The Moerane Commission did not provide a formal list of politically related murders.

The list below is compiled from the deaths referred to in the Moerane report.

- Vusumuzi Bonginkosi Ntombela, 46: He was a teacher, who was shot dead in early June 2015 in the classroom at Luvisi Primary School where he was deputy principal, in front of the children he was teaching. Two of the children were also shot: Elizabeth Nhleko died and Bongumusa Cele survived. Family told the Moerane Commission that Ntombela was a principled man who opposed corruption and had no enemies except in political circles; they regarded the killing as a political assassination. Ntombela had also been an ANC councillor and the Speaker of Nquthu Local Municipality. He had told his family about being pressurised to approve unprocedural tenders. Police told the commission that competition for political positions, slate politics and factionalism was a possible motive for the killing.
  In June 2015, a Mr Mdakane pleaded guilty to being the hitman, was convicted of two counts of murder, one of attempted murder, and unlawful possession of a firearm and ammunition, and sentenced to life imprisonment. Mdakane said he was hired to kill Ntombela by a Mr Khambule on the promise of R15 000 and a job as a security guard. In March 2017, Khambule was convicted and sentence to life imprisonment. Khambule had been campaigning for an opposing faction of the ANC, in opposition to Ntombela.
- Thokozile Alice Phakathi, 56: She was a community health care worker and an active local ANC member and chair of the ANC Women's League, who was killed on 10 July 2015 at her home in Kwa-Ndengezi. She would help people get wheelchairs and apply for grants, including helping orphans apply for grants. Phakathi was asked to stand as a councillor in Kwa-Ndengezi, but was reluctant due to the problem of previous Kwa-Ndengezi councillors being killed. She was nominated as a delegate to an ANC conference, and told the other delegates she had attended conference previously and come across people with briefcases full of money to bribe the voters; she stressed they were not going to the conference to take bribes but for the struggle. The family believes she was killed for political reasons, due to factionalism.
- Sindiso Magaqa: He was an ANC councillor for uMzimkhulu Local Municipality, and was shot and fatally injured on 13 July 2017 near his home in Idisi, uMzimkhulu. He died on 4 September 2017. Two other uMzimkhulu councillors, Jabulile Msiya and Nontsikelelo Mafa, were shot and injured in the same attack. Magaqa was involved in exposing corruption in the uMzimkhulu Memorial Hall project.
- Khayalethu Thobela, 46: He was the Speaker for uMzimkhulu municipality, who refused to sign documents relating to the uMzimkhulu Memorial Hall project, because he would not be able to explain them to the public. Thobela and Magaqa were on different ANC slates in the upcoming regional elective conference. He was killed on 20 April 2017 at his home. His family believe he was killed because of the internal ANC conflict. Three people were arrested for his murder, one released and the other two appearing in court: one was allegedly the hitman and the other the driver. The murder charge was subsequently dropped. The NPA told the commission the ballistics excluded the weapons seized as the murder weapon, so the murder charge had to be dropped.

- **Mduduzi Tshibase, 39:** He was a councillor in uMzimkhulu municipality, who was killed at his home in Gugweni on **23 May 2017**. He was a teacher and a part-time PR councillor for the ANC. His family believes it was a political assassination, related to party factionalism.
- Thembi Mbongo: She was an ANC member, a branch secretary who was nominated for a ward councillor position, who was killed on 2 July 2016 in her home. There were factions in the party who did not support her nomination; her family believes this was linked to her murder. Her name remained on the ballot and she was voted in posthumously (the local government election was on 3 August 2016).
- Beauty Nompumelelo Zondi, 45: She was killed at Pomeroy, Msinga, on 14 March 2016. Zondi was a National Freedom Party (NFP) councillor. She used to be an IFP member but shared a name with a relative, who criticised the IFP on the radio; the family believes that IFP members heard this and blamed Zondi. Believing she no longer had a future in the IFP, she left the party for the NFP and became a councillor. An NFP official asked her to stand down in favour of his lover but she refused. An attempt was made to attack her; she requested bodyguards and two investigators tasked with assessing the need were both killed. Her family believes her killing was politically related.
- **Councillor Shezi:** An NFP councillor from Kwa-Mashu who was killed, believed to be due to conflict between the NFP and IFP.
- **Councillor Shelembe:** An NFP councillor from Kwa-Mashu who was killed, believed to be due to conflict between the NFP and IFP.
- Mbhekiseni Patrick Khumalo, 58: He was an ANC councillor who was killed on 17 December
   2016 at his home in Lubisi in Pongola. This was believed to have been linked to nomination disputes and factionalism. Two people were arrested in connection with his murder.
- Mcebisi Patrick Duma: He was an IFP councillor from Zwelisha, Estcourt, who was part of a group expelled from the party and who later formed the NFP, and was killed on 16 February 2011. He was believed to have been number 2 on a hit list of those targeted because they were expelled.
- Patty Regina Ngubane, 59: She was killed on 8 June 2016 at Imbali. Ngubane was an ANC member, branch treasurer of the ANC Women's League, a member of the community police forum, and was unemployed. After she was shot, she was able to name the perpetrator before she died. Three people were arrested but two released before appearing in court, and charges against the third person were later withdrawn. The family believes her killing was related to party factional politics. The NPA told the commission that Ngubane had made a statement to police in hospital naming the perpetrators, but that the NPA could not use it as it would have been regarded as hearsay by the court.
- **Bongani Hlatshwayo:** An SACP member shot dead outside a political meeting in Intshanga, and attributed to political fighting between the ANC and SACP.
- Nonsikelelo Blose: Shot dead on 1 August 2016.

- Khanyisile Ngobese-Sibisi, 40: She was an ANC member and ANC Women's League regional secretary in uKhahlamba, killed on 18 July 2016. She had accepted nomination for a councillor position and was tipped to be deputy mayor. She was a principled person who hated corruption, and there were concerns that when she became a councillor she would question the misuse of funds, particularly in connection with the uMzuvele RDP housing project. She was shot dead while distributing blankets to the elderly with her son on Mandela Day. One person was arrested, in possession of the rifle that allegedly used to kill her. The family believes the hitman did not know her and she was killed due to internal ANC politics and her opposition to corruption in the RDP housing project.
- Andrew Mthulisi Ngcobo, 41: He was murdered on 16 October 2015 outside his house in Richmond. He was a senior security officer at Richmond municipality, politically active, a member of the ANC, a local and regional official in the MK Military Veterans Association, the chair of the community police forum in Richmond, and the brother of the then deputy mayor Thulile Ngcobo. His family told the commission they believed his killing was politically motivated and linked to ANC faction fighting following re-demarcation of ward boundaries. Three suspects were arrested for Ngcobo's murder, including one linked to the opposing ANC faction who had been injured in an attack some blamed on Ngcobo, but charges were withdrawn on 11 March 2016, with no explanation given to the family. "Mthulisi was a discipled member of the ANC, who followed procedures and the community loved him for that, even non-ANC members. He was fearless. There are rules in the MK that if you were once a member of another organisation, you are not allowed to be a member of MK. Also, if you had been guilty of killing other comrades, you are not allowed to be a member of MK. Mthulisi was strict in following procedures and policies in that regard," recorded the commission. The National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) told the commission the charges were withdrawn due to lack of evidence.
- Nkosinathi Hlongwa, 42: He was the uMgungundlovu District Municipality local economic development manager, and was murdered on 1 June 2016 in Imbali, Pietermaritzburg. Hlongwa was branch chair for both the ANC and the ANC Youth League. The commission heard that there was internal party conflict over the possibility that he may get a regional position or a councillor position. Nobody was arrested. His wife believed the killing was related to ANC political infighting, not to his position in the municipality.
- Wandile Mkhize, 34: He was killed on 30 June 2012 in Margate; his friend Nhlakanipho Shabane was shot with him, presumed to be because he was a witness. He had a corruption dossier. Mkhize was a member of the ANC, the ANCYL and the SACP; he was on the ANC regional executive. In the party, he promoted unity and had helped ensure that Jacob Zuma won the ANC presidency at the ANC's 2007 Polokwane conference. He was a councillor at the Hibiscus Coast Municipality, now called the Ray Nkonyeni Municipality, and opposed corrupt and unprocedural contracts. His family believes his murder was politically related. Two people were charged with Mkhize's murder; they were acquitted of murder and convicted on weapons charges. The family believes police sabotaged the investigation. the commission recorded Mkhize's brother's view of the causes of the political killings: "The major factors are greed among comrades and factionalism. In order to occupy a position, someone must fall. If you are contesting to be a councillor, you must die because someone else wants to be a councillor for five years. Once their term ends, they are nothing again, if not re-elected." The NPA told the commission the court had thrown out some of the evidence as inadmissible.

- Mthunzi Innocent Gwala, 29: He was killed on 14 July 2012 at Unit 17 hostel, Umlazi. He had left the IFP to join the NFP; there was conflict at the hostel between the two parties. His brother believes he was killed because of a quarrel he had because he was an NFP member and wearing an NFP T-shirt.
- Jimmy Jabulane Lembethe: He was an ANC councillor for Ward 8 in Umtshezi Local Municipality, who was attacked and shot dead on 17 August 2012 in his home. His wife and two children were injured, shot and burned with boiling water. Evidence before the Commission linked the killing to conflict between the ANC, IFP and NFP over control of the area, and anger over the ANC-led municipality stopping a road construction project which employed mainly IFP and NFP workers. Two NFP-linked suspects were convicted of murder and attempted murder.
- Wiseman Mshibe: He was an ANC Ward 80 councillor at Umlazi, regarded within the ANC as strict and unpopular with some members. He was killed on **1 March 2011** outside his Yellowwood Park home when returning from a political meeting. One ANC member was convicted and sentenced to 25 years. The underlying cause was identified as ANC factionalism and competition for positions.
- Isaac Thulebona Nhlebela: He was an NFP councillor at uMzinyathi District Municipality responsible for ensuring accountability among other NFP councillors. On 6 July 2012 he was fatally shot on a road near Hazeldene Farm. A hitman and an NFP deputy mayor were arrested; the hitman was convicted. A second hitman was subsequently arrested. The murder was linked to intra-party competition, including councillors' fear of losing jobs. There had been an earlier attempted killing of Nhlebela in April 2011.
- Mcebisi Duma: He was an IFP councillor in Mbabazane Local Municipality who had joined the
  NFP. He was killed on 16 February 2011 near Blue Haze when occupants of a Toyota Corolla
  opened fire on him. Four hitmen were arrested; one was convicted and a second accused died.
  The commission recorded the motive as political friction and intolerance between the IFP and
  NFP, fuelled by competition for power and influence.
- **Sibusiso "Sbu" Sibiya:** He was the ANC eThekwini regional secretary, assassinated in **July 2011** at his home in Inanda. A suspect was arrested but the case was withdrawn after a key witness was killed in an unrelated taxi violence incident. Many witnesses believed the killing was political, though the police told the commission that evidence linking it politically was inconclusive. The DA told the commission that Sibiya had a reputation for despising corruption and promoting transparency.
- Sibusiso Edward Sithole: He was the municipal manager for Richmond Local Municipality, and was shot dead in daylight behind the police station in Richmond on 6 March 2017. His contract was ending, the municipal council would not renew it, apparently due to his stand against corruption, and he was about to take up a new position as municipal manager at the uMgeni Local Municipality. He had won awards, including for the best municipal manager in KZN. The DA told the commission that Sithole's anti-corruption views made him unpopular with the council, so they would not renew his contract. Police told the commission that Sithole had reported corruption at the municipality to the Hawks.

- **Sifiso Mkhize:** He was a councillor who was shot dead on **30 June 2017**. This was believed to be linked to ANC factional violence.
- **Xolani Nkosi:** He worked on the security team for then KZN Premier Senzo Mchunu and was killed in 2015, in what was regarded as a political killing.
- **Joe Dlamini:** He was a traffic chief who was killed in Pietermaritzburg in 2014, apparently after exposing irregularities.

## **GLEBELANDS HOSTEL KILLINGS**

The commission heard that there were 71 blocks at Glebelands hostel, with approximately 22 000 residents. Living conditions were overcrowded and terrible, and unemployment levels high. Due to the eThekwini Metro's lack of management, occupants forced other occupants to pay for beds; this system drove killings. Gangs controlled at least 14 blocks, and at least 89 contract killings had been linked to Glebelands hitmen or their associates. Hitmen from Glebelands were used across KZN, for political killings, taxi violence and other crimes. "If you need a hitman, you go to Glebelands," the commission recorded. Glebelands was regarded as an ANC stronghold. Glebelands is in the eThekwini Metro area, but the municipality did not manage the hostels.

The SAPS recorded 70 murders and at least 24 attempted murders in Glebelands over seven years. Not all were politically linked killings.

- April 2010 to March 2011: Five murders and three attempted murders.
- April 2011 to March 2012: 11 murders and six attempted murders.
- April 2012 to March 2013: Five murders and nine attempted murders.
- April 2013 to March 2014: Three murders and six attempted murders.
- April 2014 to March 2015: 18 murders, no information on attempted murders.
- April 2015 to March 2016: 17 murders, no information on attempted murders.
- April 2016 to March 2017: 11 murders, no information on attempted murders.

Those named during the hearings as killed from or at Glebelands:

- **Zinakile Fica**: Died in police custody.
- **Sipho Ndovela:** Killed at Umlazi Magistrate's Court, believed to have been killed because he was a witness to a murder. The NPA told the commission that a person was prosecuted, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for this.
- **Fikile Siyepu:** Killed, apparently by a warlord.
- Mr Mbona: ANC branch chair who had an all-inclusive leadership style, shot dead.
- **Zodwa Sibiya:** ANC and SACP member at Glebelands who promoted unity, killed in April 2016 at Glebelands.
- Richard Nzama: Glebelands activist, tortured and later died after in July 2015 reporting threats.

## Abahlali baseMjondolo

Abahlali baseMjondolo president Sibusiso Zikode told the commission their members were victims of political violence, including violence inflicted by police. Those killed included:

- Thembinkosi Qumbela: Abahlali local leader in Cato Crest, Mayville, killed on 15 March 2013.
- **Nkululeko Gwala:** Abahlali chairperson, shot dead at Cato Crest on 26 June 2013 after exposing corruption involving high-ranking officials at eThekwini municipality.
- **Thuli Ndlovu:** Abahlali leader in KwaNdengezi, killed after leading a march against housing allocation corruption and after receiving threatening phone calls. Three people, including a councillor, were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment.
- Samuel Hloele: Shot dead in Ekuthuleni, Dassenhoek, by the eThekwini metro's anti-land invasion unit on 13 June 2017, during a violent clash when the unit demolished shacks without a court order.