Nelson Mandela was born in Transkei, South Africa on 18 July 1918. He joined the African National Congress in 1944 and was engaged in resistance against the ruling National Party's apartheid policies for many years before being arrested in August 1962.

Mandela was incarcerated for over twenty seven years, during which his reputation as a potent symbol of resistance to the antiapartheid movement grew steadily. Released from prison in 1990, Mandela won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993 and was inaugurated as the first democratically elected president of South Africa in 1994. He is the author of the international bestseller Long Walk to Freedom.

‘In real life we deal, not with gods, but with ordinary humans like ourselves: men and women who are full of contradictions, who are stable and fickle, strong and weak, famous and infamous.’

NELSON MANDELA

Nelson Mandela is one of the most inspiring and iconic figures of our age. Now, after a lifetime of taking pen to paper to record thoughts and events, hardships and victories, he has opened his personal archive, which offers an unprecedented insight into his remarkable life. Conversations With Myself gives readers access to the private man behind the public figure: from letters written in the darkest hours of Mandela’s twenty-seven years of imprisonment to the draft of an unfinished sequel to Long Walk to Freedom. Here he is making notes and even doodling during meetings, or recording troubled dreams on the desk calendar of his cell on Robben Island; writing journals while on the run during the anti-apartheid struggles in the early 1960s, or conversing with friends in almost seventy hours of recorded conversations. In these pages he is neither an icon nor a saint; here he is like you and me.

An intimate journey from the first stirrings of his political conscience to his galvanizing role on the world stage, Conversations With Myself is a rare chance to spend time with Nelson Mandela the man, in his own voice: direct, clear, private.

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Publicity Guidelines

NELSON MANDELA

CONVERSATIONS WITH MYSELF

FOREWORD BY

BARACK OBAMA

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CONTENTS

About the book
The Archive
The Archival team
Q&A with the Archival team
Nelson Mandela biography and headshots
Nelson Mandela with *Conversations with Myself*
Verne Harris biography and headshot
Q&A with Verne Harris
Images from the Archive
Audio
How to request material
About the Nelson Mandela Foundation
About PQ Blackwell
“A little more than two decades after I made my first foray into political life and the divestment movement as a college student in California, I stood in Mandela’s former cell in Robben Island. I was a newly elected United States Senator. By then, the cell had been transformed from a prison to a monument to the sacrifice that was made by so many on behalf of South Africa’s peaceful transformation. Standing there in that cell, I tried to transport myself back to those days when President Mandela was still Prisoner 466/64 – a time when the success of his struggle was by no means a certainty. I tried to imagine Mandela – the legend who had changed history – as Mandela the man who had sacrificed so much for change. Conversations with Myself does the world an extraordinary service in giving us that picture of Mandela the man.”

From the foreword by President Barack Obama
ABOUT THE BOOK

[270 words]

‘In real life we deal, not with gods, but with ordinary humans like ourselves: men and women who are full of contradictions, who are stable and fickle, strong and weak, famous and infamous.’ Nelson Mandela

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Introduced with a foreword by US President Barack Obama, Conversations with Myself allows for the first time unhindered insight into the human side of the icon.

Conversations with Myself will be published worldwide in 21 editions and languages on 12 October 2010.

EMBARGO DATES

Worldwide media embargo Sunday 10 October for pre-publication serial in print media only. All other media embargoed until Monday 11 October including online editions of print media. Worldwide publication embargo Tuesday 12 October 2010.
The Archive spans eighty years and includes precious diaries, letters, personal notes and audio recordings. It comprises many thousands of pages.

Of particular interest is what Mandela noted down and how it was recorded. In the collection a wide variety of contexts and registers can be found in documents and numerous interviews ranging from recorded recollections of his childhood to calendar diaries he kept in prison; from notes he made before, during and after meetings to ‘reminders to self’ on various matters; from the diary he kept in 1962 when, as a wanted man, he slipped out of South Africa and made contact with prominent leaders and political figures in many African countries to the scribbled points he made for a speech on the morning in 1964 when he faced the likelihood of the death penalty.
THE ARCHIVAL TEAM
The Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory archival research team

From left: Razia Saleh, Lucia Raadschelders, Zanele Riba, Verne Harris, Sahm Venter, Boniswa Nyati, Sello Hatang and Tim Couzens.

Photograph by Matthew Willman. Copyright © The Nelson Mandela Foundation.
THE ARCHIVAL TEAM
Headshots

Verne Harris  Head of Memory Programme
Sahm Venter  Senior Researcher
Sello Hatang  Information Communications Manager
Tim Couzens  Writer
Boniswa Nyati  Information and Resource Officer
Razia Saleh  Senior Archivist
Lucia Raadschelders  Archivist
Zanele Riba  Archivist
Have you discovered a lot about the fight against apartheid through researching Mandela’s archives that you didn’t already know?

[Tim Couzens, Writer]: The details and trajectory of Mandela’s life are well known (for instance, his shift from traditionalism through Africanism, socialism to pragmatic economics) and have been analysed and reanalysed. Much has been written about him. *Conversations with Myself* presents his voice largely unmediated, drawing on private diaries, correspondence, notes and conversations. In many ways they confirm prevailing ideas and perceptions, rather than contradict them. But some elements of the material are surprising reminders of what is sometimes forgotten.

For instance, the 1962 diary he kept when he slipped out of the country to make contact with African leaders and acquire military expertise and training is a powerful reminder of Mandela’s belief that violence might in some circumstances be necessary, his revolutionary determination at the time, and his part in the founding of MK. In the benign icon image that is so often nowadays presented it is well to not forget that it was backed by a hard edge.

Have you discovered a lot about Mandela as an activist and as a man through your research?

[Tim Couzens, Writer]: Perhaps one of the keys to his personality is that, as he has often said upfront, he is a man of the countryside with habits instilled in him in his first twenty years of life, an ingrained sense of dignity and decorum.

Throughout the private papers there are glimpses, often amusing, of his meticulousness about punctuality, dress and (sometimes) his handwriting. Extraordinary are the scores of pages in his notebooks which he devoted to take down, in fine detail, what each participant in regular working meetings said – almost as though he was taking minutes!

This meticulousness and respect carried over into his dealings with people, and what he said about them. In background taped reminiscences to *Long Walk to Freedom* and Anthony Sampson’s authorised biography he was careful to be accurate about reputations and insisted certain things be not put in or specifically taken out if he considered they were hurtful or harmful of reputations.

Has some of the material inspired you?

[Boniswa Nyati, Information and Resource Officer]: Yes, Madiba, despite being in very depressing and difficult situations, it was very important to him to provide assurance to his offspring of how much he appreciated them and their achievements. He made connection with them, often congratulating them on their achievements. He congratulated and praised Winnie for her role as a single mother.
This inspired me to recognise how important it is to show a presence in the life of the partner and children regardless of whatever difficulty there may be in the family.

Do you feel a sense of privilege in being able to read first-hand correspondence and papers that are so much a part of South African history?

[Sahm Venter, Senior Researcher]: I feel enormously privileged to have been part of this team and to have been able to read Madiba’s correspondence as well as to listen to more than seventy hours of taped conversations, more than half of which I transcribed. This process, in particular, became almost a sacred practice where I could shut out the world and listen to the tone, timbre and speech patterns and the incredibly simple and wise way in which Madiba communicates – of a man who went through hell and came out the other side with his soul, beliefs and dignity in tact because of his love for his people and of a profound belief in equality, democracy and freedom. It is impossible to read his letters and listen to him speak without being profoundly moved.

What has been for you the most interesting or the most revealing discovery among the papers?

[Boniswa Nyati, Information and Research Officer]: The most revealing part was the interest Madiba showed in his children and even getting to know how they did at school and the contact he tried to keep up with the outside world. One would have imagined that somebody who was incarcerated under such difficult conditions would not be aware of events outside due to the tight security and conditions under which he was kept.

[Zanele Riba, Archivist]: The most interesting discovery is the meticulous and thorough way that Madiba would engage on issues. During meetings, he captures what each speaker says, and then after the meeting, he conducts an in-depth analytical recollection of all inputs including his own, and jots down the position he arrives at.

[Razia Saleh, Senior Archivist]: I had the privilege of going through Madiba’s prison files, and I was amazed at the amount of correspondence there was with the prison authorities and various apartheid government structures. Madiba challenged every infraction on his rights and his fellow prisoners’ rights, and of prisoners, and the harsh treatment meted out to Winnie.

Another revealing thing was that even though he was in prison, he was not isolated from his family, and his extended family in the Transkei. There is correspondence and consultation to and fro, once he was allowed to send and receive more letters by the prison authorities.

[Sahm Venter, Senior Researcher]: One of the most startling pieces of material I came across was tucked away in one of Madiba’s prison files at the National Archives in Pretoria. It was a letter to his youngest daughter, Zindzi, written just over thirty years before. It was neatly folded and
never sent to her. Although many prisoners, including Madiba, had correspondence held back by censors for various vindictive and arbitrary reasons, this was startling in that it was totally benign, it contained nothing that could have been construed as dangerous. It was a beautifully written letter from a father to a teenage daughter, just trying as best as he could as an absent father to tell her about his life before he went to jail. It was kept back only because he “did not have permission” to include it with a Christmas card to her.

What was the most exciting discovery for you?

[Tim Couzens, Writer]: Any researcher in primary source material will have small discoveries like mini epiphanies, to keep them going. There are plenty of these in the Mandela private archive and some of these one-off items are scattered through the book. There are also several hugely important ones, too. One is the collection of desk calendars which he kept between 1976 and 1990. Other than his prison correspondence, they are the most important immediate record of his life in prison and are at times achingly personal.

Then there is the unfinished version of a sequel to Long Walk to Freedom. It was not exactly lost in the archive but was not exactly found either. When the fragment of it was stumbled across and the mini hunt for the rest of it ensued, the researcher’s adrenalin was up and has, months afterwards, not entirely waned.

[Lucia Raadschelders, Archivist]: This is a difficult question to answer. There is not ‘one’ exciting discovery for me. It’s the whole ‘discovery’ of the person Nelson Mandela – his dreams, his meticulous record keeping, his opinions, his beautiful way with words, his sensitivity, etcetera.

[Sahm Venter, Senior Researcher]: What I constantly marvelled at was Madiba’s wonderful sense of humour. This obviously comes through more strongly in his spoken voice but it is astonishing that he could find humour in the most harrowing experiences. He would constantly chuckle and laugh at things from which many people would probably not easily recover and he would often laugh at himself. I was also excited to discover what a good writer he is. Some of his letters are so beautifully written that they literally move one to tears. I think this is another mark of the kind of person he is but I found that, while I always thought that the prison authorities refused him permission to attend the funeral in 1968 of his mother and in 1969 of his son when, in fact, his letter to attend the funeral of his first born, Thembi, who died in a car accident on 13 July 1969, at the age of 24, was actually ignored, not officially rejected, but just not answered.
Was it difficult to categorise and organise the material?

[Zanele Riba, Archivist]: I am processing Madiba’s notebooks from 1990 until 2001. It is both interesting and challenging, in that one expects that in a personal notebook one writes down something as and when it happens. This applies very little to Madiba, as most of the time he writes well-thought and meaningful notes in an organised way. It is only on rare occasions when one finds that in a particular section Madiba would be dealing with one thing, and then immediately thereafter a totally unrelated matter would appear. When this happens, it is usually with stuff that is more personal.

Did you come across material where the provenance and date were difficult to determine?

[Zanele Riba, Archivist]: The unique handwriting has made it easy to determine the provenance of the records, except in just two notebooks, where there was very different handwritings. In one, there was someone else’s handwriting, but there was also Madiba’s handwriting somewhere in the middle of the notebook. In the other notebook, the handwriting is very different, and no one can as yet tell the origins of the notebook.

Did you have any trouble with Mandela’s handwriting?

[Boniswa Nyati, Information and Resource Officer]: To the contrary, I found his writing to be symptomatic of the elders in our homes who were known as royal readers in the community. The teachers at that time made an effort to specifically teach handwriting and it was a compulsory subject and hence the writing was very clear and very legible. One could see at times that he was writing under tremendous strain, this from the stroke of the pen indicating that he was frustrated either by his environment or the thought of not being able to communicate directly with his family.

[Lucia Raadschelders, Archivist]: Oh yes, his handwriting reminds me of my mother’s – she would have been a little bit older than Mandela but from the same ‘school’ of writing, although in a completely different part of the world.

But one does get used to his handwriting and it also depends on how and when, he was writing: in a hurry, on a table, on his knees – at least – I sometimes imagine him writing on his knees – it looks like that!
Is there something particular about the way Mandela writes and corresponds that demonstrates his qualities as an exceptional leader and man?

[Tim Couzens, Writer]: Reading the transcripts of taped conversations with Richard Stengel and Ahmed Kathrada is an extraordinary experience. You can almost hear the individual voice with all its mannerisms, idiosyncrasies, quirks. Amusing are the antiquated phrases. Uplifting are the chuckles and the laughs.

What is remarkable is not only what he says but also how he says it. What you actually learn, an unsurprising surprise, is that the private man is not all that different from the public person.

What are some of the more obscure or interesting sources or places you have discovered Mandela's writings?

[Razia Saleh, Senior Archivist]: We have been pleasantly surprised to find the Mandela archives in all sorts of places in South Africa, and the world over. And I think that there is still more to be found. Towards the end of last year for example, Judge Thumba Pillay from Durban visited us, and gave us Madiba’s minute handwritten letters addressed to his law firm detailing prison conditions. Judge Pillay explained that these letters were given to him by Mac Maharaj, who had smuggled them out when he was released from Robben Island. They were probably smuggled out with the original manuscript of Long Walk to Freedom!

Is there any piece of writing of Mandela’s that speaks to you as the most revealing of his character?

[Sahm Venter, Senior Researcher]: Like anybody else’s, Madiba’s character is multi-faceted so I don’t think there is any one particular piece of writing that is ‘most revealing’ of his character. I found, however, that all the way through in his writing he constantly indicates not only his humanity, but his humanness. No matter how much he is seen as an icon, a teddy bear, a grandfather of the world, he himself has always been at pains to say that he is just a human being. One of the greatest gifts he has to give us has come through very clearly in this book, and that is that we don’t need to hold him on a pedestal and look at and admire him, we can learn from him. If he could have approached his life and its many trials in the way that he has, we can too. It is him speaking to us through his own thoughts and demonstrating just how simple it can be if you really want to try.
BIOGRAPHY
Nelson Mandela
[147 words/103 words]

[Long]
Nelson Mandela was born in Transkei, South Africa, on 18 July 1918. He joined the African National Congress in 1944 and was engaged in resistance against the ruling National Party’s apartheid policies after 1948 before being arrested in August 1962. In November 1962 he was sentenced to five years in prison and started serving his sentence at Robben Island Prison in 1963 before being brought back to Pretoria to stand in the Rivonia Trial. From 1964 to 1982, he was again incarcerated at Robben Island Prison and then later moved to Pollsmoor Prison, during which his reputation as a potent symbol of resistance to the anti-apartheid movement grew steadily.

Released from prison in 1990, Mandela won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993 and was inaugurated as the first democratically elected president of South Africa in 1994. He is the author of the international bestseller *Long Walk to Freedom*.

[Short]
Nelson Mandela was born in Transkei, South Africa, on 18 July 1918. He joined the African National Congress in 1944 and was engaged in resistance against the ruling National Party’s apartheid policies for many years before being arrested in August 1962. Mandela was incarcerated for over twenty-seven years, during which his reputation as a potent symbol of resistance to the anti-apartheid movement grew steadily. Released from prison in 1990, Mandela won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993 and was inaugurated as the first democratically elected president of South Africa in 1994. He is the author of the international bestseller *Long Walk to Freedom*. 
HEADSHOTS
Nelson Mandela

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From Conversations with Myself by Nelson Mandela
Photograph by Andrew Zuckerman. Copyright © The Nelson Mandela Foundation.
NELSON MANDELA
with Conversations with Myself

Nelson Mandela with a copy of Conversations with Myself which will be published by Macmillan Publishers on 12 October 2010.

Nelson Mandela with a copy of Conversations with Myself which will be published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux on 12 October 2010.

Nelson Mandela handles an advance copy of Conversations with Myself which will be published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux on 12 October 2010.

Nelson Mandela looks at an advance copy of Conversations with Myself with his daughter Zindzi and Ahmed Kathrada, who spent twenty-five years in prison with Mandela. The book will be published by Macmillan Publishers on 12 October 2010.

Nelson Mandela looks at an advance copy of Conversations with Myself with his daughter Zindzi and Ahmed Kathrada, who spent twenty-five years in prison with Mandela. The book will be published by Farrar, Straus and Giroux on 12 October 2010.
Head of the Memory Programme at the Nelson Mandela Foundation’s Centre of Memory and Dialogue, Verne Harris has been Mandela’s archivist for over five years. He is an honorary research associate with the University of Cape Town, has participated in a range of structures which transformed South Africa’s apartheid archival landscape, including the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and is a former Deputy Director of the National Archives. Widely published, he is the recipient of archival publication awards from Australia, Canada and South Africa. Both his novels were shortlisted for South Africa’s M-Net Book Prize.
Q&A WITH VERNE HARRIS

What do you see as the chief objective of the Centre of Memory and Dialogue?

The chief objective of the Centre is to contribute to building a just society.

Long Walk to Freedom, Anthony Sampson’s Mandela: The Authorised Biography, and Mandela – The Authorised Portrait are among the major works published on Nelson Mandela to date. What further insights into the man does this book reveal that previous books haven’t?

This is the first Mandela book to open a significant window into his private spaces. It provides a view of the man addressing himself rather than an audience.

How difficult is it to examine the thoughts and private musings of such a revered figure? How do you put aside preconceptions and focus on the truth as it is revealed in his papers and writings?

Well, in large measure, the truth in these writings speaks for itself and demands attention beyond any examination or other form of mediation by us. The difficulty lies primarily in the intensity of emotion evoked by his private papers.

How do you treat a piece of Mandela’s writing that is potentially uncomfortable and perhaps detrimental to the image we have of him?

As we do any other piece of his writing. This is not an exercise in hagiography. Only reasonable and legitimate privacy concerns, especially of third parties, have excluded material from consideration.

How do you think Mandela reconciled the very difficult tug between his political life and that of his family? Did he in fact manage to reconcile the two?

He has himself acknowledged that he was unable to effect this reconciliation. His life was sacrificed to struggle and public service.

How important is Mandela’s legacy for South Africa and South Africans today? How can his principles and philosophy still have a positive impact on his own country and the world?

Nelson Mandela’s legacy is at the heart of the democracy South Africa is striving to build. This legacy is, in a profound sense, our future.

Is there another leader in the world who possesses the ability to unite as Mandela can? How do we produce such leaders?

He emerged from a movement shaped by generations of struggle for justice. I believe that this calibre of leadership is produced by such struggle.
How vital were the roles of Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada as Mandela’s counsellors, advisers and friends in forming his mindset in prison and his subsequent style of leadership?

He has himself acknowledged his indebtedness to mentors and to the broader mentoring of organisation.

Do any of Mandela’s personal musings reveal how or what made him able to rise above his persecution to a point where he could forgive, embrace and even respect his persecutors?

What runs right through his private papers is a capacity to befriend multiple selves, to acknowledge the ‘stranger within’. This, for me, is fundamental to understanding his ability to forgive.

What is it that sets Mandela apart, that makes him such an icon and an inspiration?

I would say two things: the degree to which he has represented, in his person, the epic journey of a nation; and his capacity at one and the same time to inspire respect and affection.

How did you select from the vast number of pieces available as to what should go in this book?

Selection, of course, was not easy. As a team, we looked for the pieces providing the richest and freshest views of the person behind the public figure.

Is there any piece of writing of Mandela’s that speaks to you as the most revealing of his character?

The opening pages of what he intended to be a sequel to Long Walk to Freedom. His discomfort with the status of icon/saint is palpable.
IMAGES FROM THE ARCHIVE

All images from the archive have been photographed by Matthew Willman and are the copyright © of The Nelson Mandela Foundation.

Signature from a letter written in prison (466/64 was Mandela’s prisoner number).
The following images have been reproduced in the book in black and white. Colour versions have also been supplied where available.

Mandela’s Methodist Church card, 1930.

Mandela transcribed portions of George W Stow’s *The Native Races of South Africa: A History of the Intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the Hunting Grounds of the Bushmen, the Aborigines of the Country.*
From a letter to Zindzi Mandela, dated 9 December 1979. The letter was discovered in 2010 in the South African National Archives with a handwritten note in Afrikaans by a prison censor which read: 'The attached piece that prisoner Mandela included with his Christmas card will not be sent. The card will be sent. The prisoner has not been informed that this piece has been rejected. He does not have permission to include it with the card. I discussed this on 20 December 1979 with Brigadier du Plessis and he agrees with the decision. Keep it in his file.'

From a letter to Winnie Mandela, dated 27 December 1984.

From a notebook, about Mandela’s involvement in the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC, and going underground.
Pages from the diary Mandela kept during his trip through Africa and to London, UK, in 1962.
Five points jotted down by Mandela in preparation for his speech from the dock on 20 April 1964 in the Rivonia Trial, in which he and his fellow trialists were facing the death penalty. It reads:
1. Statement from the dock
2. I meant everything I said
3. The blood of many patriots in this country have [has]
   been shed for demanding treatment in conformity
   with civilised standards
4. That army is beginning to grow
5. If I must die, let me to declare for all to know that I
   will meet my fate like a man

The first page of one of Mandela's prison correspondence journals.
From a letter to Winnie Mandela, dated 2 April 1969.

From a letter to his daughters Zeni and Zindzi Mandela, dated 23 June 1969.
From a letter to Winnie Mandela, dated 16 July 1969, about his son Thembi's death.

From a letter to Zeni Mandela, dated 1 March 1971, on the occasion of her twelfth birthday.
From a letter to Zindzi Mandela, dated 1 December 1970.
From a letter smuggled from prison to lawyers in Durban, dated January 1977. The page on the left is actual size (90 x 184mm / 3.5 x 7.2 inches).
From a letter smuggled from prison to lawyers in Durban, dated January 1977.

From a letter to Winnie Mandela, dated 1 October 1976. It was originally handwritten in isixhosa but translated into English and typed up by a prison official.

From a letter to Winnie Mandela, dated 1 January 1970.

Handwritten draft of a letter proposing talks between the ANC and the government, c.1985.
Mandela kept a series of desk calendars on Robben Island and in Pollsmoor and Victor Verster prisons, which run from 1976 to 1989. Together with the notebooks, they are the most direct and unmediated records of his private thoughts and everyday experiences. He did not make entries every day. In fact, there are sometimes weeks where he made none at all, which explains some of the gaps in dates that appear in the selection in Conversations with Myself. Of the entries that do exist, the most important and most interesting have been brought together in the book. Even though these entries represent a small percentage of the total, the overall tenor of the calendars has not been altered substantially. The inclusion of some entries may seem strange. It should be borne in mind, however, that taken-for-granted necessities in the outside world were actually precious luxuries in prison. Milk for tea, for example, was an event. So, too, were visits and letters. And the single word ‘Raid’ (see image below) masks a deeper menace.
13 JANUARY 1980
Milk for Tea

14 MAY 1980
Mrs Helen Suzman MP comes with Gen. Roux. Interview for ±1 hr.

25 MAY 1980
Dream about Zami, Zeni and Zindzi. Zeni is about 2 yrs. Zindzi asks me to kiss her and remarks that I am not warm enough. Zeni also asks me to do so.
17 MAY 1981
Number of prisoners who are studying

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<th>Std</th>
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<tr>
<td>JC</td>
<td>102</td>
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<td>Matric</td>
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<td>Diploma</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30% of them do not sit for the examination

6 JANUARY 1982
Bomb blast in Soweto and rocked the Orlando Community Hall about 9 pm, shattered windows of neighbouring houses, cracked walls: second blast in the area

28 MAY 1986
‘I know why the caged bird sings’ by Maya Angelou

Library Film
18 FEBRUARY 1987
1 reel of 50 m dental floss.

Start receiving 1 litre a day of fresh milk.

20 FEBRUARY 1987
BP. 120/80.

12 AUGUST 1988
Admitted to Tygerberg Hospital after 10 p.m. Examined by Prof Rossenstrauch

13 AUGUST 1988
Examined by Prof. De Kock, Head of Internal medicine. Diagnose T.B. and pleural effusion
Mandela’s stay in the house in Victor Verster Prison was a time of transition between imprisonment and freedom. Dated 13 January 1990, this is the very last diary entry he made while in prison.

Flock of ducks walks clumsily into the lounge and loiter about apparently unaware of my presence. Males with loud colours, but keeping their dignity and not behaving like playboys. Moments later they become aware of my presence. If they got a shock they endured it with grace. Nevertheless, I detect some invisible feeling of unease on their part. It seems as if their consciences are worrying them, and although I feared that very soon their droppings will decorate the expensive carpet, I derive some satisfaction when I notice that their consciences are worrying them. Suddenly they squawk repeatedly and then file out. I was relieved. They behave far better then my grandchildren. They always leave the house upside down.
Mandela notes the address of Graça Machel (who was later to become his third wife) on his personalised notepaper.
Mandela’s notes from his first session of parliament as president of South Africa, 25 May 1994.

From a notebook.
The Presidential Years

Chapter One

Man and woman, all over the years, right down the centuries, have and go. Some leave nothing behind, just seen their names. It would seem that they were looked at all.

When the leave something behind: the burning memory of the soul: they thought it against their fate. They will not bring pain. To the same world which is the cause of their suffering or vice versa. It will be in memory in order to maintain their comfort among themselves.

The world of some humanity is within years of the world among itself in its use of the means of war, to justify the maintenance of accents which is determined by us, who lose us as enemy against humanity.

Among the multitude of those who have undergone slavery and humiliation to the struggle for justice in all its manifestations, are born those who have demonstrated

personal commitment ultimately bore witness to. By assuring our generative wants, and by defying the effects which were born from them, they virtually eliminated the images of the present and joined the former offenses, who earned themselves by guaranteeing the freedom of the floor and the new generation.

There is universal respect for those who are humble and simple, and who have achieved such deeds in all human beings recognized by their dedication and devotion, and whose status these are man and woman, who from despotic rule are against all forms of oppression of human rights whose way in the worst such existence occur.

They are generally ambitious, believing that in every community in the world, there are good men and women who believe in peace for most dangerous weapons in the search for healing solutions. The actual situation in the ground may justify the use of violence which good men and women may find it necessary to enact. But even in such

From the unpublished sequel to his autobiography.
From the unpublished sequel to his autobiography.
From the unpublished sequel to his autobiography.
From the unpublished sequel to his autobiography.

From the unpublished sequel to Mandela’s autobiography. The top two numerals in each sum are years and indicate (from left to right) the number of years he was imprisoned; his age when he was first imprisoned; his age when he was released.
AUDI0

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The Archive includes two major collections of taped conversations. The first is fifty hours of conversations with Richard Stengel, made when the two men were working together on *Long Walk to Freedom*. The second is approximately twenty hours of conversations with Ahmed Kathrada, who was sentenced with Mandela and six others to life imprisonment on 12 June 1964. Kathrada was asked in the early 1990s to assist Mandela in reviewing the draft texts of both *Long Walk to Freedom* and Anthony Sampson’s authorised biography.

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MANDELA: By the way, when I was driving . . . driving out from Port Elizabeth, it was early in the morning, about ten. It was a hot day and as I was driving – it was quite a bushy area, a little wild area soon after leaving Port Elizabeth – I suddenly come across a snake crossing the road . . . It was already twisting, you see, because of the heat underneath – he couldn’t bear the heat. And it was twisting but it was too close for me to do anything else, so I, what-you-call, [ran] over it. My heart was sore, you know? Because it jumped up, you know, as it was dying, you see. And I couldn’t do anything; I just didn’t see it, man. Yes, poor chap. And there was no reason why I should kill it you know? It was no threat to me, and left me with a very sad feeling.

STENGEL: The snake incident which you mention in the memoirs, were you also superstitious about running over a snake?

MANDELA: No, no, no.

STENGEL: That it was bad luck or a bad omen?

MANDELA: Oh no, no, no. I was not superstitious at all. But just to kill an animal, an innocent reptile, that was what worried me. And especially seeing it through the rear-view mirror, struggling, you know, to be alive. You know, it was a deplorable act on my part. But that was a beautiful area at the time . . . from Port Elizabeth to Humansdorp. You went through forest, you know, thick forest and where it was absolutely quite still, except . . . the noise of the birds and so on, but very still. Beautiful area! And . . . then wild, you see. Before I got to Knysna, I came across a baboon which crossed the road and stood behind a tree and kept on peeping at me, you know? And I liked . . . such incidents . . . Ja, Knysna . . . I sincerely thought that if God came back to earth he would settle there, you know?

I addressed that meeting of the Ministers’ Interdenominational Society of the Western Cape. . . It’s difficult now to remember the exact thing, but what I was saying was to stress the role of the church in the struggle and to say, that just as the Afrikaners use the pulpit in order to propagate their views, our priests should do exactly the same. And then there was a chap who prayed, Reverend Japhta, who made a very rather remarkable prayer and [he] said, ‘God, we have been praying [to] you, pleading with you, asking you to liberate us. Now we are instructing you to liberate us.’ Something along those lines, and I thought that was very significant.
KATHRADA: Then, page 81 [of Long Walk to Freedom draft], you are saying, ‘After one has been in prison it is the small things that one appreciates – the feeling of being able to take a walk whenever one wants, to cross a road, to go into a shop and buy a newspaper, to speak or choose to remain silent – the simple act of being able to control one’s person. Free men do not always appreciate these things and one takes joy in them only after one has been in chains.’ Then, they [the publishers] are saying here, ‘Any way to turn this abstraction into a description of what you did that day that seemed so sweet? More on your reunion with your family.’ . . .

MANDELA: No, except that day I went to town with the car and I got two traffic tickets for . . .

KATHRADA: Speeding?

MANDELA: Hmm?

KATHRADA: For speeding?

MANDELA: No, no, no, for wrong parking.

KATHRADA: Oh.

MANDELA: And so on. Then Winnie then told me, look, this is the last time I’m driving.

KATHRADA: Aha.

MANDELA: That’s all.

MANDELA: We can also say that very big people, very important people who were not known . . . to have identified themselves with the movement used to be generous and to support us. And we won’t deal with names, with specific names, but people were very generous, as long as they were sure that we would observe the element of confidentiality. Planning our visits meant that I would see the people, you know, in the infrastructure, to say, ‘Today I am going to attend a meeting in Fordsburg’, which is a real, a what-you-call, something that actually took [place].

KATHRADA: Ja.

MANDELA: Two cases, very striking cases, by the way, when I attended meetings in Fordsburg, and I saw [Ben] Turok and others on one occasion during the day and Maulvi [Cachalia] went to a family in Fordsburg.

KATHRADA: In Vrededorp.

MANDELA: Vrededorp. That’s right.

KATHRADA: Ja.

MANDELA: And said, ‘Look, somebody is going to come and stay here tonight. Could you accommodate him?’ They agreed very enthusiastically because they respected Maulvi. Now, I was wearing an overall, and very often, you see, I didn’t comb my hair, and I went to this...
house, you know, just to be aware of the house (Maulvi gave me the address) and to tell them that I’d come back in the evening. I knocked and a lady came forward, opened the door, says, ‘Yes, what do you want?’ I said, ‘Well, Maulvi Cachalia has arranged that I should stay here’ and she says, ‘I have no room for you.’ Banged the door [laughs] because she saw this wild fellow you know?

EXTRACT 14. CONVERSATION WITH AHMED KATHRADA ABOUT BEING ALLOWED TO VISIT HIS OFFICE DURING HIS 1960 STATE OF EMERGENCY DETENTION

[KATHRADA: ‘And I would stay there all day and evening. I walked downstairs to the ground floor, to the café to buy incidentals and he [the policeman] turned his head aside on one or two occasions when Winnie came to see me. We had a kind of a gentleman’s code between us. I would not escape and thereby get him into trouble, while he would allow me a degree of freedom that I would not otherwise have [been] permitted.’ The question they [the publishers] are asking, ah: ‘Later you say you were quite willing to try to escape.’ ‘Was that a philosophical change or simply a matter of personal loyalty versus a principle?’ MANDELA: That’s a technical question, you know? KATHRADA: Ah . . . MANDELA: I mean, as a prisoner I would take any opportunity to escape, but when dealing with a particular individual whom you respected, you would not like to put into trouble. That was the position. KATHRADA: Aha.]

CHAPTER FIVE

EXTRACT 5. CONVERSATION WITH AHMED KATHRADA ABOUT FIRING A GUN

[KATHRADA: Then . . . this is about the training you were having: ‘I had never fired a gun before, but it felt comfortable in my hands. I aimed, pulled the trigger and the next thing I know the bullet had raised some powder on the rock. My instructors began to exclaim something in Arabic and complimented me on my shot. But as it turned out, it was a lucky one for I did not hit the rock again in several more attempts.’ MANDELA: Actually, no, even the first one, I didn’t hit the rock. KATHRADA: Oh. MANDELA: But it was next to the rock. KATHRADA: Aha. MANDELA: And having regard to the distance because we had the river in between us. We had a valley, a long valley, and the river and then this target was right across, and I just hit next to the stone. KATHRADA: Aha. MANDELA: And that was sufficiently . . . close to them for a man who was handling the gun]
for the first time. I think I told you how this chap taught me – he couldn’t speak the language.
KATHRADA: Ja.
MANDELA: Arabic.
KATHRADA: Carry on.
MANDELA: Yes, you know? I think I demonstrated – I don’t know whether I did to you, but he
couldn’t speak English and all that he did was to take the gun, you see, and it was a heavy
Mauser. He took the gun and said [sound of quick tapping], you see?
KATHRADA: Ah.
MANDELA: I should hold it tight, and then he said I should, what you call, I should stand
firmly on the ground, he says [sound of foot stomping once].
KATHRADA: Ah.
MANDELA: [another foot stomp] You see?
KATHRADA: Ah.
MANDELA: And he was very good, you see; I mean without being able to talk [English] . . .
KATHRADA: Aha.
MANDELA: But he really was a very good chap. But I didn’t hit the stone.
KATHRADA: Aha.
MANDELA: I hit next to it.
KATHRADA: Next to it.
MANDELA: Yes.

CHAPTER SIX
EXTRACT 16. CONVERSATION WITH AHMED KATHRADA ABOUT THEIR THOUGHTS BEFORE
SENTENCING AT THE RIVONIA TRIAL
[Duration: 1 min 26 sec]

MANDELA: Well, it’s easy, of course, now to say I didn’t care, but we did expect a death
sentence, and in fact in the morning before the judge delivered his judgement, the sentence,
because he had already found us guilty, but before he delivered the sentence, you remember
he . . . seemed . . . to have been nervous, and we said, ‘Well, it’s very clear, he’s going to pass
the death sentence.’ . . .
KATHRADA: Aha.
MANDELA: We were expecting a death sentence and we had resigned ourselves to it. But
of course, it’s a very serious experience where you feel that somebody is going to turn to
you and tell you now, that ‘This is the end of your life’ and that was a matter of concern, but
nevertheless we had tried, you know, to steel ourselves for this eventuality, tragic as it was.
KATHRADA: Aha.
MANDELA: And I was with brave colleagues; they appeared to be braver than myself. I would
like to put that on record.
KATHRADA: Aha. Well, I think that ends this chapter, at least.
MANDELA: Good.
KATHRADA: Ah, then you are saying, ‘The warders were, without exception, white and Afrikaans-speaking.’ That’s not quite accurate.
MANDELA: Yes.
KATHRADA: Because there was Southerby there.
MANDELA: Aha.
KATHRADA: There was Mann there, there were some English-speaking.
MANDELA: Yes, mostly.
KATHRADA: Mostly Afrikaners, ja. And though this thing about ‘baas’.
MANDELA: [laughs] You could remember that Southerby?
KATHRADA: Ja.
MANDELA: Big stomach hey?
KATHRADA: Ja, Southerby.
MANDELA: What did he say?
KATHRADA: When [Andrew] Mlangeni, Mlangeni hit him on the stomach, he said . . .
MANDELA: [laughs]
KATHRADA: . . . Captain, where do you get this big stomach from?
MANDELA: Gee whiz!
KATHRADA: Don’t you remember? Ja, Mlangeni.
MANDELA: Yes, I think I remember that.
MANDELA: But he said something to me, man, you know? And he was quite good, you know, in his repartee. I can’t remember now, but he thought that I had exaggerated the importance of myself, you know? But it was very witty, you know, and very sharp.
KATHRADA: Ja. No, no, something is registering.
MANDELA: I can’t remember, I can’t remember.
KATHRADA: I can’t remember also. Ah, ‘Though we were ordered to say “baas”, we never did.’
MANDELA: Yes.

EXTRACT 14. FROM A CONVERSATION WITH RICHARD STENGEL ABOUT BEING PUT IN ISOLATION
[Duration: 44 sec]

To be alone in prison is a difficulty. You must never try it. So what they did then was to isolate me without actually, you know, punishing me in the sense of depriving me of meals. But they made sure that I did not see a face of a prisoner. I saw a warder all the time; even my food was brought in by a warder. [chuckles] And they would let me out for thirty minutes in the morning and thirty minutes in the afternoon, and when the other prisoners were locked up.
STENgEL: Did she [your mother] understand your struggle and your beliefs and sacrifices?
MANDELA: Yes, she did. But at first she didn’t understand at all. Because one day, I came back home after work, from work, and she was waiting for me. ‘My child, you must go back to the Transkei because there were two white men here, who came here and they spoke very good Xhosa and they said, “Look, your son is wasting his time. He is a lawyer. He is with people who are just wanting to create trouble, who have no profession, like Mr [Walter] Sisulu and you’d better save your child. Your child should go back to the Transkei.”’ And she was saying, ‘No, no, no, let’s go back. Let’s go back to the Transkei.’ So I realised that I hadn’t done my work properly. Instead of starting preaching to my mother here, I was preaching, you know, to the public. I must start here. So I then started explaining to her why I’m in politics. And later, she would say, ‘Look if you don’t join other children in politics, I will disinherit you!’ Yes. But it took some time before she could say so. Mmm.

I am not in a position to identify any single factor which I can say impressed me, but firstly there was the policy of the government which was ruthless and very brutal and you have to go to jail to discover what the real policy of a government is . . . behind bars . . . But at the same time one immediately discovers that not all warders are beasts. Of course that is the main policy and the average warder is a brutal man, but nevertheless there were good fellows, human beings, and who treated us very well and who tried within the regulations and sometimes a little . . . outside the regulations, outside the regulations, who tried to make us feel at home.

And then there was the question of the militancy of the prisoners. One would have expected with the harsh conditions that existed, especially in the sixties . . . our people, you know, to be cowed down. Not at all, they fought right from the beginning, and some of the people who led those fights were . . . hardly known, who are still hardly known even today . . . And you found, you know, the resistance, the ability of the human spirit to resist injustice right inside prison. And . . . you learn that you don’t have to have a degree to have the qualities of a leader, the qualities of a man who wants to fight injustice wherever he is . . . There were many men who could take a . . . militant stand . . . who would prefer punishment and even assault, rather than to give in . . . In the section in which we were, you had people who were literate, widely read, travelled overseas, and it was a pleasure to speak to them . . . When you sat down and had a discussion with them you felt that you had learned a lot.
STENgEL: People say, ‘Nelson Mandela’s great problem is that he’s too willing to see the good in other people.’ How do you respond to that?

MANDELA: Well that’s what many people say. That has been said right from my adolescence and I don’t know . . . There may be an element of truth in that. But when you are a public figure you have to accept the integrity of other people until there is evidence to the contrary. And when you have no evidence to the contrary, and people do things which appear to be good, what reason have you got to suspect them? To say that they are doing good because they have got an ulterior motive? It is until that evidence comes out that you then either deal with that point, with that instance of infidelity, and forget about it. Because that’s how you can get on in life with people. You have to recognise that people are produced by the mud in the society in which you live and that therefore they are human beings. They have got good points, they have got weak points. Your duty is to work with human beings as human beings, not because you think they are angels. And, therefore, once you know that this man has got this virtue and he has got this weakness you work with them and you accommodate that weakness and you try and help him to overcome that weakness. I don’t want to be frightened by the fact that a person has made certain mistakes and he has got human frailties. I can’t allow myself to be influenced by that. And that is why many people criticise [me].

And then in a position which I hold, your main task is to keep different factions together and therefore you must listen very carefully when somebody comes to explain a problem to you, the difficulty of working with others. But you, at the same time, you must, whilst listening and addressing that problem, realise that the dominating factor is that you must keep the organisation together. You can’t divide the organisation. People must be able to come to you . . . so that you can exercise the role of keeping the organisation together.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

EXTRACT 6. FROM A CONVERSATION WITH RICHARD STENgEL ABOUT THE 1990 CONCERT AT WEMBLEY STADIUM IN LONDON

[Duration: 2 min 25 sec]

I wanted to see Tracy Chapman and the Manhattan Brothers . . . I have always been intrigued by that young lady, and I was sitting in a box . . . when she came on the stage I was really excited and she then started playing . . . I was beginning to enjoy the music when . . . I was told that Neil Kinnock was here to see me and I had to come out. I was keen to see Kinnock because the Labour Party and its leader Neil Kinnock had been a strong pillar in our struggle, in the anti-apartheid struggle. They had demanded my release, and they had welcomed me when I reached London. They were very good and I was happy to meet him . . . but I regretted missing Tracy Chapman. But after I had seen Neil Kinnock then I went back to my
seat [and] the Manhattan Brothers . . . came on the stage. Man, they evoked such memories of the fifties . . . Then I heard that the Russian ambassador . . . was there to see me. Two events . . . which I . . . looked forward to, I couldn’t see. At the end of the concert . . . I went to see all the stars and shook hands with them . . . I really enjoyed myself, but of course the security was interfering. [They] didn’t want me to be there for a long time . . . so I had just enough time to shake hands with [the performers] and to congratulate them. And of course I addressed the crowd itself.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

EXTRACT 2. CONVERSATION WITH AHMED KATHRADA ABOUT THE PRESSURE OF BEING RECOGNISED

[Duration: 2 min 2 sec]

MANDELA: Oh, by the way, did I tell you that one day I walked from Lower Houghton to Michael’s house? Michael Harmel and Eli Weinberg?

KATHRADA: In those days?

MANDELA: . . . No, I say I walked last Sunday. I walked from Lower Houghton right up to their houses, their old houses.

KATHRADA: Gee whiz.

MANDELA: And, but of course Michael’s house was owned by somebody else, but I was able to make it out to find it.

KATHRADA: The Weinberg house is still there.

MANDELA: No, it’s still there.

KATHRADA: Sheila is still there.

MANDELA: And Sheila came whilst I was there because there was – there were doubts because it’s now fenced in a different way, you know, with poles . . .

KATHRADA: Ja.

MANDELA: . . . and so on. And, but I was sure this was the house and then whilst I was still there some old lady came and said, ‘No, that’s the former house of Michael Harmel’, and then Sheila also joined us.

KATHRADA: Oh.

MANDELA: Mmmhh.

KATHRADA: I hope you were there with your security.

MANDELA: . . . Yes . . . the police were there and security.

KATHRADA: Oh. Is it far from there?

MANDELA: I took about a little over an hour to reach it.

KATHRADA: It’s quite a distance, man.

MANDELA: Quite a distance. But I was walking really very slowly, not in a hurry.

KATHRADA: But doesn’t it attract a lot of attention?

MANDELA: Ooh Christ! Don’t say that, don’t say that.

KATHRADA: Ah.
MANDELA: You know, it's a difficult life, this one.
KATHRADA: Ja.
MANDELA: Not being able to do what you want.
KATHRADA: Ja, it's very . . .
MANDELA: Because walks are something I like. It's difficult now. It's better here . . . in Westbrook because the yard itself is . . .
KATHRADA: It's very big, yes.
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