



**South Africa's Deadly Politics: Investigating the Causes and Consequences
of Political Assassinations in the Kwa-Zulu Natal Province (1978-2019)**

By

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Declaration

I declare that the dissertation I submitted to the University of KwaZulu Natal, titled: Kwa-Zulu Natal's Deadly Politics: Investigating the Causes and Consequences of Political Assassinations in the Kwa-Zulu Natal Province (1978-2019), is my original work and has not been submitted to another university.

Signature:

Date:

Place: Manguzi, Kwa-Ngwanase

Gcinakahle Mpendulo Mathenjwa

Dedication

To the Kwa-Phumowakhe Homestead and it's aboriginals alike.

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List of Acronyms

ANC – African National Congress
ANCYL – African National Congress Youth League
ANCWL – African National Congress Women's League
APLA – Azanian People's Liberation Army
AWB – Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
CFI – Corporate Finance Institute
COSATU – Congress of South African Trade Unions
ESKOM – Electricity Supply Commission
HRC – Human Research Commission
IEC – Independent Electoral Commission
IFP – Inkatha Freedom Party
IPPR – Institute for Public Policy Research
KZN – Kwa Zulu Natal
MK – uMkhonto we Sizwe
NFP – National Freedom Party
NP – National Party
PAC – Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
OED – Oxford English Dictionary
SAHO – South African History Online
SANCO – South African Civic Organisation
STATSSA- Statistics South Africa
TLECW – The Legal Environment of the Corner's Work
TRC – Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF – United Democratic Front
UDM – United Democratic Movement
WHO – World Health Organization

Abstract

The Kwa-Zulu Natal province is at the centre of attention regarding the prevalence of political assassinations. The province is termed as a killing field, where political assassinations are used as a method of political contestation. The assassination of politically active individuals in KZN is not a new phenomenon. Anti-Apartheid activists, local civilians, political party members, followers, and public office occupants have been victims of this violent event in remote times. Political assassinations have been an issue of concern in KZN for over four decades. Political assassinations in KZN are intertwined with other forms of provincial concerns, such as the assassination of local chiefs and violence in the taxi industry. This research project investigated the extent in which an assassination can be considered to be political and may be a form of political violence. The study also investigated the causes and consequences of political assassinations in the KZN province. The study searched for the reasons behind political assassinations in KZN in order to understand why such killings are mostly prevalent in this province. The research views political assassinations as a type of political violence. Given the fact that the KZN province is prone to such violence, the study then investigated how such assassinations affect government functioning and the social wellbeing in KZN. The study gathered qualitative data in an effort to address the research question on the reasons for and effects of such assassinations. The research was carried out as a desktop study, using existing publications to collect and analyse data. The study was informed by realism and the conflict theory, to understand the foundation on the regular occurrence of political assassinations in the province. The two theories explain the society and how it becomes violent, and how such violence shapes and affects society.

Keywords: Kwa-Zulu Natal, Political violence, political assassinations, political killings, political power.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Background

1.1 Background of the study

Political violence in Kwa-Zulu Natal (KZN) has been a subject of concern. "Political violence is a category of collective activity that uses physical force (political killings, demonstrations, coups, programs, ethnic cleansing, genocide, assassinations, etc.) with the goal of achieving political power or establishing political authority", according to Balcells (2015: 377). With reference to Balcells (2015), political killings must be understood as a component of political violence. This assertion is also supported by Bosi and Malthaner (2015: 1), as they define political violence as "the heterogeneous repertoire of actions", meaning that political violence takes many forms and may not be expressed in a single form.

Political violence has taken many forms in South Africa, however political killings are at the centre of political violence in KZN. Krelekrele (2018: 1) argues that "political violence continues to sabotage political stability in South Africa". Moreover, he contends that the KZN is the leading province concerning political violence in South Africa.

The aim of the study is to determine the impact of political assassinations in KZN. An argument presented by Iqbal and Zorn (2006: 1) serves as support for the study, because they make the argument that political assassinations disrupt state political systems, which has a significant impact on domestic political stability. The purpose of the study is to ascertain how these political assassinations have affected KZN. According to Bruno Frey (2007), political killings are those that are carried out for political reasons. Schuld (2013: 61), on the other hand points out that political violence remains a significant issue in KZN. The purpose of the study was to investigate the effects of political violence in the KZN province, specifically political killings.

1.2 Significance of study

Scholars like Bruce (2013), Taylor (2002), De Haas (2016), and many others have declared political assassinations in KZN as an issue of concern. Former KZN Premier T.W Mchunu, on the 28th of October 2016 established a Commission of inquiry to investigate the causes of the murders and attempted murders of politicians in Kwa-Zulu Natal (Moerane Commission, 2018: 2). There has been literature such as the findings of the Moerane Commission, the publication by Krelekrele and a book by Ardè that suggests that there is something rotten in KZN in relation

to political killings. Books such as Ardè's *War Party* and Mathekga's *last decade*, also reach the same conclusion in relation to political assassinations in the province.

Generally, political assassinations in South Africa, and Kwa-Zulu Natal in particular have become a security concern (de Haas, 2016). This research study investigated the aspect of political assassinations in the KZN province, while evaluating the motives at the back of such murders, the consequences, and why the Kwa-Zulu Natal is the prime province of concern. According to Bruce (2013), "political killings continue to be a defining feature of political contestation in South Africa". This makes it critical to learn more about the issue of political assassinations in the country and KZN specifically.

The establishment of the Moerane Commission of inquiry justifies the claim that political assassinations are a phenomenon in KZN. This study had an intention to understand how such murders affect the population within different parts of the province. The study also investigated the imposition of such incidents on public administration.

Political assassinations have been recognized as an issue of concern in the province, and the Moerane Commission (2018) including a vast number of scholars and researchers (Krelekrele, 2018; de Haas, 2016, Ardè, 2020; and Bruce, 2018) have identified possible causes to political assassinations in KZN, this study investigated the effects of the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN. As such, the study is timely as it is conducted in a time when the country prepares for the 2024 national elections. The research will advance knowledge relating to the consequences of widespread political murders in KZN. The study is relevant as it will contribute to discussions on the extent to which assassinations of politicians in KZN affect political stability. The study envisages to contribute to knowledge in the field of Political Violence and provides findings that could be useful to policymakers, organised local governments, scholars, governments, towards devising mechanisms against broader political violence in the province and the country at large.

1.3 Research problem

Political violence does not mirror stability in the political affairs of a society, region, or country. The Kwa-Zulu Natal province has experienced incidents of politically related violence, from the British invasion of Zululand, violent demonstrations under the Apartheid regime, and service delivery protests. However, political assassinations have also been a defining feature in the province especially during the Apartheid period, the transition period and the current democratic dispensation.

The problem is that political violence and assassinations have become a matter of concern. In Local Government the phenomenon is often seen towards election seasons. In the past decade the numbers have increased, and it would seem the government does not have a solution.

In KZN, the assassination of comrades, politicians, and those working within the political circles is a common occurrence. If this act of assassinating politicians in KZN is an assumed reality as argued in the research findings of the Moerane Commission, it then becomes important to explore how assassinations impact the KZN province, and to what extent. The study is concerned with the effects of this phenomenon in the KZN province relating to public participation, public administration, and management.

1.4 Research aims and objectives

The aim of the study was to investigate the causes of political assassinations in the KZN province and the effects these murders have in the province. The research project examined the implications and impact of political killings in the KZN's social and political landscape. The following objectives have been examined in order to meet the primary purpose of the research:

- To investigate the causes of such assassinations in the province.
- To identify the consequences of political killings to the KZN's political and social arena.
- To offer recommendations on the issue under scrutiny.

1.5 Research Questions

Leedy and Ormrod (2010) insist that "research is a systematic process of collecting, analysing and interpreting information (data) in order to increase our understanding of a phenomenon about which we are interested or concerned". Furthermore, research originates with a question or a problem. Neuman (2011), also argues that "research questions are fundamental to the conceptualization of a research topic with a broader context for a particular problem that is under investigation". The research study had the phenomenon of political assassinations as an issue under consideration. The study searched for answers to a question which inquired that, how does the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN affect the social and political landscape of the province? This principal research question was addressed by the following sub-questions:

- What constitutes as a political assassination?
- What are the causes of political assassinations in KZN?

- What are the consequences of political assassinations in the KZN province?

1.6 Structure of dissertation

Chapter One: Introduction

The first chapter is made up by the research proposal, the research introduction, background, problem statement, objectives and aims, research questions and the rationale of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature review

This section looks into the ideas, perspectives, opinions and debates that highlight the possible reasons behind political killings in KZN.

Chapter Three: Conceptual Framework and Theoretical Framework

The first part of the conceptual framework explains the different concepts under the broader notion of political violence. This lays-out and defines differences between political violence, political killings, political assassinations and killings that occur from violent political protests and how they differ from those that can be associated with target or contractual killings. The second part of chapter three explains relevant theories that speak best to the issue of political killings in KZN.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

This chapter elaborates on the research methodologies that were used to best inform the research.

Chapter Five: Causes and Consequences of Political assassinations in KZN

The first part of this chapter investigates the causes of political assassinations in KZN from 1978-2019. The second part of the chapter explains how these assassinations affected the socio-political arena in KZN.

Chapter Six: Additional Findings

This part of the research project gives additional findings to the issue of political assassinations in KZN, that do specifically speak to the causes and consequences, but points that are worth consideration.

Chapter Seven: Summary and Recommendations

Chapter seven is the conclusion of the dissertation with provisions for recommendations and further research.

1.7 Chapter Summary

The first chapter of this research study gives a brief description on what the research study is all about. It gives insights on the background and significance of the research study. The first chapter explained the research problem, research aims, and objectives of this study. The first chapter also gave the research questions the study intended to respond to. The last part of chapter one was the structure of the dissertation which depicts the chapters that will make up the final report or dissertation.

Chapter 2: Literature Review.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an examination of existing scholarly sources on the subject of political assassinations in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province. This chapter is composed of five subtopics. The first part gives an analysis of existing literature that define political assassinations. The second part of chapter two explains the idea of political assassinations as a form of political violence and as an old phenomenon. The third part provides the history of political assassinations in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province within a time frame of 41 years, from the year 1978 to 2019. Part four of the literature review examines available information on what causes political assassinations in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province. The final part of this chapter gives a summary of the content considered in this section. Throughout the chapters the words political assassinations and political murders are used interchangeably to explain the act of intentionally killing an individual for political purposes.

The Kwa-Zulu Natal province has been described in many ways concerning political violence. The province has been marked-out as a killing field, a deadly province, even some of the home-grown Zulu speaking people refer to the province as "Kwa-Fela Ubala", which translates as a place where people die a useless death (Doke, Malcolm, Skakana, and Vilakazi, 2014). Moerane (2018) quoted words from Shakespeare which read, "there's something rotten in Denmark". Moerane (2018) suggests that if Shakespeare lived in KZN, he would have reached the same conclusion regarding the KZN province. Moerane's sentiments are juxtaposed by Professor Paulus Zulu (2018: 334) in the Moerane Commission who mentioned that political contestation in KZN is rooted in violence and political assassinations.

Perliger (2015: 36) makes note that the literature on political assassinations is dated, scarce and lacking a systematic explanation of the causes and implications of such events. Different opinions have been given by different writers and researchers, that serve as preconditions to the phenomenon of political assassinations in KZN. This study offers an investigation on political assassinations in KZN within a timeframe that involves two administrative regimes. In essence the Apartheid regime before 1994 (but later than 1978) and the democratic dispensation after 1994 and before 2019.

The research paper will give an analysis of political violence that engulfed the KZN province through three different periods, the oppressive era, the transition era, and the democratic era.

The oppressive era can be understood with reference to two terms, colonialism and Apartheid. This period is marked by racial violence whereby in most cases the color of your skin determined whether you were a perpetrator or a victim in certain instances. Political ideas also had an influence whether someone suffered or benefitted from the Apartheid system in South Africa. In this period a certain group of people (non-whites) in South Africa experienced malicious and unjust treatment under the governmental authority. Colonialism in South Africa began in 1652. The KZN province was deemed a British colony in 1843. 1910 saw the formation of the Union of South Africa. The country officially adopted the policy of Apartheid in 1948. The oppressive era ended in 1994. This study is concerned with violence that engulfed the province from 1978 to 2019 as an attempt to minimize and contextualize the sample size, from which data is collected.

The transition era: in the early 1990's, although South Africa had not fully transformed to be a democratic regime, the oppressive era was already in shackles which gave rise to what can be termed as a transition era. This is a period of change. This is when South Africa saw the possibility of a general shift from Apartheid to democracy, through negotiations between the oppressive groups and the oppressed groups. These negotiations took form in two official plenary sessions known as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), where there were about 288 delegates from 19 political parties, representing different constituencies (South African History Online, 2020). The first session of CODESA took place on the 20th of December 1991 at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg and the second plenary session took place on the 15th of May 1992 (South African History Online, 2020). These meetings were a platform of contradicting political ideologies. The transition era also sparked the province with political violence.

The democratic era: this is the current period of political administration in South Africa. The country had moved from being an oppressive and segregated country ruled by the sovereignty of parliament, to be a free and democratic country ruled by the sovereignty of the constitution. South Africa remains a democratic republic in the current dispensation. This study considers the democratic dispensation from the year 1994-2019. Political assassinations that occurred after 2019 were not considered. This was done as an attempt to put the data collection into context and limit the sample size. The study analyzed the democratic era from 1994 to the year 2019 which marks a year later after the publication of a report from the judicial Commission which investigated the underlying causes of political murders in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province.

2.2 Defining Political assassinations

The first publication of the noun "assassination" was in the first Folio of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, written in 1606 and published in 1623. (Boboc, 2014). According to the Merriam Webster Dictionary (1999), an assassination is a "murder by sudden or secret attack often for political reasons, the act, or an instance of assassinating someone (such as a prominent leader)". The Cambridge dictionary (1995) on the other hand defines the term assassination as the "murder of someone famous or important". The third dictionary definition of assassination is given by the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), which defines the action of assassinating as the taking of life of any one by treacherous violence, especially by a hired emissary, or one who has taken upon him to execute the deed (Boboc, 2014).

All three quoted dictionaries agree that an assassination involves the act of intentionally killing another person (murder). However, the Merriam Webster Dictionary (1999) suggests that this murder must be directed towards a politically prominent individual. The Cambridge Dictionary (1995) also shares the same idea with the Merriam Webster Dictionary, in which both definitions involve the killing of prominent people. However, for the Cambridge Dictionary (1995) the targeted individual does not necessarily have to be in affiliation with politics, the murdered victim must be famous or important for that murder to be considered as an assassination.

The Oxford English Dictionary (1989) takes a completely different position on the character of the targeted individual. The OED (1989) does not align any social position or potency to the targeted individual. Any person can be assassinated according to the OED (1989), as long as the murder is committed violently, especially by someone who will receive payment for killing the targeted individual.

Boboc (2014) shares the same sentiments with the Merriam Webster Dictionary (1999) and the Cambridge Dictionary (1995), as he also argues that an assassination is a violent murder of high -profile officials. Dictionary.com (2015) also submits to the claim, as it also emphasizes that "people with a high political standing are typically the targets of assassinations".

Pape (2002) gives a definition which is synonymous to the one offered by the Merriam Webster Dictionary. He defines an assassination as a premeditated and intentional killing of a public figure accomplished violently and treacherously for a political purpose. Pape (2002) establishes that the murder must be directed towards a politically prominent individual, it must be intentional, but most importantly it must be committed for political purposes. Havens (1970)

also puts forward a working definition in terms of a deliberate, extralegal killing of an individual for political purposes. Both Pape (2002) and Havens (1970) shift from the character of the individual to the purpose of the murder. Both these scholars argue that an assassination must be committed for political purposes, regardless of the status and position of the targeted individual.

According to Rowlette (2001), the definition of the term assassination in the United States certainly has evolved to the selective killing of a leader. Kasher (2005: 43) offers ten ingredients to the concept of assassinations. An assassination according to Kasher (2005) must include at least, but not all of the following:

- Killing a person
- Killing a political leader
- Killing a non-combatant
- Killing selectively
- Killing intentionally
- Killing in a premeditated manner
- Killing for political (including religious) purposes
- Killing unexpectedly
- Killing by a person not in uniform
- Killing in a secret and clandestine manner

In a nutshell for Kasher (2005: 44), An assassination is the deliberate, targeted murder of a well-known person for political reasons.

Bruce (2013) explains that political killings are those committed in the course of a political power struggle. These killings are directed to prominent members who associate themselves with a certain political party. "A killing must be motivated by or linked to a dispute or rivalry over the acquisition of political power for it to be considered political" (Bruce, 2013: 14). Political killings usually occur as parties prepare to go for internal, provincial, or national elections. "For instance, In February 2009 the assassination of the councilor Mfanafuthi Elliot Maphumulo who was deployed by the IFP was considered political because he was killed during the build-up process to general elections" (Bruce, 2013). A killing that may be regarded as political is the one in which, the member killed was either politically active, running for a position of power, or where his/her death may be on the best interest of politicians.

A murder and an assassination both have a feature of commonality, which involves the act of depriving a particular individual, their natural right to life. Incidents of murder in South Africa have been published on a regular basis in news bulletins, such as the murder of ordinary civilians, the gruesome act of murder impelled by gender-based violence, and murders related to daily criminal activities. However, the choice of words by publishers differs when such killings happen to politicians. Targeted killings of politicians are cited as assassinations.

Murder

Homicide becomes the point of departure in trying to define and understand the concept of murder. Homicide according to Hossain and Rahi (2018: 460) can be defined "as the unlawful killing of a human being". For Berman (2022) "homicide is a legal term for any killing of a human being by another human being. Homicide itself is not necessarily a crime". Berman (2022) disagrees with Hossain and Rahi on the unlawfulness of a homicide, but they all agree that homicide involves the killing of a person by another person.

For the Legal Environment of the Corner's Work-TLECW (2001: 154), "the word homicide is neutral, it merely means the killing of one human being by another human being. Homicides may be justifiable, excusable, or criminal". This means that a homicide is not necessarily a criminal act. It can either be justifiable and excusable (such as the killing of soldiers in a war zone) or criminal in its nature (where a criminal hijacks a vehicle and kills the owner). A homicide is the killing of a human being by another human being, whether in an excusable manner or as a criminal act. If a person is killed by another person, that can be considered as a homicide.

A justifiable homicide is that act of a human being killing another human being, and the killing is approved and excused by law, either through domestic or international law. "Justifiable homicides are killings which are commanded or authorized by law" (The Legal Environment of the Corner's Work, 2001: 154). The killing through the death penalty of accused individuals who have been found guilty for extreme and gruesome criminal activities in countries such as the United States of America, is an example of a homicide excused by domestic law. The killing of terrorist group leaders serves as examples of killings commanded and excused by international law.

A criminal homicide "is any unjustified, unexcused killing of one human being by another human being" (TLECW, 2001: 156). This act of killing a human being by another human being is not excused by any law, which then renders it as a criminal act. "Murder and manslaughter

fall under the category of criminal homicides" (Berman, 2021). Hossain and Rahi (2018: 460) agree that "homicide covers offences such as murder and manslaughter". The concept of murder is a component of the broader word homicide. Murder belongs to a category of criminal homicide, which makes it an unjustified killing of a human being by another human being.

The Merriam Webster dictionary (1999) defines murder as "the crime of unlawfully killing a person especially with malice aforethought". The TLECW (2001: 154) defines murder as an unjustified, unexcused killing of a human being with malice aforethought". Hawkins maintains that "murder is the willful killing of any subject with malice aforethought" (Hossain and Rahi, 2018: 461). Malice aforethought refers to the state of mind which affirms the intention to commit a crime (OED, 1989). "Malice aforethought as the intent to kill is fairly easy to understand: the killer deliberately sets out to terminate the life of his victim" (TLECW, 2001: 156).

With reference to Hossain and Rahi (2018), Berman (2021) and the Legal Environment of the Corner's Work (2001), murder is an unjustified, unexcused killing of one human being by another human being with malice aforethought. Murder is an act of criminality. The murderer commits the act with the intention to kill.

Assassination

The etymology of the word assassination can be traced back to Shakespeare's Macbeth, written in 1606 (Boboc, 2014). This word was used to mark an incident whereby Macbeth stabbed King Duncan to death, so that Macbeth would ascend to the throne. The Cambridge dictionary (1995) defines the term assassination as the murder of a well-known person. The OED (1989) defines assassination as the taking of life of any one by treacherous violence, especially by a hired emissary, or one who has taken upon himself to execute the deed (Boboc, 2014).

The Cambridge dictionary classifies the word assassination as murder. However, the Cambridge dictionary adds that, an assassination occurs when the murder is directed towards someone famous or important. Murder has been defined as "the crime of unlawfully killing a person with malice aforethought" (Merriam Webster dictionary, 2011). In other words, the Cambridge dictionary defines an assassination as the unlawful killing of an important or famous person with malice aforethought.

The Oxford English dictionary (1989) does not highlight the unlawfulness of the action of assassinating someone. For the OED, an assassination is the taking of life of anyone by

treacherous violence, especially by a hired emissary, or someone who took it upon them to execute the deed (Oxford English Dictionary, 1989, cited in Boboc, 2014). The OED emphasizes that an assassination is committed with malice aforethought, because there must be someone who has taken upon him/ her to execute the deed.

On being political

The word political is the extension of the word politics. The "al" on the word political emphasizes the sense of belonging to politics. Anything that is political is directly related to politics. The next question of concern, should then be: What is politics? "Politics, in its broadest sense, refers to the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live" (Heywood, 2011: 2). The OED (1989) defines politics as a "methodology and activities associated with running a government, an organization, or a movement". Cele (2022), notes that politics exists in two phases, politics at a domestic level and politics at an international level.

Politics at a domestic level marks the methodology of running a government within the borders of a sovereign state. Politics at an international level deals with the methodology of running the interaction of sovereign states at an international level. Politics is all about the processes of exercising power over a population of a particular territory. Hans Morgenthau argues that "politics is a struggle for power over men, and whatever its immediate goal and the modes of acquiring, maintaining and demonstrating it determines the technique of political action" (Hans Morgenthau, 1948, cited in Heywood, 2011: 54). Politics is therefore all about the processes or methods of acquiring, maintaining, and exercising power over a certain population. International politics deals with styles of acquiring, maintaining, and exercising power at an international level. Domestic politics refers to the very same techniques over a certain population, however at a domestic level.

Anything political must be aligned with the actuality of acquiring, maintaining, and exercising power over a certain population. The public or population is central to politics. This is supported by Vladimir Lenin's claim that "politics begins where the masses are" (Lenin, 1917, cited in Kelly et al, 2020: 136). The method of acquiring, maintaining, and exercising power goes beyond the style of government. The struggle for power exists wherever there is a population to be governed whether in a monarchy, tyranny, aristocracy, oligarchy, polity, or democracy. Wherever there are masses, there is politics because as suggested by Aristotle "man by nature is a political animal" (Aristotle, c.350, cited in Kelly et al, 2020: 26). As such

anything political must be related or belong to the struggle of acquiring, maintaining, or exercising power over a particular population.

Political assassination

Anything deemed political must be associated with a particular "governed population". This suggests that it must be related to politics. Politics as understood in Morgenthau's words is "the struggle for power over men" (Hans Morgenthau, 1948, cited in Heywood, 2011: 54). In light of this, a political assassination involves the act of killing someone over political power and can be classified as homicide. However, the nature of the person killed is very important to understand whether the assassination was political or not, because assassinations can occur outside the political context. This is particularly true in the KZN context where a myriad of assassinations take place, such as those related to taxi violence and the targeted killings of local chiefs or traditional leadership.

For an assassination to be political, the targeted victim must have been active within the political spheres. The victim must have been in a position of public deployment, involved in public management and administration, or a political acolyte. Whether the victim is a king, president, prime-minister, mayor or councilor, the victim must have been in a position of public deployment. Some of these killings have extended beyond positions of political deployment, affecting individuals who may be involved in the bureaucratic side of politics or civil service. This group can include the targeted killing of whistleblowers. Furthermore, such killings can also be extended to community members who are supporters or acolytes, and those viewed as potential leaders, or an individual who is viewed to pose a threat to those in power.

According to an article published on GroundUp, cited by News24 (2014), In South Africa a person can be persecuted or trialed for two types of killings: 1) Murder which is the intentional, unlawful killing of a human being, 2) and culpable homicide, which is the negligent, unlawful killing of a human being, which is similar to the crime some countries call "manslaughter". Political assassinations under the South African law are considered to be an act of murder. This is why sometimes political assassinations are referred to as political murders. Political assassinations are committed with a clear intention because the targeted politician is set out to die for political reasons. Any killing of a human being in the democratic South Africa is unlawful, whether it is murder or culpable homicide, to kill a human being is an unlawful act. Political assassinations in the democratic South Africa are unlawful and considered to be a criminal act.

A political assassination is the killing of a person, for the sake of acquiring, maintaining, and exercising power over a certain population, this killing is committed with malice aforethought. In a non-democratic era, political assassinations can be classified as a homicide because it can either be justified by law or unlawful. During the Apartheid era some assassinations were approved by law when individuals were considered to be terrorists. A political assassination can be directed towards a human being that is immersed in the reality of acquiring, maintaining, demonstrating, and exercising power over a certain population. This incorporates the assassination of the heads of states, representatives, administrators, or kings. The killing must have impact or imply collective worry and distress to aboriginals of a particular polis, public, or population. A political assassination is carried out with malice aforethought because the killer sets out to terminate the life of the victim.

2.3 Political Assassinations- A form of political violence

The background of political violence is supposed to be used to understand political killings. In trying to understand the concept of political assassinations, this act has been understood as a phenomenon of broader political violence. Considering this, Snitch (1982: 55) argues that political violence exists in a variety of forms, and one of the most prevalent forms of this activity has become the political assassination of a prominent public individual. Balcells (2015) also views political violence as a collective activity that has several sub-components, such as political killings, demonstrations, coups, genocide, and assassinations. In support of Snitch (1982) and Balcells (2015), Iqbal and Zorn (2008: 386), also consider political assassinations as a phenomenon of political violence.

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines political violence as the instrumental use of violence by people who identify themselves as members of a group, against another group or set of individuals, in order to achieve a political, economic, or social objective (WHO, 1996, cited in Nomarwayi, 2020). The WHO (1996) emphasizes that political violence is a violent encounter from one group towards the other, with a political, economic, or social motive. Dumouchel (2012: 117) shares the same sentiments with the WHO (1996), as he argues that political violence is violence committed in the context of a political conflict, or that can be related, either through its causes or through its motive to political issues.

Schneider and Turshen (2011) argue that "political violence intertwines closely with economic violence because political status often determines economic opportunity". This argument supports the claim by Dumouchel (2012), which purports that political violence must fundamentally have a motive of a political concern. The political objectivity of violence then

further sustains the economic and social motives within such violence, because as provided by Schneider and Turshen (2011), political status often determines economic opportunity.

On the other hand, Sousa (2013) argues that political violence is the deliberate use of power and force to achieve political goals. According to the above references the defining characteristic of political violence is the motive behind such an act which must be political in its nature. Considering the sentiments by the WHO (1996) and Sousa (2013), political violence is a violent encounter of one group towards the other driven by political intentions.

2.4 An old phenomenon

Political violence has not been a foreign phenomenon in the Republic of South Africa. Early encounters of colonialism were met by violent resistance from the natives or indigenous people. The struggle for liberation was coiled up with politically motivated violence. Political violence has remained persistent even in the post-Apartheid era, in situations such as the struggle for better service delivery. As suggested by De Haas (2016), the Kwa-Zulu Natal province continues to lead the country in political violence. Taylor (2002) argues that "after the April 1994 elections, political violence in the rest of the country decreased to lower levels, but in KZN, political strife has continued to be characterized by violent protests and political killings". Krelekrele (2018: 1) finds that the KZN province is leading the country concerning political violence, he notes that "the majority of political violence in South Africa happens in the province of KZN".

According to Schuld (2013: 60), "the Apartheid system played a significant role in perpetuating political violence in areas reserved for black civilians in the 1980s and early 1990s". In Schuld's (2013) words, KZN is a black residential area. So, the prevalence of political killings in KZN according to Schuld (2013) may be censured to the historical experiences of violence under colonialism and the actuality of Apartheid. Schuld (2013: 62) further maintains that "political violence prior to 1994 is distinguished from other types of violence by its association with the political struggle against the Apartheid government". According to Schuld's (2013) comments, the fight to topple the cruel Apartheid regime pre-1994 was what fueled the practice of political killings in South Africa.

2.5 History of Political Assassinations in KZN

Writing in the words of Hurd (2012), "history provides no precise guidelines". In giving a retrospect to the phenomenon of political assassinations in the KZN province, the study considered a time frame from the year 1978- 2019 (A period of 41 years in between). This part

focuses on some, but not all assassinations that took place only in KZN. The killings considered are those of prominent individuals who held some political power positions or active in politics by the time they were murdered, including whistleblowers that reported incidents of corruption or maladministration.

Political violence in a sense that it includes contestation for the acquisition, maintenance, and demonstration of power, is not a new phenomenon in this province. Tension between the Zulu's and European colonizers have boiled into violence in this province, leading to killings of soldiers, leaders, and ordinary civilians. The Natal before the democratic dispensation experienced a number of wars. There was a Voortrekker-Zulu Conflict in 1838 known as the Battle of Blood River.

The Battle of Blood River: *"Fifty Kilometers west of a KZN town known as Dundee lies the battleground of the Battle of Blood River where on December 16th, 1838, Dutch Voortrekkers famously repulsed a force between 15, 000 and 20, 000 Zulus. The battle followed a massacre of the famous Boer leader, Piet Retief, and his men on the orders of the Zulu King, Dingane. The Boer Commander, Andries Pretorious, created a laager with 64 ox wagons and made a vow that if he and his men survived the battle, they would hold the day sacred in perpetuity. December 16 in South Africa is celebrated as a Day of Reconciliation"* (Responsible Travel, 2022).

In 1879 there was an Anglo-Zulu war known as the Battles of Isandlwana & Rorke's Drift. In the Anglo-Zulu war: *"in 1878 the English High Commissioner in Southern Africa, Henry Barthelemy Frere, attempted to form a British confederation among the various territories in Southern Africa. But the Zulu kingdom, under king Cetshwayo kaMpande, did not want to cede to British territorial demands. Frere then determined that war was necessary to defeat the Zulus (Willamson, 2019). In January 1879 the British Empire invaded Zululand, an African Kingdom in what is today known as the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal in South Africa. On 22 January 1879 at Isandlwana Hill, the Zulu army comprehensively defeated a British force of almost 2,000 men and drove invaders from Zululand (Scogings and Hawick, 2012: 1). By the end of the battle the British had lost around 1,300 of their force of 1,800 while the Zulu's suffered a relatively light loss of around 1,000 men (Beverton, 2009).*

Various wars have been fought in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province. The province also experienced violence under the Apartheid system, involving acts of oppression and acts of activism. The transition period in the late 1990's in the province had an implication on the rise of violence in

the province due to conflict between political parties which escalated to communities causing distress to local civilians. Under the democratic dispensation political violence continues to be a concern in this province.

In KZN, assassinations are not a new phenomenon that have only occurred under the democratic rule. An influential warrior and king of the Zulu Nation who played a vital role in building the nation and establishing conducive military tactics for the Zulu army in the early 1800s, King Shaka Zulu himself, in 1828 did not die of natural causes. The founder of the Zulu empire was assassinated by his two half-brothers, Dingane and Mhlangana (Evans, 2019). According to the definition of an assassination given by the Meriam Webster Dictionary, King Shaka was a prominent member of the Zulu royal house. His death could not merely be considered a murder, but an assassination.

Bringing the investigation closer to the political acreage. In 1978 on the 8th of January, the KZN province experienced the assassination of Dr Richard Rick Turner. Dr Turner was an academic in the then University of Natal, and he was amongst the first members of the right wing to acknowledge the assertions of Black Consciousness. According to the Special Report by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1998), Dr Turner was fatally shot soon after midnight at his home in Bellair, Durban. The South African Press Association -SAPA (1996) classified Dr Turner as an activist. The security forces considered him to be particularly dangerous and irritatingly clever (SAPA, 1996).

The assassination of Rick Turner has never been solved. Brigadier Christian Earle, who was an investigating officer, told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1998), that he believed Turner was killed by people who were part of the security forces and that they wanted to conceal details on his murder and not have it known. On an interview held by Jann Turner (Dr Turner's daughter) and Nelson Mandela, the former president hailed and gave credit to Dr Turner as an important figure in the liberation struggle.

Three years after the assassination of Rick Turner, an ANC veteran and activist Mr. Griffiths Mxenge was also assassinated in one of the well-known Durban townships, Umlazi. Mr. Mxenge was a political activist and a lawyer. According to the South African History Online website (2019), Mxenge was assassinated, and his body was mutilated in an act of barbaric brutality.

Zama (2020) maintains that Griffiths Mxenge died at the hands of an Apartheid assassin for fighting for freedom, justice, peace, and democracy in South Africa. Further Zama (2020) claims that Griffiths Mxenge used his legal qualifications to not only defend anti-Apartheid activists but to fight for the rights of South Africa's marginalized and brutalized black population. The truth Commission (1998) found that Mxenge was killed by Dirk Coetzee, Almond Nofomela, Joe Mamasela, Brian Ngqulunga and David Tshikalanga. All of Mxenge's killers were policemen and agents of the Apartheid government's death squads.

The Mxenge household continued to experience terror of assassinations. Four years after the killing of Mr. Griffiths, the Mxenge household mourned the death of Mama Victoria Mxenge, the wife of the deceased Griffiths Mxenge. Both Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge were victims of assassinations that took place in KZN.

Victoria Mxenge was not ignorant of the atrocities and the unjust rule brought about by the Apartheid government. Mrs. Mxenge was a prominent human rights lawyer and a leader in her own right (Madlala, 1997). When Victoria Mxenge was assassinated, she was treasurer of the Natal Regional Executive Committee of the United Democratic Front and an executive member of the Natal Organization of Women. According to an article written by the Rhodes University (2011), the article states that "Victoria Mxenge spent many years fighting for the rights of the people, representing youth and students detained by the security police". Also, the article by Rhodes University (2011) states that "her death sent shock waves through the community and led to much criticism of the Apartheid system".

In 1984, an activist of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and member of the Natal Freedom Charter, Toto Dweba was murdered, and his mutilated body was found in one of the oldest towns of European settlement in Natal, known as Eshowe (SAHO, 2022). A member of the Durban Security Branch told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC, 1998: 230) that "Dweba was targeted because he was suspected of being a carrier of guns from the then Swaziland (Kingdom of eSwatini)". The TRC (1998: 230) found that the murder of Dweba was not justifiable and was a violation of human rights.

A high number of activists, politicians and their families, political supporters, and reverends have been killed in KZN before 1994 for political reasons. The Apartheid government made attempts to halt the call for liberation and democracy in South Africa, and this endeavor led to the death of those who were involved in the chase for freedom.

2.6 Causes of Political assassinations in KZN

Based on the assertion given by Kirkham, Levy and Crotty (1969: 5) in which they argue that preconditions for assassinations under democracy differ from preconditions under oppressive foreign or autocratic rule. Politicians are killed for different reasons in different regimes. This means that the causes behind assassinations of politicians during Apartheid and during democracy will differ.

Activism

Victims of political assassinations in KZN before 1994 were mostly political activists, supporters, and members from the general population who were involved in the struggle for liberation. Schuld (2013: 65) also argues that "throughout the 1970s and 1980s, political assassinations were a tool employed by operatives of the Apartheid regime to remove leaders of the resistance movement". Evidence which supports the claim by Schuld (2013) is given by Pillay (2005) as she also notes that "from the 1970s to the early 1990s members of the anti-Apartheid opposition in South Africa and outside, were subjected to a range of horrifically violent and illegal acts, including assassinations".

The biographies of Victoria Mxenge, Rick Turner and Griffiths Mxenge have a common word that ought to define them, which is "activists". According to Zama (2020), Griffiths Mxenge died at the hands of an assassin for fighting for democracy, freedom, justice, and peace in South Africa. Similarly, according to a publication by the Rhodes University (2015), Victoria Mxenge also spent years fighting for human rights. On a similar note, Jann Turner who investigated her father's death, told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), that Dr Turner was said to be particularly dangerous to the regime and irritatingly clever (SAPA, 1996). In relation to the motives of the three mentioned assassinations, the Peace Research Institute of Frankfurt (2020) argued that "these acts of violence (political assassinations) are directed towards the very people who advocate, particularly at local level for the concerns and rights of disadvantaged societal groups".

The establishment of death squads during the era of oppression in South Africa supports the assertion that political assassinations during that era were carried out by the state towards people involved in the liberation struggle. According to a publication by Daily Maverick (2013), "the story about a farm located 20km away from Pretoria called Vlakplaas, terrified most South Africans as they learnt that this farm served as a base for South African killing squads that targeted activists". Coetzee co-founded and commanded the Police Unit and death

squad based in Vlakplaas. ENCA (2014), claims that the death squad in Vlakplaas would kidnap and torture anti-Apartheid activists. The squad would also carry out assassinations on behalf of the state security.

Scuffles between the ANC and IFP towards Power Transition

Kynoch (2013) offers a concept for this timeframe and the violence that engulfed the province. He explains this kind of violence as transition violence. The process of changing from one form, state, style, or location to another is how the term transition is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary (1989). While Fanon (1963: 1) claims that "the substitution of one species of people by another is invariably a violent occurrence," he emphasizes the brutality of the process of political change. Two major political parties in the province of KZN fought for control during the transition era, mainly the ANC and IFP.

Nomarwayi (2020) contends that "political competitiveness amongst African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members must be taken into consideration as an originator of political violence in the province". Assassinations were employed to systematically remove the leadership from the two opposing factions during the ANC-IFP animosity, according to Gwala (1992). When Taylor (2002: 489) claims that "the unofficial conflict between the ANC and IFP might be directly related to violent episodes that inundated the KZN province," he concurs with Nomarwayi (2020) and Gwala (1992).

Kynoch (2013: 283) argues that "the transition period preceding the elections witnessed the bloodiest political violence of the Apartheid era". O'Malley (2005) notes that in August 1990 when the ANC declared that it would suspend their armed wing, KZN became a battlefield because the IFP and the ANC were in competition to secure political numbers and relevancy. Kynoch (2013) and O'Malley (2005) argue that the KZN province experienced political violence during the transition era and competition for political power played a crucial role in fueling conflict between the two parties.

There was a third party that encouraged the violence between the ANC and the IFP during the transition period. O'Malley (2005) maintains that "The IFP and ANC supporters were being driven apart by the National Party (NP) administration, which also divided the black vote. A more complex version of the traditional divide and conquer strategy was used here". According to Kynoch (2013), the IFP "supported government goals by assassinating ANC notables and spreading unrest" and that the National Party (NP) government was funding Inkatha. In support of his claim that "the IFP and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) groups in KZN

interacted closely, delivering training on their farms and even sharing membership," Krelekrele (2018) concurs with O'Malley and Kynoch. For Schuld (2013) "a complex web of power linkages between political parties and organizations, including warlords, gangs, vigilantes, and other highly skilled violence entrepreneurs who capitalized on political rivalries, defined the violence in the KZN region in the late 1980s and early 1990s". Violence during the transition era was fundamentally driven by competition for power especially between the ANC and the IFP. Furthermore, existing literature suggests that the NP played a crucial role in perpetuating antagonist relationships and conflict between the ANC and the IFP as an attempt to divide the black vote.

The democratic dispensation

According to a publication by the AllAfrica website (2021), unlike the political violence that engulfed KZN during the late 1980s and early 1990s, assassinations after Apartheid have generally not been motivated by ideological concerns but by money and power. Phakathi (2019: 99), also notes that violence that occurred in KZN during the democratic dispensation is non-revolutionary and destructive. Evans (2020) agrees with AllAfrica (2021) and Phakathi (2019) as he also claims that, after 2009, political violence broke-out, this time it was not between parties and their warlords, and it had nothing to do with ideology and policy. Instead, it had everything to do with money and access to resources. Nomarwayi (2020) also argues that killings in KZN are motivated by access to scarce resources particularly in the form of tenders and political leadership positions.

The quest for financial enrichment according to Ardè (2020) has manifested itself in a form of intraparty conflict particularly within the African National Congress. Ardè (2020: 20) argues that "such activities show how greed shatters ordinary lives and is robbing South Africans of dignity. The ANC's policy of cadre deployment has created a depraved, venal monster, a vortex of competing patronage networks. Comrades are killing each other for a place at the trough, for jobs, tenders and contracts".

The findings from the Moerane Commission (2018) suggested that accession to the position of councilor puts one in close proximity to the awarding of tenders and creates the opportunity for the manipulation of the tender process for personal benefit. Intra-party conflict within the ANC serves as a driving factor to the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN. Ardè (2020: 79) is of the opinion that violence in KZN increasingly features in the factional disputes and competition for jobs, favors and tenders that make up life in the ANC.

For Krelekrele (2018) "those who want to hold onto power and those who fervently want to take it have resorted to hiring hitmen or assassins to assassinate their rivals due to struggle for political power and factionalism among party members". This suggests that politicians utilize violent means to secure political power. Onwuegbuchulum (2021: 1) argues that "some of the killings are motivated by power conflicts and patronage; these factors taken together also directly implicate the country's increasingly violent political culture, notably that of the governing ANC party politics". Competition in the governing party leads to conflict. Mr. Edwin Mkhize, the provincial secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) highlighted that "the rising number of political murders in KZN may be attributed to corruption, poor management, and of course, the movement's enduring factionalism" (Krelekrele, 2018). Party factionalism and competition for political power in the ANC are contributing factors to the issue of political assassinations in the province.

Inter-party rivalries in KZN continued to play out even in the democratic era. De Haas (2016) argues that "conflicts between political parties in KZN contributed to a substantial number of political assassinations in the province". Krelekrele (2018) highlights that political assassinations were also on the rise in KZN when the National Freedom Party (NFP) split from the IFP. Factions have been at the center of political assassinations in KZN during the democratic era. According to Onwuegbuchulum (2021: 3), political killings continue to exist in KZN, with targeted politicians from political parties competing for power at local level.

Phakathi (2019) links the prevalence of assassinations in KZN to the stance of whistleblowing. Phakathi (2019: 108) writes that "there are certain leaders that care about the community and wish to carry out their duties honorably. Those who choose to plunder the state's resources rather than serve the people despise these leaders". In agreement with Phakathi's findings, Ngcobo, in an investigation carried out by Ardè (2020: 72) made a claim that "Khaya Thobela and Sindiso Magaqa were assassinated because they were vocal about corruption".

Low levels of democracy

The Oxford English dictionary (1998) defines democracy as "the rule by the people, especially as a form of government, either directly or through elected representatives". South Africa became a democratic country in the year 1994, prior to that the country was administered under colonialism and the Apartheid policy. According to Yammarino (2018: 460) "democracy plays a crucial role in the existence of political violence and political assassinations in a particular society". If a country's democracy is strong and stable that particular place is most likely to

experience peace and harmony in spheres of political contestation. If a country's democracy is feeble or wimpy, violence and antagonisms are most likely to engulf processes of political contestation.

What Yammarino (2018) suggests is that if a country or region is not democratic or has poor levels on the adoption and implementation of democratic values and principles, the country is most likely to experience political assassinations. This assumption is also supported by the Moerane Commission (2018: 412), which recommended that in KZN political parties must enhance democratic practices and principles within their structures of political leadership and competition. Democracy is associated with peace and surpassed forms of violence because this form of government enforces principles of accountability and transparency. A democratic society at least in theory and principle enforces accountability and transparency in leadership structures, and leaders will then move and act with cautiousness.

In the oppressive era KZN experienced political assassinations because the province and the country were not democratic. "Democratic principles include equality, political tolerance, accountability, human rights, and the rule of law" (Street Law, 2022). Lack of equality between racial groups during the Apartheid era intensified political violence in South Africa and the KZN province was also not foreign to such realities. Inequalities sparked social conflict. "Oppression of a social group by another is likely to cause heated conflict in society" (Yammarino, 2018: 458). Inequalities during the Apartheid era also led to the establishment of a class society characterized by exploitation, deprivation, and violence.

Lack of political tolerance during the oppressive era also contributed to the widespread of political assassinations in the province. This is what also led to the murder of those who struggled and supported the idea of liberation. Political views that opposed the government of the time were met with violent resistance. People who had ideas that challenged the Apartheid system were murdered because society was not democratic and did not allow a platform of deliberation in opposing the adopted policy.

During the Apartheid era, the country operated through parliamentary sovereignty which meant that the legislature had supreme authority in law making and not scrutinized by any arm of government to debate enactment. Political parties would be able to make laws in line with their political and social beliefs without any scrutiny from the arms of government to discuss the morality and justness of such laws.

After 1994 South Africa became a democratic country, but political assassinations continue to be an existing feature in KZN. The country is now fully adoptive of the fundamental values and principles of democracy. Notions of equality, political tolerance, accountability, human rights, and the rule of law are inscribed in the South African constitution. But political assassinations continue to be an issue of concern. To enforce democratic principles at national and provincial level seem to be a reality. However, at municipal level and party level there is a need to extend the applicability of democratic principles. Political parties are failing to adopt democratic principles when administering their internal affairs. This is why political assassinations in KZN under the democratic dispensation are said to be mostly caused by internal battles within political parties.

2.7 Chapter Summary

In the process of reviewing literature on the phenomenon of political assassinations in KZN, the study found that political assassinations have existed in three phases: The oppressive era, the transition era, and the democratic era. In South Africa political assassinations are a form of murder because an assassination is the intentional, unlawful killing of a human being. In a broader context some political assassinations can be approved by law, such as the killing of certain political leaders or terrorists. In South Africa before 1994 some assassinations of activists were a consequence of direct orders from government officials. However, in the democratic South Africa there can be no political assassination that can be exempted by law because the right to life is an independent constitutional right. A political assassination must be embroiled with attempts to access, maintain, and demonstrate political power.

Political violence can be understood as the intentional use of force and/or power to further political aims, and political killings fall under this description. Political assassinations are also used as a way to influence political goals. Political assassinations are an unjustified form of political violence. Other forms of political violence can be justified such as protests and defiance campaigns. Political assassinations in KZN are not a modern concern, they have been an old phenomenon. Prominent leaders, activists, popular politicians, and local civilians have suffered as victims of such violence in the KZN province. According to existing literature on political assassinations in KZN, activism, power transition, competition between political parties, and factional disputes have been noted as major causes to the preponderance of political murders in KZN.

This chapter has investigated existing data that has defined political assassinations, data that has associated such assassinations with the broader concept of political violence. The chapter

has identified the existing causes to the phenomenon of political assassinations in the KZN province. This chapter has also reviewed the history of political assassinations in the KZN province. As found in the reviewal of literature, political assassinations in KZN are not a concern of the contemporary age. Such killings have been a feature of politics in KZN. Competition for political power positions, activism, and whistleblowing have been at the center of such violence.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Chapter three will examine the theories that best informed the research study. In the study, two theories were adopted. Chapter three will be divided into three segments. The first part will give an analysis of the realist theory and the second part will incorporate the conflict theory into the study. The last part will give a summary in a form of common grounds and the linkage between the two theories.

3.1 Realism

The research study is informed by the theory of realism. "Realism claims to offer an account of world affairs that is realistic and devoid of any wishful thinking" (Heywood, 2011: 54). This theory claims to give a true reflection of society. According to Ashley (1981), "realism portrays a politically fragmented world of pervasive insecurity, recurring violence and generalized expectations of war". Realism claims to give a rumination of real society with real-life events. For Scuz (2018: 34) realism tells us how politics works, it is the way people generally live their lives.

The theory of realism gives an analysis of society which is influenced by the natural conditions of humans, referred to as human nature. Society is a composition of humans, and as such subjectivity determines objectivity. The conditions of society for realists, are highly influenced by the subjectivity or the nature of its aboriginals. Humans for realists are not innately moral beings. "Human nature, according to realists, is at its core egoistic, and thus inalterably inclined towards immorality" (Donnelly, 2000: 9). Thucydides, an Athenian historian and general, who contributed to the realist depiction of humans, "maintained that human behaviour is motivated by the fear, aspiration and a desire for superiority" (Barrientos, 2018: 2). For Thucydides humans can be considered as self-serving creatures.

Realism was selected as a theory to inform this study because of its in detail analysis of human nature. Political assassinations in KZN are committed by people against other people. Literature already published on political assassinations in KZN suggest that political assassinations are used as a means to secure political power. The theory of realism is relevant to the issue of political assassinations in KZN because it explains how human natural attitudes influence human behaviour. According to this theory, humans are motivated by the ambition to maintain superiority, and access power. The Moerane Commission (2018) found that political squabbles for power, lead to political assassinations in the province. Realism is relevant in this research because it explains how human nature has no consideration for

morality and subsequently creates a social environment characterized by violence and antagonist relationships.

The socio-political environment in the KZN province is characterized by violence and hostility between politicians and comrades. According to Thucydides, "Men are motivated by honour, greed, and above all fear" (Gilpin, 1984). Politicians in KZN are killing each other to secure political power, to maintain access to resources, and because they fear losing positions of power. Niccolò Machiavelli, an Italian diplomat, also argued in his book titled, *The Prince*, that "it must not be taken for granted that all men are wicked and that they will always give vent to malignity that is in their minds when opportunity offers" (Donnelly, 2000: 9). According to Gilbert (1965), "Machiavelli expresses a low opinion of human nature, which in his poem he characterizes as insatiable, arrogant, crafty, and shifting, and above all else malignant, iniquitous, violent and savage".

Kelly (2020: 48) argues that, "Machiavelli's human nature is completely selfish and full of ego and that they will always think about their own interests". Similarly, to Thucydides, Machiavelli holds the same idea about the selfish and greedy nature of human beings. According to Kelly (2020: 7), Machiavelli's view of human nature emphasizes that men are ungrateful liars neither noble nor virtuous.

When Thomas Hobbes an English philosopher wrote the *Leviathan* during the English Civil War (1642-51), he also gave an idea on the nature of humans. For Hobbes the nature of humans was an inference from the experiences of the English civil war. Hobbes believes that "the natural condition of man is a state of war" (Hobbes, 151, cited in Donnelly, 2000: 14). Because realism attaches subjectivity to objectivity, the conditions of society are going to mirror the nature of humans.

For realists, society is not peaceful and content, in-fact Hobbes, "has been eager to tell those who would listen that, it is a jungle out there" (Gilpin, 1984). With the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN, the province has become a jungle. In a realist society, according to Bernard Williams (2005), "there is nothing for politics to do except to get out of the way and get other people out of the way". Thomas Hobbes explains that in such a society embedded in human nature, "life for most people is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" (Hobbes, 151, cited in Kelly et al, 2022: 14). Realists explain that "in a world as it is, the final arbiter of things political is power" (Gilpin, 1984). For realists, society is rooted in human nature, characterized by conflict, competition, and war.

In such a society, people are in continuous conflict because of the desire for superiority, and fear of inferiority. Barrientos argues that people are in conflict because "some have the desire to be set free from misery, inferiority, and exploitation, and others due to the fear of losing social privileges and advantages" (Barrientos, 2018: 2). For Donnelly (2000: 14), "In such a world to acquire anything of use is to tempt others to come prepared with forces united, to dispossess and deprive him, not only of the fruit of his labour, but also of his life, or liberty". A realist society mirrors the jungle life which simply enforces the condition that people ought to be cautious, careful, and alert.

Donnelly (2000: 14) argues that in this social reality "whether for safety, reputation, or gain, men will endeavour to destroy, or subdue one another". Thucydides maintains that these events will never cease to exist because of the fundamental human desires of dominance and social advantage (Barrientos, 2018: 2). Human nature for realists is innate and can never end, if such a human condition can never end, then the social reality influenced by the subjectivity of humans will also continue to exist.

3.2 Conflict Theory

The foundations of this study are aligned with the provisions of the conflict theory. The study considers the theory of conflict as developed by Karl Marx and further considerations through perspectives and analysis of other theorists who have developed this theory, in essence, Max Weber on power and social stratification, and Frantz Fanon on the wretched of the earth.

This research study is informed by Karl Marx's theory of conflict because political assassinations in KZN have been linked with conflict. In the Apartheid era, it was conflict between the oppressed and the oppressor, in the transition era it was conflict between political parties competing for power, in the new democratic dispensation it is mostly conflict between comrades over access to power and resources. "Conflict theory seeks to scientifically explain the general contours of conflict in society: how conflict starts and varies, and the effects it brings" (Course Hero, 2022). This theory is significant in this study because it looks into the causes and effects of conflict. The theory of conflict intends to explain the fundamental reasons for the conflict that prevails in societies. According to an article published by the Corporate Finance Institute-CFI (2022) "conflict theory developed by Karl Marx, purports that due to society's never-ending competition for finite resources, it will always be in a state of conflict".

Marx argues that competition over limited resources serves as a prerequisite to the actuality of conflict in society. Competition is central to conflict, according to Marx. Hayes (2022)

maintains that "competition is a constant, and at times, an overwhelming factor in nearly every human relationship and interaction". Competition which has been put forward as a cause of conflict exists amongst different groups in a given society.

The theory of conflict analyses society as a segmented society. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the first chapter of the communist manifesto, as translated by Samuel Moore (1888: 2) write that: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes". This entails that society is formed within class divisions.

According to Marx and Engels (1848), society is divided into two classes, the rich and the poor, the bourgeoisie and the proletarians, the oppressor and the oppressed. The dichotomy of these classes is not characterized by peace and coexistence but by tension and violence. Marx explains the tension between these two groups using the phrase, "class antagonism". The antagonism between these two classes is perpetuated by competition over scarce resources. Nickerson (2021) maintains that "conflict theories assume that all societies have structural power divisions and resource inequalities that lead to groups having conflicting interests". The unequal distribution of resources leads to competition between the classes.

Conflict theory suggests that the relationship between the rich and the poor is an exploitative one. Cole and Arnold (2021) also argue that "Karl Marx's conflict theory involves a notion of exploitation". The bourgeoisie is exploiting the proletarians. The rich class owns the resources. The rich owns the means of production. The rich have the upper hand in society. The poor class does not own the means of production. The working class offers labour to the rich class. The proletarians are victims of resource deprivation. "Marx's version of conflict theory focuses on the conflict between two primary classes. Each class consists of a group of people bound by mutual interest and a certain degree of property ownership" (Hayes, 2022). With these societal divisions that exist in the form of classes, one class is richer than the other and exploitative over the other.

The social analysis by the theory of conflict, explains the nature of society. Conflict theory argues that there is a dichotomy of classes in society, rooted in deprivation and exploitation. To pinpoint the main source of conflict, "Marx's concern was with a group's sense of

deprivation caused by class. This sense of deprivation is what leads a group to class consciousness and produces conflict (Course Hero, 2022). Marx argues that due to the existing classes embedded in exploitation and the unequal distribution of resources, people become aware of their social status and this initiates conflict.

Tension arises in society when aboriginals become alert of their social positioning. "The implication of this is that those in possession of wealth and resources will protect and hoard those resources, while those without will do whatever they can to obtain them" (CFI, 2022). For Hayes (2022), "due to the social reality of existing classes, marked by the unequal distribution of resources, conflict over resources will emerge". This explains how competition erupts in a class society.

Once society aboriginals become conscious of the social order, they do not disregard the status quo, because of their human congenital traits, best termed as human nature. "Coser maintains that conflict for humans is goal related, there is generally something that humans are trying to achieve through conflict, and there are different possible ways of reaching the goal" (Course Hero, 2022). The bourgeoisie have a goal of maintaining the status quo, sustaining their ownership of resources and the means of production. On the other hand, the proletarians have a goal to squander the status quo, and remedy their deprivation.

Crozier (1974: 8) also maintains that "man is innately envious and aggressive". Marx argues that "conflict is an unavoidable aspect of human nature and helps explain why things are the way they are" (CFI, 2022). Conflict for Dahrendorf and Collins (2006: 215), "is part of human nature, it is instinctual for humans". According to the theory of conflict, society is divided into two classes, when components of each class become aware of their condition, human nature plays part and conflict becomes inevitable.

According to a publication by Covington (1994), Marx argues that the separation of classes is economic in its origin. For Marx, you are the oppressor because you are rich, you are oppressed because you are poor. You are exploitative because you are rich, and you are exploited because you are poor. According to Nickerson (2022), Marx's theory places emphasis on economic inequality and deprivation as causes of conflict.

Marx explains that, once classes are conscious of the status quo, conflict becomes inevitable, because "competition between the privileged and disadvantaged will prevail" (CFI, 2022). Marx argues further that, "as the working class and the poor are subjected to worsening conditions, a collective consciousness would raise more awareness about inequality, and this

would potentially result in revolt" (Hayes, 2020). Conflict and class antagonism according to Marx, lead to a revolution, instituted by the proletarians.

A revolution according to Marx is an effect of conflict. Class antagonism, tension, and conflict in a society will continue to become an existing feature, because no class seeks to become a proletariat. All classes seek to have an upper hand in society. This leads to a cycle of conflict, a rhythm of social reality marked by tension and antagonism between classes.

Max Weber also contributed to the development of the conflict theory. On the conviction of a society grouped in classes, as suggested by Marx, Weber agrees with Marx on the segmentation of society. "Weber's approach is said to be corrective to, or displacement of Marx's perspective" (Panday, 1983: 171). According to Weber, conflict arises from the existence of social stratification in society (Course Hero, 2022). Both Marx and Weber view society through the lens of a class society. Marx refers to this assumed reality as a class society, Weber explains it as social stratification.

Weber maintains that classes are a product of power inequalities in society (Panday, 1983: 178). Marx contends that the defining feature of the classes in society is the unequal distribution of resources. The chasm between these classes for Marx is merely economical. "For Weber however stratification was much more than an economically determined class positions, it also involved a consideration of status, power and political parties" (Covington, 1994). For Weber inequalities in society are not only influenced by the unequal distribution of resources.

According to Nickerson (2022), "Weber's conflict theory posits that there are three main sources of conflict: economic, social and political". Economic conflict exists when people compete for scarce resources. Social conflict occurs when people have different values or beliefs. Social conflict exists in a form of ideological clashes. Political conflict exists when people are in the quest for power. When people are in pursuit for power, they are most likely to clash when they meet.

Social stratification causes conflict according to Weber. "Each of these stratifications is a position worthy of being fought for by humans and their groups" (Budiman, 2021). Nickerson (2022) argues that Weber believed that the economic realm was the most important source of conflict, however he criticized Marx's view that it was entirely responsible for conflict.

Marx focuses on the economic sphere as the cause of conflict. Weber adds the political and social spheres as sources of conflict. On the social side, Weber argues that "the causes of

conflict in society are the differences with various triggers such as cultural differences, unequal interests, social change, to differences in thinking between individuals" (Budiman, 2021). For Nickerson (2022), Weber adds the differences based on gender, ethnicity, religion, and nationality, which have little to do with wealth or profit, but can lead to conflict.

Power is also a prerequisite to conflict according to Weber. "Power and interest can simultaneously lead to conflict" (Budiman, 2021). According to a publication by Robinhood Learn (2020), "to Weber, power is the ability to get your way in the face of resistance from others. Power is not limited in owning the means of production". Conflict according to Weber goes beyond the squabble between the rich and the poor. Social and political factors also play part to the phenomenon.

Frantz Fanon, like Max Weber also extends the views of the conflict theory. Fanon (1963: 5), maintains that "the Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched when it comes to addressing the colonial issue". Fanon's view of society is analysed through the actuality of colonialism. Marx speaks of an economic class society. Weber speaks of social stratification influenced by economic, social, and political factors. Fanon highlights a racially compartmentalized colonial world.

Fanon maintains that the dividing factor in a compartmentalized society is race. Fanon (1963: 3) argues that the colonial world is a world divided into two. For Fanon (1963), in this kind of a colonial society, there is a world of foreigners who are colonists, the world of whites. The other world is a world of natives, the colonized. This is a world of black people. The differences between these two groups are fundamentally racial. Any dividing factor that may arise is first and foremost influenced by differences in race.

These two worlds according to Fanon (1963) are different. The colonizer's world is a rich world. The world of the colonized is a poor world. Fanon maintains that in this colonial society, "the cause is effect: you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich" (Fanon, 1963: 5). In comparison to the writing by Karl Marx, Fanon argues that this class society is fundamentally racial. You are a bourgeoisie because you are white, and you are a proletariat because you are black.

Due to this compartmentalization, which emphasizes different living conditions for different races, Fanon writes that "the colonized subject is a persecuted man who is forever dreaming of becoming the prosecutor" (1963: 16). Fanon describes the relationship between the rich and poor, the colonist and colonizer, as an exploitative relationship. The world of the colonist is

created and maintained at the expense of the colonized, from the dispossession of land to the act of the colonized labouring for the colonist.

Consciousness for Fanon (1963) exists when the colonized becomes eager to take the position of the colonist. "The gaze that the colonized subject casts at the colonist's sector is a look of lust, a look of envy. Dreams of possession: of sitting at the colonist table and sleeping in his bed" (Fanon, 1963: 5). The colonized seeks to have an upper hand in society. Tension between the colonist and the colonized arises because the colonist is aware of the attitude of the colonized. "The colonist is aware of this as he catches the furtive glance, and constantly on his guard" (Fanon, 1963: 5). Consciousness between the two groups is explained with the desire of the colonized to change her position in this compartmentalized society, and the fear of the colonist of such change.

When the colonist and the colonized become aware of the existing situation, the encounter to change this society setting becomes a violent process. When decolonizing a colony, violence becomes inevitable. "Decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is clearly an agenda for total disorder" (Fanon, 1963: 2). For Fanon the process of decolonization intends to change the colonialist world order. The process of decolonization becomes a violent event because of the natural attitude of humans. "Humans are selfish, and this is shown in their eagerness for personal enrichment" (Kelly et al, 2020: 7). The colonized seeks to have an upper hand, while the colonist intends to maintain her position.

This act of decolonization is an attempt to change the world order. Fanon (1963) maintains that this process of change cannot be a peaceful event. "In its bare reality, decolonization reeks of red-hot cannonballs and bloody knives. For the last can be the first only after a murderous and decisive confrontation between the two protagonists" (Fanon, 1963: 2). Changing the status quo for Fanon (1963), sets up a platform for complete violence.

Taking into consideration the sentiments by Karl Marx regarding the conflict theory and the extensions given by Max Weber and Fanon, this theory is of the understanding that society in its bare nature is segmented or classified in different groups. These categories, groups or classes are rooted in inequalities. Violence is unavoidable in a class society due to the attempt of one group seeking to change society and the other group wish to maintain the existing status quo. Competition is thus fundamental to the phenomenon of violence in society.

3.3 Chapter Summary

Realism and conflict theory have a point of equilibrium where they both agree on human nature and the conditions of society. Both theories acknowledge the essence of competition as the driving factor to the conflict that exists in society. The theory of conflict and political realism both agree that society is fragmented, characterized by inequalities and tensions between the existing groups or classes.

For conflict theorists, conflict is an unavoidable aspect in society. Class antagonism for conflict theorists is motivated by the natural condition of men, as described by realism. Realism is an attitude of the mind, that explains human nature. Conflict theory explains the effects of realism in society, which lead to exploitation, inequality, violence, competition, and continuous class struggles.

Political assassinations according to the conflict theory, exist due to competition and access to political power. This assumption explains why political killings are prevalent during processes of choosing a leader, councillors, or other representatives at local level by popular vote. "A basic premise of conflict theory is that individuals and groups within society will work to try and maximise their own wealth and power" (Hayes, 2020). For conflict theorists, battling for power is a condition leading to political assassinations. Political assassination exists because politically active individuals are in a quest for the acquisition of power. Individuals are interested in political power position, because of the benefits and money attached to these positions of power.

Conflict for conflict theorists is part of human nature. The conflict theory adheres to the realist perspective of analysis, "humans have qualities such as selfishness, manifested in the human desire for personal gain and ambition" (Kelly et al, 2020: 7). According to the conflict theory politically motivated killings between parties and within parties are driven by the desire to secure political power.

Violence is a determining factor in the encounters of such political groups in society. As maintained by Fanon (1963), change is always a violent event. The desire to have an upper hand in society, and the fear of falling into the inferior class society, leads to the prevailing violence in society. Conflict is fundamental in society, just as how society will continue to be a composition of human beings.

Chapter 4: Methodologies

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is made up of ten sections. This chapter outlines the research methodologies used in this study. The first section will discuss the research paradigm used when conducting research. The second section gives an analysis on the research approach used for this paper. The third section will highlight the population used for this study. Section four will highlight how the population was sampled. Section five and six explain how data was collected and how it was analyzed. Section seven is an outline on the strategies employed to ensure trustworthiness of this study. Section eight will then highlight the ethical considerations. Section nine will explain the challenges and limitations experienced during the research process. The last section will be a summary of all components of the chapter.

4.2. Research Paradigm

This study has made use of the interpretivist paradigm when conducting research. According to du Plooy-Cilliers et al (2014: 28), "the aim of interpretivist research is to gain in-depth understanding". The aim of this study was to get comprehensive knowledge on the phenomenon of political assassinations in KZN. Political assassinations in KZN were deemed as a provincial concern. The study was then concerned with searching for knowledge to understand a particular aspect of such political violence.

Rehman and Alharthi (2016: 55), make note that "the goal of interpretive research is not to discover universal, context and value free knowledge and truth but to try and understand the interpretations of individuals about the social phenomena they interact with". The social phenomena the study is concerned with is the issue of political assassinations. The study then becomes subjective because it seeks to understand different perceptions of such assassinations particularly in the KZN province. The study then collected data to draw an analysis on the issue of political assassinations in the province.

The study is inductive because it started with data and observation and used data patterns to identify relevant theories and make generalizations. The researcher embarked on a research journey, seeking more knowledge, and understanding on the issue of political assassinations in KZN, to develop an analysis on the causes and consequences of these assassinations.

4.3. Research Approach

This paper took form as a qualitative research study. The question of concern proposed by the paper investigates the prevalence of political assassinations in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province. The study is concerned with the causes of political assassinations in the province, and the consequences they bring thereof. The study does not investigate any statistical basis of the political assassinations such as how these assassinations have increased overtime, or how the KZN province is prone to the phenomenon in comparison to other provinces in South Africa.

Bhandari (2020) writes that "qualitative research involves collecting and analyzing non-numerical data, to understand concepts, opinions, or experiences". This study has been analyzing non-numerical data, investigating the issue and existence of political assassinations in KZN from 1978-2019. The study investigated definitions and meaning of words such as murder, assassination, politics, and political violence. The research paper collected information about political assassinations in the province from different sources, scholarly articles, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the Moerane Commission. The study collected data that had no numerical emphasis, because the purpose of the study was to investigate the causes and consequences of political assassinations in KZN.

The nature of the causes and consequences of these assassinations in KZN have been changing. Different regimes and social conditions influenced the causes behind these killings. South Africa has also changed over-time, and this has an impact on the effects these assassinations have. Bhandari (2020) argues that "qualitative research is used to understand how people experience the world". The claim by Bhandari (2020), affirms the position of the study because the study investigated how the population of KZN experienced political assassinations in the different eras.

Vishnevsky and Beanlands (2004: 234), state that "qualitative research is a way of knowing and learning about different experiences". This research paper investigated the concept of political assassinations to get an in-depth understanding of the concept. The paper was committed to knowing the causes of political assassinations, and how these assassinations affect society. According to a publication by the Loyola Marymount University (2022) "qualitative researchers aim to gather an in-depth understanding of human behavior and the reasons that govern such behavior". This paper has found that political assassinations are a form of murder, which is politically motivated. A murder amongst other things must be committed by a person/ people to another person or group of people. The intention was to investigate political assassinations and the causes of such assassinations. This affirms the aim

of qualitative research, which includes understanding human behavior and the reasons that govern such behavior.

4.4. Area of Study

Figure 1 Map showing the Kwa-Zulu Natal province.



Image taken from Google images, 2022.

The Kwa-Zulu Natal province was established in 1994, when South Africa became a democratic country as opposed to the Apartheid government system it was previously. The KZN province is a merger between what was formerly known as the Zulu Bantustan of Kwa-Zulu and the Natal province. These two states were merged to form what is currently known

as the Kwa-Zulu Natal province. The KZN shares borders with other provinces in South Africa, namely the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga, and the Free State province. The province also shares borders with other countries, i.e., Lesotho, Mozambique, and the Kingdom of Eswatini. The province was given the name Natal by Vasco da Gama when he sighted the harbor of Port Natal (now Durban) on Christmas Day (Portuguese Natal) in 1497 (Britannica, 2022). The KZN province covers an area of 94 361 km² the third smallest in the country, and has a population of 11 065 240, making it the second most populous province in South Africa (Municipalities of South Africa, 2022). According to STATSSA (2022) the KZN province is the 3rd most poor province in South Africa.

For the purposes of this study the Kwa-Zulu Natal province is going to be scrutinized within a specific time frame (1978-2019). "When Apartheid was in place, the Natal province was home to the Zulu people, it was a black state that was not autonomous and served as the Zulu people's official homeland" (Britannica, 2022). South Africa is well known of its dark history of Apartheid or separation of races. The KZN province as part of South Africa also experienced the compartmentalization of the colonial world. Previously South Africa had 4 provinces under the Apartheid regime, which were the Cape province, the Natal province, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal province. The Natal was the smallest of the 4 provinces (Britannica, 2022), yet it had major implications for South Africa concerning violence.

The KZN province contributes largely to the South African economy. The province draws attraction from tourism, and the Durban Harbor which caters for most of the country's imports and exports. The province is termed the green garden, with its attractive foliage that attracts tourists from different parts of the world to view the scenery including wildlife and heritage sites.

4.5. Study Population

A research paper is set in motion by a question of concern. This research study has been concerned with the phenomenon of political assassinations in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province. To be more precise, the paper had an interest in the causes and consequences of political assassinations in the KZN province. Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis, and Bezuidenhout (2014: 131), mention that "research is a process where knowledge is gathered by looking for answers to questions". In order to respond to the proposed question, the study sampled a certain population to draw inference.

In trying to respond to the research question, the study utilized social artefacts and existing secondary sources. The study did not conduct any interviews, the research study made use of existing scholarly sources. "A population is defined as the total group of people or entities (social artefacts) from whom information is required" (Wiid and Diggines, 2013: 186). Social artefacts according to du Plooy- Cilliers et al (2014: 131), also include newspapers and books.

The research study has been conducted as a desktop study, making use of secondary data. "Secondary data is information that has already been collected, structured, and analyzed by other researchers" (Jovancic, 2021). The study referred to existing scholarly sources, such as books, newspaper articles, journals, online publications, and government reports.

Political violence comes in many forms, the study looked intensely on social artefacts that enounce a particular form of political violence, in essence, political assassinations. All articles reviewed in the study had common features which include political assassinations that took place in KZN.

During the research process, social artefacts that investigated the issue of political assassinations at a national level were also available. Other sources dealt with other forms of political violence both at national and provincial level. These articles emphasized the reasons for political violence and its effects. However, the study only considered sources that enunciate the causes of political assassinations and the consequences they have thereof in the KZN province.

4.6. Sample Procedure

The study was informed by the purposive non-probability sampling method. "Non-probability sampling is used when one wants to gain the views of only a niche or targeted set of people, based on their location or characteristics" (Qualtrics, 2022). This research study was bothered by the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN, and the use of non-probability sampling was the best method to inform the study because "non-probability sampling techniques, pick items or individuals for the sample based on the researcher's goals" (Taherdoost, 2016). To specifically pick sources that modulate the aspect of political assassinations in KZN would assist in responding to the research question.

Non-probability sampling uses subjective judgment and utilizes convenient selection of units from the population (Ayhan, 2011: 1). The study selected units that spoke about political assassinations in KZN. Probability sampling would not have given convenient sources for analysis because the study had a specific interest on political violence which took place in the

form of political assassinations in a particular area, the KZN province. According to du Plooy-Cilliers et al (2014: 142), "with purposive sampling, the researcher purposefully chooses the elements that they wish to include in the sample based on the list of characteristics". Sources that were considered by the study were selected on purpose, in order to respond to the proposed research question. Sources with information on political killings that took place in KZN, specifically between 1978 and 2019 were taken into account. This time frame was intentionally selected to contextualize the research and limit the sample size, while taking into consideration the two periods of political administration in South Africa (the Apartheid regime and the Democratic dispensation).

Du Plooy-Cilliers (2014: 143), further maintains that "the advantage of non-probability sampling is that we can ensure that each element of our sample will assist with our research, because each element fits with the population parameters of the study". The population parameters of the study were social artefacts that looked into the phenomenon of political assassinations in the KZN province. All sources were selected purposefully because the selected sources were going to best respond to the research question.

[4.7. Data Collection Method](#)

This research study adopted the case study approach as a method of data collection. "Qualitative methods of data collection afford the researcher the opportunity to understand the why, what, and how of phenomena" (du Plooy-Cilliers, 2014: 173). This method of data collection is suitable for this study because the research paper is a qualitative paper, which seeks to understand further the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN, with a deeper analysis on the causes, and consequences these assassinations have in the province.

A case study is a thick and detailed description of a social phenomenon that exists within a real-world context (du Plooy-Cilliers, 2014: 178). The research study was concerned with the normal and continuous occurrence of such assassinations in KZN. The first part of the study was concerned with defining political assassinations. The study also had an intention of identifying the causes and consequences of these assassinations in the province.

Looking at the aims of the research study, the case study approach became a suitable method of data collection because "case studies give an account of knowledge which offers a more detailed and clearer understanding of a particular subject" (Marelli, 2007: 1). Case studies became a preferred and appropriate method of data collection, so that the researcher can

understand many viewpoints and thoughts that address the aspect of political assassinations in the KZN province.

A case study approach is an attempt to understand a phenomenon within specific circumstances (du Plooy-Cilliers, 2014: 179). This assertion matches the purpose of the study which was to get an understanding on the issue of political assassinations, to grasp the reasons behind this phenomenon and the effect they have. "A case study is an appropriate research design when you want to gain concrete, contextual, in-depth knowledge about a specific real-world subject" (McCombes, 2019). The study was interested in finding extensive knowledge about political assassinations that took place in KZN.

According to a publication by the Business Research Methodology (BRM, 2022), there are three types of case studies. The descriptive case study, the explanatory study, and the exploratory case study. The descriptive case study addresses questions that look into issues of who, what, and where. The explanatory and the exploratory case studies address questions on how and why of the phenomenon. The research study consulted descriptive case studies that responded to the question on, what are the causes and consequences of political assassinations, and locating such concerns within a particular area which is the KZN province.

4.8 Data Analysis

The study made use of content analysis as a method of informing data analysis. "Content analysis is a qualitative analysis method that focuses on recorded human artefacts" (Crosley, 2021). This study was qualitative research which collected and sampled data from secondary sources. The study did not conduct any interviews, but solemnly drew attention from social artefacts, and this made content analysis the best method of analysis to inform the study.

The study focused on social artefacts that include newspaper articles, reports from Commissions of inquiry, books, journals and articles as content to be analyzed. All analyzed data had to speak on the phenomenon of political violence, but more especially on the aspect of political assassinations in the KZN province. The researcher focused on texts that highlighted the reasons behind such assassinations and how they affected the province.

Different articles considered the issue of political assassinations to be a normality in KZN politics, it is not a new phenomenon, and it still continues to prevail as a social concern. However, this study was interested in sources that display content relating to political assassinations in KZN between the year 1978 and 2019. The study was interested in the assassinations that existed in KZN during this timeframe.

The researcher categorized data from relevant sources manually, highlighting artefacts that speak about political assassinations in KZN, within a particular timeframe. In addressing the research question, the study did not place emphasis on the issue of political assassinations at a national level, however focus was placed in the KZN province. After collecting all relevant and precise information from different secondary sources, the researcher then used data to determine the root causes of political assassinations in KZN, in the mentioned time frame, and the impact they had in the socio-political environment of the province. The intention was to get an in-depth understanding of political assassinations and respond to the question under scrutiny.

4.9 Strategies to ensure Trustworthiness

4.9.1 Credibility

Du Plooy-Cilliers (2014: 258) defines credibility as the "accuracy with which the researcher interpreted the data that was provided by the participants". The study made use of secondary data, which is data collected and made available for other researchers. The social artefacts used in this data were secondary sources made available for the general public. Sources used were publications from journals and newspapers, government reports and published books.

4.9.2 Transferability

Kirk and Miller (1986) suggest that "transferability refers to a degree to which the results of qualitative research can be generalized or transferred to other contexts or setting". The findings of this research were also influenced by the condition of the area used for study. The findings of the study were based on the history of KZN and the conditions that existed in this particular province. The findings of this study may differ when applied to another province in South Africa, because the phenomenon is said to be prevalent in KZN. However, if findings were to be applied to a similar situation in the same province under scrutiny, the results would be similar because the data collected and sampled is credible and unchanging.

4.9.3. Dependability

Dependability refers to the quality of the process of integration that takes places between the data collection method, data analysis and the theory generated from the data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This study used case studies as a method of data collection and content analysis to analyze data. Case studies as social artefacts can be considered as credible as they have been published for the general public. The researcher analyzed case studies in order to get a deeper understanding on the aspect under consideration. The results of the study can be considered to

be consistent because sources used for data collection are unchanging as they are based on historical experiences.

4.9.4 Confirmability

Confirmability refers to how well the data collected support the findings and interpretation of the researcher. It indicates how well the findings flow from the data (du Plooy-Cilliers, 2014: 259). The question of concern in this study has been previously investigated and findings were published. The researcher has explained the research process undertaken for this study and how sources were selected and sampled. The researcher highlighted the themes of interest from the data collected and how information was categorized to ensure relevancy.

4.10. Ethical Considerations

This research study was conducted as secondary research. The study did not consult with any participants in a form of an interview. The study collected data from social artefacts. There was no consultation with any person of any age. The information collected for this study did not involve any confidential information. The study did not make any use of questionnaires, surveys, interviews or psychometric tests. The study was also not supported by funding which was likely to impact the outcomes of the study.

The study relied on secondary sources that have been accredited for public disposal such as reports from Commissions of inquiry, judicial proceedings, press investigations, newspaper articles and human rights reports. The issue of political assassinations is of vital importance, the study was not concerned with the perpetrators and victims of these assassinations. Where perpetrators and victims were mentioned, information was taken from sources approved for disposal. The highlight of historical experiences involving violence perpetuated because of racial and ethnic identities, the study made use of information considered to be a reality of the past and available for reference.

4.11 Challenges and limitations

The study was conducted during the global pandemic of COVID-19. The study was going to make use of social artefacts such as newspapers, books, journals and other secondary sources. The lockdown period posed a challenge when collecting data. Most secondary sources are found in libraries, and during the lockdown period libraries were closed. Access to the UKZN campus library was also limited given the restrictions in accessing the campus, given this was the main library to be used for data collection.

Most of the information relevant for this study could be accessed online. With the remedy from the institution to provide data bundles to access the internet served as a relief. However, the study was conducted while the researcher was at home. Network challenges also affected data collection and consultation with the supervisor due to network challenges.

4.12 Chapter Summary

This chapter has explained the research methodologies employed for this study. The chapter covered nine sections. Chapter three discussed research paradigms and approaches used in this study in order to respond to key questions of concern. This chapter explained the population considered for this research. Chapter three showed how data was collected, analyzed and interpreted in this study. The chapter explained how the study ensured trustworthiness throughout the research process. This chapter also explained ethical considerations and the challenges encountered when the research was conducted.

Chapter 5

PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Causes and Consequences of Political Assassinations

This chapter will outline the motives and consequences of politically related murders in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province. This chapter seeks to give an analysis on how these politically related murders affect the KZN communities and the reasons behind such killings. The two aspects have been investigated within the mentioned time frame, considering three different circumstances which contributed to the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN, namely, the Apartheid era, the transition era, and power struggles during the democratic era. In this chapter the phrases political violence and political killings will be used interchangeably with political assassinations. The study highlighted a number of people who were assassinated in the province. The study did not consider all political assassinations that took place in KZN within the mentioned time frame, however few cases have been selected as a sample to paint a picture on the causes and the impact of political assassinations in KZN during different time periods.

5.1 Causes of Political Assassinations

According to Frey (2007), "Assassinations of political rulers were undertaken for many different reasons ranging from political and ideological differences, to attract media attention, to the work of mentally deranged persons". The following section will explain the causes of political assassinations that took place in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province from the year 1978 to 2019. This chapter will highlight five subtopics that serve as causes to the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN.

5.1.1 The struggle for liberation

The study finds that the struggle for liberation contributed to the problem of political assassinations in KZN. The road to democracy in South Africa was not simply serene. As established earlier in chapter 2, the South African democracy is a bloody democracy because attempts for the acquisition of freedom were met with resistance which eventually led to deaths. This was caused by the determination of activists and the resistance from the Apartheid government. These incidents are best explained by Barriento's (2018: 2) reflection of human nature, as he claims that conflict and violence exist in societies because some seek change while others are comfortable with existing social norms. In South Africa before 1994, some had a desire to end the Apartheid system while others were eager to maintain the system of separation.

The struggle for liberation was a call for decolonization. Hargreaves (1996: 244), argued that the central theme of decolonization is the creation of self-governing states. The struggle for liberation was a call for independence. The oppressed class striving to be set free from shackles of oppression. The colonized subject as suggested by Fanon (1963) embarks on a journey to change the status quo. The uprising is motivated by the realist assumptions of human nature. The insurrection is driven by the colonized and oppressed class. The upheaval is a struggle for power, an attempt to acquire political power, a passion for freedom, and a desire for better life. Decolonization as suggested by Fanon (1963: 1), cannot be a peaceful process because it sets out to bring about change. Change of the status quo, the elimination of one group by another. Colonization is characterized by exploitation and oppression of a particular group of people (oppressed). Colonization benefits and empowers a particular group (oppressor). Decolonization aims to change the mentioned social setting, to bridge the gap between the oppressor and the oppressed, the privileged and the disadvantaged as explained by conflict theory. The process of decolonization is motivated by the desire for a transformed society and the negation that comes from those who are in positions of power. As suggested by the conflict theory those in position of resources through access to power wish to maintain the system, whilst those who remain without resources due to exclusion will fight against the system. Through decolonization the disempowered fight for empowerment, and the empowered fight to maintain their position. These opposing interests causes conflict in society, leading a way for antagonisms and violence. This situation is justified by the conflict theory as the theory maintains that "conflict is a result of continuous contention between the bourgeoisie and the proletariats (CFI, 2022). The poor class is fighting for liberation because the existing system of the time worked against their will. On the other hand, the rich class was eager to maintain the status quo because the system worked in their favour. The underdevelopment and lack of rights for the oppressed was beneficial to the development of the rich folks because the Apartheid system enabled cheap labour and unfair work conditions for entrepreneurs.

The quest for liberation through activism as found in the literature review led to political murders in the KZN province. In 1978, the assassination of Dr Rick Turner was motivated by his involvement in the struggle for liberation, or the attempts to decolonize South Africa. "Dr Richard Albert David Turner was a charismatic political philosopher and theorist who was also an activist and educationist. He was highly influential in the re-emergence of the Black labour movement and one of the first in the white left to appreciate the significance of the Black Consciousness Movement. He influenced many future activists, historians, and theorists"

(South African History Online, 2022). Dr Rick Turner was known for his activism and political ideas which were in advocacy for the liberation of black people. The South African activist and Durban resident had a close friendship with South African liberation icon, Steve Biko who also died at the hands of the Apartheid police for his political ideas, however not in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province. Dr Turner was assassinated because of his political ideas and his contribution to the liberation struggle.

The study finds that Mrs Victoria Mxenge and Mr Griffiths Mxenge also fell victim to political assassinations in KZN due to their political activism. The Mxenge couple, assassinated on different occasions, were lawyers that had a major contribution to the struggle for liberation. Griffiths Mlungisi Mxenge was assassinated in 1981 in a KZN Durban township known as Umlazi. "Mr Mxenge was an African National Congress Apartheid activist" (South African History Online, 2022). The Presidency Republic of South Africa (2022) under the order of Luthuli Silver profiles recognized Mxenge as a "civil rights lawyer who fearlessly defended the victims of the Apartheid regime despite being harassed, detained and banned on frequent occasions".

Mrs Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge, also a Human Rights Lawyer who played a vital role in the call and drive for independence and freedom in South Africa was assassinated for political reasons. "Mama Victoria Mxenge was a fearless, and a selfless leader during the struggle against Apartheid, particularly in Kwa-Zulu Natal" (Dlomo, 2019). Dr Rick Turner, Mrs Victoria Mxenge, and Mr Griffiths Mxenge represent a number of people who were assassinated for political reasons in the KZN province. The three activists were targeted for their contribution in the liberation struggle.

The Apartheid regime enforced a fragmented society. A class society according to Marx, a compartmentalized society according to Fanon and social stratification according to Weber. This social classification gave birth to social iniquities. Apartheid created two different worlds and the Natal was also a victim of such stratification. Natal was a colonial society and a part of South Africa, which means it was regulated by the Apartheid policy. The remarks from the *Wretched of the Earth* are worth consideration because Frantz Fanon (1963: 15) writes that "Apartheid is but one method of compartmentalizing the colonial world". Apartheid ensured the creation of a divided society. A white world, and a black world. The world of the rich and the world of the poor. A world of bliss and a world of misery.

Apartheid is a product of colonialism. Fanon (1963) maintains that a colonial world is a divided world. There is a world of foreigners and the world of the natives. The conditions of life in these worlds are different. Life in the world of foreigners is peaceful, stable, and honourable. Life in the world of the natives is miserable, or in Hobbes' words, it is "nasty, brutish and short" (Kelly et al, 2022: 14). The rich world, the world of foreigners as explained by Marx in the communist manifesto (2015), is created and maintained at the expense of the working class, the proletariats.

The rich are exploitative over the poor, and in South Africa during the era of colonialism, race played a crucial role as a cause of misery or entitlement. Race determined social status during the colonial and Apartheid era in South Africa. These divisions in society led to what Karl Marx referred to as "class consciousness". Constituents of different classes become aware of their social position. The rich knows that they are in a superior position and ideally, they oppose any attempts to restructure society. The poor are aware of their conditions and have a desire to be free from such shackles. However, the poor knows that the rich will not simply evacuate their position. The divisions in society marked by exploitation and deprivation later lead to conflict in society because the privileged want to remain at the trough of the social pyramid and the marginalized and disadvantaged classes wish to destabilize and collapse the social structure as they believe the system is unjust and oppressive.

Human nature also played an important part in the political tension and violence that existed during Apartheid. Thucydides argues that "men are motivated by honour, greed, and above all fear" (Gilpin, 1984). The oppressor was motivated by fear. Fear of losing power and status. The notion of greed plays part with the processes of deprivation and exploitation. The oppressor was eager to maintain the position of superiority and might in society.

On the other hand, as suggested by Thucydides, "humans are motivated by the eagerness of being better than the rest" (Barrientos, 2018: 1). This analysis can explain the conditions of the oppressed, the ambition for freedom and the desire to be free from misery. This speaks to the intention to occupy a superior position in society.

The tension between the two classes in society led to an uprising which caused the phenomenon of political assassinations in KZN. The colonialists were eager to maintain power, the activists were also eager to access power. This then created a platform of absolute violence. Activists were killed in the province, and some fled to exile. This reality in KZN marked the death of

Mama Victoria Mxenge, Dr Rick Turner, Mr Griffiths Mxenge, and many others. This situation can also explain the attempt to assassinate Fatima Meer.

As highlighted by Nomarwayi (2020), " violence was sparked by social marginalization and a relative lack of economic opportunity during the colonial and Apartheid administrations". Colonialism and Apartheid were characterized by deprivation, exploitation, and inequalities. Attempts to destabilize and rectify such issues led to political assassinations of those who were eager to challenge the oppressive systems.

Relative deprivation and exclusion contributed to political violence which led to the issue of political assassinations in South Africa. "Marx explains the general source of conflict in society, and his concern was with a group's sense of deprivation caused by class" (Corporate Finance Institute, 2022). Colonialism and Apartheid created a class society, characterized by social exclusion and deprivation. This existing exclusion and deprivation led to class conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed. Political assassinations then became an outcome of such conflict.

Political assassinations during the Apartheid era were used as a strategy to eliminate those who were involved in the liberation struggle. The Human Research Commission found that "in the early 1990s political assassinations were directed to office bearers of the newly banned ANC, MK members or members of the allied organizations (Nomarwayi, 2022). During the Apartheid era, left-wing political parties were committed to overthrow the Apartheid government. Members of these left-wing parties, activists, and supporters were assassinated. These parties conflicted with the Apartheid government due to deprivation, exclusion, and exploitation. According to Hayes (2022), "one outcome of conflict is a revolutionary event". Revolutionary events are what led to the death of revolutionaries in KZN during the Apartheid era.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1998) reported that state agents were responsible for carrying out these hits, some were death squads like that co-founded by Dirk Coetzee in Vlaakplaas. Political assassinations which took place from the 1970s to the late 1990s can be considered as a vertical, or up-down type of violence because it was carried out by government to civilians.

5.1.2 Inter-Party Politics

The study establishes that inter-party politics have contributed to some of the political killings that have been witnessed by the country. The struggle for liberation was not in vain. The contest

for freedom led to the possibility of a new South Africa. Unfortunately, political assassinations did not end when democracy became a possibility. Political assassinations now took form in a horizontal manner rather than the previously vertical manner, meaning that violence was not mainly precipitated by government to civilians, but civilians were in conflict with each other. Political assassinations were now not only carried out by state security agents, but also occurred between different political groups. At this point political killings were driven by inter-party politics.

Chinua Achebe (2006: 10), in his book titled, *Things fall apart*, quoted a Nigerian proverb which says, "when the moon is shining, the crippled becomes hungry for a walk". According to a publication by CliffsNotes (2022), "this proverb represents a belief in the protective quality of moonlight in contrast with the fear of darkness". The possibility of a new dawn in South Africa sparked competition and conflict between political parties. Bruce (2013: 13) maintains that during this period political killings were used as a feature of political contestation. Political killings were now a product of political party competition. Parties clashed with each other as they were ambitious of securing power in the new South Africa.

Phakathi (2019: 99) argues that political killings which occurred between political parties during the transition period were not a result of a revolution but were caused by the pursuit for power. Political parties had a desire to secure power in the new South Africa. Targeted individuals in KZN were not only activists but also future potential leaders, influential people, and supporters. Political parties were conflicting because they were competing for political power.

Inter-party politics were not only a feature of the transition era and the democratic era. During the oppressive era political parties would also clash with each other. This is when the country saw parties like the ANC and Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), being banned in South Africa. Military wings of political parties such as uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) were formed in order to fight against the violent means used by the NP government. However, during the oppressive era, parties that advocated for change were in support of each other because they had a common goal, which was the pursuit for freedom. During the transition era, there was conflict between the very same parties because of the perceived future of South Africa.

Inter-party politics in KZN which contributed to the widespread existence of political assassinations were deeply rooted in competition and ideological clashes between political

parties. The type of violence fuelled by inter-party politics can be termed as black-on-black violence. This violence between and within black communities was blamed on the National Party (NP), under the assumption that the NP was interested in dividing "black communities" in order to collapse the attempt to democratize South Africa. On the other hand, violence between political parties is an unavoidable condition because of the desire of occupying positions of power. Inter-party politics that took hold of the province during the transition era was not regulated because the country was not yet democratic. Squabbles were unregulated because different parties wanted to maintain publicity and relevancy in the democratic South Africa.

Violence between political parties in the KZN province led to widespread political murders in the province. Many political parties were part of the power squabbles in the province. However, conflict between the ANC and the IFP had a significant contribution to the prevalence of political assassinations in the province. Nhlumayo Richard Nomaquiza who was an ANC supporter "was stabbed and shot dead by named IFP supporters in KwaDandala, near Port Shepstone on the 2nd of September 1990" (SAHO, 2022). Nhlumayo Siggoko Philip an IFP supporter was also killed in Ensimbini near Port Shepstone in the year 1992. Political party affiliation placed people's lives in danger, because inter-party politics meant people could be killed due to the choice of parties they wish to support and follow.

The revered KZN chief Inkosi Mhlabunzima Joseph Maphumulo was shot dead getting into a car in 1991 (SAHO, 2022). Political party clashes between the ANC and the IFP were also motivated by the clash of ideologies. The ANC advocated for a decentralized yet unified democratic South Africa. The IFP advocated for Zulu Nationalism. The issue of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo was controversial because he was a Zulu chief and yet he supported the ANC. Most Zulu chiefs and the late Zulu Monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini did not fully endorse the IFP at the time, and this was problematic because the founder of the Inkatha Freedom Party, chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is also a direct progeny of the Zulu royal blood, an uncle to the then Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini.

Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo joined King Goodwill Zwelithini in 1975 to form the Inala party in opposition to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Buthelezi used threatening tactics to force the Inala party to dissolve, denouncing Maphumulo as someone bent on destroying Zulu unity (Robataille, 2022).

The relationship between the two royal broods, Chief Maphumulo and Chief Buthelezi was frictional. Chief Buthelezi had made attempts to unseat Chief Maphumulo as a chief. Chief Maphumulo was considered to be a peacekeeper, a negotiator, and activist. This led to his appointment as the president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (CONTRALESA) (Robitaille, 2022). "Chief Maphumulo led CONTRALESA to align itself with the ANC. He was a very strong believer in a unified South Africa (Van Kessel, 1997). This move intensified political tensions in the province which encompassed Zulu aboriginals because if Chiefs aligned themselves with the ANC, the IFP would have problems in securing political numbers.

The assassination of Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo which occurred in the 25th of February 1991, was driven by his political ideas. The assassination of Chief Maphumulo can be considered to be a product of inter-party politics in the province because of his well-known political ideas and the attrition he had with the Inkatha Freedom Party. Chief Mhlabunzima's chauffeur who was a witness to the chief's death was also killed.

Reggie Hadebe was also a victim to the intensified inter-party politics in the KZN province in the 1990's. The deputy chairperson of the ANC Natal Midlands was assassinated on the 27 of October 1992. Daluxolo Luthuli who testified in the TRC, told the Commission that "On Saturday after the assassination of Reggie Hadebe from Pietermaritzburg there was an IFP march to the Durban City Hall. At the march he met Bongani Sithole. Who informed him of his involvement in the assassination of the deputy chairperson" (TRC, 1998: 283). Inter-party politics in KZN had a terrifying impact in the province. The mentioned individuals belong to a larger list of people who were assassinated in the province for political reasons.

The death of Sifiso Nkabinde was a result of inter-party politics in KZN. The political roots of Sifiso Nkabinde are in the African National Congress. Nkabinde had been politically active in Richmond during the liberation movement and enjoyed some benefits through deployment in offices of the provincial legislature in 1994. In the KZN province Nkabinde was a well-known politician. He once acted as the secretary general of the ANC in the Kwa-Zulu Natal Midlands region (SAHO, 2022). Nkabinde parted ways with the ANC in 1997 due to the allegations that he was a spy for the former Apartheid government. After his divorce with the ANC he joined Bantu Holomisa's United Democratic Movement (UDM) and became the National Secretary General and Chairman of the movement in Kwa-Zulu Natal.

At the time of his assassination, he was a member of the UDM. In the late 1990's political party territorial control was the centre of violence in the Richmond area. Different communities were best known by political party endorsement and affiliation. This contributed to the widespread of political violence and assassinations because parties clashed with each other trying to secure power in the Richmond area. Nkabinde was a warlord in Richmond. His Defence Unit had been reported to have influenced political violence and killings in the area.

Sifiso Nkabinde was not killed during the oppressive era. He was assassinated when South Africa recently became a democratic regime, five years after the first democratic elections. Nkabinde was not killed by members of the UDM, but he was killed by members of his former party the ANC. Ardè (2020: 31) also maintains that Sifiso Nkabinde was killed by ANC comrades, and his son, Vic Nkabinde affirms that although his father helped shape the ANC in KZN, he was also killed by his comrades. Bheki Cele, the current minister of police in South Africa, made comment that the ANC did not kill Sifiso Nkabinde, those responsible for his murder could have been members of the party but they acted as individuals. A source that investigated the murder of Nkabinde told Ardè that the statement by Cele was incorrect because the order to kill Nkabinde came from ANC top braas and they all knew about it (Ardè, 2020: 31). Sifiso Nkabinde was murdered by a competing political party for political reasons.

Sifiso Nkabinde's murder was motivated by inter-party politics in the Richmond in area. Squabble for power led to political tensions in the KZN province. Violence was at the peak in the KZN province because political parties were interested in securing power at local level. Politicians who gained fame and prominence at local level were a serious threat to other competing political parties. People like Sifiso Nkabinde died because of political party clashes in KZN.

Interparty politics also exist in the democratic era and have continued to fuel disputes that later led to assassinations. The IFP and the NFP also clashed politically in the KZN, and the clash between these two parties led to the death of certain party members. The IFP experienced factional battles which led to the formation of the NFP. The IFP and NFP's political rivalry and animosity contributed to the rise of murders committed for political reasons in the province. Mr Mthunzi Innocent Gwala was killed on 14 July 2012 at a hostel in the Durban Township known as Umlazi. Previously Gwala had been a member of the IFP but later joined the NFP. Sizwe Cedric Gwala, a brother to the deceased told the Moerane Commission (2018: 132) that on the 14th July himself and his late brother went out for drinks in the hostel where they lived.

Someone, who was an IFP member, said he does not drink with NFP members. Mthunzi responded affirmatively maintaining that indeed he was a member of the NFP, and even showed the NFP t-shirt he was wearing. Mr Sizwe Gwala advised the deceased that they should leave the place of entertainment due to the minor quarrel that took place. Sizwe Gwala and Mthunzi Gwala stayed in different hostel rooms. Sizwe Gwala the brother of the deceased was woken up with news that his brother Mthunzi was shot dead in his room. Sizwe told the Moerane Commission that he believes Mthunzi, his brother was killed for political reasons because of the quarrel regarding his NFP membership and the t-shirt.

With political violence during the transition era in KZN there was violence between people of the same group. In the transition era it was tension between black dominated political parties. "Marx maintains that there is constant struggle between the rich and the poor" (CFI, 2022). Conflict between political parties during the Apartheid era can be interpreted in Marx's words, as violence between the rich and the poor, the oppressive group representing the rich and privileged, and the oppressed group representing the poor and disadvantaged groups. During the transition era there was mostly violence between people of the same group, violence between the relatively poor, as they were eager to access positions of poor.

Political antagonism and tension among political parties in KZN, notably the ANC and IFP, intensified the popularity of political assassinations in KZN. Gwala (1992) argued that "assassinations were employed to systematically remove the leadership from the two opposing groups during the ANC-IFP conflict". Disputes between the ANC and IFP led to societal fragmentation in KZN which also led to the rising numbers of political assassinations in the province.

Thucydides argues that "human beings are motivated by a desire to rule over other" (Barrientos, 2018: 1). The quest by political parties to have control over the KZN province led to political killings. Political killings were used as a way to have territorial control in parts of KZN, hence during this period you would hear of places controlled by different parties.

Nomarwayi (2020) argues that the tension and antagonism between the ANC and the IFP was highly influenced by the National Party in trying to implement the divide and rule policy. The Apartheid government has been viewed as an instigator of violence between the ANC and the IFP. In KZN political assassinations have also been linked with external networks such as the taxi industry, gangs, and warlords in the province.

Inter-party conflict can be best explained through the analysis of the conflict theory with the basic feature of competition as a prerequisite for conflict. Such conflict was violent and in Arnold Mindell's (2014) words "A violent act in one direction will eventually be encountered with a violent act in the other direction". Competition for power between political parties in KZN has a major impact on political party rivalries.

Inter-party politics in KZN before 1994 were not only influenced by the tension between the ANC and the IFP. However, parties such as United Democratic Movement were also involved, which marked the assassination of Sifiso Nkabinde. Even after 1994 political assassinations also remain an issue in KZN. After 1994 parties like the National Freedom Party (NFP), also became part to the competition for political power.

5.1.3 Intra-Party Politics

The existence of political killings in KZN have also been influenced by internal party politics and conflict. However, the prevalence of such killings has found comfortability mostly in the governing party, the ANC. For Nomarwayi (2020), "these killings emerge from political lick spittle disputes and factionalism within the ruling party". The ANC has been a victim of such factional battles, which later caused the party to mourn the death of its own comrades.

Factionalism in the ANC is the main element for political assassinations both within the ANC and the KZN province. The high number of political assassinations in the ANC also contribute to the rising statistics of political violence in KZN. "Paulus Zulu pointed out that there were about 400 members of parliament countrywide, 80 members of the Provincial Legislature in KZN and more than 200 councillors in Durban alone. Competition was fierce at the bottom of the pyramid, one either has the job or nothing at all" (Ardè, 2020: 85). The ANC has most membership in the KZN province.

Internal party politics mainly in the African National Congress have led to the murder of politicians in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province. Mrs Thokozile Alice Phakathi was assassinated on 10 July 2015 due to political party battles in the ANC. "Mrs Phakathi was a member of the ANC. She was involved in the ANC locally at Kwa-Ndengezi and the Women's League chairperson (Moerane Commission, 2018: 32). The problem in the ANC lies in the contradicting intentions on why people decide to join the "gigantic movement". Others joined the movement out of serious community concerns, to serve communities, and ensure service delivery. Others join the movement for self-enrichment and to access government contracts.

Those who have good, morally based reasons to join the ANC will definitely clash with those that treat the party as a golden goose.

Mrs Phakathi reflects the people who join the movement out of serious concerns for the community. In the Moerane Commission (2018), Phakathi was described as a hardworking member of the ANC, volunteering to assist community members. Due to her hard work and commitment, political fame was bestowed upon her, that she even received a phone call from someone at the ANC regional level pertaining to a nomination as a local councillor. The then sitting councillor had occupied the position for more than two terms. Mrs Phakathi was reluctant to accept the nomination because she was familiar with the ANC's modus operandi. "She thought accepting the nomination will not put her life at risk because she was a woman and that others were maybe killed because they were males" (Moerane Commission, 2018: 33). The ANC in the Kwa-Ndengezi area had factional battles. The sitting councillor was disliked by some members of the community and by the other ANC faction in the area because they believed the councillor had been in office for many years, but there was no change in the area. Mrs Phakathi who was known in the area as a hardworking member of the ANC and the community, faced serious threats from dear comrades of the ANC after she had been advised to accept the nomination as a local councillor. Her ascension to the position of being a councillor would unseat the long sitting councillor of the area. Mrs Phakathi was assassinated just a few months after she had received a call advising her to accept nomination as a local councillor.

Phumza Prisca Diko gave evidence in the Moerane Commission regarding the assassination of her late fiancé, Mr Tshibase of uMzimkhulu in April 2017. The deceased was a teacher by profession and a part time proportional representational (PR) councillor. Phumza Diko told the Commission (2018: 71) that "Mr Tshibase during his second term as ward councillor mentioned that certain people did not want him, but the community needed him. The people who did not want him were ANC members. There was internal conflict in the ANC. Conflict in the form of factions in the ANC is solved through murder. To be a politician at local or municipal level means you should join a certain faction and be on the lookout as comrades who wear the same regalia, sing the same songs, and preach the same ANC ideology may plot to kill you.

Vusumuzi Bonginkosi Ntombela was also assassinated due to the heated political tensions in the ANC. The Luvisi Primary School deputy principal and local councillor was shot and killed

in a classroom where one learner Elizabeth Nhleko was also killed and other, Bongumusa Cele suffered gunshot injuries but survived. Simphiwe Ntombela a brother to the late Vusumuzi Ntombela told Ardè (2020: 49) that "Vusumuzi wouldn't move with the wind and that's the reason he was assassinated". As suggested by his brother Vusumuzi was killed because of his moral stance on good governance. His comrades saw him as a hindrance and a nuisance, which led to his death because he was disturbing those who were eager to "eat" through municipal positions.

Khayaalethu Thobela was also murdered in KZN on 20 April 2017. He was also a victim of the internal conflict in the ANC. At the time of his death Thobela was the speaker of uMzimkhulu municipality. Thobela was assassinated prior to the Regional Elective Conference of the ANC and he was also nominated for the position of regional secretary. Thobela clashed with prominent members of the ANC such as the late Sindiso Magaqa. Prior to the conference there were different slates contesting positions in the then upcoming Regional Elective Conference. There were two main slates with preferred candidates for positions. The slates were posted on social media. Khayaalethu Thobela's picture was removed and replaced with a picture of a dog and thereafter a candle. Nkosinathi Richmond Thobela, who is a brother to the late Khayaalethu Thobela told the Moerane Commission (2018: 53) that "the family does not believe that Khayaalethu was killed because of corruption at uMzimkhulu municipality and also because he allegedly refused to sign a certain document in his capacity as speaker. The family believed that the underlying cause of his death was related to the internal contestation in the ANC, specifically the two slates that were contesting for the Regional Elective Conference".

Thabiso Zulu maintains that "we (the ANC) broke the rule of omertà, the party of Nelson Mandela had become like the mafia" (Onishi and Gebrekidan, 2018). The ANC is depicted as a mafia. Comrades living in fear, comrades fighting each other. Whoever is feared the most finds opportunities to escalate to higher political positions. Comrades who are notorious are celebrated as "true leadership".

The incident whereby some politicians do not want to leave positions of power whilst others are highly interested in occupying these positions, reflects the fundamental anticipations of the conflict theory where those who are in power do not want to let go of that power, and those without power are eager to access such power. Competition and the desire to access political power in the ANC has led to comrades hiring hitmen to get rid of any obstacles in their journey to secure power.

Mr Edwin Mkhize, who was the provincial secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in KZN also suggested that factionalism in the ANC contributed towards the rise of political assassinations in the province (Krelekrele, 2018). Mavundla who was once a member of the ANC but later joined the NFP, justified his shift due to the fear of the political culture in the ANC which led to political killings (Ardè, 2020: 43). The deep divisions within the ANC contribute towards the prevalence of political assassinations in the KZN province.

Ralph Mathekga (2021: 7) views the ANC as "a party seemingly at war with itself". If the ANC is at war within itself, political assassinations are used as a method to defeat fellow comrades. The conditions within the ANC in KZN paint the ANC comrades in a realist perspective. ANC comrades fighting over positions of deployment to the extent of murdering each other. Political assassinations in KZN, under the democratic dispensation have been influenced by the tensions and competition within the South African ruling party.

Political violence in the ANC is all about competition for power. Comrades are fighting with each other to access government positions of power, at local level. Intra-party politics represents a third formation of violent political competition in the KZN province. In the first phase competition existed between black and white groups, the oppressor and the oppressed. In the second phase competition existed between political parties, driven by the clash of political ideas. The last phase is competition within political parties. In the democratic dispensation the ANC is the main party that experiences internal political conflict which affects the stability of the province. This kind of competition is motivated by the desire to secure political power positions. Throughout the three phases the common feature is that competition is all about the desire to access, maintain, and demonstrate political power.

5.1.4 Party dominance in KZN

The study finds that party dominance has contributed to the political assassinations that have been in the province. Previously the ANC and the IFP were the most notable political parties in KZN. Recently the ANC has established dominancy in the KZN. Intra-party politics, especially in the ruling party, the ANC have also been noted as a major contributor to the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN. If internal party politics in the ANC lead to political assassinations and the ANC is dominant in KZN, then issues of the ANC will affect the increase in number of political assassinations in KZN.

The ANC is a party at war with itself. Political assassinations are prevalent in KZN because the ANC is dominant in the province. The highest number of delegates in the ANC are from

the KZN province (Naki, 2022). Political Analyst, Dirk Kotzè, quoted by the Citizen (2022), maintains that any candidate that is popular in KZN is most likely to win a position in the ANC national conferences. The Africa Report (2021) also argues that the ANC holds a strong majority in KZN. The ANC's internal factions and squabbles have an impact in the rising numbers of political assassinations in KZN. The province becomes a battlefield for ANC carders.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has also established dominancy in two provinces, the KZN and the Gauteng province. This is an inference from the Apartheid era, the transition era, and the early years of the South African democracy. The IFP certainly has its roots and fruits in the KZN province. The IFP is a Zulu nationalist party. The KZN province is the home of the Zulus, therefore the IFP is rooted in the KZN province. At some stage the IFP also experienced factions that a new party was formed, the National Freedom Party. The National Freedom Party like the IFP, established dominancy in the KZN province.

The dominancy of such parties in KZN contributes to the political violence in the province due to competition over limited spaces of political power. For the ANC's intra-party politics, the KZN became a warzone. For the inter-party politics that took place during the Apartheid era, the transition era, and the early years of the South African democracy, between the IFP, ANC, UDF, UDM, and the NFP, the KZN province became a battlefield for such violence.

5.1.5 Politics as a vocation

The study establishes that in the post-Apartheid South Africa, particularly in KZN, political assassinations are used as a method to secure political power. Politicians are interested in these political power positions because of the monetary benefits these positions come with. The Moerane Commission (2018), found that "election as a councillor allows for upward mobility in financial and social status. Also, ascension to the position of councillor puts one in close proximity for the manipulation of the tender process for personal benefit". Politicians in KZN are killing each other to access power for economic benefits.

In Marx's analysis of the conflict theory, "he emphasizes class conflict over economic resources" (Nickerson, 2021). The conflict theory suggests that if there is competition over limited resources, there will be conflict between the competitors. For Williams (2005) "there is nothing for politics do except to get out of the way and get other people of the way". Political assassinations in KZN are used a way to eliminate any obstacle to the political plan of securing power for economic gains.

Political assassinations in KZN exist mostly within the ANC. Ardè (2020) has even referred to the ANC as a "War Party". Political assassinations are common within the ANC because it is has access to positions of power as a governing and majority party. "ANC members seem to have become more at ease with violence, be it to settle scores or to remove obstacles, in the path of their enrichment" (Ardè, 2020: 78). Nomarwayi (2020) also gives a similar analysis. She argues that in KZN local politicians precipitate political killings for their own interests.

The conditions and the socio-economic environment in South Africa and the KZN province contribute to the widespread existence of political assassinations. "Thucydides sees human nature being brought to surface by circumstances" (Gilpin, 1984). South Africa is prone to economic devastations and issues of unemployment because it is a developing country. Due to the scarcity of employment opportunities and unstable job security to those who are employed, people manoeuvre with cautiousness. The economic conditions in South Africa contribute to the competition for political power which later leads to conflict.

Due to unstable economic conditions, people seem to be interested in positions of political power. Findings by the Moerane Commission (2018) noted that "the barriers of entry to becoming a councillor are extremely low. Essentially if one is a popular person without any academic or vocational qualifications one is able to become a councillor". There are less restrictions and regulations in becoming a public servant in South Africa. People are then attracted to positions of political power because of the relatively easy entry and monetary benefits these positions offer.

Politicians in KZN are in continuous conflict with each other due to competition for economic resources. This affirms the claim by Thucydides that "human beings tend to be motivated by ambition and self-advantage" (Barrientos, 2018: 2). Onwuegbuchulum (2022: 883) also maintains that "political violence in KZN is an outcome of competition for political power positions in local government structures". Competition for economic security is central to the prevalence of political assassination in KZN.

5.1.6 The proliferation of weapons in KZN

The increase in the easy access of weapons in KZN has also been noted as a contribution towards the widespread of political assassinations in the province. Thabiso Goba (2022) writes that "the proliferation of unregulated semi-automatic guns is behind the rise in drive-by shootings in KZN". Vusi Khumalo (2019) also argues that the proliferation of illegal firearms

in KZN is responsible for the provincial issues concerning political and taxi related killings, and deadly factional disputes.

Krelekrele (2018), refers to some episodes which influenced the snowballing of weapons and ammunition in KZN. These include weapons which were never accounted for from the Electricity Supply Commission (ESKOM), the Police force, Vlaakplaas, the Afrikaner Weerstansbeweging (AWB), and heists.

Guns from ESKOM: on the 24th of October 1991 a Commission of inquiry regarding the prevention of public violence and intimidation was established, with judge Richard Goldstone as the chairperson (Hurisa, 2009: 7). According to Mark Shaw (1994: 55) "the Commission was established in terms of the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation Act, No139 of 1991". One of the functions of the Commission included a duty to investigate the causes of violence and intimidation.

According to Krelekrele (2018), testimony given in 1994 to the Goldstone Commission described how an ESKOM member agreed to sell 1000 LMF firearms to intermediaries working on behalf of a top KZN government official. Even though ESKOM later claimed that the transaction had been cancelled, several of its registered guns are still missing.

Guns from the police: During the inter-party disputes in KZN in the 1990s, the National Party administration supported the IFP. During the Apartheid period, Eugene de Kock, a police colonel, torturer, and killer, spoke about how, in the early 1990s, Inkatha paramilitary forces got covert police help to attack ANC followers. 100 shotguns made at home were to be provided by him. De Kock asserts that he personally provided AK-47s, light machine guns, explosives, and truckloads of ammo to high-ranking Inkatha leaders (Krelekrele, 2018).

Guns from Vlaakplaas: eNews Channel Africa (2014), described Vlaakplaas as a farm about 20 kilometres west of Pretoria. The base was headed by Dirk Coetzee and later Eugene de Kock. It was composed of 15 members termed as a death squad, which were a group of elite assassins, and Vlaakplaas was their headquarters. The death squad would kidnap anti-Apartheid activist and bring them to Vlaakplaas, where they would be tortured for information, or sent out to assassinate anti-Apartheid activists. Krelekrele (2018) contends that the death squad would provide weapons to KZN, and an estimated 65 out of 70 tons of weaponry sent by KZN government trucks in the 1980s are believed to have disappeared.

5.1.7 Whistleblowing

The study also asserts that whistleblowing has fuelled the outbreak of political assassinations in KZN. By definition, political assassinations are extended to individuals who are politically active or politicians in general. However, it is not only politicians who are competing for power that suffer as victims of political assassinations. Whistle-blowers have also been targets of such political violence in the KZN province.

According to the South African Government Anti-Corruption publication (2022), "whistleblowing is a term used by law enforcement agencies when a person passes on relevant and reliable information concerning wrongdoing, such as fraud and corruption to a person or organisation they trust". Whistle-blowers, blow the whistle if there is any form of corruption, maladministration, or fraud detected.

On the 13 of July 2017, Mr Sindiso Magaqa was shot but later died on the 4th of September 2017 at the Chief Albert Luthuli Hospital. Magaqa was an extrusive member of the African National Congress. He joined the movement at a young age. He served in different positions in the ANC and through deployment. Magaqa was once secretary of the Kokstad region, Regional secretary of the ANC youth league, provincial deputy secretary, national secretary general of the ANC youth league, at the time of his death he was a PR councillor at uMzimkhulu municipality. "Magaqa's family believes that he was shot because of corruption at uMzimkhulu municipality. He first complained about the uMzimkhulu Memorial Hall, he mentioned that there was no progress on the hall, but the money was being spent on it" (Moerane Commission, 2018: 50). Magaqa was allegedly assassinated for raising concerns and demanding accountability in the Umzimkhulu local municipality.

An IFP councillor, Mr Peter Nxele was also assassinated for reporting unethical behaviour which was happening in the Dundee municipality. "Peter Nxele was murdered after he flagged that R50 000 was missing from a council business grant" (Ardè, 2020: 42). Nxele was targeted for raising concerns about municipal corruption and maladministration.

To be a whistle-blower in KZN is to endanger one's life. In KZN "those who raise things and tell the truth are permanently removed. You end-up having to toe the line or not. If you expose most of these things, then the soil is ready for you. That is the consequence of exposing corruption" (Ardè, 2020: 190). The protection of whistle-blowers is of vital importance because they ensure accountability. However, in the KZN province, the ombudsmen of wrongdoing are murdered by wrongdoers to cover tracks as they fear prosecution and accountability.

Protecting people who report corruption, maladministration, and government illegality is essential to ensure quality and effective public service (Mitchell, 2020: 274). In democratic societies whistle-blowers are important because they ensure that society is still managed and administered in line with democratic principles. If whistle-blowers are targeted by corrupt politicians this will have a negative impact in society. An official from the Abahlali base Mjondolo Movement in KZN maintained that "to report issues of corruption and criminal behaviour in government spaces, is to place one's life in danger" (Ardè, 2020: 190). Whistle-blowers in KZN are targeted because of the widespread corruption in different municipalities. Whistle-blowers are targeted by corrupt politicians who are eager to maintain positions of political power and avoid accountability.

Politicians kill whistle-blowers because of fear. Fear to be prosecuted and to lose out on the economic water well. Whistle-blowers are targeted because they are an obstacle in the journey of enrichment. Individuals such as Sindiso Magaqa and Khaya Thobela were assassinated because they were vocal about corruption (Ardè, 2020: 72). In KZN whoever intends to challenge and report an incident of corruption or maladministration in offices of public deployment is more likely to become a citizen of the cemetery.

5.1.8 Lack of leadership

Lack of leadership in this study is understood as government failing in its duties. In light of this, Zweli Mkhize argues that "KZN political killings create an impression of poor leadership" (Ngcobo, 2018). Proper leadership is essential in maintaining order in a particular society. The role of the state is essential in trying to suppress the issue of political assassinations. In an analysis of realism, by Thomas Hobbes, Paul Kelly (2020: 57) writes that:

"If left ungoverned, men will terrorise each other in state of nature, in which individuals will stop at nothing to ensure their own self-preservation or self-promotion. In the state of nature, the condition of man is a condition of war of everyone against everyone. To avert a descent into the state of nature, men must enter into a social contract, submitting to the authority and protection of a sovereign. The sovereign must be an absolute ruler with indivisible and unlimited power, to prevent factional strife and chaos, if a sovereign fails in their duty, the social contract is broken and individuals may take action, leading back to a state of nature"

Ismail who is a Taxi boss told Ardè (2020: 116), that "an industry with strong leadership enjoyed peace and profit. When leadership is shaky, you get violence and killings". If

government does not fully enforce its duties, this creates a space of criminal activities to bloom in society because wrongdoers fear no authority. In KZN this is an issue because corruption is also on its peak. Perpetrators of political assassinations commit this unlawful act, with the assurance of protection because those who had sent them to kill, offer a certainty of protection and financial benefits. Government officials can manipulate systems to offer protection to the perpetrators, if perpetrators are arrested, their legal fees can be taken care of, and wealth becomes a certainty.

Ardè (2020), makes note on how these hired hitmen are protected by the government officials. Some hitmen who had been involved in interparty killing in Richmond, when released from prison, they have opportunities within local municipalities some serving as security agents for the municipality or private bodyguards to mayors, councillors and other public servants at municipal level.

If government does not have a firm hand to perpetrators of political violence, such violence will continue to be an issue of concern. In KZN it is difficult for government to barricade the prevalence of political assassinations because government is administered by government officials, and these officials are responsible for this type of political violence. This instance suggests that government must act against itself. Anytime government is expected to act against itself the procedure is most likely to be inefficient. The Moerane Commission (2018) also found that "a lack of political leadership or manipulation by leaders is also a contributory factor to the disruption of branch, regional, and provincial meetings often resulting in the murder of politicians".

5.1.9 The popular pleasure-culture of war

Violence in the Kwa-Zulu Natal province as established in chapter two, has not been a recent development.. The founding father of the Zulu nation, King Shaka ka Senzangakhona Zulu, gained notability and credit as a warriorlike leader. Zulu's have been considered to be both proud of war and to thrive in war (SAHO, 2011). A Zulu writer (Mohlele, 2021) notes that Zulu's pride themselves with the "history of defiance, which includes the British's defeat in the battle of Isandlwana, Chief Bhambatha's rebellion against colonial domination and the contributions of stalwarts such as Chief Albert Luthuli in their fight against racial domination". Zulu's have embraced their bravery in challenging forms of oppression.

Leech (1998: 89) quotes a line from the daily news which argued that "Zulu's are famous as a nation of warriors". Violence for some Zulu people is an important attribute. In buttressing this

point, Meshack Radebe of the ANC argued that "this thing is in us" (krelekrele, 2018). Krelekrele (2018) argues that:

"In some rural areas and villages, the issue of violence has become culturally ingrained, violent traits have long been used to exhibit masculinity. For example, ikhaba or iintonga, or ukudlala izinduku (the game of fighting with sticks) is usually played during traditional ceremonies and young men gain status through this game. The more you defeat your peers, the higher will be your rank power and the more you will be feared and respected".

This can be noted as a cause to the prevalence of political assassinations in the province because such mentalities escalate to the political arena, whereby anyone who is feared and respected is considered worthy of public office. This issue also influences the political landscape when contestation exists. Comrades don't engage in peaceful deliberations to show competency, but any competition and hindrance is eliminated through a targeted killing.

During the period of colonialism, the Zulus were reluctant to cede into the colonial powers, and this led to widespread existence of wars in the Natal province. The attitude that Zulus are naturally violent is drawn from this period. The understanding that Zulus are violent and find pleasure in conflict can be considered to be a stereotype because the Zulu attitude to easily give into the colonial masters must be considered to be an act of patriotism rather than an act of savage. Zulus are known to be a proud nation. After the Apartheid era political violence in the form of political assassinations continues to be a concern. However, it is not true that such violence continues to be an issue because Zulus are violent by nature but there are many issues to be considered such as poverty in the province, the proliferation of weapons, the NP's divide and rule policy, and the human nature which exists in all humans, and not simply Zulus in particular. As suggested by the conflict theory, political violence can be driven by competition over finite resources.

5.1.10 Stomach Politics (Politics of the Belly)

There is a difference in treating politics as a vocation and the greediness that exists in those who occupy positions of power. Treating politics as a vocation has a negative impact that people do not want to leave offices of power because to vacate such positions means unemployment. One can be in the office of power and serve the public but refuse to vacate office that they can even murder those who are contesting them. Stomach politics refers to the greedy nature of a person occupying a position of power, not serving the public but using the position for personal gain and enrichment.

There is a Zulu idiom that says "idla la iboshwe khona". In English this saying is quoted as, "a goat will eat where he is tethered". This is exactly what politicians do in KZN. They gather around to dine, exploiting state resources, tenders, and government opportunities. Politicians fight to have access to government positions (the dining table) so they can have their opportunity to devour.

The issue of stomach politics is also entrenched in the realist assumptions of human nature, where human beings are understood as being greedy, selfish, and envious. If humans are then deployed to positions of power, human nature will make them exploit these positions for personal gain. Politicians are interested in positions of power so they can feed themselves. Competition over government resources leads to conflict. Conflict escalates to tension and antagonism, then later murder of politicians.

Political assassinations in KZN are closely intertwined with corruption in a form of stomach politics. Politicians access the public purse for personal gain and when there is competition to access state resources and money, or any attempt to report the abuse of state resources, politicians are often willing to protect themselves even through murder. This point is emphasized by Fan (2017) when he argues: "when politicians use public funds for personal interests, that can be considered as a violation of their oath of office". Political assassinations in context of stomach politics are driven by the clash of personal interests and the quest for the positions of power. In Kwa-Zulu Natal, the political quarrels and fights that lead to the murder of politicians is caused by the evil desires at war amongst politicians.

The study finds that the reality of stomach politics in KZN has had dire consequences for the province such including the prevalence of political assassinations. It can therefore be argued that the presence of contestation or an attempt to root out corruption, politicians often view this as an attempt by fellow comrades to ruin political careers and deprive them opportunities that come with positions of power. In IsiZulu this can be explained in a phrase which says "ukungiphuca iqatha emlonyeni" which translates as "to take a piece of meat from my mouth". "Eating within government positions of power is a process of accumulation whereby the politician acts on the opportunity to exploit his or her private access to public resources in order to survive and secure favourable prospects for the future" (Fan, 2017). As politicians are eager to live and maintain their political careers for a long time, political murders are also at the heart of the problem of political killings in KZN.

Stomach politics have been a clear contributor to the concern of political violence in KZN, especially within the democratic dispensation. It is worth noting that during the Apartheid era, political assassinations were more of a method to sustain power and maintain the existing status quo. The Apartheid government was against the transition that they would even kill anyone who went against the government of the time.

5.1.11 The South African tenderpreneur system

Albert Fritz, defined tenderpreneurship as a "portmanteau of tendering and entrepreneur, and the term describes a person within or outside government who abuses their political power and/or influence to secure government tenders and contracts (Fritz, 2014, cited in South African Government, 2014). Piper and Charman (2022: 1) defined tenderpreneur "as a South African colloquialism for a business person who uses political contracts to secure government procurement contracts (called tenders) often as part of reciprocal exchange of favours or benefits. The tenderpreneur system was put in place as a measure of empowerment to the previously disadvantaged and marginalized groups in South Africa according to the connotations of the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policy. Within the system, government outsources work to tenderpreneurs for a given fee.

In the context of local government, individuals who do business with municipalities secure contracts through alliance with the ruling party, bribery, and intimidation of executive council members who refuse to play for their tune (Koma, 2010). As a result of this reality of doing business in local government, tenderpreneurs have also been involved in the corruption in different local municipalities and subsequently the murder of politicians (Ardè, 2020). In March 2017 Richmond municipal manager Sibusiso Sithole was shot dead (Ardè, 2020: 34). His death was intertwined with the push and pulls regarding businessman and municipal tender contracts. In the Moerane Commission (2018: 141) evidence was given that Richmond was in the process of acquiring a financial management system and the municipality had identified seven providers. Mr Muwandi who was the owner of one of the companies that stood a high chance of getting the contract told the municipal manager Mr Sithole that he had paid a fee of R120 000 into a certain account because the Richmond's financial officer Sanjay Mewalall told him that his (Muwandi) company would be appointed if he paid something to facilitate the deal. Sithole asked that the matter be investigated and a few months later he was dead.

"The political violence in KZN does not always involve a hitman. But violence increasingly features in the factional disputes and competition for jobs, favours, and tenders that make up life in the ANC" (Ardè, 2020: 79). The irregularities in the tender system can cost politicians

their lives. Nathi Nkwanyana was also targeted for questioning the allocation and administration of a municipal tender. However, Nkwanyana's son Ntuthuko took bullets to send a message to his father. "Nkwanyana and other municipal authorities in the eThekweni municipality had disagreements with an electricity services provider in 2012. The municipality had contracts with Daily Double Trading, doing business as Pholobas Projects, to cut off unauthorized electrical connections. According to Nkwanyana, Pholobas was invoicing for employees who were not even there. Several council leaders concurred with his findings, and the company's contracts were halted in October 2013" (Ardè, 2020: 171). Nkwanyana was advised that Joseph Ngcobo who was the owner of Pholobas was well connected. Nkwanyana told Ardè (202: 172) that the murder of his son was meant to silence him.

The study finds that competition for such tenders and opportunities has contributed to the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN. It can be deduced from the study that politicians and tenderpreneurs are inseparable. The study further establishes that in some instances, politicians, their family members, and friends act as tenderpreneurs to secure contracts from government. Albert Fritz told parliament that "tenderpreneurship is the stuff of crooked cadres" (Fritz, 2014, cited in South African Government, 2014). Politicians use the tendering system to access wealth in the form of government contracts.

The study deduces that in the context of tenderpreneurship, political assassinations are used as a way to access contracts (eliminating the competition or hinderance which may be an official accounting officer) and also as a way to evade accountability if a contract has been achieved in a shady and illegal way. Politicians can go to the extremes of murder, in cases where they have pulled strings and the contract was granted but they were not selected as contractors. Political assassinations in the context of tenderpreneurship can also be used as a way to avoid authorities. On the other hand, tenderpreneurs themselves can also utilise assassinations to eliminate councillors or officials who may be in the way of them being awarded contracts. Ardè (2020: 178) wrote that in the eThekweni municipality ANC councillors Wiseman Mshibe and Sbu Sibiya were assassinated and tenderpreneurs were behind the political murders of these councillors.

5.2 Consequences of Political Assassinations in KZN

5.2.1 Community Divisions

Political killings in KZN led to social stratification. These community divisions existed mostly during the Apartheid era, the transition era, and the early years of democracy in South Africa. The dividing feature was not simply wealth or skin colour, but political affiliation. Communities were best identified by the political party they advocated for or the one they endorsed. This phenomenon was caused by inter-party politics in KZN. Tension between political parties were common mostly between the IFP and the ANC-UDF aligned structures, and at the later stage the NFP was also part of the power struggle.

In this instance the cause also becomes the effect. If members of a certain community were killed because of their political affiliation, this would spark political tension and conflict between communities resulting to more political killings in a form of retaliation. Kramer (2020: 543) found that "power struggles between political parties led to divisions and eventually almost every African community in KZN was divided in terms of political affiliation". Particularly during the transition era and the early years of South Africa's democratic administration, the community differences in KZN fuelled greater violence.

The IFP's concern for ethnic and tribalistic progress opposed other party's quest for national unity and this led to the dissolution of what used to be common ground between anti-Apartheid activists (Ojo, 2022). The tension between the ANC and the IFP also affected other parts of South Africa, such as Gauteng, especially in township and hostels. When Victoria Mxenge was assassinated in Umlazi, KZN, this also led to violence in the Eastern Cape, in a town known as King Williams Town.

These community divisions in KZN between the ANC and the IFP also led to political conflict which slowed down the journey to the attainment of democracy in South Africa. The IFP was said to be receiving assistance and support from the National party government, and this was seen as a method by the NP government to resist change.

5.2.2 Fear

The research finds that political assassinations in KZN instil a sense of fear in communities. This state of agitation is experienced by politicians, citizens, and whistle-blowers. Phakathi (2019: 115) argues that "political violence instils dread and an environment of unease in society". The research study finds that fear remained an unchanging element of political violence in all the three phases in which political killings have taken hold in KZN.

During the Apartheid era, political killings were mostly carried out by state security officials and civilians lived in fear. This was fear of not being aware whether family members who had joined the struggle for liberation would return alive, or family members would be summoned to collect dead bodies. The existence of political killings in KZN in the 1990s, that were perpetuated by inter-party politics threatened local civilians. Some people had to flee and move from certain communities as they feared for their lives. In this era, political killings were used as a method of intimidation to prevent the spread of one political party while influencing the popularity of the other.

In the democratic era, the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN creates a certain perspective about politics in general particularly to local civilians and those with political aspirations. Phakathi (2019: 114), found that "in KZN, it is common for people to declare that they will not engage in politics because they fear being assassinated". The study establishes that as a result, citizens refrain from participating in political activities, or even running for office, because in KZN, political assassinations are used as a method of dealing with political contestation.

In the democratic era, politicians are not murdered in confined spaces. Politicians can be assassinated anywhere, in broad day light. Politicians can be shot in different places, such as shopping centres or in their driveways. This creates a sense of fear on local civilians because of the traumatic experience of people being gunned down for political reasons.

In the KZN province, activists, politicians, and those working closely to politicians are prone to political assassinations. To be in a position of power means one must be alert. As such a new trend has emerged where politicians and private security bodyguards have become inseparable in KZN. The study finds that this is a new tactic also being utilised by security companies at time working with politicians to milk dry the public coffers by inflating security prices. It cannot be denied that political killings in KZN create a political landscape characterized by tension, fear, and uncertainty. Similar to community divisions, fear is a consequence of political assassinations on one hand, and on the other hand fear can also be the cause of such assassinations. This leads to a never-ending cycle of political assassinations because such assassinations are both a method of political contestation, and a method to maintain political power.

5.2.3 Immobility of government

South Africa is a constitutional democracy. Any party that acquires the majority votes to occupy government must uphold the fundamental values of the South African constitution. A democratic government has a duty to uphold democratic principles. The study finds that the prevalence of political killings in KZN makes it difficult for government especially at provincial and local level to function effectively. According to Herald (2018: 12) "political killings in KZN are becoming a headache for the government". The pervasiveness of political killings in KZN has a negative impact on the functioning of government.

The following section will consider political assassinations that occurred in KZN during the democratic era because political assassinations that occurred during Apartheid could not have contributed to the immobilisation of a democratic government under the constitutional dispensation.

According to a publication by Street Law (2022) "democratic societies are politically tolerant". Political tolerance is one of the important principles of a democratic society. "Political tolerance means accepting and respecting the basic rights and civil liberties of persons and groups whose viewpoints differ from one's own" (Institute for Public Policy Research, 2014). Inter-party politics in KZN, specifically in the late 1990s between the ANC and IFP was a result of political intolerance.

The existence of political assassinations makes it difficult for the South African government at provincial level in the KZN to maintain political tolerance. In KZN political assassinations have been used as a measure to silence certain parts of the population. Ardè (2020: 23) argues that "South African parties, need to build a culture of tolerance and democracy, rather than one of patronage and greed". Political assassinations in KZN have been influenced by political intolerance. Such incidents endanger the stability of democracy.

In KZN, citizen participation has also been affected by the existence of political assassinations in the province. The issue of citizens not participating in political activities is motivated by the mentioned effect of fear. "Participation is the key role of citizens in a democracy. Citizen participation may take many forms including standing for elections, voting in elections, becoming informed, and even protesting" (Street Law, 2022). In KZN politics is sometimes closely associated with notoriety. This makes it difficult for ordinary citizens to find comfortability in participation because people fear for their lives.

In the Moerane Commission (2018), the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) submitted that " political violence in KZN decreases the public's willingness to participate in democracy and raises voter apathy". Citizens are losing confidence in participating in democratic processes such as voting. Citizens isolate themselves from public participation because they fear for their lives. This has created an assumption that in KZN for one to be a politician, one must be notorious.

Political assassinations especially those directed towards whistle-blowers temper with the principle of accountability and transparency in the KZN province. Political assassinations in KZN disrupt the processes of holding government officials accountable. "Accountability contributes to reducing the risk of power abuse and corruptive practices" (Governance, SDC Network, 2022). Whistle-blowers report activities of corruption and fraud in government offices and the relations they have with the private sector. Whistle-blowers in KZN are reluctant and afraid to report corruption, fraud, and maladministration. To be speak about such incidents could cost your life.

5.2.4. Lack of confidence in government

The study finds that political assassinations taint the provincial government in a negative way. In this regard citizens lose confidence in government and politicians who themselves cannot protect their own lives. The contribution to the lack of confidence can be associated with the ideal that political assassinations are caused by the issue of corruption in public offices at municipal level.

Civilians lose confidence in government because they tend to believe that politics at municipal level does not exist to ensure efficient service delivery and public service, however politicians occupy positions of power to serve their own interests. This creates divisions in society, where citizens have a negative perspective on politics. Anyone who intends to become a politician is seen as corrupt, power hungry, and a criminal.

The study establishes that citizens become less patriotic of their local communities and no longer trust the process of political participation. Some people even refrain from applying for municipal positions or being politically active at community level because they fear for their lives. In KZN, politics is synonymous to notoriety. If one ought to be fully involved and active in politics, morality has no space in the KZN political arena. Politicians are not seen as public servants but are seen as enemies in society. Political assassinations do not only affect government but also leave certain families without their loved ones and in mourning. This

creates tensions between civilians and "suspects" who continue to be important figures in municipalities.

5.3 Chapter Summary

In conclusion, Ardè (2020) quoted words from Noam Chomsky, as he argued that "people with power understand exactly one thing: violence". In whatever form political assassinations can exist, in KZN, power is at the centre of the widespread existence of political assassinations in the province. The study finds that those who have political power, or those in political power positions use violent means to maintain power. During the Apartheid era individuals who benefited from the oppressive system (the people who were in power) used violent tactics as measures to maintain power. This is what led to the death of activists or anyone who was against the government system of the time. This approach escalated to the transition era, as politicians fuelled violence as an attempt to divide and rule the Natal province. In the democratic dispensation, violence is used as a way to maintain political power, but also as a tactic to acquire power. This has been witnessed within political parties in the form of intra-party politics which allows for internal party factions.

This chapter has described the causes and effects of political assassinations in KZN. The chapter explained how inter-party politics, intraparty politics, whistleblowing, the struggle for liberation, the proliferation of weapons, and the aspect of treating politics as vocation contribute towards the widespread of political assassination in KZN. The second part of the chapter explained how such assassinations affect the province. Chapter 5 explained how political assassinations in KZN create a sense of communal fear and how it impairs with fundamental democratic principles at a provincial level.

Chapter 6: Additional Findings.

6.1 Political assassinations are at a municipal level.

In South Africa, government has many structures, including various structures within national politics, provincial politics, and politics at local level. In the KZN province, political assassinations are mostly common at the local level, mainly within municipalities. It is very much unlikely to hear of an assassination of members of the executive, the president, and the ministers. Leaders at provincial level also do not get much targeted by these assassinations. Local councillors and workers in local municipalities are commonly victims of politically motivated murders.

There is no such thing as politics in its true sense at municipal level in KZN. The study argues that KZN municipalities have reduced politics to party politics and squabble for power. Municipal executive members treat positions of power as positions to acquire wealth and honour. Individuals who seek to occupy positions of councillors for good reasons are either assassinated or tainted by the unethical behaviour of politicians at municipal level.

There are two reasons why political murders are common in municipalities, firstly as suggested by the Moerane Commission (2018), there is no qualification required to be a councillor. Anyone can be a councillor if preferred by the public, there are no limitations to who can contest the position. Some delegates are even selected to run for office while they have criminal offences on record. So, to become a councillor is an easy way out from misery. The position to become a councillor has attracted businessmen, retired workers who try to secure employment, and power-hungry individuals. There is absolutely no filter in running for councillorship, if anyone is able to find relevancy within a political party, and recruit the public to vote, ascension to office is very easy.

The second reason why people find interest in this position is because, when one becomes a councillor, they are at nearer proximity to the allocation of tenders and municipal opportunities. The study finds that to become a councillor equates to the ability to secure funds through corruption and bribery from those who are interested in tenders that are dispersed by the municipality. The major problem is that there is easy access to the position of councillorship and the job pays well and also opens up to further opportunities of growth. Because access to this well-paying opportunity is easy, most people compete for the position. When people are competing for power, they are most likely to clash when they meet. When comrades clash as

they compete for positions at municipal level, political assassinations are used as a method of political contestation.

6.2 Political Assassinations are enmeshed with the taxi industry

Ardè (2020: 113) in his book titled *War Party*, asserts that "he set out to write a book about political violence, mainly in Kwa-Zulu Natal, and what it augurs for South Africa, but his inquiries kept taking him back to the taxi industry". The taxi industry has been associated with political assassinations in the province, especially during the democratic dispensation. In KZN, political violence in a form of political assassinations is enmeshed with the taxi industry. Hitmen used in the taxi industry are often also used in the political arena. Cases that involve hitmen such as Fisokuhle Ntuli who is accused to have been behind assassinations both in the taxi industry and those that are politically related. Taxi owners and sometimes drivers are available to offer assistance in organizing hits to eliminate competition on behalf of local politicians, at a certain fee. The taxi industry in KZN is known for its viciousness. Taxi bosses and some taxi drivers are notorious and feared by the community. Some assassinations in the taxi industry are also inveigled by the politicians. Violence within taxi associations often is around issues of allocation of routes but the links between politicians and taxi associations have also introduced an interest from those in the taxi business in government tenders. This has created a new dynamic where the taxi industry has a stake in tenderpreneurship and will often resort to assassinations when they are met with resistance.

Mthokozisi Khumalo, an ANC councillor from the Uthukela district had appeared in court in relation to the murder of the IFP local spokesperson Zakhele Mazibuko. Zakhele Mazibuko was assassinated in September 2018, Mazibuko was closely related to the taxi industry in the KZN. Mthokozisi Khumalo who was once an IFP member, then switched to the NFP, but later joined the ANC, was linked to the murder of Mazibuko. According to Ardè (2020: 110) it was alleged that Mthokozisi Khumalo placed Mazibuko as a keystone to the conflict between the Sizwe Taxi Association and the Klip River Taxi Association.

Another link between politics and the taxi industry is that those who perpetuate violence and corruption in the taxi industry can avoid law enforcement and accountability if they are associated with the political gurus of KZN. The Gcaba family which runs a successful bus and taxi industry in the KZN has experienced difficulties with the law. The Gcaba brothers (who are responsible for the business) Mandla and Mfundo Gcaba have blood ties with former state President Jacob Zuma. Mandla Gcaba's mother is President Jacob Zuma's sister (Ardè, 2020: 135). Mandla Gcaba experienced trouble with the eThekweni municipality as his company

(Tansnat) secured a tender to offer transport bus services. Financial troubles and debt have been looming over his company. Poor service delivery has also been an issue as bus drivers once went on a protest because the company (Tansnat) failed to pay drivers. Despite these challenges Tansnat continues to be the service provider in the eThekweni municipality.

Mfundo Gcaba who is in the Taxi industry has also been involved in violence over route allocation. The Gcaba brother is said to have been invading taxi associations and operating in the routes without permission, and when met with resistance violence broke out. "At the time Mfundo was accused of dropping President Jacob Zuma's name to bulldoze several taxi associations to enter into forced agreements to share their routes" (Ardè, 2020: 138).

Similarly, Sputla Elias Mpungose is well known in the ranks of the taxi industry in KZN. Sputla had an antagonistic relationship with law enforcement. He faced allegations of murder, corruption, and rape (Ardè, 2020: 143). Sputla has also been involved in political violence as he was once a member of the IFP in 1975 and gaining notoriety as he led hostel attacks in Johannesburg and neighbouring communities (Ardè, 2020:144). In 2004, Mpungose joined the ANC. Due to criminal activities in the province, there was a warrant for his arrest. Sputla was avoiding the police and he was traced to the office of the then Transport MEC, Willies Mchunu, who was premier of the province in 2018 and established the Moerane Commission that investigated political assassinations in the province (Ardè, 2020: 134). When the Hawks arrived at the office there was heated confrontation between the state VIP protection, police on duty at the offices and the Hawks and police that went for his arrest.

The taxi industry had great ties with politicians in KZN. Their relationship is a mutual relationship. Politicians grant taxi bosses tenders and routes, while taxi drivers ensure that hitmen are available for corrupt politicians and ensure notoriety. The wealth in the taxi industry is also used to fund some local politicians.

6.3 Hitmen (*Izinkabi*), the official killers

The phenomenon of political assassinations is rife in the KZN province. These politicians are killed by other politicians, but the act of murder is often leased to a third party. The Kwa-Zulu Natal province is both known for the prevalence of political assassinations and the popularity of hitmen. Sandile Motha (2021), writes that, "KZN is known as the capital and breeding ground for trained assassins who are used in different provinces to commit hits". KZN is a home to *Izinkabi* who are responsible for organising and carrying out political assassinations.

A political assassination is carried out by an emissary, or one who takes the duty upon himself to commit the murder, and in the KwaZulu Natal, it is hitmen, known as *inkabi* or *izinkabi* (plural). "inkabi is a word taken from IsiZulu meaning ox, the plural remains more common as such jobs are often conducted by well-planned operations made of various specialist. Izinkabi often work as groups and are known to be untouchables who carry out hits on their targets with precision and often evade justice" (Motha, 2021). These hitmen are available to politicians to carry out hits on other politicians. Some assassins or Izinkabi have been said to be on a monthly payroll of politicians, so that they may be easily available when "duty calls".

During the Apartheid era, government had killing squads, such as that of Dirk Coetzee in Vlaakplaas and also police were responsible to carry out these assassinations. However, in the late 1990s and in the democratic dispensation hitmen are often responsible for the widespread existence of political killings in the province. The use of police officials as hitmen did not end with the Apartheid era. Police officers are sometimes implicated in political assassinations, however they do so not through orders from high officials but they do so in their own capacity. The police department is sometimes implicated in acts of corruption. Corrupt police officers sometimes act as hitmen, on the orders of corrupt government officials. Moreover, the police force is often cited as some of the least remunerated public official, making them prone to involvement in criminal activities in efforts to make money.

6.4 Bodyguards and private security

Bodyguards and security companies are also part of the phenomenon in KZN. Ardè (2020: 33) found that most hitmen that were used during the transition secured bodyguard jobs during the democratic dispensation, especially those who were involved in the killing of Sfiso Nkabinde. Security companies are racing for tenders in different local municipalities in KZN.

Security companies also offer bodyguard services to councillors, mayors, executive, and administrative members. These bodyguards are also used as hitmen and offered employment opportunities in security companies. "The hitmen who are hired to carry out the killings that accompany taxi violence are sometimes drawn from the private security industry" (Ardè, 2020: 128). Private security companies like the taxi industry also have a close and mutual relationship with local politicians. Private security companies are in the quest to secure contracts from local municipalities to provide security services. Politicians use these companies to target and eliminate competition, rivals, and whistle-blowers.

In relation to the murder of Khanyisile Ngobese-Sibisi who was the regional secretary of the Women's League in uKhahlamba region, a bodyguard was suspected to have predicted the murder of Khanyisile. Her brother Fanyana Petros Jele told the Moerane Commission (2018: 110) that "on the day of Khanyisile's memorial service, a certain office bearer of the ANC Women's League mentioned a discussion that she had previously with her bodyguard. She said her bodyguard had pointed at Khanyile's car and said: *"the owner of this car must get bodyguards"*. This shows the extent to which bodyguards are aware, informed, and involved in the network of political assassinations.

Sibongiseni Mdakane who was arrested for the murder of Vusumuzi Ntombela gave evidence in court that "he was approached by Mbhekiseni Khambule, who was a bodyguard of mayor Emily Molefe. Khambule asked Mdakane to carry out the hit for R15 000 and offered him a job at a local security firm known as Ocean Dawn" (Ardè, 2020: 51).

Thandazile Phoswa, who was a deputy mayor in Richmond was shot in what was later described as a curious suicide (Ardè, 2020: 35). Thandazile Phoswa was shot a month later after the assassination of Sibusiso Sithole in March 2017, who was a municipal manager in Richmond. Phoswa's parents and siblings also died because of political violence in Richmond in the late 1990s under the Nkabinde-ANC conflict. This was conflict that emerged in the KZN town known as Richmond after Sifiso Nkabinde was expelled from the ANC for allegedly being a spy for the Apartheid government. Nkabinde later joined the UDM and there was political competition and political conflict in Richmond. Phoswa's parents and siblings were shot dead in front of her (Ardè, 2020: 35). When Phoswa allegedly shot herself, she was with her boyfriend of three months, a bodyguard known as Samukelo Chili. Chili was arrested but he claimed Phoswa used his gun. The first democratically elected mayor of Richmond, Andrew Ragavaloo, told Ardè (2020: 36) that "Phoswa's suicide was decidedly odd, she was left-handed and had a bullet hole in her right temple". Murder charges against Chili were dropped due to insufficient evidence.

Some individuals who own these private security companies also have a history of violence especially within the political arena. Ocean Dawn is a security company that is intertwined with local municipal deals especially in Dundee. The company has also been associated with some hits in the province, like the assassination of Vusumuzi Ntombela. "For many years Ocean Dawn is closely linked to Moffat Mosia, a politically connected 45-year-old, who was found guilty in 1999 for the crime of kidnapping (Ardè, 2020: 54). Another security company

that had its name appear in the murder of politicians in KZN is Globetech. "Globetech is a company owned by IFP-trained hit-squad killer Romeo Mbambo" (Ardè, 2020: 70). This shows how some private security companies and corrupt politicians are bedfellows working for the benefit of each other. At times bodyguards also collude with hitmen to put their guard down when targeting the politician.

6.5 Regime type

Over the last three eras in which political assassinations have dominated the KZN province, causes and consequences have differed overtime. During the Apartheid era, political assassinations were mostly directed to people who were involved in the liberation struggle. It was rare during this era in KZN to hear of politicians and comrades killing each other. Government officials, police killing squads, and hitmen, were responsible for political murders during this phase. In the Apartheid era, political assassinations were first and foremost a racial apparel. The white government targeted Black, Indian, and coloured activists. Furthermore, anyone who showed support for liberation was also targeted. During the first era (Apartheid era) some political assassinations were justified because they were approved by law. Activists were sometimes considered to be terrorists. Some activists were arrested and brought before the courts of law to be sentenced to death, such as the case of Andrew Zondo. Andrew Zondo who was sentenced to death on the 2nd of April 1986 after he bombed a shopping centre in a Durban town known as Amanzimtoti (TRC, 1998).

Although some activists were sentenced to death, some were assassinated, and their murder was ordered by top government officials using police killing squads or hitmen. In this era political assassinations were influenced by the desire to maintain power on one hand, and access power on the other hand. Those who benefitted from the Apartheid system were against the attempts to transform the country. Those who were deprived, oppressed, and marginalized were ardent to see the colonial system destroyed.

When South Africa was set to transition from the Apartheid regime to a democratic dispensation, this process was met with political violence which further led to the increase of political assassinations in the province. The transition process was dubbed with political violence that was influenced by inter-party conflict. Political parties clashed with each other as they were facing the new dawn. Political violence which capped the KZN province during the transition process was mostly about the desire to access power. One party was eager to access power and that meant any competition was to be met with force, which led to political killings and assassinations of certain party leaders or potential leaders.

In the democratic dispensation, political assassinations are a feature of political contestation. Political assassinations are no longer stemming from government towards local civilians. They are less influenced by inter-party politics. Political assassinations in KZN during the democratic dispensation are all about power, and mostly common within political parties, particularly the governing party. The ANC is a war party. Comrades are killing each other to access power, to secure tenders, and avoid being held accountable for wrongdoing. Access to political power is the main driver of political assassinations in KZN, people have interest to such positions of power, because access is easy and there are benefits in occupying these positions of power.

6.6 Political assassinations in the democratic South Africa are unjustifiable

In the democratic dispensation, political assassinations are not justifiable by any la, since South Africa is a constitutional democracy. Unlike the Apartheid era, government officials cannot organize targeted killings to eliminate civilians, or any South African citizen they consider to be an obstacle or a "nuisance". The word political assassination and political murder are synonymous because they both refer to the intentional killing of politicians. A right to life is a constitutional guaranteed right. Section 11 of the South African constitution, under the Bill of Rights, maintain that "everyone has a right to life". To deprive anyone of this right is considered to be a crime, hence political assassinations are unjustifiable and a criminal offence.

The English Oxford Dictionary (1998) defines crime as a specific act committed in violation of the law. To commit an assassination in South Africa is to violate section 11 of the constitution. To commit a political assassination is to commit a crime in the Democratic South Africa. Political assassinations cannot be approved by law in South Africa.

6.7 In KZN political power grows out of the barrel of a gun

The prevalence of political assassinations in KZN suggests that power in the province grows out of the barrel of a gun. Mao Zedong who established the understanding that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun made the following argument (Kelly et al, 2020: 158):

Premise 1: China is an agrarian rather than industrial society.

Premise 2: Therefore, peasants are China's proletariat class.

Premise 3: Peasants have no power against armed capitalist exploiters.

Premise 4: In order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun.

Conclusion: Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

The first premise explains a society which is relatively underdeveloped. An agrarian society, with no industrialization. Industrialization comes with commercialization which leads to development. An industrialized society is a society filled with opportunities, economic growth, and economic development. An agrarian society can miss out from the opportunities that come with industrialization. The second premise explains how farm workers, the peasants, suffer from deprivation, marginalization, and oppression because they are the proletariat class.

The third premise explains how the peasants have no power against the capitalist exploiters who belong to the bourgeoisie class. The development of the bourgeoisie is acquired and maintained through the exploitation of the peasants. The last premise suggests that to get rid of such oppression and exploitation, the peasants must take up the gun. Therefore, in conclusion power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

For Mao Zedong political power is acquired through violent means. In this type of a society as explained by Zedong, the capitalist exploiters acquired supremacy through violence, and they maintain their position through violence. In order for the peasants to free themselves from shackles of oppression, and acquire political power, violence becomes an absolute necessity. This is what Frantz Fanon (1963) meant with the assertion that the last shall be the first through violence, because change is a platform of total disorder.

Change for Mao Zedong is a violent encounter. During the Apartheid era in KZN, most activists and non-whites can be classified as the peasants. The oppressed during the Apartheid era experienced violence and oppression in the hands of the oppressor. In order to change the societal structure, to carry a gun and fight the oppressor was adopted as a means to acquire freedom. This is explained by the establishment of political party military forces or armed wing structures such as ANC's uMkhonto we Sizwe. Violence was used to maintain political power and also to acquire power. Political assassinations were then used as a method to maintain power by the oppressor, which marked the death of political activists. Revolutionaries on the other hand showed violence towards the oppressor and exploiters

The barrel of a gun existed in the transition era, because political parties were in competition for political power. The early 1990s with the build up to the 1994 national democratic elections, political assassinations were on the rise because people were interested in acquiring power. Violence in the form of political assassinations was used to secure positions of power.

In the democratic dispensation political assassination are no longer common between political parties and given the political transition, the country is now democratic, not administered

through the Apartheid policy. Political assassinations in the democratic era are mostly popular in the ANC. Political power in the ANC in KZN is acquired through the barrel of a gun. To be notorious is very important to develop a political career in KZN. Similarly, to what Zedong suggested, deprivation is at the centre of the widespread existence of violence. Statistics South Africa (2022) finds that KZN is also a leading province in poverty at number three, with 60.7%. with high levels of poverty in KZN, people become attracted and interested in positions of political power and adopt violent means to secure power.

6.8 Political assassinations are a continuation of politics by other means

Politics, in the words of Andrew Heywood (2011: 2), is "the activity through which individuals establish, maintain, and alter the fundamental rules, laws, and/or principles by which they live.". Politics fundamentally refers to the ways in which a group of people make rules for themselves, how they intend to preserve these rules, and how they will amend the rules overtime. Carl Von Clausewitz in his book, *On War* published in 1832, made a statement that "war is the continuation of politik by other means" (Kelly et al, 2020: 100). The word politik is in German but translates as politics in English. "For Clausewitz war is a clash of opposing wills, an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfil our will, the aim is to disarm your enemy, so that you become the master" (Kelly et al, 2020: 100). In this section the word war will be used synonymously with word political assassinations because in this context both war and political assassinations are used a method of defeating a political enemy, and having your own way in occupying the apex point in the social pyramid.

During the Apartheid era political assassinations were a consequence of opposing wills. Those who were against the Apartheid system clashed with those who were in support of the system. Activists clashed with officials of the Apartheid government. These activists were considered to be terrorists, some charged with treason, and sometimes officials were given permission by government of the time to kill activists. On the other hand, activists also regarded government officials and beneficiaries of the Apartheid system to be enemies. Political assassinations were therefore a result of such a clash. Clausewitz maintains that war is an act of violence intended to compel your opponent to fulfil your will. In the oppressive era, government officials intended to hinder acts of activism, and activists intended to end the system of oppression, and assassinations were adopted as means to achieve this end.

In the transition era political assassinations were also used as means to a favourable outcome between political parties in KZN. Political assassinations were used to disarm the enemy, so that one may become the master. Interparty politics in KZN during the transition period marked

a period of war in the province. Each party wanted to come out victorious in the political party clashes. Each party had its own ideology, and each party wanted to make sure that the ideology continues to exist in the new South Africa.

In the democratic dispensation with political assassinations occurring in a form of intraparty politics, especially in the ANC. The suggestion by Clausewitz is relevant in this case, especially because the ANC is considered to be a war party, or a party at war with itself. The intention of war according to Clausewitz is to "disarm the enemy so that you become the master" (Kelly et al, 2020: 100). In the ANC, comrades are killing each other so that they may secure high positions of political power at local level.

6.9 KZN politics without principles

Mohandas K. Gandhi an Indian Independence campaigner developed seven social sins that overwhelmed India in the early 1900s. "These seven social sins list is a blueprint for what he perceived was wrong with life in India at the time" (Vaughan, 2018: 131). There are 7 social sins by Mohandas Gandhi, but for the purposes of this study five sins will be considered:

- Politics without principles
- Wealth without work
- Pleasure without conscience
- Knowledge without character
- Commerce without morality

In the period from 1978 to 2019 the above sins were also existent in the KZN province. The first sin is politics without principles. Ethical leadership is a question of concern in KZN. Politics without principles is what fuels the widespread existence of political assassinations in KZN. The Oxford English Dictionary (1998) defines the word principle as a moral rule or aspect. With the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN driven by stomach politics, one can maintain that the guiding belief or fundamental assumption of politics in the province is not public service but personal enrichment. Politicians do not run for office simply because they are eager to bring about change and development, but they do so for personal gains. Some politicians may enter the arena with good intentions, but when they occupy positions of power, they become selfish and greedy due to the desire to maintain power and have access to the benefits these positions offer.

A society that has politics without principles has no value for human life. During the Apartheid era, the government of the time had no value for human life, especially lives of those said to

be non-whites (Blacks, Indians, Coloureds). In the transition era local civilians and political party followers also had their lives under threat due to squabbles for power. In the democratic dispensation, the value of human life continues to be a method of political contestation.

Politics without principles represents a picture of unethical leadership. The issue of politics without principles, an unethical leadership is related to the leadership problem in KZN. This study found that political assassinations in KZN are also caused by poor leadership structures in the province. Politics without principles creates a platform of total disorder, where competition for power is not regulated. If competition for power is not placed under regulation, competitors will clash with each other during contestation. At municipal level in KZN, competition for power especially within political parties is not regulated properly. The Moerane Commission (2018: 417) also recommended that "political parties must be responsible for internal violence that exist within parties during processes of electing leaders for positions of power. Also, the Commission advised that parties must educate members on democratic principles that ensure peaceful competition for power".

If competition is not regulated, conflict becomes inevitable. "Max Weber's conflict theory posits that there are three main sources of conflict: economic, social, and political" (Nickerson, 2022). Politicians are competing for political power at municipal level which guarantees economic privileges. To regulate competition for power within political parties is essential, especially in the African National Congress as it faces heated factional battles in the democratic era.

Political assassinations in KZN are also a product of politicians who pursue wealth without work. Politicians at local level become corrupt in order to access wealth. Political assassinations are used to sustain access to government deals and to avoid being held accountable. Wealth without work in KZN can be seen with the attitude of politicians who run for office, not because they intend to be public servants, but interested in accumulating wealth from government positions and tender deals.

Local politicians in KZN get wealthy as they get positions of power in local municipalities. In KZN poverty is at 60.7%, and protests are a common phenomenon. This is an indication that when politicians get into power, they become less worried with doing their jobs, but become more concerned with accumulating wealth and maintaining power to secure more wealth and power.

Politicians in KZN are more concerned with power and the benefits that come with such positions of power. Ethical leadership is a serious concern in Kwa-Zulu Natal. There is a major concern in KZN regarding conscience, character, and morality. In trying to acquire, maintain, and demonstrate political power, politicians disregard the significance of ethical leadership.

6.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter is made up of additional findings. The study investigated the causes and consequences of political assassinations in KZN. Points covered in this part of the study were not merely about the causes and consequences of political assassinations, but these were points worth consideration during the research process. The points in this chapter were finding on the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN.

Political assassinations in KZN are a phenomenon however, it is rare to hear of an assassination or attempted assassination directed to the head of state, the premier, or members of parliament. Political assassinations are commonly directed to mayors, municipal managers, municipal workers, whistle-blowers, and councillors responsible for local governance at municipal level. Taxi violence is associated with political violence in a form of assassinations. The connection between the taxi industry and provincial government is linked through the allocation of routes to taxi associations. The taxi industry also has hitmen available for politicians to hire. Hitmen who carry out these murders include Izinkabi (professional killers), corrupt police officers, and bodyguards that are responsible for the safety of politicians. Political assassinations are classified as murders under the South African law and can never be justified under the South African democratic dispensation. Unlike the Apartheid era where some assassins were pardoned through the TRC as they claimed to have been acting under the orders of their commanders, and also because the period was considered to be a time of civil war. In KZN political assassinations are used as a method of political contestation, in which political power grows out of a barrel of a gun. Failure to deliberate and engage democratically on political matters degenerates local politicians to the point where they kill to settle political scores.

Chapter 7: Summary and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview of the research done on the reasons for and effects of political killings in KZN. This section will give an in-depth analysis of the study's findings while taking "political assassination" into account. This chapter will not highlight the causes and consequences of the political assassinations; however, the causes will be highlighted in summary describing the general cause of the assassinations in the province. This section will also provide possible recommendations to the issue of political assassinations in the KZN province.

7.2 Overview of the study

Political assassinations in KZN, are a major concern. This is not a new phenomenon in the province, murder of politicians has been an issue since the Apartheid era till the democratic dispensation. KZN has been experiencing most political assassinations and this was worth consideration, to understand why political assassination are mostly common in this particular province. If the KZN province is in desperate straits due to these assassinations, the province is facing some difficulties because of these assassinations.

The study researched the causes and consequences of political assassinations in the KZN province within a specific period. Existing knowledge was available since political assassinations have been a stressor for government at provincial level. The Moerane Commission also investigated the reasons for political killings in KZN. The TRC has also contributed to highlighting the motives and contributing factors behind political violence during the Apartheid era. Prominent scholars such as Schuld, Bruce, Nomarwayi has been keeping track of the patterns of violence in KZN. Nonetheless, this study did not repeat or duplicate previously published research. The study was interested in understanding the causes of such political assassinations in KZN within a specific period of time, the study wanted to understand how the change of regime in KZN played a role in the prevalence of political assassinations. The study looked at how causes were influenced by regime type in KZN. The province experienced political assassinations in different types of regimes, and the motives for these assassinations have also been changing. As regimes change, political assassinations remained an issue of concern in KZN.

Consequences of political assassinations were drawn from the democratic dispensation. The study looked at how political assassinations immobilised government and how it affected communities. The study was eager to understand the different trends to the causes of political

assassinations in KZN and what could be the determining feature in these causes of political assassination and how they shape society.

7.3 Summary of Major Objectives

7.3.1 Defining Political Assassinations

A political assassination is an act of killing a person that is politically active, be it as a follower, public servant, or member of administration. The targeted individual is assassinated for the sake of acquiring, maintaining, or demonstrating political power. In the Kwa-Zulu Natal province, a political assassination may be considered as a murder of a politician, public servant, political follower, or a whistle blower. Political assassinations in KZN during the time frame considered are all about the acquisition of power. People have been interested in acquiring political power because such power puts you in a nearer proximity to monetary benefits through tenders and bribery.

A political assassination is a murder of a politician, or any person involved in politics. Political power is a major contributor to the issue of political assassinations. Political assassinations are coined up in the desire to maintain, acquire, and demonstrate power. To acquire power the concern is the desire to access a position of power, a position that deals with serving particular population in a form of government. To serve a population comes with certain benefits. The maintenance of such power is crucial, because to vacate such a position means an end of a political career. The demonstration of political power can be included with the murder of whistle-blowers who wish to expose the unethical behaviour of politicians. Whistle-blowers are targeted because want to maintain power, because exposure means accountability and loss of power. Also, whistle-blowers are targeted to demonstrate power in a form of intimidation, so that anyone who has a wish to report corruption, fraud, and maladministration may be in fear because of the usual trend of murder.

7.3.2 Causes of Political Assassinations

Between the period from 1978-2019, political assassinations have existed in three phases, i.e., the oppressive era, the transition era, and the democratic era. In the oppressive era, political assassinations were carried out by the state security agents to people who were involved in the liberation struggle. In this era KZN saw the death of Mr Griffiths Mxenge, Mrs Victoria Mxenge, Dr Rick Turner and many others. In this era victims of political assassinations were targeted because of their political ideas; therefore, most victims were political activists.

The transition era marks the period of the "road to democracy". This era is characterized by political tensions and antagonisms between political parties. Mostly these interparty clashes

existed between the ANC, the IFP, and the UDF. In this phase KZN saw the death of Sifiso Nkabinde, Muntu Gasa, and Lizzy Makhathini, and many others. This era is supported by a claim that, when people are in the quest for power, they are mostly likely to clash when they meet.

The last era marks the period where South Africa officially became a democratic country. Political assassinations during this phase are not driven by the desire to resist change, or influenced by the clash of ideologies, but it is the situation in which people are in the quest for political power positions. Whistleblowing has also influenced the rise of political assassinations in KZN.

Selfishness, greed, and a desire for political power are key influencers to the phenomenon of political assassinations in the KZN province. Politicians in KZN are hungry for political power, that they even organize specified killings to fellow comrades. In KZN politicians hire assassins to eliminate competition and possible "nuisances". This behaviour is motivated by the desire to acquire, maintain, and demonstrate power. In whatever for or phase in which political assassinations may exist in KZN, the causes of these killings are motivated by the desire to acquire, maintain, or demonstrate power.

Political assassinations in KZN are mostly common at municipal level. At municipal level, public deployment is not about public service but rooted in personal enrichment. Political assassinations in KZN are mostly influenced by stomach politics. Commitment to service delivery and public service, is not a major concern at municipal level. Politicians see municipal positions as opportunities of enrichment. Politicians struggle for access to municipal positions of power, so that they may be at a nearer proximity to tenders, and offices of public service. There is easy access to these positions of power as there is no qualification required, public approval is sufficient for access to public service office.

Political assassinations in KZN constitute as a form of political violence. According to the World Health Organization (2002), political violence is the deliberate use of power to achieve political goals. In the KZN province, political assassinations are used as a method to influence political goals. Political assassinations are used as a means of securing and maintaining political power. Such assassinations are used to intimidate particular people. In the oppressive era political assassinations were used as a tool of intimidation. In the early years of the South African democracy, political assassinations were used to intimidate particular groups who were supporters of certain political parties. Recently these assassinations are used to intimidate those

who wish to report incidents of corruption, fraud, and maladministration in offices of public deployment. Thabiso Zulu had argued that "If you understand the Cosa Nostra, you don't only kill the person, but you also send a strong message" (Onishi and Gebrekidan, 2018). Assassination of whistle-blowers are also aimed at sending a message to others who wish to expose corruption, fraud, and unethical behaviour in offices of government.

7.3.3 Consequences of Political assassinations

Throughout the three eras in which political assassinations have existed in KZN, fear has been a natural condition caused by the prevalence of political assassinations in KZN. Activists, local civilians, opposition members, politicians, and whistle-blowers have experienced fear with the existence of political assassinations in KZN. Fear of their lives, and fear to engage in political activities.

Political assassinations have also contributed to the immobilisation of government. The immobilisation of government is both a consequence and a cause to this issue. If political assassinations exist, government will experience difficulties in carrying out its duties. If government fails to carry out its duties, political assassinations will continue to be a feature of contestation in the province, because relevant authorities do not hold perpetrators accountable. Considering the last era, South Africa is a democratic country that has an obligation to abide and uplift democratic values. The KZN province is also guided by such values because KZN is part of South Africa. Political assassinations in KZN compromise these democratic values and basic rights of people.

7.4 Recommendations

Political assassinations in KZN have existed between government security officials and civilians, between political parties, and amongst politicians. In the most recent era, which is the democratic dispensation, political assassinations are common amongst politicians. The existence of political assassinations in KZN have negative impacts in the province. Plato suggests a theory of a philosopher king in which he maintains that "until philosophers are kings, cities will never find rest from their evils" (Kelly et al, 2020: 22). In KZN, one can maintain that political assassinations have been influenced by leaders mostly fighting for access to power and maintenance of political power. Plato's argument is constructed as follows (Stevenson, 1974: 25):

Premise 1: The role of rulers is to ensure that people follow the "good life".

Premise 2: Knowing what "the good life" is requires intellectual ability and knowledge of ethics and morality.

Premise 3: Only philosophers have this ability and knowledge.

Premise 4: Political power should only be given to philosophers

Conclusion: Until philosophers are kings, cities will never find rest from their evils.

In KZN political violence is a major concern. For Plato, the KZN province will never find rest from political violence until leadership positions are occupied by a certain type of people, "philosophers". Philosophers according to Plato are people who have knowledge on ethics and morals. Such attributes are considered to be important when one will occupy a position of power, so that the leadership style can ensure that the people live a good life, through public service which guarantees freedom and development. Paul Kelly (2020: 23) writes that:

"Plato maintained that rulers, whether in a monarchy, oligarchy, or democracy, tend to rule in their own interests rather than for the good of the state and its people. Plato explains that this is due to a general ignorance of the virtues that constitute the good life, which in turn leads people to desire the wrong things especially the transitory pleasures of honour and wealth. These prizes come with political power, and the problem is intensified in the political arena. Whoever emerges victorious from the power struggle deprives his opponents of the power to achieve their desires, which leads to injustice- an evil that is exactly contrary to the cornerstone of Plato's notion of the good life".

Plato also affirms that political violence is a product of power squabbles. Politicians are killing each other due to their quest of wealth and honour that come with positions of political power. What Plato suggests is the deployment of politicians through competency. The Moerane Commission had also found that becoming a councillor at local level has no constraints, which makes it easy for people to access such positions. Political assassinations are mostly common at local level. At provincial and national level political assassinations are not prevalent. Deployment based on competency can play a vital role in changing the type of political administration because at municipal level politics is all about securing power and accumulating wealth.

Proper leadership can play a vital role in trying to curb the phenomenon of political assassinations in the KZN province. Mostly the issue of political assassinations is rooted in the

idea of human nature. The state then becomes necessary in suppressing the issue. Proper policing, accountability and law enforcement are crucial in repressing such assassinations in KZN. Corruption has been noted as a cause to the issue of political assassinations, including corruption from the police department, proper enforcement of the law can contribute towards the decrease of such political violence.

To fully democratize party politics is also important in KZN. Politicians and political followers must understand the importance of tolerance and appreciating results of democratic processes. Politicians must assume offices in political parties through consent, avoiding appointment through fear and notoriety. Political assassinations recently exist mostly in the ANC, that the party has been termed as a "War Party". These assassinations are influenced by the reality of factions in the ANC.

Different ideologies and perspectives on how government should be shaped intensify factions in the ANC. The ANC is the governing party in South Africa. If the ruling political party is in shambles, the country is most likely to be in shambles also. Unity in the ruling party, can also influence stability in government, pertaining to political assassinations. Intervention in the ANC is required in trying to combat the issue of political assassinations. Stability, tolerance, and proper leadership in the ANC can help in overcoming this issue in the KZN province. ANC comrades must not treat the party as a ladder to wealth, or a movement that allows one to extract resources from government for personal gain. Public service and representation must be of uttermost importance in KZN political parties. If these values are not influenced and explained to fellow party followers, political assassinations will remain an aspect of political competition in the province of KZN.

Proper policing and law enforcement can curb the murder of politicians in Kwa-Zulu Natal. This can also contribute to solving the matter of assassinations directed to whistle-blowers. In a democracy the state must ensure the protection of the watchdogs of wrongdoing. Paul Mitchell (2020: 274), writes that "Protecting employees who disclose government illegality, waste, and corruption is a major step toward a more effective civil service". The duty to protect these employees must be enforced by the state to ensure values of a democratic society.

Political assassinations in KZN are a government concern. These assassinations recently are driven by government officials to other government officials at a local level. The judiciary as an independent arm of government can play a crucial role in trying to reduce the prevalence of political assassinations.

7.5 Recommendation for further research

Political assassinations as the study found are not a new phenomenon in the KZN province. The TRC reported on this provincial phenomenon. The Moerane Commission went deep to investigate the underlying causes of such murders in the KZN province. Books, articles, and journals have been written and published giving insight on political assassinations in KZN. Violence relating to the acquisition, maintenance, and demonstration of power continues to be a concern in the KZN province. Throughout the study local chiefs (Izinduna) continued to appear and be intertwined in this type of political violence in the KZN. Further research can investigate the underlying causes behind the murder of local chiefs in KZN. Further research can check whether the same causes that influence the widespread of political assassinations in KZN are also driving the relatively new murder of local chiefs.

7.6 Conclusion

In KZN political assassinations are caused by greed and stomach politics. Comrades are killing each other to ensure access to resources in a form of tenders and political power positions. Politicians have interests in these positions of power because they create opportunities for financial gains. KZN has been leading in South Africa when it comes to the murder of politicians, and it continues to be the hotspot for these assassinations.

Political assassinations according to this study, must be understood as a murder directed to a politician or any individual involved in politics. The killing of whistle-blowers can also be termed as a political assassination because whistle-blowers are killed by politicians as they intend to avoid accountability and exposure of unethical acts in positions they occupy.

The study has found that political assassinations in KZN have existed in three phases (the oppressive era, the transition era, and the democratic era). Throughout these phases, political assassinations are caused by three general situations. In whatever form political assassinations may exist the fundamentality that drives their existence is the quest to acquire, maintain, and demonstrate political power.

There are other factors that the study has noted to be of concern in KZN, that influence the widespread existence of political assassinations in KZN, such as the proliferation of weapons in KZN. And the history of violence in KZN. The study has also found that political assassinations immobilize government in KZN. Government fails to do its duties properly as both citizens and officials live in fear. Political assassinations continue to be a major concern

in Kwa-Zulu Natal and strengthened state intervention can play a vital role in reducing the increasing trend of political assassinations in the province.

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