LATES. M. ALI

DHAKA TUESDAY NOVEMBER 13, 2001

## Armed attack on press conference at Bagerhat

Expulsion of Jubo Dal activists welcome but law must take its course

N a brazen-faced act of political hooliganism perpetrated by ruling party youth front elements in Bagerhat, on Sunday, some prominent local AL leaders as well as several journalists were hurt. The list of injured included district AL president and former state minister Dr Mozammel Hossain and Advocate Ali Akbar. Among the wounded journalists were Bishnu Prasad Chakraborty of UNB and Ekushey TV, Ahat Haider of Prothom Alo, Shah Alam of BSS and Muktakantha, Janakantha's Babul Sarder and Janmabhumi's Mollah Abdur Rab. So, it has been a double-edged political gangsterism with one side of the sword wounding political opponents and the other side scarring journalists. In the former case, it was the height of political intolerance and vendetta shown against local adversaries, and in the latter we see journalists coming to harm while discharging their professional responsibilities. The desperado-style highhandedness is amply illustrated by the fact that it did not spare the privacy of the home of the AL district unit secretary to be unleashed where the press conference was being held. The conference was called to protest, apparently on a low key, an earlier attack on AL activists who were merely announcing their programme for a public rally to come. This certainly constituted an impingement on the right of an opposition political party to conduct normal activities in a democracy. And, with the journalists on a call of duty taking a brunt of that wrath it also impinged on the free functioning of the media as such.

Somehow all these sound like the rumblings of the variety of excesses we had the misfortune of experiencing in the past. These should be nipped in the bud; for, such things can be only allowed to the peril of the ruling party credibility which they can ill-afford to loose after the electoral mandate they have got. But we have certainly noted the promptitude with which the central leadership of Jatiyatabadi Jubo Dal has expelled 12 of its local leaders and workers for their involvement in the Bagerhat incident. However, this would be a cosmetic measure so long as the culprits are not brought to book through a legal process initiated at the earliest.

In a way, a good beginning has been made by the police at the Jahangirnagar University campus by taking under their wings several BCL activists who were facing wrath from their JCD counterparts. This 'new sensitivity' to the other side must get a full play and find the widest latitude to operate. The BNP central leadership can make a big difference by firmly setting the tenor for this.

### Towards an efficient water management system

Community participation is of crucial

importance

XPERTS have recently warned that, given the rate of decline in groundwater level in the city, residents could face acute supply shortage and piped water could sell at a higher price than that of petrol. One of the major reasons behind such a drastic decline in the groundwater level, as the experts have identified, is lack of retention tanks within and at the periphery of the city. Overexploitation and reclamation, occasioned largely by population pressure and frenzied urbanisation, have squeezed life out of many a natural water body. Such mind less practices, either in legal garb or in blatant violation of the law of the land, have gone on unabated over the years, not only in the urban areas but also in the countryside. Besides, there has been indiscriminate dumping of clini cal, chemical and industrial effluents into rivers, canals and other natural water bodies. There are laws against such violations all right; however, hardly have these been enforced.

This is exactly why we would like to greet the local government, rural development and co-operatives minister's promise for an efficient water management system in the next five years with a note of caution. There have been quite a few water management plans in the past and some of them did sound well thought-out and well equipped with legal provisions to conserve and manage water resources, water bodies and wetlands in the country Unfortunately, in effect, these have made a little difference, as absence of law enforcement only encouraged violators to continue their unlawful acts.

Unless an effective monitoring and enforcement mechanism can be ensured, any water management plan how ever sound it may look on paper is bound to prove an exer cise in futility. This is why community participation is essential. To ensure that, however, the government needs to launch an awareness campaign before initiating any water project, big or small, in any locality. People have to be made aware of the significance the project holds for their overall sustenance. Once they come to appreciate that, they will effectively act to keep the culprits away.

# A place in the sun



DILARA CHOUDHURY

IKE individuals, the nations also experience historically I momentous occasions. Occasions when nations make a quantum leap forward through the political, economic, and diplomatic decisions and actions of the leadership, and thereby taking their rightful places in the comity of nations. On such occasions there are moments of danger that need to be addressed and resolved in order to cross over to a path that takes the nation to its desired goal. History bears ample examples of such momentous times. Even the United Kingdom, with its very successful, exemplary and continuous representative government, faced daners like that of Charist Movement, periods of hesitancy over reforms due to the fear born out of French Revolution, but time and again, its visionary leadership was able to chart a course in bringing out the country from the impending political crisis. That is how the United Kingdom can boast today about being the only country, barring forty-two years of revolution, having a history of making far-reaching changes through peaceful means alone. On the other hand, nations go through agony, despair, suffering and misery if the leadership cannot rise to the occasions and make politically and otherwise disastrous decisions. In a nutshell, what is discernible is that a nation standing on such momentous crossroads may go either way depending upon the actions taken by the country's political class. Bangladesh, at present, I am afraid, is faced with such momentous occasion as the fate of country hangs in suspension over whether it would take a course of democratic consolidation or fall into an abyss of despair and political turmoil.

The irony of the whole thing is that for decades we have struggled for a democratic order: An order ensuring people's participation and thereby dealing with the fundamental premises i.e. the distribution of economic power of the state. There is no need to go into the details about how a political democracy

was established in 1991 but also how despite its establishment democratic consolidation remained a far cry. All one can point out is that since the chief vehicle of democracy namely elections were fraught with difficulties and alleged rigging the been under severe strains. But now even after a widely acclaimed free and fair elections under a non-party, non-partisan caretaker government we are once again in an unexpected political quagmire as the main opposition Awami League (AL) refuses to accept its electoral defeat

ment has remained hollow without being the centre of all policy decisions whose ramifications have been reflected in Government's ineffectiveness in dealing with other governmental institutions. We have witnessed consistent gaps between process of democratization has the Government's policy statements and its actions. This gap cannot be bridged without strengthening the institutional, organizational and operative aspects of the Parliament. Such developments are possible only when contenders of the power go by the rules of the game and learn how to relate to each other i.e. when

Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Attlee come to mind. Mr. Baldwin won the affection of the British public due to his contribution in debates whereas Mr. Attlee's rise to an unprecedented national leadership came through his remarkable contribution in parliamentary debates.

At present, the opposition leader, thus, has a golden opportunity to make the debates lively by her presence and demonstrate her capability as a seasoned parliamentarian by discharging her responsibilities to keep the public informed about the government's activities and keep it would go a long way in strengthening the accountability mechanism and thereby enhancing Parliament's capability to tackle the massive corruption, especially at the top, whose trickle down effect is destroying every sphere of our society. What I mean is that through these devices the sincerity and declaratory statements of the government party with regard to institutionalization of democracy will be and can be put on public display by Opposition's actions. And the Opposition should not miss such opportunities.

## PANORAMA

A functional Parliament is a living proof that within Parliament and Government the leaders are capable to relate constructively with each other and other major groupings that help create a conducive policy environment.

and has decided to boycott the parliamenta culture that has now reached its apogee with the first session of the Eighth Parliament being held without the presence of main opposition. Obviously, there are apprehensions that the newly elected parliament, like its predecessors, would remain hollow and dysfunctional whereas it is a common knowledge that without having a broad-based, participatory parliament the very essence of parliamentary democracy would be lost. And

that is where the danger lies. Usually, the institutionalization of the developing democraciesthe ones without the 'pre-requisites,' has been possible due the leadership's careful, cautious and deliberate actions to make the institutions viable and functional. In such case, democracy is sustained in the shortrun but in the long run allows the submerged social forces to play an ever-increasing role, and through this, obtaining a larger share of the social product. India is a prime example where functioning institutions helped sustain democracy and now after a half-century of its existencethe voices of the new claimants like the Dalits and others are being heard. Another thing is that until and unless the institutions function and effectively deal with the fundamental premise of the state namely the distribution of economic resourcesthe people cannot identify with the system. The fundamental premise of Indian democracy is, thus, the capacity and adaptability of its institutions to respond to the timely needs of the

In Bangladesh we have had a dismal failure in this regard. Even the most vital institution of a parliamentary democracy i.e. the parlia-

the opposition and the treasury decide that they would work together to make it viable if not for anything else but simply because to honour the people's mandate. Let us now attempt to analyze

what the leadership can really do at this critical juncture of our history. Let us begin by examining the stand taken by the opposition AL. The AL being the oldest political party of the country must be aware that by refusing to go to the parliament it is acting against the very principle of representative government and against the mandate given to them by those who voted for AL. This would eventually go against AL and may tantamount as politically unwise. Instead of choosing such irrational path, the main opposition AL has the option to take the front seat by joining the Parliament and act, as an opposition should act. First, by its participation the opposition can instill life into parliamentary debates followed by decisive actions. The lively parliamentary debates generate public interest about the activities of the House that bear the benchmarks of the performance of the party in power. The process is extremely educational for the public and has profound impacts on the electoral opinion The press that follows the debates, articles that are written about issues, help public to make their choices during the by-elections as well as the upcoming general one. The leaders who can successfully conduct such debates in a manner and style conducive to parliamentary environment, in all probability, have the potentials to become enormously popular by rousing public attention Again to cite the examples of the impacts of debates from British

the government on its toes. Right now the opposition leader, for example, can play a vital role in keeping the people informed about how the government is making the decision about the contentious issue of gas export to India vis-a vis domestic consumption and how the policies can be formulated to the best interest of the country. In sum, if people's participation in government's policy formulation is to be increased -- there is no alternative to parliamentary debates in which opposition's presence is imperative. However, through this process both Prime Minister and the Leader of Opposition have the equal chance of

winning the hearts and minds of the Once the Opposition is in parliament, there are other pressing issues that need to be taken care of. First, how to make the committee system more effective. Without indulging into details -- it would not be an overstatement to say that without having an effective committee system, in which opposition must have a proper standing -- parliament's main task i.e. scrutinizing the government is not simply possi ble. Since both parties have pledged that they would bring qualitative change in the system, the opposi tion must now demand that the pledge be fulfilled and compel the government (i.e. by exposing its real intentions) to take proper steps in this regard. The government's limutus test will come when whether or not the government decides to transfer chairmanship of the committees, especially that of the powerful Public Accounts Committee, to the members of the opposition instead of present practice of being held by the members of the treasury bench. If it is accomplished

The Treasury bench, on the other hand, must demonstrate their willingness to allow the growth of democratic Opposition. One may argue that how can the government party take any steps to allow such growth' when the Opposition is not even present in the House? While there may be some elements of truth under the present context but one must not forget the realities of our political culture where operative principles and guidelines of democracy have not yet been fully internalized by our political class, and as such, the party in power must walk an extra mile to bring the Opposition into the House. It may be difficult given the rhetorical stance of the AL but hopefully, the government has noticed some softening of its (AL's) stance and must cease the opportunity and utilize all possible channels to convince the Opposition about the importance of its participation in the parliamentary affairs. Most important of all -- once the Opposition joins -- the Treasury must do everything possible to lower the barriers, the ones termed by Dahl as the impediments confronting the Opposition's opportunities for expression, organization and representation of political preferences, so that the Opposition's chance of participation becomes readily available. Given the turbulent political history of our country, a "polyarchy where the barriers, by definition, are lower in a

get rid of the hegemonistic regimes -- the ones with very high barriers -established since the inception of the country and make endeavour for "mixed regimes in which the Opposition can engage in some forms of public contestation, an loyal oppositions are tolerated"

regime" (Dahl:1973), may not be

possible, but the least we can try is to

What is discernible that cooperation between the Government and the Opposition are essential elements in making Parliament a living embodiment of a democratic order. A functional Parliament is also a living proof that within Parliament and Government the leaders are capable to relate constructively with each other and other major groupings that help create a conducive policy environment. An environment in which policies are formulated for democratic consolidation i.e. in establishing new institutions like Human Rights Commission. Ombudsman, autonomous anticorruption bureau, and developing more informed and active citizenry as well as strengthening the existing ones like the Election Commission. Judicial system, the Media, especially the electronic one.

In conclusion, I would like to mention (the facts that are already uppermost in public minds) that the task before our leadership is a gargantuan one. The state of the economy is dismal, and their ramification in post-twin tower period is particularly daunting. The leadership cannot afford to be oblivious of the rampant corruption, the deteriorating law and order situation, the endemic violence, use of arms. large-scale terrorism and the brutal deprivation of majority population from essential services -- symptomatic of a menacing and not too far a distant thundering storm that may engulf the entire nation in its totality. The problems confronting the nation must be addressed on urgent

Only a genuinely functional democratic order with people's participation would be able to tackle this grievous situation. The irony is that for years we have fought for such an order and we have hoped for better and higher quality of life. But for years we have been disappointed as the chief vehicle of democracy namely elections remained under shadow eroding the legitimacy of the incumbent government and thereby its capacity to rule. Now that we have already held as many as three elections without such ominous shadow hanging over them, especially the last one, let our leadership rise to the occasion, make democratic institutions functional, and thereby not only serve the nation but also seek a place in the sun for themselves. After all who does not want to be remembered in history as those whose contributions hitchhiked a nation to a star. Bangladesh is waiting for such historic decisions from country's political leadership.

Dilara Choudhury is Professor, Govt and Politics. Jahangirnagar University

# Open season on Muslims

DR FAKHRUDDIN AHMED

writes from Princeton

INCE September 11, the writer has read, seen and heard the most horrendous comments about Islam and the Muslims. Some comments, uttered in ignorance, are easily forgiven. Others, from people who know better, are malicious in intent and are less easy to forgive.

As if one cues, right after the tragedy Benjamin Netanyahu, an Israeli general and probably a Mossad agent masquerading as a journalist Steven Emerson were on television telling Americans what to think. Their message was simple: Islam is an irreconcilable foe to America, hell bent on destroying America. Muslims hate America, they said, simply because America exists. In their opinion, Islam has not forgiven the West for supplanting the Islamic civilization with a Western one. (Can you believe this?) Nothing can be done, according to them, to reform the Muslim (savages.) They only thing America should do, they alluded, is make Israel, the Western entity planted within Islam's midst, stronger by giving Israel more economic and military aid.

Then there was the provocateur Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci, who outdid her Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's naïve, yet outrageous comment that the Western civilization is superior to Islamic civilization, and refused to apologize. Accusing the Arab immigrants of secretly "invading" Italy, Fallaci supported her Prime Minister. She added: "We might as well admit it Our churches and cathedrals are more beautiful than their mosques.' No Muslim will argue that point, because the mosques are required to be simple without a stage, pews, sculpture or tapestries; only engravings of the Quranic verses are allowed. Is it possible, Oriana, what is taught inside the plain mosque is actually better? Fallaci displays contempt for Muslim women: "If in some countries woman are so stu-

treat them with indulgence and tolerance or hope is suicide." Is it possible Oriana that these "idiotic" women may feel more liberated within their chador than do the scantily dressed western women who simultaneously solicit and condemn male sexual violence?

After September 11, Newsweek's International Editions Editor Indian-born Fareed Zakaria made his television debut. Firing ferociously from his mouth and shooting from his hip Zakaria wasted no time accusing the African-American civil rights leader Reverand Jesse Jackson of treason for considering the Taliban's invitation to visit

Some American Jewish journalists have taken full advantage of the tragedy to blast Islam, Muslims and the Arabs, and aid Israel. In his November 5 essay, TIME magazine's Charles Krauthammer (along with fellow Israeli hawks William Safire and Tom Friedman, who had done the same in the pages of The New York Times) ridicules the Bush Administration for even considering cessation of hostilities before the onset of Ramadan (the Bush administration has relented and said that fighting will continue as Muslims fast in the holy month of Ramadan.): "The Arabs had no compunction about launching the Yom Kippur War on the holiest days of their

parliamentary history the names of

people will probably choose to fight for Israel against the United States, when the Muslims are down, they act more American than the Ameri-

Of course, whenever Islam is being trashed, Salman Rushdie is always around the corner. In an Op-Ed article in the New York Times on November 2 Rushdie, employing his favourite satanic prose, disputes President George Bush's assertion that the war is not against Islam but against the terrorists. The title of Rushdie's article is: "Yes, This Is About Islam." It would have been more appropriate for someone with a history of virulent Islam-bashing such as Rushdie, to refrain from

ing of modern society," as Rushdie stresses, it would not be the fastest growing religion in the world, including here in the "modern" United States. In truth, Islam encourages the believers to seek knowledge. After all, as Europe entered the dark ages, it was Islam in its golden age that spearheaded the world's hunger for knowledge. The problem with Rushdie is that although a non-westerner by birth, his thinking has become more westernized than a westerner. His solutions are couched solely in Western terms, such as the "depoliticization" of Islam (meaning, the separation of church and state), and "reformation" in the

heritage, the Indian civilization ("India, a wounded civilization"). Later, Naipaul concluded that the "wounding" of the Indian civilization was the work of Islam. As he reconciled with ancestral land, India, Naipaul became virulently anti-Islamic. In one of his recent books, "Beyond Belief," he characterizes Islam as "beneath contempt." Clearly, the Nobel Committee has taken advantage of the worldwide anti-Muslim hysteria to award someone best at it. Do not be surprised if in the near future as Iraq is being bombed, the Nobel Committee slips through another of their favourite Muslim-basher, Salman Rushdie, for the literature Nobel! There is some bad news for

Zakaria, Rushdie and Naipaul. In the days following September 11, bookstores and Internet vendors throughout the US have sold out copies of the holy Quran. Muslims know that Islam is the fastest growing religion in the world in spite of the Muslims. The reason for the conversions is the holy Quran. The other day the writer was stunned to hear a well-known radio commentator quote from the holy Quran. (1 paraphrase.) "I will tell you why you have lost, Osama," he said. "The Quran says 'there is no compulsion 4 in religion', like here in the US" (he quoted the exact sura). "The Quran also says that the government has to rule through consultation with the people, like we do here in America.' After quoting from four to five verses, he concluded: "You see, all your efforts are in vain, Osama,

because America is a Muslim country!" (The DS readers have heard this comments several times before in this column.) According to an article in the New York Times on October 22, every year between 25,000 and 100,000 Americans (mostly African Americans, Catholics and Jews) embrace Islam. Since

## LETTER FROM AMERICA

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Afghanistan (Jackson did not go). Oh, the zeal of the Fresh Off the Boat (FOB!) I could not help laughing at Zakaria's next comment (I paraphrase): "Israel is not the problem in the Middle East, they are only a punching bag of the (corrupt) Arabs." Even Israelis admit that Israel is the problem! Writing Newsweek's October 15 cover story, "Why They (Muslims) Hate Us" Zakaria says: "Quotations from it (the holy Quran) usually tell us more about the person who selected the passages than about Islam." How excellently he validates his own observation, and displays his complete ignorance of the holy Quran when he states in the same piece: "The Quran is a vast, vague book, tion." I guess there are two ways of making a living; honestly, or by selling out one's soul. pid to accept wearing the cha-

enemy (the Israelis.)" Therefore, as in everything else, the Zionists would like to use America to get even with the Arabs! (In this case the Afghans, who are not Arabs.) Krauthammer blasts Secretary of State Colin Powell for showing such "sensitivity.": "The enemy cannot murder thousands of innocents then call time out for piety." Some more Krauthammer gems, or is it poison?: "This war was declared against us by fanatics proclaiming jihad in the name of Islam. Why do we need borrowed legitimacy (that the war is not against Islam) to fight back?" "It is true that the Taliban do not represent all Afghans. But in a war of necessity one may not have the luxury of that distinction. The filled with poetry and contradic- Nazis did not represent all Germans." And on and on the ments are no less incendiary in Naipaul's work aims for no such September 11, the Times said, the Krauthammer venom drips. intent than the acts of terrorists. If lofty ideals. Naipaul first made a conversion rate has only acceler-Although at crunch time these "paranoiac Islam" stood for "loath- name for himself by blasting his ated!

interjecting his own prejudices into such a sensitive issue. Unfortunately, Rushdie has never wasted an opportunity to paint Islam with the most negative colours. It will be mistake, however, to give much credence to the theories and opinions of someone who has spent a lifetime treating Islam and its followers with much scorn. The overwhelming majority of the world's Muslims condemned September 11 Unlike Rushdie, they know that the act was political, not Islamic; another distinction Rushdie attempts to fudge. Muslims will take exception to Rushdie's characterization of their religion as "a cluster of customs, opinions and prejudices that include their dietary practices." Such deliberately misleading comMuslim world. As America leads the world in its fight against terrorism, tolerance and understanding of each other's faith are far more helpful than the one-dimensional castigating and pillorying of Islam and Muslims by well-known Muslim haters. Rushdie and Zakaria seem to have borrowed many of their ideas from an atrocious book, "Why I am not a Muslim," written by an apostate. As expected, he quotes the Quran completely out of context to suit his evil design.

No one has been more derogatory in denunciation of Islam and the Muslims than V. S. Naipaul, this year's Nobel Prize winner in literature. The Nobel Prize in literature is supposed to be awarded for work of "idealistic" prose or poetry.

The US-Afghan conflict The September 11 attack took a huge number of lives and terrified people all over the world. After a great deal of investigation the Bush administration came to the conclusion that the attack was perpetrated by the network of Osama bin Laden who is believed to be given shelter by the Taliban government of Afghanistan. Afghanistan remains unbending to the demand of handing over Laden to America and the US could not but wage war against

the Taliban authority. But why would the innocent people of Afghanistan have to pay the price? They have already suffered a lot and it is time they be spared of paying for someone else's

America is justified to take action -- military or diplomatic -- in order to protect its own people and then to ensure that terrorism don't ramify in other parts of the world. So again the question is that the military action against Afghanistan is directed against the people of

Afghanistan or against terrorism. As the attack on twin tower is not a war of liberation or a freedom fight, then the question is who is the beneficiary of the attack on the twin tower. It seems to be an act of one

who is mindless. I can only hope for the sake of humanity that good sense would prevail upon those who are acting against their own people and by the same token I dare say that we shall

in any form in any place of the Mohammed Idris Lake Circus, Kalabagan, Dhaka **Boycott Anglo-US** 

> goods As a protest against bombing of poor, unarmed and innocent civilian, the boycott of US and British

be united and would resist terrorism

goods has already started. Financial and technical assistance from these two 'rouge' nations may be accorded lower priority, including business contracts, as a mark of protest against violation of human rights and dig-

How would the Americans feel if

USA were bombed and if it were suspected of harbouring alleged terrorists? AH

**DESAbill** 

Dhaka

I was amazed to receive the Dhaka Electric Supply Authority (DESA) electric bill on Saturday, the 20" October though it was a government holiday. It reminded me that probably the Prime Minister's speech to the nation, has encouraged DESA to issue bills on holiday. However, I was again taken aback as the DESA has issued bill showing arrears though I have no arrears to pay to DESA.

I had to run to the DESA office for the last eighteen months for correcting computerised bills and every

time DESA officials gave hope that by next month it will be alright. DESA bills do not indicate the months of arrear(s) and hundreds of consumers are to rush to the DESA office every month for bill correc-

Since the electricity services are under the Prime Minister, it is expected that some action should be taken immediately in the name of justice or accountability. DESA cannot issue bill payment certificates though advertises to collect the same since bill payment records are not available for bills paid after January '1999. Let the Prime Minister lick into human harassment made by her ministry.

Mahbubar Rahman New Eskaton road, Dhaka "Time for soul searching"

This is in response to M. Hassan's letter 'Time for soul searching' (November 9). Mr. Hassan is right. Instead of 'criticising USA' we should focus on ourselves. But in my opinion, we should not to justify the wrongdoing of others and feel complacent in the face of oppression and injustice; We should appreciate our positive sides and shake off

inferiority complex. Also, you are right, there is a shortage of good Muslim leaders. You know personalities like Gandhiji or Nelson Mandela are not born in dozens. But please do not despair. Our prophet said Allah will send to us a rightly guided leader in due time to deliver the Muslims

from their oppressors. All we have to do is wait for him Shukla Mirza, one-mail

Thank you FM

I just wanted to thank our honour able Finance Minister, for shutting Bangladesh off from the rest of the world for three and a half days. Thank you for your "Half Thursday and Full Friday weekend" decision, it was a mark of great brilliance

when the whole world is going

through the biggest economic

recession. I wonder, when will the politicians in Bangladesh learn that to be business friendly does not just mean one day weekend but also that one day should be in sync with the rest of the world! When will they

learn that the decision to declare Friday as the holiday was just a ploy to gain popularity of the Middleeastern countries some 17-18 years

If the oil rich states were closed six days a week, that still would not make much of a difference for them. But look at us, what do we have? Apart from an uncertain amount of gas reserve, we only have ample number of politicians to make brilliant economic decisions for us! Please do not short change the people who voted you to power. Give us Sunday as the weekly holiday. As any devoted Muslim knows, it does not take more than two hours to complete Jummah Prayers.

Adnan Dhaka, one-mail