



*Left:* Thabo Mbeki, Joe Nhlhlanhla and Aziz Pahad at the ANC's preparatory meeting before its first talks with the government, Vergelegen, 29 April 1990. This photograph is on display at Vergelegen Estate, Somerset West. *See page 573.*

(COURTESY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN/VERGELEGEN)

*Below:* ANC leaders at Vergelegen, 29 April 1990. On the steps, Nelson Mandela chats to Trevor Manuel; in the foreground, Thabo Mbeki and Joe Slovo chat while Steve Tshwete and Joe Nhlhlanhla look on. *See page 573.*

(COURTESY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN/VERGELEGEN)





*Top left:* ‘At one o’clock I was in Lusaka and at three o’clock I was in Cape Town.’ Thabo Mbeki comes home from exile, 28 April 1990, with fellow ANC leaders Ruth Mompati, Joe Slovo, Alfred Nzo and Joe Modise. See page 572. (DIE BURGER)

*Top right:* ‘There was no-one in the room who had horns.’ Thabo Mbeki addresses the Cape Town Press Club during the Groote Schuur meeting between the ANC and the government, 3 May 1990. See page 575. (DIE BURGER)

*Above:* Negotiations at the Presidensie, leading to the Pretoria Minute, 6 August 1990. The National Party delegates were Kobie Coetsee, Pik Botha, FW de Klerk and Adriaan Vlok. The ANC delegates were Joe Modise, Alfred Nzo, Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo and Thabo Mbeki. See page 598. (DIE BURGER)

*Left:* Thabo Mbeki at the ANC’s National Conference, Durban, July 1991. See page 602. (BEELD)



*Top:* Sydney Mufamadi, Aziz Pahad, Thabo Mbeki and Mac Maharaj at the ANC's policy conference, Johannesburg, May 1992. (ROBERT BOTHA/*BUSINESS DAY*)

*Above:* Unlikely celebrants at Thabo Mbeki's 50th birthday party: Sol Kerzner, Jeff Liebesman, Joe Slovo, Vivian Immerman, Mbeki, Max Borkum and Helen Suzman, Johannesburg, 19 June 1992. *See page 581.*  
(JOE SEFALE/*SUNDAY TIMES*)

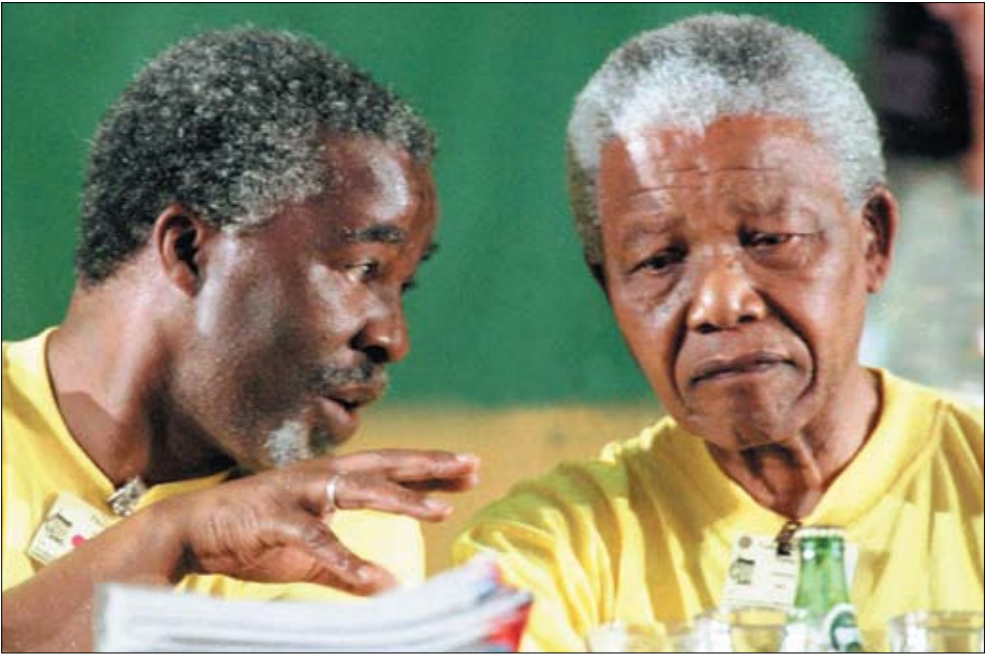
*Left:* General Constand Viljoen, Roelf Meyer and Thabo Mbeki, at the signing of the Volkstaat Agreement, 23 April 1994. *See page 619.*  
(COBUS BODENSTEYN/*SUNDAY TIMES*)



*Top:* Nelson Mandela spontaneously raises the arms of his two deputies, FW de Klerk and Thabo Mbeki, before the crowds at their inauguration, Union Buildings, Pretoria, 10 May 1994. *See page 655.*

(GUY STUBBS)

*Above:* Nelson Mandela and his two deputies start work at Tuynhuys, Cape Town, May 1994. (HANNES MUNDEY/DIE BURGER)



*Top:* Thabo Mbeki and Nelson Mandela at the ANC National Conference, Mafikeng, December 1997. See page 697.

(ADIL BRADLOW/PICTURENET AFRICA)

*Above:* "There are two bulls in one kraal, but one of them is short!" Thabo Mbeki replaces Nelson Mandela as president of the ANC at its 50th National Conference, Mafikeng, December 1997.

See page 697. (JOHNNIC COMMUNICATIONS)



*Top:* Joe Nhlanhla, Thabo Mbeki and Walter Sisulu look on as Peter Mokaba leads the singing at a 1994 election rally. See page 634. (JOHNNIC COMMUNICATIONS)

*Centre left:* Thabo Mbeki with Joe Modise at a press conference at the Codesa negotiations, 14 December 1991. See page 684. (DIE BURGER)

*Centre right:* Thabo Mbeki with Cyril Ramaphosa at the ANC National Constitutional Conference, April 1995. See Chapter 36, and pages 639 ff. (HERBERT MABUZA/SUNDAYTIMES)

*Above left:* Essop Pahad, 2005. (SIMON MATHEBULA/SUNDAYTIMES)

*Above right:* Joel Netshitenzhe, 1998. (DENNIS FARRELL/AP)



*Top left:* Archbishop Desmond Tutu handing over the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to Thabo Mbeki, 21 March 2003. See page 711.

(LISA HNATOWICZ/RAPPORT)

*Top right:* Trevor Manuel is congratulated by Thabo Mbeki after delivering his budget speech, February 2007.

(AMBROSE PETERS/SUNDAY TIMES)

*Above:* Thabo Mbeki with the Zulu King Zwelithini and Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, commemorating the Battle of Blood River, 16 December 1998. See Chapter 37.

(DENIS FARRELL/AP)

*Left:* Thabo Mbeki with Winnie Madikizela-Mandela at the ANC Policy Conference, February 1999.

See page 634. (JOE SEFALE/SUNDAY TIMES)



*Top:* The Bushes and the Mbekis; welcome ceremony at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, 9 July 2003. (CHARLES DHARAPAK/AP)

*Above:* Thabo Mbeki and Robert Mugabe at the SADC summit in Maputo, 17 August 2007. Looking on are Armando Guebuza, the Mozambican president; Hifikepunye Pohamba, the Namibian president; and Eduardo dos Santos, the Angolan president. *See Chapter 28.*

(TSVANGIRAYI MUKWAZHI/AP)





*Above:* Thabo Mbeki and Tony Blair, Pretoria, January 1999. (ADIL BRADLOW/PICTURENET AFRICA)



*Top:* Thabo Mbeki and Bill Clinton at Tuynhuys, Cape Town, 26 March 1998. (JOHNNIC COMMUNICATIONS)



The iconic picture of Thabo Mbeki's 2004 election campaign, when he sat on the floor at a house in Khayamnandi, outside Port Elizabeth, after an elderly man had mistakenly taken the seat reserved for him. See page 775. (SYDNEY SESHIBEDI/SUNDAY TIMES)

OPPOSITE PAGE

*Above left:* Thabo Mbeki with pop superstar Brenda Fassie at the launch of the ANC's election manifesto, 28 March 1999.

(MBUZENI ZULU)

*Above right:* Thabo Mbeki on the campaign trail, Mamelodi, March 2004. (SYDNEY SESHIBEDI)

*Below:* Thabo Mbeki with Callie and Monique Strydom, following their release after having being held hostage for four months in the Philippines, 31 August 2000.

(CHRISTIAAN KOTZE/RAPPORT)





*Top:* Hands are laid on Thabo Mbeki in Christian prayer after he was honoured with Xhosa traditional gear at the Mngqesha Great Place in the Eastern Cape, as part of his 2004 election campaign. (ALAN EASON/DAILY DISPATCH)

*Left:* Thabo Mbeki, dressed in beads and participating in a traditional meal at an amaZizi thanksgiving ceremony at Ngcingwane, his mother's house, 1999. (KENNETH MULLER/PICTURENET AFRICA)

*Above:* Thabo and Zanele Mbeki outside Epainette Mbeki's house at Ngcingwane, 1999. (KENNETH MULLER/PICTURENET AFRICA)



*Above:* Thabo and Govan Mbeki at a rally in Port Elizabeth, July 2000.

(DEON FERREIRA/DIE BURGER)



*Left:* Thabo Mbeki with his mother Epainette at his father Govan's funeral, 8 September 2001. See page 767.

(DEON FERREIRA/DIE BURGER)

*Below left:* Family get-together at Thabo Mbeki's 1999 inauguration: Mphu Matete, Jama Mbeki's widow (*back right*), with her daughters Nobantu (*far left*) and Tsidi (*standing*), and Karl Mbeki, Moeletsi's son (*seated*). (COURTESY OF MPHU MATETE)

*Below :* Epainette Mbeki with her son Moeletsi and her granddaughter Linda (daughter of Jama) at her 80th birthday party at Komga, Eastern Cape, February 2005. (JOHNNIC COMMUNICATIONS)





*Top:* Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki at Mbeki's second inauguration, Union Buildings, Pretoria, 27 April 2004. See Chapter 42. (CHRISTIAAN KOTZE/RAPPORT)

*Above:* Thabo and Zanele Mbeki arrive at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, for his inauguration, 27 April 2004. See Chapter 42. (HALDEN KROG/BEELD)



*Top:* Thabo Mbeki and his deputy, Jacob Zuma, at the cabinet swearing-in ceremony, 29 April 2004.  
*See Introduction.* (SYDNEY SESHIBEDI/SUNDAY TIMES)

*Middle:* Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma celebrate the ANC's election victory, 6 April 2004.  
*See Introduction.* (SIDDIQUE DAVIDS/BEELD)

*Above:* Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma at the ANC's National General Council, Pretoria, 30 June 2005.  
*See Introduction.* (FELIX DLANGAMANDLA/BEELD)



After the inevitable rebirth  
there is only loneliness  
or just as a deep lake  
washes waters from the eternal  
spring

Trace a straight path  
through the maze of  
centuries of colonial dreams.

By  
K. Kgositsile.

Drawing by Dumile Feni, with verse by Keorapetse Kgositsile, published in the ANC journal *Sechaba*, Second Quarter, 1976. See page 653. (COURTESY OF DUMILE FENI FAMILY TRUST)