



CONTRACT KILLINGS

A dirty, dangerous and deadly "deal"

By **Kotie Geldenhuys**; Photos courtesy of **Pickpik**, **Pexels** and **Pixabay**

Hitmen are real, and it is a far cry from a Hollywood movie. Politicians, gang leaders, investigators, lawyers and others can become targets of assassins hired to eliminate individuals who pose a threat or stand in the way of someone's financial interests.

In South Africa, especially over the past 20 years, violence has become a commodity that can be bought and sold. Although assassinations, also referred to as contract or targeted killings, constitute a small portion of the country's exceptionally high murder rate, their impact is profound and far-reaching. Political murders are a significant concern, as highlighted in an article published from page 10 in

this issue of **Servamus**. Nonetheless, contract killings extend beyond the political sphere, affecting a variety of individuals targeted by their adversaries. These assassinations are commissioned for economic, political or personal motives, contributing to a wider market of organised violence and intimidation. It also sends a clear, menacing message to the victims' communities, colleagues and families (Matamba, 2023). Targeted killings instil fear, silence activists and whistle-blowers, undermine democracies and enable criminal actors to achieve their objectives (Thomas, 2021).

The demand

Professional hitmen (also known as *inkabis* in Zulu) are increasingly sought after in the taxi industry and organised crime sectors. They are also hired by political and business figures to eliminate rivals and threats, making assassination a strategic tool. These targeted killings

do not only result in individual fatalities but also have profound impacts on the state. They exacerbate intraparty tensions; erode the criminal justice system, such as when whistle-blowers are murdered; and undermine democracy. Assassinations enable criminal actors to dominate lucrative markets such as the tobacco and taxi industries (Matamba, 2023).

In recent times, targeted killings have surged in previously unaffected sectors such as the music industry and higher education. One example that comes to mind is that of Sakhela Buhlungu, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Fort Hare, who was outspoken against corruption, and may have been targeted when his bodyguard, Mboneli Vesele, was shot dead in Dikeni (formerly Alice) on 6 January 2023 (Rall, 2023). Similarly, in May 2018, Prof Gregory Kamwendo, Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Zululand, was allegedly murdered after uncovering a fraudulent PhD syndicate. He was shot at his home in Empangeni after his colleague, Selby Nkuna, reportedly put a R25 000 bounty on his head and hired a hitman (Singh, 2020). In the music industry, rapper Kiernan Forbes, known as AKA, was murdered in a hit on 10 February 2023, in Durban (McCain, 2024). In April 2024, renowned MC and DJ Peter Mashata, also known as the Noise Maker, was reportedly shot and killed in a hit in Soshanguve, north of Pretoria (Nkonki, 2024). On 11 July 2024, Zenzele Benedict Sithole, a former policeman, who was an investigator with Group Forensics and Investigation Services (GFIS) at the City of Johannesburg, was gunned down. At the time of his murder, he was busy with several high-value corruption investigations (Karim and Wicks, 2024) which allegedly also included one against some rogue JMPD members.

In 2022, the Global Initiative Against Transnational Organised Crime (GI-TOC) recorded 141 assassinations in South Africa, averaging more than two per week (Matamba, 2023). In 2023, GI-TOC recorded 131 targeted killings, categorised into four groups: organised crime-related (46 cases: 35%), minibus taxi industry-related (45 cases: 34%), political assassinations (31 cases: 24%) and personal assassinations (nine cases: 7%) (Matamba and Tobela, 2024).

Motives for target killings

The motives behind contract or targeted killings vary widely, each case necessitating a nuanced understanding of its specific context. These motivations fall into various categories, namely:

- **Politically motivated killings** aim to sway political outcomes, often linked to competition and rivalry between political parties (refer to related article published from p10 in this issue).
- **Economically motivated assassinations** typically seek to manipulate economic outcomes. They frequently arise from competition within industries, aiming to eliminate rivals or retaliate against their actions. One example is what happens in the **taxi industry**, highlighted in the GI-TOC's **Murder by contract** report accounting for 51% of such incidents between 2015 and 2020 (Thomas, 2021).

Some people are also targeted due to **life insurance policies** being taken out on their lives. One example is that of Hlompho Mohapi who was fatally stabbed in July 2018 after being tricked

into a job interview. It was discovered that life insurance policies had been acquired in her name as part of a scam orchestrated by Melisizwe Monqo, a pastor, along with his then fiancée Siphosihle Pamba and his cousin Phumlani Qhusheka. They hired a hitman to carry out the murder (refer to the Crime Series published in **Servamus**: December 2022). Similarly, Rosemary Ndlovu used hitmen to eliminate family members to claim insurance money (refer to the Crime Series published **Servamus**: May and June 2024). More recently on 28 June 2024, Zizipho Pani and her husband Siyathemba James were sentenced in the Eastern Cape High Court after being convicted alongside three hired hitmen for orchestrating the murder of their domestic worker. They had aimed to collect approximately R200 000 from funeral policies Pani had taken out in the victim's name. The hitmen were paid R50 000 for carrying out the hit (Marriah-Maharaj, 2024).

Those who were outspoken against corruption have often become targets of assassinations. One notable case was that of Babita Deokaran, a whistle-blower at Tembisa Hospital, who was fatally shot 12 times in August 2021 while returning home after dropping off her daughter at school. Ms Deokaran, who was the chief director: financial accounting at the Gauteng Department of Health, had courageously spoken out against corruption. **News24's** acclaimed investigative team created the documentary **Silenced: Why Babita Deokaran was murdered**, uncovering extensive syndicate operations, shell company networks as well as politically connected figures who illicitly profited millions (Hussain, 2023).

- **Personally motivated assassinations** are frequently associated with love triangles, vendettas or longstanding feuds between families. Numerous examples illustrate this phenomenon such as that of Tshogofatso Pule's tragic murder. It involved her boyfriend who had hired a hitman to murder her (refer to the Crime Series published from p43 in this issue of **Servamus**). Another case is that of Leon Brits whose wife, Suretha, orchestrated his murder in October 2020 (refer to **Servamus**: May 2024).
- **Organised crime-related motives**, such as assassinations resulting from gang rivalries or unpaid extortion fees, are prevalent in several South African cities where gangs compete for control. In November 2022, Cape Town gang leader Ernie "Lastig" Solomon was killed during an assassination in Gauteng. The attack occurred when the driver of a Ford Ranger blocked the BMW he was travelling in and two gunmen opened fire (Pijoo and Nombembe, 2021). Similarly, in December 2023, Elton "Gappie" Ely, a senior member of the 28s gang and former associate of Ernie "Lastig" Solomon, was fatally shot in Parow Valley. Ely, known for his involvement in drug dealings in Belhar and Bellville, was shot four times in the head and died at the scene (IOL, 2023). Another case is that of Clyde Mnisi, a well-known crime figure with political ties in Mpumalanga, who was fatally shot by four masked assailants wielding assault rifles in March 2023. Mnisi's killing came just five months after he had assumed the role of chief. Shortly after his funeral, his widow, Charlene Mathews, was also gunned down (Seleka, 2023).

The relationship between the mastermind and the perpetrator typically revolves around a contractual agreement. The most explicit contract involves financial compensation paid to the hitman or contract killer by the mastermind.

A GI-TOC report entitled **Killing in silence - Monitoring the role of organised crime in contract killings**, explains that the different categories of drivers or motives often intersect but distinguishing between them can be challenging in practice. As an example, it notes that a case may initially appear politically motivated but could also involve strong ties to organised crime. Motives for assassinations are rarely singular; they can be driven by multiple factors. In a case where a politician hires a hitman or a gang member to eliminate a political rival, the act is propelled by political competition. In such cases, the coding typically follows the primary reported motive, such as political rivalry. However, identifying motives can become more complex in situations such as gang wars, where a murder may initially seem linked to organised crime but could stem from personal disputes, like jealousy or romantic rivalries among gang members. In such cases, both motivations are recorded, but the overarching motive is often attributed to organised crime due to its influence in gang dynamics (Kaysser and Oliveira, 2021).

Similarly, assassinations targeting political figures aren't always politically motivated. In some instances, criminal organisations have their own agendas for eliminating such figures, influenced by their infiltration into political spheres. This infiltration enables organised crime, often in collaboration with corrupt officials, to exert control and remove politicians who oppose their illicit activities, even at a local government level (Kaysser and Oliveira, 2021).

The motives of organised crime also frequently intertwine with economic interests, reflecting their primary goal of profit. This is evident in cases where assassinations are linked to unpaid extortion demands or aimed at influencing public procurement processes (Kaysser and Oliveira, 2021).

Other targets

Politicians, crime bosses and whistle-blowers are not the only targets of assassins. **Police officials** are often targeted due to the investigations they are conducting as was the case with Lt-Col Charl Kinnear. On 18 September 2020, this section commander from the Western Cape Anti-Gang Unit, was assassinated outside his home in Bishop Lavis, Cape Town while investigating a guns-to-gangs syndicate in South Africa. It was revealed that some police officials had facilitated the illegal sale of state-owned firearms confiscated or handed in under amnesty regulations to gangs, instead of ensuring that they were processed for destruction. The group also engaged in irregularities related to firearm licensing (Geldenhuis, 2022). Lt-Col Kinnear's

assassination garnered extensive media coverage in the country. Another assassination case of a law enforcer is that of Lt-Col Leroy Bruwer, an investigator from the Hawks. He was shot while he was en route to work between Lydenburg and Mbombela, Mpumalanga in March 2020. Prior to his death, he had successfully solved multiple rhino poaching cases and led investigations into prominent cases, including those involving former policeman Joseph "Big Joe" Nyalunga and suspected rhino kingpin Petrus Mabuza (Khoza, 2020).

Lawyers are also targeted by contract killers which is what happened on 18 March 2023, when prominent insolvency lawyer, Cloete Murray and his son, Thomas, known for handling cases involving influential and corrupt individuals, were shot by hired hitmen on the N1 highway near Johannesburg. These murders occurred just two days after Mr Murray had filed an urgent application with the South Gauteng High Court to initiate a section 417 inquiry. This inquiry, authorised in terms of the Companies Act 71 of 2008, aims to trace missing money and assets from Constantia Insurance Company. Constantia, a subsidiary of JSE-listed Conduit Capital, had been placed in final liquidation in September 2022 after being provisionally placed under curatorship in July 2022 by the High Court, following an application by the Prudential Authority. The application was scheduled for a hearing on 22 March 2023 (Moonstone Information Refinery, 2024).

Other lawyers who have been targeted are Adv Pete Mihalik and Adv Noorudien Hassan - even though they had represented individuals involved in the underworld. (Refer to a related article published in **Servamus**: July 2021 entitled "Representing 'the underworld' is a dangerous job".)

Hitlists to create fear

Hitlists are often depicted in Hollywood and consist of the names of individuals earmarked for assassination. It is however not a Hollywood "occurrence" but a grim reality even prevalent in South Africa. These lists serve as potent instruments of intimidation, primarily within criminal circles to eliminate rivals or silence dissenters. This fear tactic extends to activists, witnesses, journalists, politicians and businessmen, effectively stifling opposition and critical voices. Even in political spheres, candidate lists can be manipulated into hitlists to eliminate electoral competition (Thomas, 2021).

Accessibility of hitmen

Some illegal markets are more prone to violence than others. Within these markets, criminal organisations may maintain a pool of hired hitmen, ranging from professional hitmen to gang members trained for assassinations. This facilitates easy access to contract killers for those willing to deploy them, fostering a culture of targeted killings within a country. By addressing the markets and criminal networks that perpetuate such contract killings, we not only reduce the demand for such services but also diminish the supply of hitmen (Kaysser and Oliveira, 2021).

Former journalist Nathi Oliphant conducted an extensive investigation into the recruitment of hitmen from impoverished rural villages in northern KwaZulu-Natal. His findings were detailed in the award-winning book **Blood, blades and bullets - Anatomy of a**



Glebelands hitman. He found that they typically trained in various men's hostels in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng to become proficient killers. He stated that the handlers who pay for these services pose a greater problem than the hitmen themselves. "**The solution is to go after the handlers, those who pay the money. The successful prosecution and conviction of handlers will have a deterrent,**" he stated. However, Nathi acknowledged the difficulty in identifying these handlers, noting that they are often wealthy individuals residing in Umhlanga, Ballito, who oversee syndicates with access to significant financial political and security resources. He identified KwaZulu-Natal as a major hub for hitmen in South Africa, followed by Mpumalanga, Gauteng and the Western Cape. "All those provinces produce hitmen, but KZN is on another level. It is common to find a hitman from KZN to go and kill in Cape Town and come back to KZN. One of the best ways to travel is by bus using fake documents. You take a Greyhound to Cape Town, you do the work and take a Greyhound back to KZN," he noted. He described how recruiters scout for young men in remote areas such as Bergville, Weenen, Harding and Bizana, luring them to urban centres with promises of employment in the taxi or other industry, often without official identification documents. These stateless people lack records in the national system, making them elusive to law enforcement, despite the presence of facial recognition technology in urban areas such as Durban (Hans, 2023).

Contract killings can extend beyond national borders which is what happened when Ben Suthi, an Israeli crime boss, was marked for assassination. He was fatally shot in broad daylight in a shopping mall in Mexico City in July 2019, illustrating how international contract killings operate. In this case, an Israeli group enlisted the services of a Mexican contract killer to target Suthi on Mexican soil. Notably, one of the assailants was Esperanza Gutierrez Rojano, a Mexican woman who was paid \$1300 for her role in the murder (Times of Israel, 2019).

The perpetrator

Contract killings are inherently secretive, often leaving the perpetrators unidentified. While studies frequently examine the profiles of victims, less attention is paid to those orchestrating these violent acts. Hitmen are compensated to ensure their anonymity and shield those commissioning the killings. Infiltration of state institutions by organised crime and corruption also often obstructs investigations and hampers prosecution efforts. The Global Assassination Monitor data underscores this veil of secrecy. In a significant majority of documented cases worldwide (63%), information about the perpetrators was not disclosed (Kaysser and Oliveira, 2021).

The relationship between the mastermind and the perpetrator typically revolves around a contractual agreement. The most explicit contract involves financial compensation paid to the hitman or contract killer by the mastermind. Alternatively, in less overt arrangements, killings may be carried out by subordinate members of criminal or armed groups, or even by individuals affiliated with political organisations. In such cases the "contract" implies a non-monetary exchange, such as the promise of advancement within the group for executing the killing (Kaysser and Oliveira, 2021).

In an interview with **SABC News** a man identifying himself as an *inkabi* revealed that he kills people for a living. "The job requires boldness and bravery. You should not have a conscience," he asserted. He further mentioned that their clients are "'high-ranking people'. I operate like the intelligence. I research about my targets. I monitor their movements. I found out about their habits. I investigate where they live. I have to be thorough to avoid mistakes. I hack their phones to see who they communicate with. After I am satisfied with my investigation, I then consult the ancestors of my target. I perform a ritual in the river and ask for permission to kill them because they are troublesome," (sic) he explained. He added that when he is tasked with killing a politician, he first investigates how much muti the politician uses and

“If you have a society where there is very high criminality, those criminals provide that pool of recruitment for assassinations. We all know South Africa has reached that point of criminality. If you need a murderer, you don't have to look too far ...” - **Martin Ewi (ISS)**.

determines its origin. Once he has this information, he coats the bullets with the muti to prevent the firearm from jamming. After this preparation, he proceeds to locate his political target (SABC, 2023).

The price tag

The affordability and professionalism of hired assassins play a pivotal role in determining their fees, as can be expected: the more skilled and experienced the assassin, the higher the cost of their services. However, other factors also influence pricing, such as the prominence of the target and the associated risks. Targets with higher profiles generally entail greater risks, leading to higher fees demanded by the assassin (Kaysser and Oliveira, 2021).

In South Africa, the hitmen-for-hire industry is well-established and widespread. According to a report by GI-TOC, published in September 2021, contract killings can be executed for as little as R2600 (Thomas, 2021). Nathi Olifant, in his book **Blood blades and bullets: Anatomy of a Glebelands hitman** discusses varying prices based on the target's status. Killing a local official or politician may cost between R20 000 and R40 000, whereas eliminating a taxi boss or high-ranking businessman could command sums exceeding R100 000. "With the latter, you need a skilled, professional and experienced hitman. These are usually independent hitmen, who work via a third party and are able to pay everyone in the hierarchy, including cops because they have to solidly cover their tracks and you need cops sometimes. A housewife, for example, who wants to kill a husband will often cough up between R5000 and R15 000 and these usually get caught easily because the cheap hitmen are not resourceful," he stated (Pijoos and Morais, 2023).

Martin Ewi from the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) notes that hit prices are largely dictated by the assassin, with reports citing payments ranging from R150 000 to as high as R800 000, depending on the client's wealth and the complexity of the job. However, "if the hitman sees that you are rich, that you can pay him R2 million, that's the amount he will charge you to do his dirty work," he added (McCain, 2024).

In the case of former Bafana Bafana captain, Senzo Meyiwa, he was reportedly killed for R100 000 in Vosloorus on 26 October 2014. The husband of Jayde Panayiotou, who was kidnapped and murdered in April 2015 in Gqeberha, paid R70 000 for the hit. Nicolaas Heerschap, the father of a Hawks detective Nico Heerschap, was murdered in Melkbosstrand on 9 July 2019 in a case of mistaken identification - the alleged murderer claimed to have received R25 000 to split among

five associates. The same hitman claimed that he received R10 000 for the random killing of a tow-truck driver Richard Joseph in Kuils River, allegedly by order of crime boss Nafiz Modack, intended as a lesson to the towing company. Whistle-blower Babita Deokaran's hit in 2021 was valued at approximately R200 000. In 2023, Capt Zwelakhe Ntombela was fatally shot at his home and his wife, Mzo, was identified as the mastermind behind the hit who had paid R300 000 for it. The murder of rapper, Kiernan Forbes (better known as AKA), is noted as one of South Africa's most expensive hits, allegedly costing R800 000, while the killing of lawyer Pete Mihalik stands as the country's most costly recorded hit at R1 million (McCain, 2024).

Crime expert, Dr Guy Lamb from the University of Stellenbosch, explained that costs escalate with the complexity and resources required for assassination, especially for high-profile targets who have various security measures in place. Many assassins gain expertise in sectors such as the taxi industry, where violence is used to settle disputes, impacting their effectiveness and fees (McCain, 2024).

Methods used by hitmen

Assassinations are conducted through various methods such as shooting, stabbing, beating and suffocation. However, globally, firearms remain the predominant weapon used to carry out assassinations (Kaysser and Oliveira, 2021) with stabbings and poisonings being infrequent alternatives (Kotze, 2023).

The widespread availability of firearms, including those sourced from South African law enforcement agencies, contributes significantly to the prevalence of contract killings. An example of how firearms were obtained illegally from law enforcement agencies is demonstrated in the case of former police officer Christiaan Prinsloo who worked at a police ammunitions store in Gauteng, where he stole more than 2000 firearms between 2007 and 2015 (Geldenhuys, 2021). It is important to note that the lack of firearm control has been highlighted by both GI-TOC and the ISS as a major factor contributing to multiple murders and targeted killings by hired hitmen (Kotze, 2023). In some instances, law enforcement and military personnel are killed during attempts to steal their weapons. According to Dr Lamb, the availability of illegal firearms in South Africa is extensive, with numerous individuals willing to carry out assassinations for financial gain (McCain, 2024).

A challenge to bring perpetrators to justice

Perpetrators, particularly those orchestrating assassinations, or the masterminds, often evade justice for several reasons. Dr Guy Lamb highlighted the difficulty law enforcement agencies face in addressing contract killings - however, even when hitmen are arrested, the masterminds often evade capture. "It happens, but it's more the exception than the rule," he stated. Catching the masterminds is rare; police can usually trace the evidence to the hitmen, but these hitmen need to provide evidence against those who hired them. "Very often, intermediaries are used and the hitmen don't even know who the client is," he remarked (McCain, 2024).

The nature of these crimes, often executed by highly skilled contract killers, frequently leaves insufficient evidence to prosecute effectively.



Challenges such as limited police resources, inadequate victim and witness support and a lack of political will further hinder investigations. In contexts where organised crime thrives, constrained police resources contribute to a growing backlog of unresolved cases. Criminal groups often use intimidation tactics, such as leaving threatening messages with victims, which intimidate both communities and law enforcement officers responsible for investigating these crimes. Successful prosecution of these crimes hinges on the independence and effectiveness of investigative bodies, law enforcement and the judiciary. Many contract killings are politically sensitive and there is often political pressure to shield perpetrators from accountability. Strengthening national institutions to resist such pressures and combat corruption is crucial to addressing impunity in these cases (Kaysser and Oliveira, 2021).

Previous research on assassinations, such as [The rule of the gun: Hits and assassinations in South Africa: January 2000 to December 2017](#) by Assassination Witness, a joint effort between the Centre for Criminology at the University of Cape Town and GI-TOC, published in March 2018, indicates that prosecution rates in many countries are notably low, contributing to high levels of impunity. This is often due to the sensitive political nature of such killings, where the political will to promptly investigate these incidents is frequently lacking (Assassination Witness, 2018).

Martin Ewi, a coordinator for the ISS's Southern Africa organised crime observatory, stated that the flourishing market for hitmen is fuelled by the shortcomings of the criminal justice system. "If you have a society where there is very high criminality, those criminals provide that pool of recruitment for assassinations. We all know South Africa has reached that point of criminality. If you need a murderer, you don't have to look too far. The moment there is impunity, when someone commits a criminal act and is able to go free, you can be sure a lot more criminal acts are to come. Each case that goes unprosecuted, triggers more cases. The moment you allow impunity, for even one case, the multiplier effect is huge," he noted (McCain, 2024).

A report on police reform recommendations published by the ISS in June 2024, notes that if people who commit murder go unpunished, some are likely to continue committing such crimes due to the lack of consequences. In a country with rising murder rates, the ISS provides proposals for the new government to professionalise the SAPS so that it can better fulfil its constitutional mandate. One of the strategic focus points in the document is "serious violent crime," which includes reducing firearm-related crime. Earlier in this article we noted that firearms are the weapon of choice for most hitmen. Therefore, the ISS highlighted this issue and suggested that a component of the strategy should focus on the hitman industry, with special priority given to the assassination of political office bearers, criminal justice officials and corruption whistle-blowers (ISS, 2024). (Refer to an article about these ISS recommendations published from p26 in this issue of [Servamus](#).)



There is nothing "Hollywood" about the phenomenon of hitmen except when the movie industry dramatises and sensationalises the concept of contract killers: hired assassins are clearly a genuine and disturbing reality across the world. In South Africa, organised crime, including the use of hitmen, is a serious issue which has been highlighted by several high-profile cases. As has been mentioned in this article, these killings can be arranged for various reasons, posing significant challenges for South African law enforcement agencies. However, efforts to combat this issue are often hampered by corruption within the police and judicial system, making it difficult to bring perpetrators to justice. Initiatives to reduce organised crime and the use of hitmen include increasing police resources, improving investigative techniques and addressing root causes of violence such as poverty and social inequality. However, progress has been slow and the problem remains a significant concern for both authorities and communities.

Editor's note

The list of references is published on p78.

Contract killings: a dirty, dangerous and deadly "deal"

(Article published from p16 to p21)

- Assassination Witness.** 2018. "The rule of the gun: Hits and assassinations in South Africa: January 2000 to December 2017." March. Global Initiative against Transnational Organised Crime and Centre for Criminology, University of Cape Town. - Accessed at https://globalinitiative.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/The-rule-of-the-gun_Assassination-Witness.pdf. Accessed on 25 May 2024.
- Goldenhuis, K. 2021. "Crime Series: 'Guns to gangs'." **Servamus Community-based Safety and Security Magazine**. July. Vol 114, issue 7. Pretoria: SARP Publishers.
- Goldenhuis, K. 2022. "From legal to illegal - Firearms' journey to criminality." **Servamus Community-based Safety and Security Magazine**. July. Vol 115, issue 7. Pretoria: SARP Publishers.
- Hans, B. 2023. "Is KZN the factory of hitmen?" **Falcons**. 8 March. - Accessed at <https://falcons.org.za/the-cases/is-kzn-the-factory-of-hitmen-0a55ae74-ac01-4aca-b882-34db55e0a9d7>. Accessed on 2 July 2024.
- Hussain, M. 2023. "Assassinations that still keep South Africans awake at night." **News24**. 25 May. - Accessed at www.news24.com/news24/opinions/friday-briefing/list-assassinations-that-still-keep-south-africans-awake-at-night-20230525. Accessed on 2 July 2024.
- Institute for Security Studies (ISS). 2024. **Strengthening the SAPS for a safer South Africa - Recommendations for police reform**. Justice and Violence Prevention Programme. June. Pretoria.
- IOL**. 2023. "28s gang boss shot dead: 'Gappie' murdered in Parow." 13 December. - Accessed at www.iol.co.za/news/crime-and-courts/28s-gang-boss-shot-dead-gappie-murdered-in-parow-003839c6-3570-4f52-9469-52dfee6eda3c. Accessed on 2 July 2024.
- Kaysser, N and Oliveira, A P. 2021. "Killing in silence - Monitoring the role of organized crime in contract killings." The Global Initiative Against Transnational Organised Crime. Geneva, Switzerland.
- Khoza, M. 2020. "Rhino poaching top investigator shot dead on his way to work." **Sowetan Live**. 18 March. - Accessed at www.sowetan-live.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-03-18-rhino-poaching-top-investigator-shot-dead-on-his-way-to-work. Accessed on 2 July 2024.
- Kotze, C. 2023. "Contract killing business booming in South Africa." **Defence Web**. 5 May. - Accessed at www.defenceweb.co.za/featured/contract-killing-business-booming-in-south-africa. Accessed on 2 July 2024.
- Marriah-Maharaj, J. 2024. "Eastern Cape couple who hired hitmen to kill their domestic worker for a funeral policy payout, jailed for life." **IOL**. 28 June. - Accessed at www.iol.co.za/news/crime-and-courts/eastern-cape-couple-who-hired-hitmen-to-kill-their-domestic-worker-for-a-funeral-policy-payout-jailed-for-life-e4ef9fb2-2b33-43aa-bd0e-075cd75b10a1. Accessed on 3 July 2024.
- Matamba, R. 2023. "The business of killing assassinations in South Africa." The Global Initiative Against Transnational Organised Crime. Geneva, Switzerland.
- Matamba, R and Thobela, C. 2024. "The politics of murder criminal governance and targeted killings in South Africa." The Global Initiative Against Transnational Organised Crime. Geneva, Switzerland.
- McCain, N. 2024. "The cost of a life: This is what you pay for a hit in SA." **News24**. 6 April. - Accessed at www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/the-cost-of-a-life-this-is-what-you-pay-for-a-hit-in-sa-20240406. Accessed on 2 July 2024.
- Moonstone Information Refinery. 2024. "Cloete Murray was looking into Constantia Insurance." 29 January. - Accessed at www.moonstone.co.za/cloete-murray-was-looking-into-constantia-insurance-business-day-report. Accessed on 2 July 2024.
- Nkonki, A. 2024. "'Noise maker' killed in yet another 'hit'." **The Star**. 21 April. - Accessed at www.iol.co.za/the-star/news/noise-maker-killed-in-yet-another-hit-2ce583a1-e503-439d-80a9-24455272b4e4. Accessed on 2 July 2024.
- Pijoo, I and Nombembe, P. 2020. "28s gang boss Ernie 'Lastig' Solomon killed in Gauteng hit." **Times Live**. 20 November. - Accessed at www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-11-20-28s-gang-boss-ernie-lastig-solomon-killed-in-gauteng-hit. Accessed on 2 July 2024.
- Rall, S. 2023. "R5 million bounty for head of Fort Hare VC, Prof Sakhela Buhlungu." **IOL**. 11 May. - Accessed at www.iol.co.za/news/crime-and-courts/r5-million-bounty-for-head-of-fort-hare-vc-prof-sakhela-buhlungu-2738675e-f92f-4fbb-841d-03a2f4ddf9a5. Accessed on 23 May 2024.
- SABC**. 2023. "In Conversation - SABC News spine-chilling interview with a hitman 'Inkabi'." 16 February. - Accessed at www.youtube.com/watch?v=DwMpBmpt2sA. Accessed on 3 July 2024.
- Seleka, N. 2023. "'I don't believe the chief was killed for rhino poaching' - Mnisi royal family spokesperson." **News24**. 6 April. - Accessed at www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/i-dont-believe-the-chief-was-killed-for-rhino-poaching-mnisi-royal-family-spokesperson-20230406. Accessed on 2 July 2024.
- Singh, O. 2020. "Two men sentenced to life for murder of UniZulu professor." **Times Live**. 16 October. - Accessed at www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-10-16-two-men-sentenced-to-life-for-murder-of-unizulu-professor. Accessed on 2 July 2024.
- Times of Israel**. 2019. "Mexico says it's identified organization behind killing of Israeli crime boss." 30 July. - Accessed at www.timesofisrael.com/mexico-says-its-identified-organization-behind-killing-of-israeli-crime-boss. Accessed on 2 July 2024.
- Thomas, K. 2021. "Murder by contract - Targeted killings in eastern and southern Africa." The Global Initiative Against Transnational Organised Crime. Geneva, Switzerland.