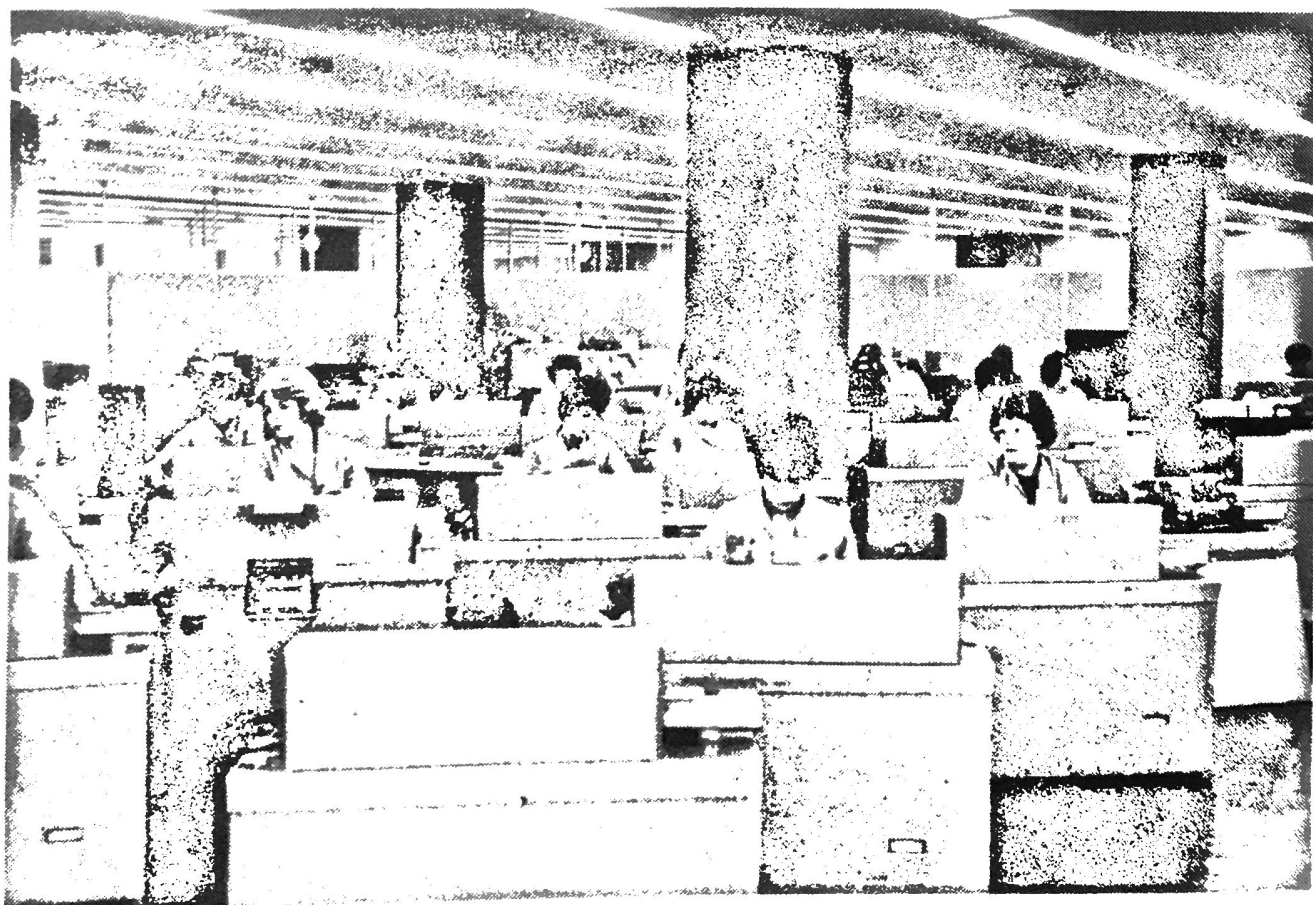


**Glamour cannot exist without personal social envy being a common and widespread emotion. The industrial society which has moved towards democracy and then stopped half way is the ideal society for generating such an emotion. The pursuit of individual happiness has been acknowledged as a universal right. Yet the existing social conditions make the individual feel powerless. He lives in the contradiction between what he is and what he would like to be. Either he then becomes fully conscious of the contradiction and its causes, and so joins the political struggle for a full democracy which entails, amongst other things, the overthrow of capitalism; or else he lives, continually subject to an envy which, compounded with his sense of powerlessness, dissolves into recurrent day-dreams.**

**It is this which makes it possible to understand why publicity remains credible. The gap between what publicity actually offers and the future it promises, corresponds with the gap between what the spectator-buyer feels himself to be and what he would like to be. The two gaps become one; and instead of the single gap being bridged by action or lived experience, it is filled with glamorous day-dreams.**

**The process is often reinforced by working conditions.**



The interminable present of meaningless working hours is 'balanced' by a dreamt future in which imaginary activity replaces the passivity of the moment. In his or her day-dreams the passive worker becomes the active consumer. The working self envies the consuming self.

No two dreams are the same. Some are instantaneous, others prolonged. The dream is always personal to the dreamer. Publicity does not manufacture the dream. All that it does is to propose to each one of us that we are not yet enviable – yet could be.



Say when. HAIG  
DON'T BE VAGUE



When you mean it wear Affair



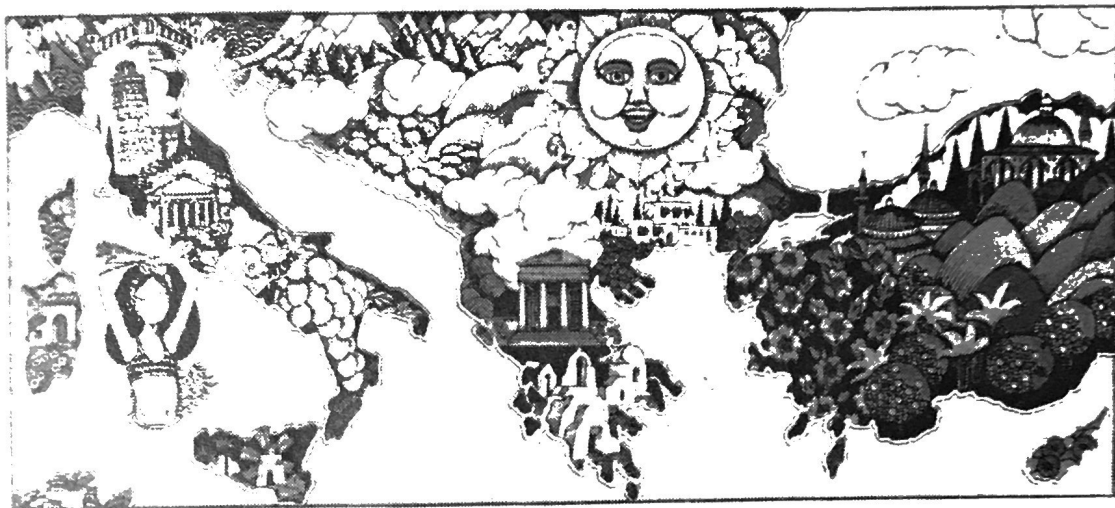
Next morning you'll still feel the same about it. Pure clean Cossack Vodka

Publicity has another important social function. The fact that this function has not been planned as a purpose by those who make and use publicity in no way lessens its significance. Publicity turns consumption into a substitute for democracy. The choice of what one eats (or wears or drives) takes the place of significant political choice. Publicity helps to mask and compensate for all that is undemocratic within society. And it also masks what is happening in the rest of the world.

Publicity adds up to a kind of philosophical system. It explains everything in its own terms. It interprets the world.

The entire world becomes a setting for the fulfilment of publicity's promise of the good life. The world smiles at us. It offers itself to us. And because *everywhere* is imagined as offering itself to us, *everywhere* is more or less the same.

# ALITALIA'S TWO FOR THE PRICE OF ONE HOLIDAYS

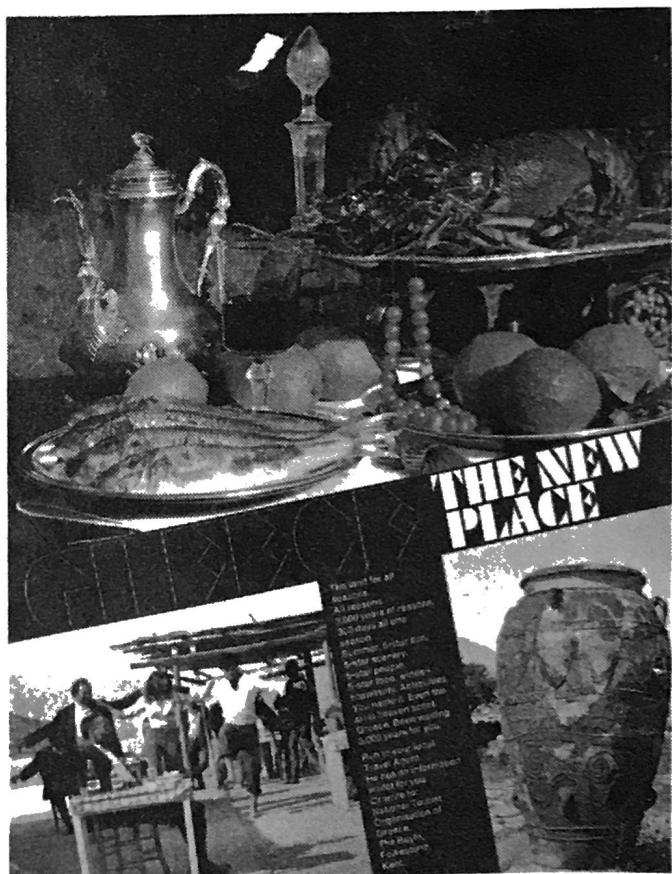


According to publicity, to be sophisticated is to live beyond conflict.



**P.I.A. has the best places:** LONDON FRANKFURT-PARIS GENEVA-ISTANBUL  
BEIRUT BAGHDAD KUWAIT DHAHRAN TEHRAN KARACHI DACCA KATHMANDU  
CANTON SHANGHAI BAHRAIN DOHA DUBAI JEDDAH-NAIROBI


**PIA** PAKISTAN INTERNATIONAL AIRLINES

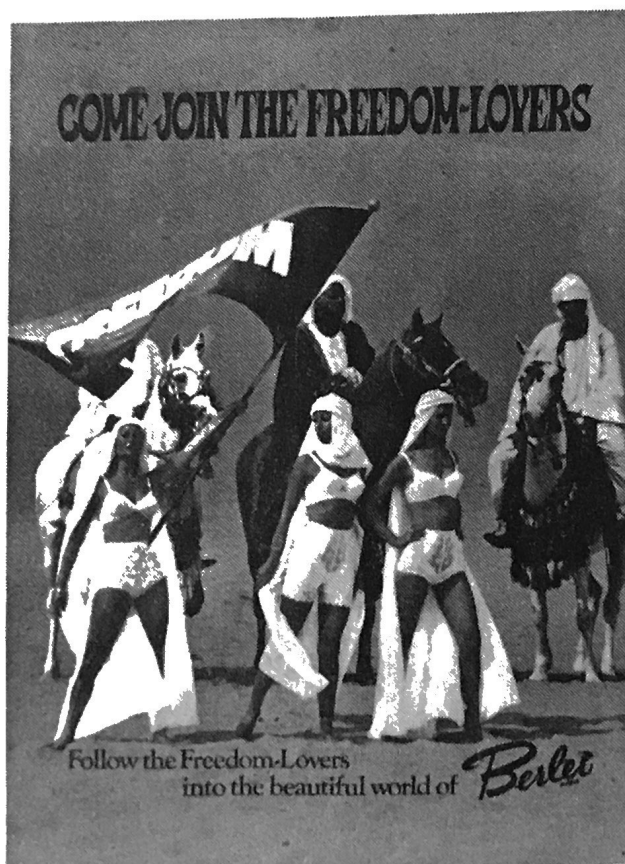


**Publicity can translate even revolution into its own terms.**

**REVOLUTIONARY**  
THE PERFECT PANTI-HOSE



CHEVRONS by FINERY 



**The contrast between publicity's interpretation of the world and the world's actual condition is a very stark one, and this sometimes becomes evident in the colour magazines which deal with news stories. Overleaf is the contents page of such a magazine.**

**The Picturesque Slum:** the House of Commons, how it works, and why it doesn't work better, by Tom Driberg; models by Roger Law and Deirdre Amsden. **Page 8**

**The Road from Bangla Desh:** the plight of the East Pakistan refugees (right), photographed by Donald McCullin. **Page 20**

**The Fuehrer's Mistress:** the strange love affair of Eva Braun and Adolf Hitler, by Antony Terry; with newly released photographs. **Page 28**

**High-Speed Lib:** profile of Marie-Claude Beaumont, the first woman for 20 years to drive at Le Mans, by Judith Jackson, photograph by David Steen. **Page 40**

**Chess** by C. H. O'D. Alexander; **Bridge** by Boris Schapiro; **Mephisto Crossword** **Page 44**



## Things happen after a badedas bath

(they say it's got something to do with the horse chestnuts)

foamy green waters bubble and tingle, the fresh tang of deep green continental forests spikes the air... badedas with its mysterious extract of horse chestnuts is weaving its old magic. Forget about soap. Just lie there... wallow... being cleansed more kindly, more gently than you'd believe possible. But it's what happens afterwards that matters, to the re-born, invigorated you. Call it Lebenslust if you will (the French shrug it off as joie de vivre). The British simply revel in it.



**The shock of such contrasts is considerable: not only because of the coexistence of the two worlds shown, but also because of the cynicism of the culture which shows them one above the other. It can be argued that the juxtaposition of images was not planned. Nevertheless the text, the photographs taken in Pakistan, the photographs taken for the advertisements, the editing of the magazine, the layout of the publicity, the printing of both, the fact that advertiser's pages and news pages cannot be co-ordinated – all these are produced by the same culture.**

**It is not, however, the moral shock of the contrast which needs emphasizing. Advertisers themselves can take account of the shock. The Advertisers Weekly (3 March 1972) reports that some publicity firms, now aware of the commercial danger of such unfortunate juxtapositions in news magazines, are deciding to use less brash, more sombre images, often in black and white rather than colour. What we need to realize is what such contrasts reveal about the nature of publicity.**

**Publicity is essentially *eventless*. It extends just as far as nothing else is happening. For publicity all real events are exceptional and happen only to strangers. In the Bangla Desh photographs, the events were tragic and distant. But the contrast would have been no less stark if they had been events near at hand in Derry or Birmingham. Nor is the contrast necessarily dependent upon the events being tragic. If they are tragic, their tragedy alerts our moral sense to the contrast. Yet if the events were joyous and if they were photographed in a direct and unsteretyped way the contrast would be just as great.**

**Publicity, situated in a future continually deferred, excludes the present and so eliminates all becoming, all development. Experience is impossible within it. All that happens, happens outside it.**

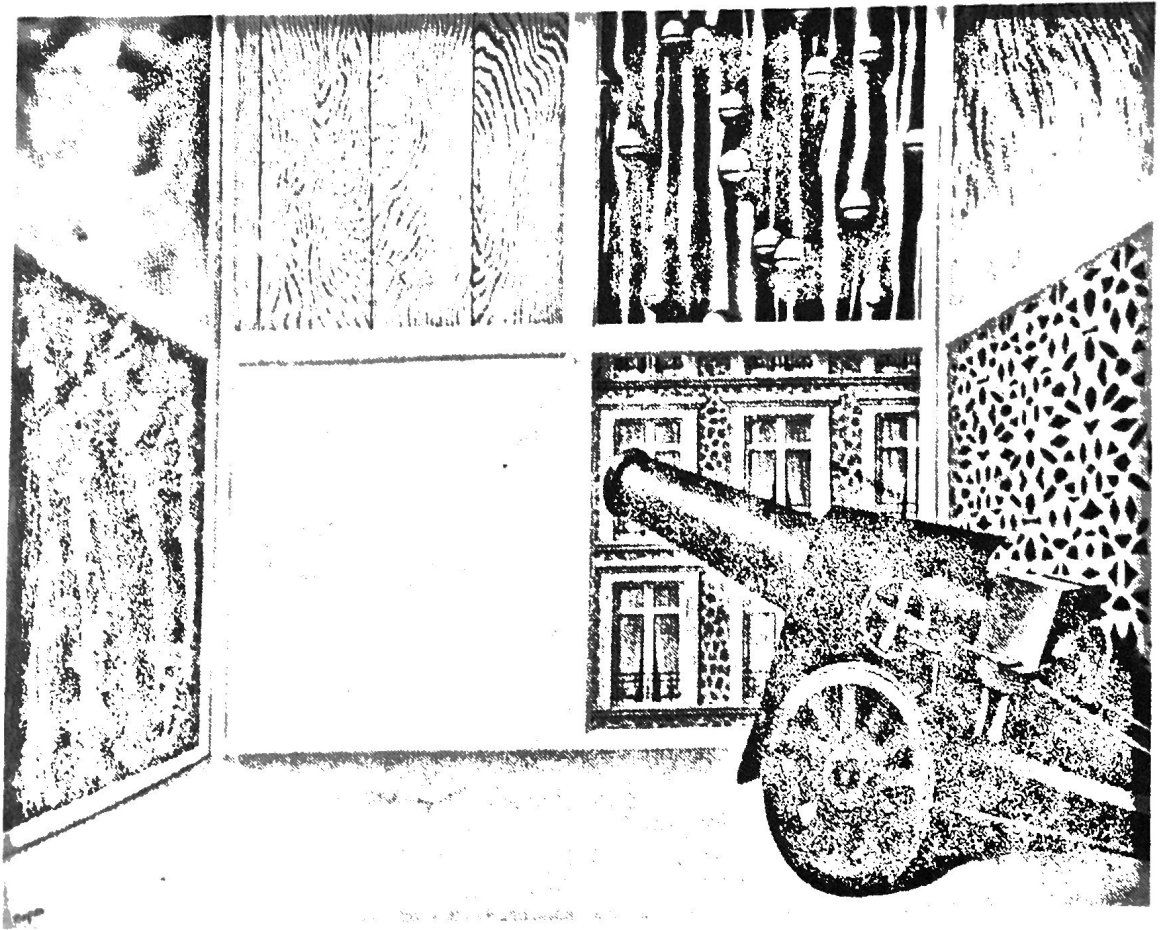
**The fact that publicity is eventless would be immediately obvious if it did not use a language which makes of tangibility an event in itself. Everything publicity shows is there awaiting acquisition. The act of acquiring has taken the place of all other actions, the sense of having has obliterated all other senses.**

**Publicity exerts an enormous influence and is a political phenomenon of great importance. But its offer is as narrow as its references are wide. It recognizes nothing except the power to acquire. All other human faculties or needs are made subsidiary to this power. All hopes are gathered together, made homogeneous, simplified, so that they become the intense yet vague, magical yet repeatable promise offered in every purchase. No other kind of hope or satisfaction or pleasure can any longer be envisaged within the culture of capitalism.**

**Publicity is the life of this culture – in so far as without publicity capitalism could not survive – and at the same time publicity is its dream.**

**Capitalism survives by forcing the majority, whom it exploits, to define their own interests as narrowly as possible. This was once achieved by extensive deprivation. Today in the developed countries it is being achieved by imposing a false standard of what is and what is not desirable.**

ON THE THRESHOLD OF LIBERTY  
BY RENÉ MAGRITTE 1898-1967





a Pelican  Original

# WAYS OF SEEING

**JOHN BERGER**

**Seeing comes before words. The child looks and recognizes before it can speak.**

**But there is also another sense in which seeing comes before words. It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world; we explain that world with words, but words can never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it. The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled.**



**The Surrealist painter Magritte commented on this always-present gap between words and seeing in a painting called The Key of Dreams.**

**The way we see things is affected by what we**