 1980, the Communist party and the Yugoslav People's Army held the federation together. After Tito's death the country gradually unraveled. The party disintegrated in 1990, the army in 1991.

At 15, Mladic completed an army school in Belgrade. He graduated from the military academy in 1965 and joined the Communist Party. His initial postings were in Macedonia, where he commanded a platoon, then a tank battalion, then a brigade. In January 1991, with the clouds of civil war already gathering, he was promoted to deputy commander of the an army corps in Kosovo. Six months later, as Yugoslavia crumbled amid the secessions of Croatia and Slovenia, Mladic was promoted to colonel, and given command of an army corps in Knin, Croatia.

Like many of his fellow officers, Mladic was still devoted to the preservation of a federal and multi-ethnic Yugoslavia. Both Croatia and Slovenia had declared but not yet achieved independence. Bosnia-Herzegovina -- a miniature Yugoslavia in its mixture of Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats -- teetered between continued association with the federation and some degree of independence. "At the time, I never considered that we couldn't have a common life," Mladic says. "But a man is formed by the events he undergoes."

What Mladic found in Krajina was a military man's nightmare: Army command was breaking down as senior officers

suddenly reverted to their Croatian or Slovenian origin, wavered or went over to the other side. A hastily formed Croatian national guard fought a hastily assembled Serbian militia. Civilians were uprooted amid atrocities in villages of mixed populations. Army garrisons were blockaded. Mladic's first question was: "Who is the enemy?" His answer to himself and his troops: "First, the enemy is anyone who shoots at our soldiers, cuts off their water and electricity, provokes, blockades."

In the Croat-Serb fighting of 1991, Mladic moved with a combination of audacity and guile that astonished his opponents. Before new uniforms and insignia made the various sides distinguishable, he traveled across the lines in disguise, using identification papers of Croat officers he had known. Once a Croatian militiaman stopped him, saying, "You're Col. Ratko Mladic. You're dangerous. We should liquidate you." "I was uncomfortable," Mladic recalls. He flashed Croat ID and persuaded the militiaman he was Croat. "I told him Mladic was really dangerous and ought to be liquidated."

He was promoted to general in April 1992 after he successfully -- and ruthlessly, say his critics -- consolidated Serbian positions in Krajina. Soon thereafter, Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence and Bosnian Serb leaders searched for a commander to prosecute their war aims. Nikola Koljevic, Vice President of the Bosnian Serb republic, remembers: "We didn't know Mladic. But then we read about him in a Croatian newspaper that said, 'Mladic is no social worker.' We decided, 'That's the guy we need.'"

In May 1992, Mladic transferred from the Yugoslav Army to the newly constituted Bosnian Serb Army (BSA). By his own account, Mladic is a student of Hannibal, Alexander the Great and Carl von Clausewitz. In battle after battle, he has shown his belief in the doctrine of concentrated force espoused by Heinz Guderian, the German panzer general: "Smash! Don't sprinkle!" Mladic's commands to his artillery units around Sarajevo have included: "Roast!" and "Pound them senseless!"

"The dominant shape of armed conflict for me is attack," says Mladic. "I have an offensive character, and that's acceptable to the high command of the army of the Republic of Serbians." In mid-June, a Bosnian Government offensive cracked Serbian lines on the southern slopes of Mount Ozren. It was an effort by Bosnian forces to secure a vital road link between Sarajevo and Tuzla, a Muslim-majority enclave. But in a sudden pincer movement the Serbs retook the salient, killing -- according to United Nations officials -- close to 1,000 Bosnian government troops. (*See "Fighting in Central Bosnia" in the August '94 issue of Yugo News*).

Mladic eats and sleeps among his soldiers, whom he often leads into battle in an armored vehicle. Initially he toured his nearly 800 miles of front lines by helicopter, but that stopped last year in compliance with a flight ban imposed by the United Nations. "I like to go on foot," he says. "On foot, soldiers are at their best." In his underground headquarters about 40 miles northeast of Sarajevo, he sleeps on an army cot.

Mladic can be hotheaded. Last year when the United States and the European Community proposed air strikes against Serbian positions, he threatened to unleash terrorist bombers on Washington and London. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Bosnian Serb republic, sharply reprimanded him for his "idiotic and irresponsible statement."

On March 11, Gajo Petkovic, the retired editor of the monthly magazine *People's Army*, wrote a blistering attack on Mladic in a Belgrade magazine. Calling the general "conceited," a "cynic and a sadist," and accusing him of being "carried away by rage and brutality," Petkovic asserted Mladic had "undoubted responsibility for the crimes of members of the army he led." Mladic called him and threatened him: "You'll get yours soon. You'll remember who Ratko Mladic is." Mladic denies having made the threat.

More often than not, Mladic has accepted the political lines laid down initially by his superiors in Belgrade and subsequently by his superiors in Pale. In 1991 he was ordered not to seize the coastal cities of Zadar and Sibenik, which would have split Croatia, although he claims his forces could have done it in a matter of hours then and "in a day or two" now. Similarly, in spring 1993, he bowed to higher authorities fearful of Western military intervention and refrained from seizing the Muslim enclaves of Srebrenica and Zepa along the Drina valley. He stepped back again from Gorazde in April. But cede to the Muslims land his 80,000 troops conquered? "I would never order my units to retreat," he says emphatically. "I wouldn't do it if I had one million lives and had to lose them all. Only an army that is defeated retreats." That same conviction motivated him to defy Karadzic and the entire international community in May 1993 when he opposed the Vance-Owen peace plan for ending the Bosnian conflict. The general's 45-minute speech persuaded the Bosnian Serbs assembly to reject that plan.

With the Bosnian Serbs unable to accept the latest peace plan, prolonged war is virtually guaranteed. This would almost certainly mean a full scale attack on Sarajevo if Clinton follows through on his threat to lift the arms embargo on the Bosnian government on October 15th, followed by retaliatory NATO air strikes and then the withdrawal of UN peacekeepers. Says Mladic, "We have shown who we are and what we are. We take measures not to be surprised. I'm ready for them anywhere."