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Mediating the transition : The press, state and capital in a changing Zimbabwe, 1980-2004

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Appendix 1.

Summary timeline of Zimbabwe's transition: 1980-2004

[1] Political Economy of the 'First' Transition (1980-1990)

a) Political and Economic Changes

- Democratic elections, Zanu PF wins majority seats, forms government of national unity under Prime Minister Robert Mugabe (March-April 1980)
- First elections in free Zimbabwe. Zanu PF wins against PF Zapu and CAZ (1985)
- Unity Accord signed between Zanu PF and PF Zapu; merger of two parties resulting in 'united' Zanu PF. Mugabe becomes Executive President (1987).
- Social unrest increases amid reports of widespread corruption. UZ students strike against state corruption; ZCTU Secretary General Morgan Tsvangirai detained for 6 weeks (1988)
- ZCTU begins to sever its close relations with Zanu PF (1989-1991)
- Mugabe launches Sandura Commission to investigate corruption in vehicle allocation by cabinet ministers (Willowgate scandal) (1989)
- The Zanu PF government maintains the inherited economic status quo despite loud rhetoric about 'socialism' and nationalisation. State makes huge investments in education and health, but economic growth slows towards the end of the decade.

b) Media Changes

- Government buys off Argus shares from Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company (RPP); establishes Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) in 1981 to run the public press and manage the roll-out of the rural press (1980-81)
- Government fires editors of *Manica Post* (1981), *Sunday Mail* (1983, 1985) and *Herald* (1985).
- *Financial Gazette* endorses Zanu PF at the polls (1985).
- *Chronicle* breaks Willowgate Scandal (1988-9). Editor Geoff Nyarota redeployed to Zimpapers head office in Harare.
- -Elias Rusike buys *Financial Gazette*, refocuses the paper towards black middle class readership (1989).

- State control of both ZMMT and ZBC is established right from the beginning. Maintains a 'tactically indifferent' approach to the private press, punctuated by occasional rhetorical threats.

[2] Political Economy of the 'second' transition (1990-1997)

a) Political & Economic Changes

- 1990 general elections. Biggest opposition is ZUM, launched in 1989 by Edgar Tekere, former Zanu PF Secretary General. Zanu PF wins election.
- State launches controversial Investment Code to lure foreign investors
- State launches ESAP in 1991; Mugabe announces (in Toronto) Zanu PF won't pursue one-party state (1990).
- Widespread social unrest in the wake of ESAP. Civil servants strike for several weeks in 1991.
- 1997: State awards Z$50 000 gratuities to war veterans, local currency plunges. Beginning of economic crisis.

b) Media Changes

- Launch of several newspapers in the wake of ESAP
- *Daily Gazette* launches 1992, closes 1994.
- *Sunday Times* launches in 1992, closes 1995.
- *Horizon* magazine launches 1991, closes 1998.
- *Zimbabwe Independent* launches in 1996.
- *Zimbabwe Mirror* launches in 1997.
- State amends the ZMMT Deed of Trust to give State more power over Zimpapers.
- First state prosecution of journalists; Basildon Peta in 1994, Trevor Ncube, Elias Rusike and Simba Makunike charged with criminal defamation of Mugabe in 1996.
- State makes initial attempts at media law reform, but dumps the project towards the end of the 'second' transition. Authoritarian tendencies on media begin to manifest themselves in official statements and threats.

[3] Political Economy of the 'third' transition (1998-2004)

a) Political and Economic Changes

- Mass riots against high prices of bread and food in January 1998, crushed by the police, 10 killed.
- Government deploys soldiers to fight in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in August 1998. Economy takes further plunge.
- Militarisation of the state begins, war veterans, security agents and retired army generals posted to key positions in the economy and bureaucracy
- Constitutional review process begins 1999; state appointed commission and NCA run parallel processes.
- MDC is formed in September 1999, and joins the campaign against the state commission's draft constitution.
- Constitutional referendum in February 2000, draft constitution rejected.
- War veterans begin widespread farm invasions in April 2000, violence erupts on farms.
- Parliamentary elections in June 2000, Zanu PF narrowly beats MDC by 62 to 57. Pre-election era marked by widespread violence
- 2002 Presidential elections, MDC loses to Zanu PF in an election declared unfree and unfair by international observers, African missions endorse elections.
- State repression continues, a raft of laws passed and constitutional amendments made giving more power to the state and limiting freedoms of expression and association.

b) Media Changes

- 1999: Journalists at the *Standard* Mark Chavunduka and Ray Choto are arrested, detained and tortured by the military over a story alleging coup plots within the army.
- 1999: *Zimbabwe Mirror* journalist Grace Kwinje and Publisher Ibbo Mandaza are arrested for report on DRC casualties
- 1999 The *Daily News* launches in March
- 2000: Repeated threats to *Daily News* from state
- 2001: *Daily News* printing press is bombed in January

- Bifurcation of political debate replicates itself in the media. Three forms of 'oppositional', 'patriotic' and 'independent nationalist' journalism emerge. *Herald* describes this phase as "a rare media aberration" (see Chapter Eight).
- State disbands the ZMMT. Creates New Ziana in its place, directly under the Ministry of Information (2001).
- 2002: POSA and AIPPA passed by parliament, further curtail freedom of expression, association and media freedom. Journalists and media houses to be registered under AIPPA
- 2002: State restructures ZBC, retires over 400 staff and hires young staff. Restructuring extends to Zimpapers, several editors fired between 1998 and 2004. *The Mirror* abandons its 'independent nationalist' model, adopts 'patriotic' journalism after its secretive takeover by the CIO.
- *Daily News* and sister publication *Daily News on Sunday* closed down in September 2003 following court ruling in favour of controversial law AIPPA
- The *Weekly Tribune*, *Business Tribune* and *Weekly Times* also forced to close shop months after closure of *Daily News*.

Appendix 2. Glossary of Acronyms

AET	Africa Educational Trust
ANC	African National Congress
AIPPA	Access to information and Protection of Privacy Act
ANZ	Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe
BSA	Broadcasting Services Act
CAZ	Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe
CFU	Commercial Farmers' Union
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation
CNG	Community Newspaper Group
CZI	Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries
ESC	Electoral Supervisory Commission
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FPZ	Forum Party of Zimbabwe
GCIS	Government Communication and Information Systems
IJAZ	Independent Journalists Association of Zimbabwe
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPI	International Press Institute
LOMA	Law and Order (Maintenance) Act
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDDA	Media Development and Diversity Agency
MIC	Media and Information Commission
MISA	Media Institute for Southern Africa
MMPZ	Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe
NAGG	National Alliance for Good Governance
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PF Zapu	Zimbabwe African People's Union Patriotic Front
POSA	Public Order and Security Act
RF	Rhodesian Front
RPP	Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company

SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAMDEF	Southern African Media Development Fund
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UZ	University of Zimbabwe
Zanu PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
Zanu (Ndonga)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Ndonga)
Zapu	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZESN	Zimbabwe Election Support Network
ZIANA	Zimbabwe Inter Africa News Agency
ZIMCO	Zimbabwe Institute of Mass Communication
ZIMPREST	Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation
ZIS	Zimbabwe Information Service
ZLHR	Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights
ZMC	Zimbabwe Media Council
ZMMT	Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust
ZUJ	Zimbabwe Union of Journalists
ZUM	Zimbabwe Unity Movement