

Paul O'Sullivan

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Minister of Safety & Security
By e-mail
jacobsr@saps.org.za

30th November 2003

Dear Minister,

URGENT CALL FOR A COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO THE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE TO AVOID SOUTH AFRICA BECOMING A 'POLICE STATE' AGAIN

I regret the need to write and request this, which is my final step before launching a series of High Court Applications to rectify the serious breach of rights I have suffered.

In July 2001, I was appointed to the Executive Committee of the Airports Company South Africa, 'ACSA'. I was made responsible for the security of South Africa's ten major airports.

On the day I commenced my duties, there was a serious armed robbery on the airside at Johannesburg International Airport 'JIA'. There was another five days later and, by the end of December that year there had been a total of five serious armed robberies, involving amounts of around R200 million, in which people were shot, one of them fatally. I don't need to advise you as to what happened on September 11th in the US.

On October 05th 2001, in consultation with the Chairman of ACSA, Mashudu Ramano, I converted a R130 million security contract to a monthly contract, due to repeated breaches of same and extremely poor levels of service. I expected service to rapidly improve, but it did not. The contractor was Khuselani Security and Risk Management 'Khuselani'.

At this time I received an unsolicited visit from Lungi Sisulu and Vuyo Ndzeke, two erstwhile shareholders of Khuselani who alleged that they had their shares stolen from them by the Ngwenya's, that Ndzeke had been arrested and detained by Selebi and that Selebi had a four hour meeting with Noel Ngwenya at his Kempton Park office and that they (Selebi and Ngwenya) were going to be taking steps against me.

On the 17th October 2003, I was called to an urgent meeting with the Commissioner of Police, Jackie Selebi, who instructed me not to cancel the contract or enter into any new contracts for security, as he stated that he intended to take over security at all the airports. The following day I received a telephonic call from his deputy, Commissioner Andre

Pruys, who reconfirmed Selebi's instruction. I pointed out to Commissioner Pruyts that I would need something in writing, which he promised to send me, but never did.

The standard of security continued to be poor, particularly at JIA, and I was mindful of my duty of care to the travelling public. Accordingly, on 29th October 2001, I cancelled the contract by the giving of one month's notice. The following day I received a letter from Khuselane, advising me that I had ignored the **'direct instructions of the National Commissioner of Police'**. This obviously gave me serious cause for concern and I had ACSA's attorneys write and seek clarity on these so called 'direct instructions'. I received no reply.

On the 01st November 2001, Monhla Hlahla commenced her duties as ACSA's new CEO. She immediately received representation from Noel Ngwenya, who alleged that if ACSA did not re-instate the contract, Khuselani would take legal action. Without discussing the matter with me, she requested the company's Group Legal Manager, Rishi Thakurdin, to supply her with legal advice on my cancellation of the contract. He gave her a one page reply, which she received at 11h30 on the 06th November 2001. The essence of the reply was that I had acted lawfully and she should advise Khuselani that **'they are free to take any action they deem fit'**.

Immediately after receiving this advice, she made discreet arrangements to meet with Selebi at JIA. I heard about the forthcoming meeting, although I did not know at that time that she had called for and received the legal advice. I met with her at about 14h00 that day and advised her that she would need to be careful as Selebi did not want us to cancel the contract and he had other agendas. I also advised her that, as Security was within my portfolio, I should accompany her to the meeting. She refused to let me accompany her saying it was a private meeting. She met with Selebi at 15h00 at JIA and the meeting lasted three hours. When I asked her what the meeting was about she said 'Oh we just talked about general things, nothing about security'.

The following day, she arranged a further meeting with the Legal Manager and re-instructed him to provide fresh advice. Two days later, he issued her with a further memorandum, which was now a complete U' turn on the 06th November memo. Thakurdin now recommended that we **'revoke the cancellation of the contract'**. This was now handed out as the company's (and Hlahla's) intended cause of action.

I resisted this line and requested the CEO to obtain independent legal advice, as I felt that ACSA (and the country) would face a serious problem if we continued hiring incompetent security service providers at our airports. The independent legal advice, which for some reason was also kept from me, confirmed that we should not revoke the cancellation of the contract, but eject Khuselani from our airfields.

The following week, Khuselani launched an urgent application in the High Court, requesting an order to stay the cancellation pending the outcome of certain arbitration they were asking for. The case was dismissed with costs in favour of ACSA.

Three days after Khuselani's high court application was dismissed, my Chairman, Mashudu Ramano was arrested on allegations of being an illegal immigrant. It was later alleged to me, that Selebi had given instructions for his arrest. The mail & Guardian carried a full two page spread on Ramano's arrest and they threw in some false allegations about my own character. In discussions I had with them, it became apparent that they were in possession of documents that had clearly been stolen from my office and had misconstrued the relevance of the documents that had been fed to them on a selective basis. It was clear that a major smear campaign was under way.

A couple of weeks later I was unlawfully discharged as a Police Reservist. The same week two hit-men tried to shoot me as I was driving my car. I had never been subjected to such intense pressure before in my life and this change in circumstances had only come about since I had cancelled the R130M contract with Khuselani.

It was clear to me, in the light of the October visit by Sisulu and Ndzeke and the 30th October letter from Khuselani, that there was some link between Selebi and the Ngwenya brothers and that this was more than just co-incidental. For my own protection I decided to open a docket against persons unknown, with regard to the attempt on my life and against Selebi for intimidation. In addition I registered a complaint with the Independent Complaints Directorate against Selebi.

On 03rd January 2002, whilst at JIA, the Provincial Commissioner for Gauteng verbally warned me not to go against the commissioner and that I would lose the war. He also said 'be careful, something might happen'. The same afternoon I was approached by Hlahla who begged me to withdraw my complaint against the commissioner.

A week later there was a further attempt on my life, this time I had bullet holes in my car. I was resolved not to be intimidated and put off my cause of cleaning up the country's airports and pressed ahead with my case against Selebi, I wrote to the ICD and asked them to pursue the matter with vigour. Despite countless telephone calls and faxes I have yet to receive a response from them.

During March 2002 and August 2002, it became apparent that there were senior police officers going around asking questions about me and taking statements. I found that, upon Selebi's instruction two separate cases were being investigated against me. One was an alleged case of corruption and the other a pathetic allegation that I was in possession of a firearm at a National Key Point. (Clearly I would be as I was responsible for the security of the same key point along with thousands of my staff who were also armed). The latter was clearly a desperate attempt to get me on anything they could. Despite serious sums of tax payers funds being spent the investigations came up with nothing. This makes me feel good as, if I had as much of spit on the sidewalk, I would have found myself behind bars.

What I found really interesting though was that one of the investigators, a certain Captain Venora Henderson admitted to me that she and others in the office were fed up doing

Selebi's dirty work for him. She also admitted that her colleague a certain Supt Swart had been instructed by Selebi to nail Ramano.

For the record, an independent forensic investigation found that the Khuselani contract had been corruptly awarded and that I had been victimised as a result of my uncovering the corruption. Also, the then MD and purported shareholder of Khuselani, Noel Ngwenya (a very good friend of Selebi, they were often seen walking around the airport together) was arrested in March or April 2002 and charged with Fraud and theft amounting to more than R20 million. Its worth noting that this investigation was based on information I had supplied to the authorities, despite being instructed by Hlahla (my CEO) not to do so.

Notwithstanding the many contacts I have had with the ICD, I have received absolutely no feed-back at all about the very serious charges I have made. In a couple of weeks time, it will be two years since I made the charges. Must I now resort to a, publicly scrutinised, High Court Action to get an answer?

The question has to be asked:-

Is the Commissioner immune from investigation? Is he above the law? Is South Africa moving back towards a police state?

I now come to the latest saga, concerning the National Head of the Prosecuting Authority, and the erstwhile public servants and government minister.

It would appear that some chap by the name of Jacobs allegedly wrote a dossier calling for action against, amongst others, Selebi and certain NIA operatives. It was interesting to note in that dossier that he appears to have hit the nail on the head with regard to certain issues, particularly Khuselani. Now I have never even heard of or met this fellow, but do know that if he did write the dossier, then he did so in the practice of his free speech entitlements, enshrined within our constitution. Having read the dossier, I do not see any hate speech, or anything that would incite anybody to commit any unlawful act, although there may, possibly, be some civil defamation claims.

I was therefore most surprised to see him being arrested following pre-dawn raids on various properties at enormous expense, and then flown in an executive jet from Cape Town to Pretoria. It was clear that he was getting 'very special treatment'.

Imagine my horror when I sit and hear Mo Shaik on Monday during the Hefer Commission, where he states without a flinch that 'the Commissioner has already arrested one person yesterday and more arrests will follow'. It now appears that Mo Shaik can pick up the phone and arrange for Jacobs to have his constitutional rights violated in this way. How dare the Commissioner accede to such unlawful requests and how dare he spend our money on perpetrating these disgraceful human rights abuses.

There is no doubt in my mind that a thorough investigation will reveal the search warrants were also unlawful. Had Mo Shaik not made that call to Selebi, and had Selebi not been mentioned in that dossier, Jacobs would still be walking around today. Who is next?

Minister, this country cannot and should not return to a Police State again. We've all come too far and endured too much to let that happen. We should also get some handling on ethics, which is at the root cause of all these human rights abuses. For example, we have a corrupt security contract at ACSA and fraud and theft on a massive scale and the ones cleaning up get harassed, shot at and even falsely arrested, whilst the criminals go Scot free. For example we have corruption investigations by the Scorpions and the head of the NPA becomes a victim to major smear campaigns. For example we have an ex-intelligence guy that writes a dossier on Mo Shaik and the Commissioner of police and he gets arrested and hauled around the country on luxury jets. I have no doubt that, if this letter is published, as it should be, then I could expect similar treatment.

Minister, you have the authority to get these matters resolved, only you, or the President can do it. For what its worth, I wrote to Minister Radebe eight months ago and apart from acknowledging receipt I have had no reply.

There is another misconception that needs to be cleared up. The media are mostly saying these camps are political camps. This is absolute rubbish. These camps are, quite clearly ethics camps, we have those in the 'Low Ethics Camp' and those in the 'Normal Ethics Camp'. Those in the Low Ethics Camp are using dirty tricks, smear campaigns and unlawful searches and arrests, those in the Normal Ethics Camp are simply doing what they are being paid to do, clean up and put a stop to corruption by civil servants and ministers and others in the Low Ethics Camp.

I beg you Minister, either ask the President to extend the mandate of Judge Hefer or appoint a new Judge to review the circumstances surrounding:-

1. The arrest of Mashudu Ramano.
2. The unlawful investigations into myself and my discharge from the Police Reserve.
3. The detention of Vuyo Ndzeki.
4. The searches, detention and hauling around the country on jets of Jacobs.
5. The relationship, if any, between the Commissioner and the Ngwenya's, certain so called security consultants and an ex-convict by the name of Niko Shefer.

Only by having these matters properly investigated, as ICD were clearly not able to do so, will you see how far you have to go to stabilise this young democracy.

I confirm having had a two hour meeting in 2002, with the late Minister, who promised me some action and, regrettably, became ill and passed on soon after.

This letter is a short synopsis of some of the facts. I have turned a 700 page dossier into the public protector, which deals with many other matters of fraud, corruption and blatant abuse of authority and waste of public funds.

I look forward to hearing from you (soon). This matter will not go away on its own and my stance against criminal conduct and corruption has been wrongly misinterpreted as being a trouble maker for the ANC, a party which I much admire and support.

A loyal (and proud) South African,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Paul O'Sullivan', with a stylized flourish extending to the right.

Paul O'Sullivan

Paul O'Sullivan

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23 August 2004

Minister of Safety and Security
7th Floor
Wachthuis Building
Police Arcade
231 Pretorius Street
PRETORIA

Attention: Minister Nqakula

By e-mail at jacobsr@saps.org.za

RE: CASE NO. 4250/2004 O'SULLIVAN v MINISTER OF SAFETY AND SECURITY

1. On Thursday 12 August 2004 Judge Cassim, in the case of Paul O'Sullivan (Applicant) v the Minister of Safety and Security in the Witwatersrand Local Division of the High Court, ordered the Honourable Minister to refer the complaint of improper and unlawful conduct, abuse of power and defeating the ends of justice lodged by the Applicant against the Commissioner of Police, Jackie Selebi, to the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) within 15 (fifteen) days of receipt of such complaint for a proper and independent investigation into the matter and to make recommendations to the Honourable Minister.
2. Accordingly the details of the complaint previously submitted to the ICD on 13 January 2002 and to the office of the Honourable Minister on 30 November 2003 and to which no responses were received, are set out herewith. (Copies of the documents referred to are attached as Annexures "A" and "D"). These are part of the pleadings in the above case and can be found there.

3. Applicant's complaints follow the cancellation by him on 30 November 2001, in a letter dated **29 October 2001**(Annexure "B"), of a R130 million contract previously held by Khuselani Security and Risk Management (Pty) Ltd ("the company"), now in liquidation, as well as his exposure of a rigged award of such tender and theft and fraud committed by the Managing Director of the company Mr. Noel Ngwenya.

4. Following the cancellation of the contract by Applicant he was warned by erstwhile shareholders of the company that:-
(Quotation from an Affidavit - annexure "A")
 - 8.3.1 *Noel Ngwenya had engaged the assistance of the Commissioner of Police, Jackie Selebi, to put pressure on me so that I would not cancel the contract. It was alleged that they were close friends.*
 - 8.3.2 *The Commissioner would arrange for me to be discharged from my company and replaced with a certain Director Shabalala.*
 - 8.3.3 *The commissioner would arrange for my position as Detective Sergeant in the Reserve Police Service of the SAPS to be cancelled and that I would be discharged.*
 - 8.3.4 *That if the above steps did not have the desired effect that the said Ngwenya would mount a campaign of vilification against me, with a view to discrediting me and or getting me fired.*
 - 8.3.5 *That if this did not work, I should be careful as he had people working for him that may cause me some physical harm.*

- 8.4 *I did not pay much attention to these allegations as I believed that the Commissioner of Police would not possibly get involved in a dispute between a security contractor and ACSA."*

5. As will be seen from paragraphs 2 to 8 and 8.5 to 10 of the Affidavit marked "A", it is clear the events that occurred collaborate with these warnings and accordingly Applicant was discharged from the Police Reserve Service on **6**

November 2001 (Annexures “G” and “H”) an appeal having been later declined, the Chairman of ACSA, Mr. Mashudu Ramano who had publicly declared his support to Applicants efforts in clearing up crime and corruption at the airports, was intimidated in that he was followed on several occasions and three days after Khuselani failed in their application to the High Court to have their contract reinstated and on **29 November 2001** he was arrested by police on allegations of being an “illegal immigrant”, which allegations proved to be false, attempts were made on Applicant’s life on **6 December 2001** and again on **13 January 2002**, a false charge of an “aviation offence” was made, the prosecutor refused to prosecute on these false charges, yet Applicant was suspended by his employer on **4 February 2002** with a view of finding something on him in a failed first attempt to dismiss him.

6. Applicant had further been intimidated by unlawful investigations ordered by the Police Commissioner, Jackie Selebi, that infringed upon Applicant’s constitutional rights and which defeated the ends of justice and were defamatory to Applicant. The facts are set out at paragraphs 1 to 12 (an investigation conducted by Director Grobler) and paragraphs 13 to 19 (an investigation conducted by Captain Henderson) of a Supplementary Affidavit by Applicant attached to the pleadings as Annexure “C” and dated **12 April 2002**. It is Applicants belief that the unlawful conduct perpetrated against him upon the instruction of the Police Commissioner as well as the unlawful arrest of the ACSA Chairman, Mr. Ramano, is directly related to the cancellation of the Khuselani contract. This is supported by a statement in Khuselani’s response on **30 October 2001** in reply to Applicants letter of 29 October 2001 whereby he cancelled the contract. In this letter marked Annexure “E” and at paragraph 4 of page 1 they state that *“In writing your letter under reply you acted in contravention and violation of the directives and direct instructions from the office of the National Commissioner of the South African Police Services”* following the signature it is clear that Commissioner Jackie Selebi had also been copied in on this letter. In a letter from Webber Wentzel

Bowens on **31 October 2001** (Annexure “F”) in their reply on behalf of Applicant who represented ACSA as Executive–Aviation Security, they query this peculiarity at paragraph 8 page 4: *“We note that your letter under reply has been copied to Commissioner J Selebi. Again, we enquire as to his role in this matter, which we perceive to be a straight forward contractual dispute.”* No reply was received to this letter.

7. Referring back to Khuselani’s letter of **30 October 2001** (Annexure “E”) they continue at the bottom of page 1 continued on page 2 that *“you were specifically instructed not to remove the operating security companies and personnel from the national airports as the national airports are governed by the National Key Points Act. Your letter under reply and the contents thereof compromise state security and contrary to the government policy and law as the South African Police Services have taken over the policing and security of the National Key Point areas as well as all security companies operating at the Key Point areas. These security companies are now subordinate to the authority of the South African Police Services.”*

Evidence will show that:

- 7.1. the Commissioner did not want the Khuselani contract cancelled;
- 7.2. the South African Police Services have not taken over the policing and security of the National Key Point areas;
- 7.3. security companies were contracted by ACSA and were not subordinate to the authority of the South African Police Services;
- 7.4. state security had not been compromised in that security companies had already been appointed to fulfil the security function at the airports, Khuselani acknowledge this fact in the last paragraph on page 2 of their letter;
- 7.5. state security was in fact compromised by Khuselani in their poor performance and involvement of certain of their staff members in robberies, which state of affairs led to the cancellation of their contract;

- 7.6. National Key Points fall under the protection of the National Defence Force and not the SAPS and this role is not transferred without specific delegation by the Ministry of Defence, which did not occur;
 - 7.7. Specific forums exist including committees wherein the SAPS, ACSA, Airliners and other stakeholders are represented to address security issues.
8. Accordingly Applicant wishes the following matters to be investigated:
- 8.1 the links between the Commissioner, Noel Ngwenya and the attempts made on Applicant' life, in particular the arrest and detention of one Vuyo Ndzeku, who was at that time a shareholder of Khuselani Security, but had his shares stolen and fraudulently transferred whilst being held in detention. Ndzeku maintains (and this is supported by an admission by the Commissioner in the media) that the Commissioner had him arrested.
 - 8.2 intimidation in that the Commissioner has interfered with the process between ACSA and its security contractor and has intimidated Applicant into not taking action against Khuselani, the managing director, Ngwenya who is a personal friend of his, through intimidatory tactics that included:
 - 8.2.1 instructions to apply pressure to Applicant to leave the Police Reserve Service, failing which he was discharged and no appeal held,
 - 8.2.2 instructions for the investigation of Applicant by Director Grobler, Supt Swart and Captain Henderson.
 - 8.3 interference by the Commissioner in contractual matters,
 - 8.4 the arrest of Mr. Ramano
 - 8.5 the arrest of Bheki Jacobs, who was alleged to have produced a dossier, in which he refers to the intimidation of Applicant by he Commissioner of Police, as well as other allegations.

8.6 the facts surrounding the Commissioner's stated intention of taking over security at the airports, if I should cancel the Khuselani contract. It is interesting to note that, in order to give effect to this, certain events took place, such as the unlawful suspension of the Applicant, from his duties, at a crucial time, during which the CEO of ACSA, Ms Hlahla made a presentation to the Parliament, in which she pleaded for more police at the airports. It is notable that this move will cost the tax-payer well over R100million each year.

9. In order to assist with the investigation, I have a number of names of persons that may give an insight into what has been going on behind the scenes, which names have to remain confidential at this stage for the protection of the individuals concerned.

I confirm that I remain available to assist with the investigation and, in particular, to supply further details (in confidence) to a competent investigator.

I therefore hope and pray that a competent investigator will now be appointed and that we can resolve these matters.

Yours sincerely,



Paul O'Sullivan

Paul O'Sullivan

PO 122, Magalies View, 2067 RSA
e-mail flying@classicmail.co.za

The Honourable Minister of Safety & Security
By e-mail to jacobsr@saps.co.za

Dear Minister,

03rd May 2006

**YOUR LETTER DATED 2006-04-12
POSTED BY YOUR OFFICE ON 2006-04-18
COLLECTED AND FAXED TO ME ON 28-04-06 REFERS**

Thank you for your above mentioned letter.

When we met on the plane, on your way back from PE, in March, you agreed that we should have a cup of tea and a chat. You have obviously recanted on this agreement.

This is most regrettable as, if we had an opportunity to meet, I would have been able to fill you in as to just what is going on within the hierarchy of the SAPS. I shall now respond to your letter as follows:-

AD PARA 1

You say *'In its report to me, the Independent Complaints Directorate stressed that you wished to keep the names of potential witnesses confidential and.....'*

Either the report to you from the ICD, has been untruthful, or it has been misinterpreted. What I actually said was *'I can only give you the names and contact details of certain witnesses, if a guarantee of their names being kept secret was first given, and, secondly, that, since one of the witnesses had been involved in delivering substantial cash payments to Jackie Selebi and, as such, may have committed an offence. I request that, prior to that name being released that indemnity of prosecution first be had and obtained'*. They said they would revert to me on this. To date, until receipt of your letter, I have not heard a thing from them.

You say *'..... and further stressed that a full investigation had been hampered by a lack of co-operation from your side'*

Please be so kind as to define *'lack of co-operation'*. For the record, I delivered to them a several hundred page affidavit, which cost me the best part of R50,000-00 to have drawn, together with copies of pleadings in the civil matter with your offices, as a result of them advising me that they were getting no co-operation from your offices in obtaining same. The latter was delivered to them by one of my advocates and receipted.

AD PARA 2

You say you are *'willing to re-open the investigation, subject to'*

Am I to take this to mean that either you, or the ICD have now closed the investigation?

If this is the case, then I need to know this as I have not been consulted with by the ICD and no indication has been given as to the outcome of their investigations. This is somewhat bewildering, as I have provided them with prima facie evidence of criminal conduct on the part of Selebi, assisted by his cronies, namely Commissioners Pruyss and Naidoo. Neither you, nor anyone from the ICD has had the courtesy to contact me and advise what, if any, investigation has been carried out, with a view to prosecuting these individuals.

Furthermore, I am being kept 100% in the dark, with regard to the remainder of the investigation. For example, what about the aspects relating to the unlawful arrest of Messrs Ramano and Jacobs, both at the hands of Selebi, the one being motivated by Selebi's involvement with Noel Ngwenya, who is now serving out a 5 year jail term for fraud and theft and the latter as a result of Selebi's involvement with a certain Mo Shaik, whilst his brother was facing serious charges of corruption, for which he has since been convicted and sentenced to a heavy sentence. Both of these arrests are intrinsically linked to the unlawful conduct of Selebi, perpetrated against myself.

AD PARA 3

In view of the highly intimidatory tactics of Selebi et al, it would seem pointless me committing them (the witnesses) to guaranteed murder, by giving their names at this point in time. The ICD, particularly those that are supposed to be investigating this matter, would first of all have to earn my trust, BEFORE I would risk the lives of any witnesses. The best way they could earn that trust is to complete the investigations into what they have already and share that outcome with me.

I need to point out at this stage that I now have evidence of serious criminal conduct on the part of Selebi, although such conduct has no relationship with my matter, and this evidence is in the process of being turned over to someone that may decide, notwithstanding the whitewashing being churned out by the ICD, to bring this man to book.

I am also aware that Selebi has become aware of my activities and is, right now, together with the criminals he has been consorting with, in the process of trying to cover his tracks. He is too late, the evidence has been processed, copied, packaged and safely stored at many locations, for delivery to the right quarters, contemporaneous with either my death or my deciding to leave this country for greener pastures.

I am also aware that, some of the criminals with whom Selebi consorts, have taken it upon themselves to intimidate and murder some of the people that may expose them and Selebi for the racketeers they are. The problem with this is that, due to the large scale of criminal activity and corruption they have been engaged in, the task of eliminating all of the witnesses is just too great and bound to lead back to them, sooner or later.

For the reasons stated above, I again repeat,

'I shall not hesitate to use maximum force against any person, or persons, that does, or attempts to do, any act that I consider life threatening or may be construed by me (given the present circumstances I find myself in) as such'.

Those that know my training and background should understand the import of the above!

I have no doubt that, with a little more passage of time, my fellow citizens will thank me for the great hardship I have suffered as a result of the criminal conduct of Selebi and his cronies and my unwavering actions in bringing them to book. When that time comes, and I believe it is not far away, perhaps you will consider if there was anything you could have done to stop the dwindling spiral Selebi and his like are taking this country into.

Accordingly, you are invited to refer the matter back to the ICD, for a proper investigation into those aspects of the case, for which they have ample evidence. In this regard, I respectfully refer you to the attached document, which succinctly deals with most aspects of the case and which has been supplied, with all the attachments, (some of which are not included in the e-mail version purely to reduce the size of same) to the ICD. Alternatively, the ICD should declare that they are not competent to *'independently'* investigate the matter and turn it over to someone, or some authority, that is competent and resourced to rid this country of this cancerous evil.

I reserve my rights, including the right to return this matter to the high court for further review and the right to sue you for the damages arising out of the unlawful conduct of Selebi et al. Which damages, I might add, will run into many millions of Rand.

For what it's worth, I believe the crime situation in this country, is solely as a result of the fact that the police service is rotting from the head down. You, as the responsible Minister may ultimately have to answer for what it is going on at this time and perhaps your conduct now, will either show that you are a responsible Minister, or show that you have acquiesced to the crime and corruption that is rocking this country and starting to push it towards an abyss, from which it may be difficult to recover. Is a Zimbabwe style Police State on the agenda?.

If the police had competent leaders, instead of criminals, at the helm, crime would start to come under control and people could start to live in prosperity and freedom. Indeed South Africa would have a great future.

Again it's only my opinion, but I consider Selebi's conduct self fulfilling, counter revolutionary and totally against the ideals for which the ANC and the people of this country stand for. Any person, be it a Minister or otherwise, that propagates or acquiesces to such conduct is him/herself also to be considered a counter revolutionary, as he/she is definitely NOT acting in the best interests of this country.

I look forward to your response and, as I shall be spending extended periods out of the country in the coming weeks, (for security reasons) I should appreciate receiving such response by e-mail.

My rights are reserved.

Kind regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Paul O'Sullivan', written in a cursive style.

Paul O'Sullivan
+27 82 821 1666