



Emergency committee for human rights in Singapore

UPDATE NO. 18
SINGAPORE HUMAN RIGHTS ALERT

22 APRIL 1988

EX-DETAINEES RESTORE HONOUR BY PRINCIPLED STATEMENT. SECRET POLICE RE-ARREST THEM AND THEIR LAWYER.

PRINCIPLED STATEMENT

In a startling and unprecedented development, 9 ex-detainees released a 4-page press statement on Monday 18 April rebutting the govt's allegations against them, declaring their confessions were extracted under duress and affirming their loyalty to democracy and to Singapore.

They said: "We categorically deny the Government's accusation against us. We have never been Marxist conspirators involved in any conspiracy... We were rather community and Church workers, legal reformers, amateur dramatists, helpers of the Workers' Party, professionals and ordinary citizens exercising our constitutional rights to freedom of expression and association in Singapore."

The 9 ex-detainees said they had been inclined to maintain their innocence privately and keep "a rueful and fearful silence" in the face of "implicit and explicit threats against our safety". However, "We make this statement now because of this constant barrage of Government taunts and its public invitation to speak the truth on the conditions we were subjected to under arrest and detention". They noted the Government's continuing "bold and untruthful statements regarding the reasons for our arrests and detention and have denied that any of us had been subjected to ill-treatment and torture".

"Our sole purpose in making this statement is to clear our names," they declared.

HARSH TREATMENT CONFIRMED

With regard to their treatment in detention, their 4-page statement detailed "harsh and intensive interrogation, deprived of sleep and rest, some of us for as long as 70 hours inside freezing cold rooms... Most of us were hit hard in the face, some of us for not less than 50 times... We were threatened with the arrests, assault and battery of our spouses, loved ones and

* Jim Anderson M.P. * Jocelyn Armstrong * Kathleen Boanas * Prof J Burrows * Very Rev Dr Alan Brash * Jan Cormack * Fr John Curran * Sonja Davies M.P. * Manuka Henare * Canon Hone Kaa *

* Michael Knowles * Margaret Lovell-Smith * Archdeacon Alan McKenzie * Sir Guy Powles * Rev Barbara Stephens * Rev David M Taylor * Bishop Whakahuiahi Vercoe *

friends. We were threatened with INDEFINITE detention without trial."

They were "actively discouraged from engaging legal counsel ... so as not to jeopardise our chances of release". Referring to the televised confessions, the ex-detainees stated: "We were compelled to appear on television and warned that our release would depend on our performances... We were coerced to make statements such as "I am Marxist-inclined..", "My ideal society is a classless society..."."

They concluded by stating their willingness to prove their innocence in an open trial and that they regret "that our Government felt it necessary to malign our good names and arrest, detain and abuse us for what we did or did not do."

The 9 signatories to the statement were: Ms TANG Lay Lee, Mr Kenneth TSANG, Ms TEO Soh Lung, Ms NG Bee Leng, Ms CHNG Suan Tze, Mr William YAP Hon Ngian, Ms WONG Souk Yee, Mr Kevin DE SOUZA and Ms TANG Fong Har. (Brief biodata follow at the end of this Update.)

HISTORIC EVENT

The statement is of historic proportions because released detainees have never before publicly repudiated collectively to the world media the fabricated allegations made against them by the government. For the first time, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's tactics of fear and repression have not worked and his police state apparatus has been exposed by 9 courageous young community leaders. By making the statement the 9 ex-detainees knowingly chose more long and agonising interrogations and indefinite detention in secret police cells. But they have also, in the words of yesterday's HONGKONG STANDARD editorial, "shown the way". In today's Singapore, to choose prison is to choose freedom.

The full press statement is appended to this Update.

RE-ARREST FOLLOWS

As expected, the signatories were re-arrested the next day, Tuesday April 19 by the secret police (except for Ms TANG Fong Har who was overseas). Over a 3-hour period on Tuesday morning, teams of Internal Security Dept secret police went to the 8 ex-detainees places of work and homes and took them away.

Six of them had been released last year with heavy restrictions on their civil liberties when their 1 year detention orders were suspended. These suspensions have now been revoked. The revocation notices served by the secret police stated that "in view of the [press] statement it is necessary in the public interest that the [suspension] should be revoked". Ms NG Bee Leng and Ms TANG Lay Lee were released with restrictions last year before being served with detention orders.

(Ex-detainee Ms TANG Fong Har, a lawyer, had already over-stayed the one month deadline given to her by the govt for visiting her husband who is working in the UK. She is now a "wanted" person under the Internal Security Act and will be arrested upon her return. Ms WONG Souk Yee signed the press statement as her proxy.)

LAWYER ARRESTED

In a move openly contemptuous of international opinion, the Singapore Govt also took the opportunity to arrest Mr Patrick SEONG, a lawyer who represented some of the detainees during their imprisonment last year. A Catholic layman and a member of the Law Society Council, Mr SEONG earned the disfavour of the govt last year with his fearless legal defence of the detainees despite constant harrassment by the secret police through heavy surveillance (watching his apartment, following him to and from work, monitoring his telephone etc) and threats communicated through the detainees (e.g. "Tell your lawyer we're waiting for him in here").

Mr SEONG and his wife, Ms Jocelyn LEE (also a lawyer) assisted international human rights organisations in their investigations of the detentions when delegations visited Singapore last year and both now have international reputations for courageous adherence to the rule of law.

IMMEDIATE CRESCENDO OF INTERNATIONAL PROTEST

Even as the secret police were carrying out their arrests, the international media was following events. News bulletins were flashed on the BBC World Service and Radio Australia. The wire services, having already carried the April 18 press statement, quickly picked up the April 19 arrests and the story was printed by numerous newspapers around the world.

US CONGRESS REACTS INSTANTLY

At 6.30 pm (US time) on the day of the arrests, a protest cable was sent to PM Lee Kuan Yew by 23 members of the US Congress expressing concern at the "reimprisonment of 8 former political detainees and lawyer Patrick Seong... We remain concerned about the continued detention without trial of Vincent Cheng. We respectfully urge that the ten political detainees be released immediately and without conditions".

WASHINGTON POST

On 20 April, the WASHINGTON POST headlined its article "SINGAPORE REARRESTS EIGHT HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS". The article quoted Singapore opposition leader J B Jeyaretnam saying, "There's only one word for it and that's intimidation." He called for an investigation into the allegations of torture. The sole opposition member of Singapore's parliament, Chiam See Tong, said that any investigation should include "whether the detainees

should have been arrested last year". The same day the WALL STREET JOURNAL carried an editorial objecting to the arrests.

ASIA WATCH CONDEMNS

Also on April 20, the influential Washington-based human rights organisation ASIA WATCH issued a strong condemnation of the reimprisonments. Noting that the 8 were among the 22 arrested in May and June last year, the organisation stated that "the government never produced any credible evidence to support its claims".

Aryeh Neier, Vice Chairperson of ASIA WATCH, stated:

"The govt's actions are astonishing. The public statement issued by the detainees is a careful account of their activities, and was issued in response to what can only be described as a pattern of government lies concerning these cases. We are particularly outraged at the arrest of Patrick Seong, who has worked tirelessly on behalf of the rights of those unjustly accused in these cases."

"Initial reports suggest that the govt may claim that the detainees violated the restriction orders under which they were released. This claim would be unacceptable for two reasons. First, the restriction orders in no way prohibit public statements by the detainees. Second, and more important, the orders themselves violate the rights of the detainees, as they constitute punishment without trial."

Human rights organisations and political leaders in many countries have sent protests to the Singapore Govt and are still doing so. UPDATE will report on them in more detail in the next issue.

HONGKONG: HUMAN SPIRIT CANNOT BE BROKEN

Yesterday's HONGKONG STANDARD editorial pronounced: "The invitation to their own people to speak up isn't worth a fig if this is what happens when the citizens dare to do so. Can any other government, foreign businessman or investor now accept Singapore's word at face value? ... these eight people have been made an example of, lest this disease of democracy, free speech, honesty and decency threaten the stability of his [Lee Kuan Yew's] ruling People's Action Party."

The editorial concludes: "The bars of those cells must make Mr Lee and his colleagues feel safe for the moment. But what nightmares they must be having because neither jail nor torture has broken the human spirit when that spirit is determined to survive. The eight young people have shown the way."

A QUESTION OF TIMING

The ex-detainees delayed their statement so as not to coincide with PM Lee Kuan Yew's visit to the US last week and his address

to the American Society of Newspaper Editors. This shows their sincerity in saying they had no desire to make political capital out of their statement.

LEE FAILS TO CONVINC

Nevertheless, Mr Lee's visit to the US was not such an unmitigated success as the controlled Singapore media makes out. In fact, at a meeting last week with Congress members initiated by Singapore Ambassador Koh, the Prime Minister spent more of his time responding to questions about the detentions and restrictions on press freedom than on any other single issue. About a dozen Congress members were at the meeting (considered a very good attendance for such a small country to attract) and most were said by reliable sources to be unsatisfied with the Prime Minister's responses. Since May 21 last year, 60 Congress members have signed letters of protest regarding Singapore. Undoubtedly this will also influence their attitude to trade and tariff questions with regard to Singapore.

The re-arrests coming so soon after this meeting no doubt assisted in mobilising immediate Congressional protest on the same day of the arrests.

DECISION TO SIGN

The statement was under discussion by the ex-detainees for some weeks during which time they came under mounting pressure and increasing threats from the secret police over their meetings together and with foreign journalists. Of the original 22 detainees all except the 3 students (and also Vincent Cheng who is still imprisoned) were invited to sign. "In the end, each person had to decide whether or not he could face re-arrest. If the answer was no, he didn't sign," ex-detainee Mr Chew Kheng Chuan is quoted as saying in the FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW of 28 April (postdated).

GOVT WILL NOT BE BELIEVED

The REVIEW article also notes the government's dilemma. "The government's action may have awkward consequences, however. Any further recantations made by those re-arrested will have little credibility both inside and outside Singapore. Further, the re-arrests revive the question of what possible threat to Singapore's security is posed by these young professionals."

Another mistake of the government was to choose a particularly historic day in Asian history on which to arrest the ex-detainees and their lawyer. April 19, 1960 was the day that the dictatorship of Syngman Rhee in south Korea collapsed under the protest of students and other citizens. It is the day every year that Koreans weep for democracy.

FEELING RAPED

The Singapore Govt in fact provoked the ex-detainees into clearing their names by its spate of public comments calling into

question their integrity. Said one ex-detainee: "It all left us feeling as if we had been raped and then the rapist ordered us not to report to the police."

Reactions came individually at first with lawyer and Law Society Council member Ms Teo Soh Lung replying to smears against her by government spokesmen in letters to the REVIEW and ASIaweek.

Also, in a BBC TV interview in February, LEE Hsien Loong, minister for trade and industry and the PM's son, said: "If we have in any way maltreated or ill-treated or tortured any of the detainees, file a police report, bring us to court. The courts can decide. They have not taken it up. We don't ill-treat people. We don't beat people." The next person interviewed was Ms TEO who then categorically said they had been abused and enumerated the brutalities and maltreatment she suffered.

GOVERNMENT MAKES ITS EXCUSES

On 21 April (yesterday) the govt-controlled STRAITS TIMES printed swathes of the Ministry of Home Affairs statement in response to the press statement of the ex-detainees. The newspaper says the govt has "produced fresh evidence to support its arrest last year of 22 people for involvement in a Marxist conspiracy". This "new evidence", which will never be tested in open court, amounts to an allegation that former detainee Ms LIM Li-Kok, a bookshop owner, sent books on Malaysia and Singapore to Mr TAN Wah Piow in the UK (named the "mastermind" by the govt). According to the govt this means she sent books to the Communist Party of Malaya and thus establishes an irrefutable connection with the "plotters". One could almost at last credit the govt with a sense of humour if such a ridiculous allegation did not have such dire consequences for those arrested. The other, equally unsubstantial piece of "new evidence" is that a current Malaysian detainee met Mr Tan when he was a student in the UK.

The Govt statement says, "The Marxist plot was not an indigenous, independent, amateur effort at subversion. It was a CPM operation to make inroads into English-educated groups using English-educated intellectuals."

Chillingly, it adds, "When they claim, or worse, if they truly believe, that they have done nothing wrong, there is every likelihood that they will resume their former activities." Thus does innocence become proof of guilt. We can expect that the re-arrested detainees will be held for a long time.

The Govt concludes that the "detainees' joint statement was meant to generate publicity and trigger agitation by foreign human rights groups and put pressure on the Govt". This is to say that the detainees wanted to be tortured and imprisoned again just to make life difficult for the Govt!

NO EXCUSE YET FOR ARRESTING DEFENCE LAWYER

Not yet having any reason for arresting defence lawyer Patrick SEONG which will stand up to public scrutiny even of the most superficial kind, the govt has said his detention was "in connection with the investigations".

ENQUIRING INTO ITSELF

The govt also announced yesterday that it is to set up a Commission of Inquiry to determine

- whether the Marxist conspiracy was a govt fabrication;
- the circumstances under which the nine ex-detainees had retracted their previous statements;
- whether the detainees were assaulted and tortured as alleged.

Since no part of the Singapore judicial system has any independence from Govt control, since it has already arrested the ex-detainees for daring to give an alternative view of events and must now be busy torturing them further while holding them incommunicado, since the non-signatory ex-detainees still "at large" are held by the neck under restriction orders and threat of re-arrest, since there will be no independent witnesses to actual acts of torture and since the govt is inquiring into its own integrity, the results of the inquiry are already obvious and will convince nobody.

We can expect a kangaroo inquiry, perhaps even a show for TV plus "revelations" about the conspiratorial process which led to the press statement being made. If the torture is severe enough, we can expect a confession or two of Marxist complicity. But none of these outcomes will influence the integrity of the ex-detainees' statement which is so clearly the only statement they have made of their own volition.

LEGAL PROTESTS

The Law Society of Singapore issued a statement on 20 April viewing the detention of Mr Patrick SEONG and the ex-detainees "with serious concern". The international body, LAWASIA has also sent a protest to the Singapore Govt.

Param Cumaraswamy, chairman of the human rights committee of the Malaysian Bar Council, said "the latest spate of arrests in Singapore under the ISA (Internal Security Act) is yet another sign of the deteriorating state of human rights in the region".

LEGAL DEFENCE

To date, Mr Francis SEOW has been appointed lawyer for Ms TEO Soh Lung and Mr Patrick SEONG. Mr George LIM is lawyer for Ms TANG Lay Lee and Mr Kevin DE SOUZA. Habeas corpus and judicial review actions are being prepared.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MALAYSIA

The recent detentions in Malaysia were partly as a result of pressure from Singapore to detain social activists and academics who were protesting the Singapore detentions. A high proportion of those who remain in detention in Malaysia were indeed on the "Singapore list". The Malaysian Govt recently attempted to explain its detentions in a White Paper which mimicked the Singapore Govt conspiracy theory. This already thin explanation has now been undermined by two major documents: a lengthy statement by the Catholic Archbishop of Kuala Lumpur rejecting all the Govt's allegations of Marxist infiltration of the church and its organisations and, secondly, by the press statement of the Singapore ex-detainees.

Both Govts are now on the defensive. They have never convinced the international community. Now their own control of their domestic media may not be enough to overcome such courageous statements.

STOP PRESS

Amnesty International has condemned the arrests. The STRAITS TIMES of 22 April (today) reported Brig Gen LEE Hsien Loong (the PM's son) stating that "the Govt had to re-arrest the 8 ex-detainees in order to get to the bottom of the issues raised by them" and further that "The Govt does not ill-treat detainees. It does however apply psychological pressure to the detainees to get to the truth of the matter." Although he had previously advocated that detainees take their grievances to court, today he "ruled out an open trial for the detainees, saying the nature of subversion had its own way of suppressing evidence of its own activities". An editorial laudatory of the arrests and condemnatory of the detainees is also carried.

TOO MUCH INFORMATION

Regrettably, owing to the length of this Update already and the urgency of sending it out, we will carry over much information which was awaiting publication before the recent statement and arrests. This information includes the situation of Vincent Cheng and also media and human rights responses around the world before April 18. PLEASE NOTE THAT VINCENT CHENG REMAINS IN DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL. SO DOES MR CHIA THYE POH. BOTH ARE CLASSIFIED AS PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN SINGAPORE, P O BOX 28-100
CHRISTCHURCH, AOTEAROA-NEW ZEALAND

BIODATA OF THOSE ARRESTED ON 19 APRIL 1988

First arrested on May 21 1987

1. Mr Kevin Desmond DE SOUZA, 26, LLB (Hons)(Sing), previously full-time worker with Catholic Students' Society of Singapore Polytechnic; former president of Catholic Students' Society of National University of Singapore. (Released under restriction on 26 Sept 1987 with one-year suspended detention order.)
2. Ms TEO Soh Lung, 38, LLB (Hons)(Sing), lawyer and partner in law firm of Teo, Lai and Lee; Council member of Singapore Law Society; formerly legal advisor to the Catholic Centre for Foreign Workers; assisted in establishing the Criminal Legal Aid Scheme; chairperson of Legislation (Civil) Special Assignments Committee of the Law Society. (Released under restriction on 26 Sept 1987 with one-year suspended detention order.)
3. Mr Kenneth TSANG Chi Seng, 34, BA (Hons) (UK), media analyst and advertising executive, volunteer worker for official publication of the Workers' Party; volunteer with the Catholic Centre for Foreign Workers and the Archdiocesan Justice and Peace Commission. (Released under restriction on 20 December 1987 with suspended one year detention order.)
4. Ms WONG Souk Yee, 29, Bachelor of Accountancy, senior research executive, former council member of the University of Singapore Students' Union; founder, "Third Stage" drama group. (Released under restriction on 26 Sept 1987 with suspended one year detention order.)
5. Mr William YAP Hon Ngian, 39, UK graduate, translator for Singapore Broadcasting Corp., previously involved in "Third Stage" drama group. (Released under restriction on 20 December 1987 with suspended one-year detention order.)
6. Ms NG Bee Leng, 23, staff of the Catholic Centre for Foreign Workers, former president of the the Singapore Polytechnic Students' Union. (Released under restriction on 20 June 1987.)
7. Ms TANG Lay Lee, 33, LLB (Hons), former lawyer, fulltime worker with Young Christian Workers; former staff of Catholic Students' Society of University of Singapore and International Movement of Catholic Students, Hongkong. (Released under restriction on 20 June 1987.)

First arrested on June 20, 1987

8. Ms CHNG Suan Tze, 38, Master's degree in linguistics (UK); English teacher at Swiss School of Singapore until 1981; lecturer in English at Singapore Polytechnic; playwright and president of "Third Stage" drama group. (Released under restriction 26 September 1987 with suspended one-year detention order.)

Arrested for the first time on 19 April, 1988

9. Mr Patrick SEONG, lawyer and partner in Seong, Tang & Partners, member of Law Society Council and lawyer for several of the detainees last year.

STATEMENT OF EX-DETAINEES OF OPERATION "SPECTRUM"
Embargoed until 10 a.m. 18th April 1988

PREAMBLE

We, the undersigned, were detained by the Internal Security Department (ISD) on 21 May and 20 June 1987 and released in stages under Suspension Directives and/or Restriction Orders in June, September and December 1987.

While we had privately always maintained our innocence and kept a rueful and fearful silence on the unjust treatment we were subjected to, and would have been inclined to keep our silence, the Government has since repeatedly raised the issue of our arrests and detention and made false and damaging statements about us.

On the one hand we had been intimidated by implicit and explicit threats against our safety should we speak up on our arrests and detention. On the other hand the Government and its spokesmen have continued to make bold and untruthful statements regarding the reasons for our arrests and detention and have denied that any of us had been subjected to ill-treatment or torture.

We make this statement now because of this constant barrage of Government taunts and its public invitation to speak the truth on the conditions we were subjected to under arrest and detention.

We make this statement as principled men and women who will speak the truth and state our position for the record.

In making this statement, we do not intend to challenge the Government; we do not seek any official response; neither is there any desire to make "political capital" of this. Our sole purpose in making this statement is to clear our names.

STATEMENT

We are accused of being involved in an alleged "Marxist conspiracy to subvert the existing social and political system in Singapore, using communist united front tactics, with a view to establishing a Marxist state".

We categorically DENY the Government's accusation against us.

We have never been Marxist conspirators involved in any conspiracy.

We were never a clandestine communist or marxist network and many of us did not even know or know of one another before the arrests.

We were rather community and Church workers, legal reformers, amateur dramatists, helpers of the Workers' Party, professionals and ordinary citizens exercising our constitutional rights to freedom of expression and association in Singapore.

We have never propagated, in words or in action, a communist state for Singapore. Rather, we had, through open and legitimate organisations and legitimate means, advocated more democracy, less elitism, protection of individual freedoms and civil rights, greaster concern for the poor and the less privileged, and less interference in the private lives of citizens.

We hold completely to the beliefs expressed by fellow ex-detainee Chew Kheng Chuan in his representation to the ISA Advisory Board, where he stated and we paraphrase: "... (we are believers) in an open and democratic polity and in the virtues of an open and accountable government. (We) strongly believe that for a society to be meaningfully called democratic, interest and action in politics cannot be the sole prerogative of the professional politician. A citizen of a democracy, to be worthy of that society, has not just the right, but indeed the duty to participate in the political life of his or her society. It is a grave danger to democracy to suggest that for one to comment on political and social issues or to hold differing political opinions, one should go and form a political party to take on the government! Has the citizen no political voice, other than a vote once in every four years, that cannot be articulated freely and responsibly, but only through the medium of a professional politician? Such is a situation even worse than that of the common man's crippling dependency on "experts" - whether plumber or temple medium. It will lead to a society where only the authorised, registered, professionally affiliated expert can comment on the subject under his or her purview".

We believe that as with the case of the individual citizen, so too has an organisation this same legitimate role to play in the democratic life of our country.

Absurdly, it seemed to us that we were arrested and detained for the legitimate exercise of our rights as citizens through registered and open organisations. We did not infiltrate these organisations but joined them as members, volunteers and full-time workers. Neither did we use these organisations as fronts to propagate subversive activities. All activities carried out by these organisations are legitimate, open and approved by elected executive committees, whose members clearly stand in their own right as capable, autonomous and intelligent individuals.

Neither were we "instructed" by any person or organisation, not Tan Wah Piow, Paul Lim nor Vincent Cheng, nor any political party to do what we did in our respective activities or groups.

TREATMENT DURING DETENTION

During our detention, we were subjected to treatment which should never be meted out to any person under interrogation.

Following our sudden arrests, we were subjected to harsh and intensive interrogation, deprived of sleep and rest, some of us for as long as 70 hours inside freezing cold rooms. All of us were stripped of our personal clothing, including spectacles, footwear and underwear and made to change into prisoners' uniforms.

Most of us were made to stand continually during interrogation, some of us for over 20 hours and under the full blast of airconditioning turned to a very low temperature.

Under these conditions, one of us was repeatedly doused with cold water during interrogation.

Most of us were hit hard in the face, some of us for not less than 50 times, while others were assaulted on other parts of the body, during the first three days of interrogation.

We were threatened with more physical abuse during interrogation. We were threatened with the arrests, assault and battery of our spouses, loved ones and friends. We were threatened with INDEFINITE detention without trial. Chia Thye Poh, who is still in detention after twenty-two years, was cited as an example. We were told that no one could help us unless we "co-operated" with the ISD.

These threats were constantly on our minds during the time we wrote our respective "statements" in detention.

We were actively discouraged from engaging legal counsel and advised to discharge our lawyers and against taking legal action (including making representations to the ISA Advisory Board) so as not to jeopardise our chances of release.

We were compelled to appear on television and warned that our release would depend on our performances on television. We were coerced to make statements such as "I am Marxist-inclined..". "My ideal society is a classless society.."; "so-and-so is my mentor.."; "I was made use of by so-and-so.." in order to incriminate ourselves and other detainees.

What we said on television were grossly distorted and misrepresented by editing and commentaries which attributed highly sinister motives to our actions and associations.

We state once more clearly and unequivocally, we never acted in any way to subvert the security of our country; we were never a part of any Marxist conspiracy to bring about a communist state. If necessary, we would be willing to prove our innocence in an open trial.

We consider ourselves nothing less than some of the most loyal and responsible citizens of Singapore. We greatly regret not our past actions but the fact that our Government felt it necessary to malign our good names and arrest, detain and abuse us for what we did or did not do.

TANG LAY LEE

YAP HON NGIAN

KENNETH TSANG

WONG SOUK YEE

TEO SOH LUNG

KEVIN DE SOUZA

NG BEE LENG

TANG FONG HAR

CHNG SUAN TZE

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