

Contents

The Art of Breaking the Gun by Rubem César Fernandes	ix
Foreword by Paul Graham	xi
Preface	xii
Acknowledgements	xiv
Abbreviations	xviii

Chapter 1

Guns in South Africa: A Feature of the Landscape	1
The legacy of guns	3
Legal guns	4
Illegal arms trafficking	5
Firearm homicides	6
Men and guns	8

Chapter 2

A Country in Transition: Calling for Peace	11
The logical next step	11
The National Peace Accord	13
Religious institutions as peacemakers	14
A culture of violence	15
Guns enter the equation	16
Calling for gun-free elections	19
Framing the 'defining moment'	20

Chapter 3

The 1994 Hand-In: Giving up Guns in Hope of Peace	23
The role of firearm amnesties	23
A difficult environment	25
Looking for funding	25

The hand-in: A day to remember	27
The role of the police	30
The role of the church	31
Waiting for the results	33
Activists remember	34
Unexpected responses	37
A contested terrain	38

Chapter 4

Building the Movement: Grassroots Mobilisation

against Guns	41
Plotting the way forward	43
Creating gun-free zones	44
A peace-building tool	46
Broadening the base	47
Gun free in Mapela	48
OXFAM ambassador highlights violence	53
Word spreads	54

Chapter 5

Spreading the Word: Making South Africa Safe

Gun-free zones in government	60
Gun-free zones in churches	62
Broadening the appeal	63
Assessing progress	64
Evaluating gun-free zones	64
Gun-free zones provide the foundation	66
Building an alliance	68

Chapter 6

Setbacks and Advances: Building the Case for

Gun Control	73
Threats and harassment	73
Changing context	79
Research: Building a strong case	82
Broadening the view: Gun violence as a public-health issue	86
Partnering with the health sector	87
The costs of gun violence	88
Building successful gun-control movements across the globe	89

Chapter 7

Winning Public Opinion: Media Advocacy and

Campaigning	91
Involving the advertising industry	92
Working with the news media	100
Responding to the gun lobby	104
Media advocacy	106

Chapter 8

Gun-Control Advocacy and the State: The Firearms

Control Bill	109
The long wait	111
New firearms legislation?	113
Teething problems	115
Gun control: A contested issue	117
Coming up against the gun lobby	118
The Bill at last	120
The GCA gets going	122

Chapter 9

Making Democracy Work: The People Come to

Parliament	127
The voice of the grassroots	127
Public hearings	130
Getting to parliament	131
The daily routine	132
A white male says no to guns	134
The voices of children	135
The GFSA at parliament	137
The gun lobby in parliament	138
Lessons for parliamentary representation	142
Fine-tuning the Bill: Committee deliberations	143
Debating the age restriction	145
Protecting women against gun violence	146
Did coming to parliament make a difference?	150

Chapter 10

Ideals Become Law: Parliament and the Firearms

Control Act	153
Introducing the Bill	154

MPs speak out	156
A solid victory for gun control	163

Chapter 11

Reducing Gun Deaths: The Struggle Continues	167
Implementing the law: Drafting the regulations (2001–4)	169
Implementing the law: Firearm-free zones	170
Implementing the law: Training and education	173
Challenges to the law	174
Has anything changed?	176
The international movement	178
The GFSA: The next phase?	183

Appendix 1 GFSA Resources	185
Appendix 2 The Charter for Gun Control	189
Appendix 3 Gun-Free Zones and Firearm-Free Zones	191
Appendix 4 The Firearms Control Act	199
Appendix 5 Policy Guidelines	201
Notes	209
Select Bibliography	227
Index	237