

# FREE TERI

BOBBY  
angela  
ERICKA

free  
ALL  
political  
prisoners

THE  
FREE VENICE

# BEACHHEAD

NUMBER 18, NOVEMBER

1970

FREE TO VENICE RESIDENTS

## Venice PFP Reports

Venice resident Marge Buckley, the Peace and Freedom Party candidate for Attorney General, won more than enough votes in the November election to make the difference between the Democrat candidate Charles O'Brien and Republican Evelle Younger. While Younger beat O'Brien by 90,258 votes, 174,560 California voters deserted "law and order" Democrats and Republicans in favor of Buckley's "Power to the People" program.

Buckley hit hard against the use of dum-dum bullets by California law enforcement agencies, including the L.A. Sheriff's Department. As a direct result, Beverly Hills police were ordered not to use them.

The PFP candidate urged decisive moves against brutality, perjury and the almost universal nullification of people's Constitutional rights by police officers in the field. She advocated cracking down on corporate polluters, increasing the legal rights of children, recognizing the right to use drugs, legalized abortion and elimination of obscenity laws.

The vote for Buckley was the highest for any PFP candidate and represented 2.8% of the total vote cast in that race. Her percentage, along with the 2.4%

continued on page 6

## the course of HUMAN EVENTS

One of our local people, Teri Volpin, is sitting in a Tucson, Ariz. jail. She'll be there until January, and possibly longer. Teri is not awaiting trial. She hasn't been accused of any crime. She happens to be an unwilling witness in a federal grand jury investigation of the Weathermen. Teri was given immunity from prosecution, in order to circumvent a constitutional guarantee, which states that a person cannot be compelled to be a witness against himself. The government hoped that by this maneuver that Teri would be impelled to be a witness against others. The government can keep her in jail indefinitely, as long as she refuses to give the testimony demanded of her. Anyone interested in writing to Teri, please contact the BEACHHEAD.

Local efforts to deal with the growing drug problem have resulted in the establishment of a half-way house, "Tuum Est" (It's Up To You). A L.A. County program based around the use of the drug Methadone, as a non-debilitating substitute for heroin. Those interested in the Tuum Est program can call Jesse Pratt at 392-773. The Methadone program will begin with only 20 addicts, but eventually will include 500.

continued on page 6

## CUPP by Sherry Wilds

It should be no news to anyone living in Venice that our community has been singled out for repressive actions by the establishment of Los Angeles. How many of us have been, or know of people who have been stopped needlessly by the police, asked for I.D., searched illegally, and even questioned concerning how much money we have in our pockets? Since when do you need identification to walk down the street? Why are people so frequently picked up on a Friday night, at which time they can legally be held until Monday without being booked or charged with anything? Why is it that certain people known to be political and not afraid to speak out openly on the beach front are continually harassed by police? Is it a coincidence that the individuals selling Panther papers or distributing leaflets are the ones questioned and sometimes picked up and put in jail overnight? This is not a coincidence. These are all fascist tactics. So is the raid and the no-knock provision.

Unfortunately, these are the tactics many of us have grown used to. For we see it happening on a broader scale throughout the nation - the frame-up of Bobby Seale, Kent State, Chicago

continued on page 6

## EDITORIAL

AN ORDINANCE OF INTENTION ON THE VENICE WATERWAYS PROJECT. That's the legal jargon for the shuck-hype pork-barrel boondoggle that the City Council is attempting to impose on the poor people of this community. We attempted to express the way we feel about this proposal before the Finance Committee and again before the Public Works Committee. We were not allowed to speak. We were told to wait till it came before the full council. We met with our councilwoman, Pat Russell, requesting her to arrange an appearance before the Council and particularly to assist us in presenting our alternative to the multi-million dollar project that threatens to force poor people from their homes. That alternative is to create a renewal agency as per state code 33709, a new section of the Health & Safety Code, recently enacted. Instead we were shunted off to the City Clerk's office, to struggle ourselves with the extensive red-tape necessary to be allowed the privilege of speaking our minds before this body of our elected reps. On Nov.

en time from their various jobs and other responsibilities, paid baby-sitting fees, gas, and downtown parking to give the democratic process a chance to work. We carried petitions, signed by almost 80% of the canal area residents, directed to the council, asking that the area be designated a renewal agency, in the manner prescribed by law. But ONCE AGAIN we were denied the opportunity to express our views, as the Council went on to create the necessary machinery for the Bond Project that would make the canals a rich-man's playground, which will be underwritten by "Mr & Mrs Small-taxpayer" and which will force out the people living there now. But this time, when we were told "next time, come back next time", Rick Davidson, community activist who was acting as our spokesman, wasn't buying it. On behalf of the community, he demanded to be heard. "Is this democracy?" cried Davidson. "All we want is the right to be heard." Instead, he was arrested, and taken off to jail. Rick is now awaiting trial, on the charge of disturbing



## PUKE THE LITTLE DUKE by PUBLIUS

When last we left Puke, the Little Duke, it was later than you think. For those of you who have lost track of him, our own dear Duke is royalty, of the people and for the people, but of late he has been suffering pretty bad breath, and also bad karma. You've probably seen him around: he has a beard, walks with a slouch, and clicks his heels alot. He is, in point of fact, the Duke of Plotzville-By-The-Sea, but folks in Venice here (somewhat to the south and lee side of that principality) think he's very far out and are proud to display one of several glossy photographs that depict him in various postures of significant leadership. They take public note of his royal carriage, instinctual good manners (he does not fart or urp in company), that he eats his yogurt plain, and uses only/returnable bottles in the royal larder, and non-phosphate/detergent in the royal washtub. \$\$\$\$ If you will recall, we last left off with a hell of a cliff-hanger. Puke was hard upon some basic truths that had to do with the way things are, and the way things ought to be. For those of you who are constant readers of this column, and would like us to get on with it: form follows function, and this is a serial; so skip down a ways, as we recapitulate. \$\$\$\$ When last we left Little Duke, the infamous Puke, he was traveling through on affairs of state, in his capacity as a sort of road-show potentate. He hasn't yet been celebrated, ceremoniously elevated to the rulership, his by rights of birth. So he was sort of marking time, along with the rest of us, down by the beachfront, when he was handed a copy of this BEACHEAD paper, several times removed. Which said, (among else which that it said), KNOWLEDGE IS POWER, POWER TO THE PEOPLE. Now: dear Puke, whose own knowledge is largely of protocol, and the subtleties of pomp, was very much nonplused by this revolutionary rhetoric. He was, nonetheless, (we'll say this for Puke) at no time daunted by his encyclopedic ignorance, for he was one to act, and not to contemplate. Tearing the paper in half, and then again in half, he dropped his drawers and wiped his ass with it. "That is what I think of your COMMIE SHIT!" quoth Puke, our very own Duke. \$\$\$\$ Now, the freak who had been passing out the paper, known to our readers as the bless-ed Feisty Freak, (say hi to the folks, Freak!) was non-plused as well. For though he wasn't sure what a Commie was, he was sure he wasn't; or if he was, what indeed it was he was. But one thing he was sure of: he didn't like Puke's menacing tone. "I ain't no Commie!" Feisty attempted to explain, very close to tears. He found this whole confrontation a

continued on page 5



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## Voices of the Past

by Bob Beaulieu

Beyond Baroque 701 is a volume of new Venice poets. Of the twenty presented, six are women, a higher than average number for a higher than average number for this type of publication. There is a great danger in reviewing a publication dealing with new poets to be over critical. It is so easy to take apart, so hard to create. That being the case, I will refrain from singling out individual poets or poems but instead concentrate on the total impact the book creates.

As usual the major themes dealt with are love and death. What is striking is not how they

are dealt with craft-wise; there is very little, I would go so far as to say there is nothing striking about how the poets handle their subjects. But the point of view, the tone, I found very strange. There is a stream of anger mixed with sentiment that is reminiscent of the angry young English poets of the Fifties. Lines like

"On the cover of Fortune was a face, strangely sliced in the Cubish manner; who was it, I asked--"Andy Mellon," a name uttered in mingled awe and contempt.

continued on p. 3

## Gay Liberation

There are a lot of gays in Venice. In fact it's one hell of a gay ghetto. The police hate us. We're often reminded of this fact when the LAPD sends in some of its graduates of the VICE SQUAD finishing school, those oh-so-uptight sexual beings, to entrap the people in tea-rooms, in secluded corners of the beach, and when we openly express our love for each other and go "topless" at "kiss-ins" and "gay-ins."

Gays are further oppressed by the monied interests like the "Westwinds Bar" which is a private "membership only" dance club. They refused to give permission to the GLF to use their facilities last summer during the Sunday afternoon "gay days" on the beach. It is owned by Phil Ewing an ex(?) -cop, who has been taking out of our community too long. He hates us because one of our slogans is "out of the bars and onto the beach!" The Westwinds will soon be liberated by the GLF. They are racist. The usual "nigger at the bar!"

We demand our freedom! We demand our natural rights! We are gay and we are beautiful!

Local churches hate us. A church in Santa Monica answered the speakers' bureau request by sending us a letter suggesting we 'repent of our perversions,' renounce our beliefs, confess our sins ...or be damned to eternal whatever! Really, my dear! Gays simply love other persons of the same sex! The Gay Liberation Front says right on! We support the Black Panther Party. We are going to Washington, D.C. on Nov. 27, 28, and 29, to help rewrite the Amerikkkan Constitution at the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention which is sponsored by the Black Panther Party.

The remarkable thing about GLF is that we realize the necessity of survival due to the heavy repression coming down, and we are dealing with it. We relate to long-haired people, the funky people and the freaks, in their struggle.

GLF/Venice has organized the following cells, currently in operation:

Agitprop: (agitation and propaganda) artist, writers, photogs.

Education: a political study group to raise political and social consciousness.

Self-defense: Instructions by qualified professionals in the art of self-defense.

Fund-raising: dances, rallies, maybe a gay coffee house to raise bread.

Survival office: 24-hour phone service, counselling, personal, draft, VD, drug, etc.

Womans Caucus: discussions and organizing around problems affecting gay women specifically.

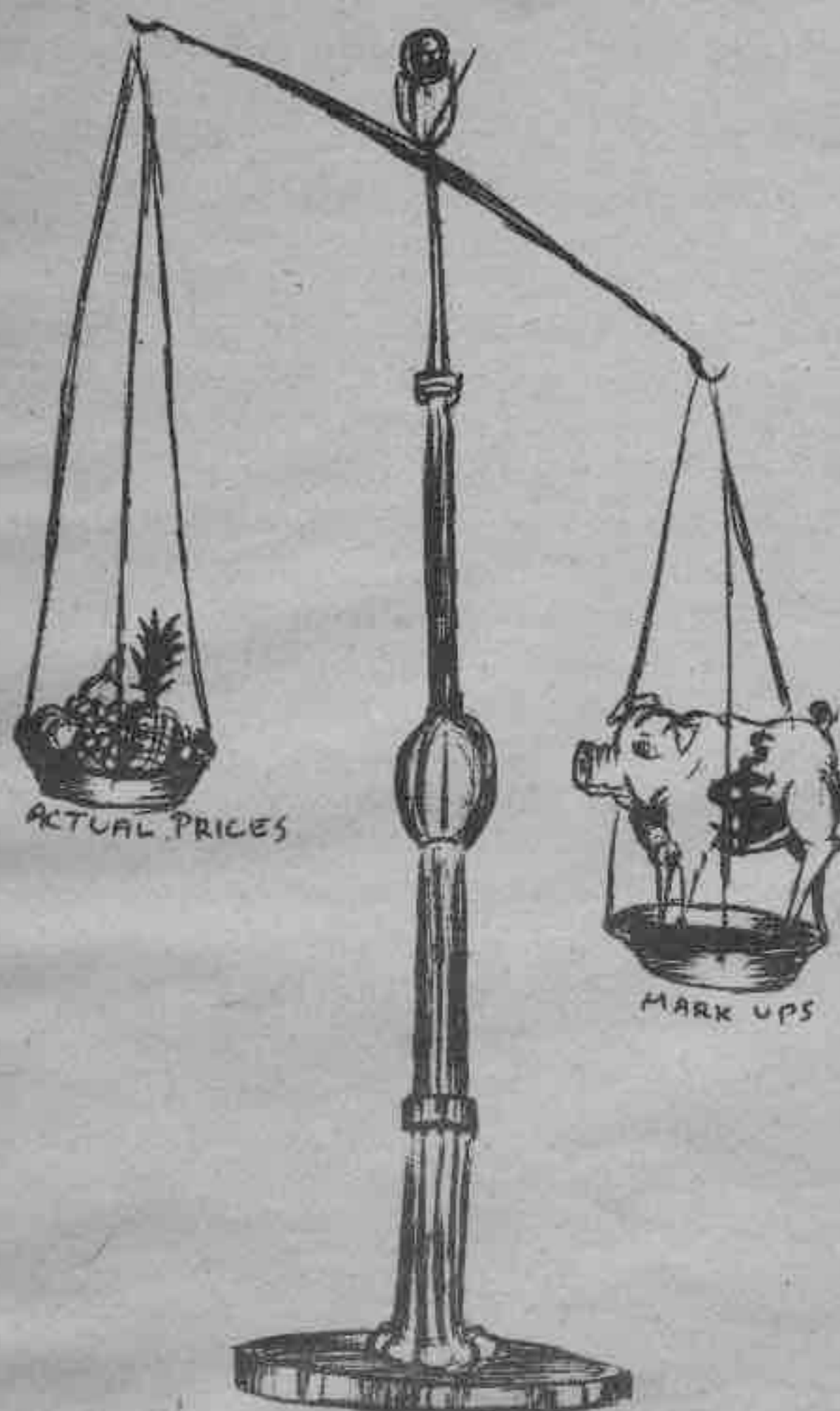
Gays are the most oppressed in the society. We may well be the most revolutionary! We are the militant arm of the Gay Movement.

We are organizing for the day when we will make the revolution. Come together! Call us at 399-76 81 for information concerning the dates and times for all committee meetings. Oh, I forgot... we have a group of under 18-21-year olds too.



# ORGANIC RIP-OFF

by Sharon Brannon



The great savior of life, coming to the downtrodden poverty area with pure food for the people, giving them an alternative to the polluted pulp in the regular market, syphons the life blood from the poor in an exploitative feat inching up the national record and bridging to an all-time high the immorality that can be achieved under the present profit system. Under the guise of a savior for your health in a polluted quagmire is a ruthless money clutching desire to take you for all it can get.

Even beyond the disgust of hoggish profits made by Health Food Stores through offering an exorbitant alternative to the paltry substitutes for good food in the supermarkets is the clinching irony that in poverty areas where he can get away with it the pig redoubles his exploitative thrust upon those least likely to resist.

The new Health Food Store on Pacific Avenue is 30 to 40% overpriced as compared to a local supermarket and 25% higher than a Health Food Store in Brentwood. A careful study was made in which all items compared were of comparable quality - whenever possible the same brands were compared - all products of the natural food variety, no preservatives, flavorings, colorings, sugar, ect.

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## Voices continued from p.2

Could eyes that glimpsed Alf Landon see the inner light? Your Viet Nams take their toll; but what of the ravages of those times when nothing wonderful or crazy (not even a catastrophe) had any chance of happening?"

or lines like,

"Now thirty years have passed since men posed for their own tribute, bribed, diffident, wary as children. Form persists in rock, always. But who can remember that squatting at midday by highway's edge, gargoyle hunched, eyes half closed, they turned their backs to this their road."

After reading through the volume I put it down with a sigh and thought how terribly old and tired these people seem. Something is wrong, what is it? There is humor, at least three or four poems are humorous but even here the humor is of the Fifties. I know that sounds strained, but there are such things as literary jokes and the funniest poems dealt with a funny man of the fifties, Wallace Stevens.

Beyond Baroque 701 has as its cover title NEW VENICE POETS. I can not for the life of me see anything new in lines like,

"The shade of ill-drawn curtains hid his mind utensils smiled useless from their shelf knife blades gleamed back bare bulb insects, everyone smiled blood but only David could open windows

air his houses drink his mind a salt foam breeze of eighteen years and promise"

If this keeps up Venice may be invaded by literary archaeologist and then we will have our own death in Venice.

There are a few voices that sound a different note, and for those who would like to find them, a volume can be obtained by sending \$2.00 to: Beyond Baroque 1639 W. Washington Blvd., Venice, Cal. 90291

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# artists view

by Bob Beaulieu

Venice L.A. holds a great attraction for artists on the west coast. In the next few issues of the Beachhead I will interview them wherever I can find them, living on the beach soaking up Karma; stoned on cheap Kansas grass - the stuff floating around lately won't even flush down the head - or jerking off in front of a picture of Agnew.

Allan McCollum floated out of the valley to the expanse of the ocean, took a deep breath, choked, and decided he had to paint.

There is logic in all of that, that can only be understood by one floating out of the valley, taking a deep breath and painting, painting.

Dropping down a token toke we turnstiled into a Tolkien world and I let him rap as we rode herd on artistic sensibility.

"My painting has always been a tremendous amount of set up, and then execution which always takes about five minutes. The set up is the dying of the canvas, stretching, the taping it off and then the actual execution: putting the bleach on and then there is no way to reverse anything. That is one unique thing about my paintings, they are designed to be executed instantaneously. My background is in cooking and it is like cooking, in fact I think more in cooking terms: you know, how to cut up all your onions and celery, prepare your meat, slice it,

continued on page 6

# Record Review

by Dennis Reid

"Bringing It All Back Home" might have been the title of this album if it wasn't already used. New Morning is largely a reminiscence of many old mornings in Dylan's hometown of Hibbing Minnesota and thereabouts. And it comes off nice and smooth. Dylan relaxes his voice and his listeners with some down-home songs, such as "Time Passes Slowly," and "Sign on the Window." "Day of the Locusts," "Went to See the Gypsy," and "Three Angels" are midwest memories in the vein of "Just Like Tom Thumb's Blues." Dylan is backed by a group of fine artists; notably Al Kooper and vocalist Maeretha Stewart. Kooper's piano playing and Miss Stewart's background vocal on "If Dogs Run Free" combine to help make this cut a standout on the album. Dylan has two "Lay Lady, Lay"-type love songs which were a very pleasant surprise. "If not For You" is a fast moving song with Dylan blowing his harp once more, but the quiet "The Man in Me" rivals "Lay Lady Lay" in emotion and surpasses it in beauty. Dylan plays the piano on this cut, as he does on 7 of the 12 songs on the album. "Three Angels" is more a spoken poem than a song. It shows a heretofore unseen side of Dylan which becomes him very much. "Winterlude" and "One More Weekend" sound like songs Dylan had a lot of fun doing. "Winterlude" has a happy, calliope-like, bouncing rhythm, while "One More Weekend" contains the funky rock sound which would have made it a million-seller in the '50's. "Father of Night" is the last moralistic tone ending the album on a universal level. The cut which best sums up the felling of the album is, fittingly, the title song, "New Morning." This song is one of the happiest songs Dylan has recorded, and certainly reflects his ever-growing peace of mind as he sings, "...so happy just to be alive underneath this sky of blue..." So am I. So will you be when you get into New Morning.

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## NAKED IN TOMORROW

*Rick Davidson*

hippies  
in sandals, beards and long hair  
mass a happening.....  
a psychedelic culture  
shades into a new high:

a love in.

yet, no matter what the tribal rite  
mr. & mrs. public  
aren't buying -

too far out - not bound  
enough

with common sense

like smog, freeway fatalities,

hollywood politicians,

vietnam

and absurd fears

that

are

100%

common.



# PUKE THE LITTLE DUKE cont. from 2

mind blower, as he did not want to get anyone up-tight, only to groove on love, and up the pig. So he flashed Puke the peace sign, gave him the finger, and ran like hell. Puke took out after him. "I'll teach you to pee on the flag!" shouted Puke. \$\$\$\$Puke got a good start, but as he was not in the best of shape, what with smoking and such, and in fact he was a fairly sorry specimen of physical good health. Puke was overtaking him, when suddenly a hand reached out and grabbed Puke, dearly-loved Duke, and pulled him into an alley-way, where other willing hands sewed him into an Idaho potato sack. When night fell, all those willing hands carried him stealthily to the foot of Brooks Ave., where he was glued into a rocking chair that had been ripped of from some elderly folk on a beachfront portico, but as the weather had been growing cold, nobody used it much, so it wasn't missed. \$\$\$\$Now, as this episode nears its thrilling climax, a pair of yellow trash cans, bearing the imprint of the Dept. of Parks and Recreation, with their lids welded on, to create two primitive but functional can-bouys, are lashed to the rocking chair into which the Little Duke, in his potato-sack womb, has been affixed. The moon was going down, as the mysterious force of Willing Hands that had abducted him completed it's ritualistic preparations, hitching up a sheep-dog and an airdale, to convey him and his rocking chair toward the fast running surf. Is this the LAST OF PUKE? Don't miss the next sensational chapter of PUKE, THE LITTLE DUKE!

## Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention

The U.S. constitution, a celebrated document of cherished rights that are more imagined than real (see A CLASS ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTION on the back page of this issue) faces a serious challenge on November 27 week-end, when a "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention", under the sponsorship of the Black Panther Party, meets to consider the drafting of a new people's constitution at the All Souls Unitarian Church in Washington D.C. Organizations that cover a broad spectrum of political opinion have been invited to take part in formulating a new constitution. Participating groups and individuals for the week-end session, will

contribute their ideas and participate in discussions designed to create a document responsive to the needs of the people, that is concerned with human rights, as opposed to property rights. Registration forms for individuals and organizations may be obtained by contracting Panther National Headquarters (which is also Western Regional Headquarters) Minister of Information, 1048 Peralta St., W. Oakland, Calif. For further info locally, call Mike Coffey, 392-6648.



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Of a self, that is your own



won by C.T. Weber, the PFP candidate for State Comptroller, insured that the Peace and Freedom Party will remain on the ballot through 1974. Five PFP statewide candidates polled higher votes and percentages than the best PFP showing in 1968, which was 91,254 votes (1.3%) for U.S. Senate.

Other Venice residents who ran as PFP candidates this year were John Haag, who received 101,476 votes for Lieutenant Governor, Lew McCammon, with 395 votes for Congress in the 26th District, and Sari Neelands, with 1,503 votes for Assembly in the 59th District. PFP candidates who also made the Venice PFP office their headquarters were Jack Hampton, who won 118,078 votes for State Treasurer, Jane Gordon, with 4,793 votes for Congress in the 28th District, and Bob Niemann, whose 3,158 votes for Assembly in the 60th District represents the highest percentage of votes (3.2%) won by any PFP candidate in the state.

A voter registration drive led by Lew McCammon of the Venice PFP gained 748 PFP registrations since the June primary election. PFP registrations in Venice rose during that period from 890 to 1228. By election time, voters registered Peace and Freedom through the state totaled 41,663.

Despite a serious lack of campaign funds and a virtual blackout in the press and pre-election poll, PFP candidates generally attracted votes amounting to several times the number of voters registered PFP in their districts. Marge Buckley's vote was more than four times the number of PFP registrants in the state. In a few Venice beachfront precincts PFP candidates polled more votes than their Republican opponents.

The PFP now looks forward to increasing its membership thru voter registration, especially 18 to 20-year-olds; participating in local non-partisan elections in 1971 and building a national PFP for the 1972 presidential election. PFP members will continue their involvement in activities important to the community.

The Venice PFP needs both money and active members. Open meetings are held every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at the Venice PFP office, 1727 W. Washington Blvd.

Requirements to participate are as follows: 1. males between ages 18 & 40. 2. a three year or more history of heroin addiction. 3. must be a convicted felon with no significant history of abuse with other drugs or alcohol. 4. must be free of any other major physical or mental illness. For info, call Bill Brooks at 625-3212, ext. 387.

A new theater is in the making. The Alternate Group Theater will be part of an overall concept to be called Urban Alternates, that will bring together artists of all disciplines under a single roof, as well as functioning as a social and political meeting place for the radical community. The theater group hopes to provide some basic funds for this project. They have scheduled 3 original plays, and are seeking other new plays to produce, tho they will not limit themselves to new material. In their ad in this issue of BEACHHEAD, they invite interested actors, writers directors--people who know lighting, can design or built sets, have experience in graphic arts.. or people who are just interested, and would like to learn any of these crafts, to come by and rap on Saturday, between 10 AM & 4 PM at the Community House, 468 Howland Canal, or call: 392-4177. VENICE AMERIKA has taken the berth left vacant by Earthlight, who are on tour (1621 W. Washington Blvd). They feature lightshows, dancing to local groups on Fri&Sat nites (\$1.50 donation) a folk nite on Sun. (.75). Power and Light will show films on Wed nites this month, and other activities and events are planned. Information: 399-9449.

Signed articles in BEACHHEAD are entirely the work of individual writers and do not necessarily reflect the views of the BEACHHEAD staff. The staff is open to any Venice resident who wishes to contribute time and effort to produce and distribute the paper. Contents of each issue are decided collectively by the staff for that issue. The paper is non-profit in that all money contributed is used to cover the costs of production and distribution.

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government of "consensus" forces. CUPP actively works to defend the rights of anyone to be free from harrassment because of his or her political convictions. Presently CUPP is actively trying to raise money for legal defense and to educate people around Bobby Seale, the Soledad Brothers, Los Siete de La Raza, Angela Davis, and the L.A. 18. The Venice chapter intends to relate to these issues of local repression and harrassment. There is need for the already existing organizations in Venice to unite around certain issues which affect us all. We must communicate with each other and support each other in our common struggle.

If anyone wants to relate to CUPP on any level, the next meeting is Wed. Nov. 18 at 8pm. For further information call the CUPP office - 388-7665

trim it, and then at one point you put it all together. If you are going to make something that is going to be perceived instantaneously it should be produced instantaneously. And it is important things be perceived instantaneously. A painting should read immediately as what it is. The most beautiful things are concrete, abstractions are not pretty at all. The nice things to look at are natural objects or objects designed purely for function, like work boots. I want my art to be highly concrete. I want as little question as possible surrounding my work. I want it to be very obvious." ----(right on!)

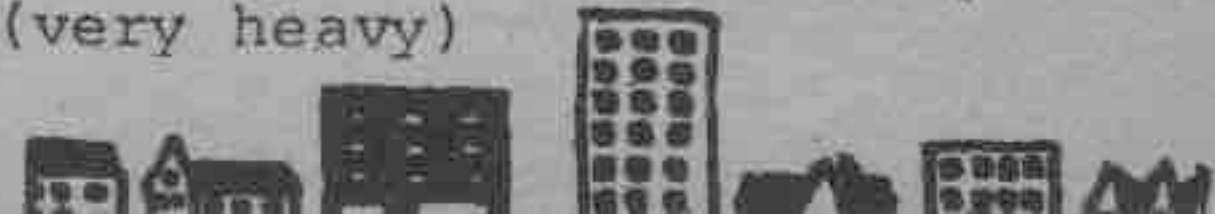
"I was sort of pop art oriented because that is what I was reading about when I started painting and I tried to make paintings that looked like pop art paintings and to enlarge a little drawing on a large canvas was very complex, you know, to make a grid pattern, it is sort of mechanical and takes a long time, it's a drag (pause, drawn, pause) so I bought an overhead projector. (wow, what a mind blower!) Right, and a photo-copier and the photocopier made transparencies so I could make a drawing and make a phototransparency of it, you know, all in a matter of minutes and then put that in the overhead projector and have the images I want, (very ornate) then I fell in love with photocopiers and what they did. The way they brought everything to the same level, color, all end up being black and white, so I got a lot of binary Ying Yang sort of paintings in which I would sometimes use images or collages and some random things like John Cage. Then after looking at those paintings for a long time I started to look at the images, not really paying much attention to the canvas, the concreteness of the painting itself, then I realized that what I wanted to do was (pause, draw, pause) emphasize the concreteness rather than the idea of the image, so I started to leave little edges of the canvas showing, the raw canvas (very sensual) and dyed it gray. I wanted to present very tactile, neutral ground, and then I discovered the stain painters like Morris Louis. I saw how incredibly tactile his paintings were and now I am into a totally tactile sensibility with my canvas. Before the image was subordinate to the tactility of the thing, now I am trying to present a Gestalt of which the image is exactly a function of the tactility of the thing. Like this dyed canvas I am working on (draw, pause) every element that I can pick out in the painting is a function of some other different element. I try to make a gestalt in which you can't remove anything. If you remove the dye, then you have nothing but a blank canvas, if you remove the bleach then you have no reason for the dye, if you remove the canvas you don't have a painting. (very heavy)

# CUPP

conspiracy, and on and on.

It is easy to accept these happenings with a shrug of "that's the way things are." This is what the establishment wants. It is one thing to understand how the establishment will react to certain people who demand radical change; it is another thing to accept or remain complacent about the reaction of the establishment.

CUPP (Committee United for Political Prisoners) is starting a chapter in Venice to try to combat the tide of repression which is threatening all of our rights. CUPP was formed in response to the Gestapo-like raid on the Panther headquarters Dec. 8, 1969. Today the Panthers...tomorrow it could be any of us who think, speak, or act differently than





## WHAT IS THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX?

Old generals never die, but what is worse they don't fade away either! Where do old generals go? Into the Elysian Fields of "Defense" Contracting.

2,100 retired high ranking officers are holding executive positions in the top 100 war contracting firms. These 100 firms receive 68% of the Pentagon's business. The ten leading "defense" firms employ 1,065 retired officers. These ten firms ripped off 25% of the war trade.

Almost 90% of the Pentagon's contracts and 98% of NASA's are negotiated without competitive bidding. Cost increases above the original estimates on major weapon's systems usually run 100 to 200% higher than originally projected.

How does this happen? Take the example of the five former Air Force officers who blocked efforts to cut costs on the Minuteman missile system. Then they accepted executive jobs with the system's manufacturer, Autonetics Division, or with the parent company, North American Rockwell. Senator Proxmire wrote to the Attorney General urging him to take immediate action. Assistant Attorney General Wilson replied that the Justice Department had found no indication of a violation of the conflict of interest statutes.

Lockheed harbors 210 retired officers - more brass than any of the other defense giants. These include five former Air Force Generals and (because it has a major contract to provide the Navy with Polaris and Poseidon missiles) twelve former Admirals and three former Marine Generals. 88% of Lockheed's business comes from the Pentagon.

General Dynamics employs 113 ex-officers and has \$2.2 billion in defense contracts; Boeing Aircraft Corp. with 169 ex-officers had \$762 million; McDonnell Douglas Corp., 144, \$1.1 billion; North American Rockwell Corp., 104, \$669 million; General Electric Corp., 89, \$1.4 billion; Ling-Temco-Vought Inc., 69, \$758 million; Westinghouse Electric Corp., 59, \$251 million; TRW Inc., 56, \$127 million; and Hughes Aircraft Co., 55, \$286 million.

The nine major firms producing components for the ABM system harbor 465 retired officers. These include besides the above mentioned (McDonnell Douglas, General Electric, and Hughes Aircraft) Martin Marietta, 40; Raytheon, 37; Sperry Rand 36; RCA 35; AVCO, 23; and American Telephone and Telegraph, 9.

Now lets trace the careers of some specific officers. Major General Nelson M. Lynde Jr. was Commanding General of the Army Weapons Command from 1962 to 1964. He was responsible for the development, procurement, and field service support of Army weapons and negotiated the initial contract for the M-16 rifle. Five months after retiring from the Army he went to work for Colt Industries, the sole supplier of the M-16. The M-16 developed so many mechanical and financial problems that it was investigated by Congress. It was called a "worthless piece of junk" by the G.I.'s who first used it in Nam and the jam-ups and other malfunctions in combat endangered lives. But the congressional sub-committed investigating the M-16 somehow forgot to pass judgement on whether or not General Lynde's employment with Colt was a conflict of interest. In other words the congressional committee was too scared to get down to the real nitty gritty.

Assistant Secretary of Defense for Procurement, Thomas D. Morris retired from the Pentagon in 1968 and went directly to the vice-presidency of Litton Industries. In the last year of Morris' power as procurement boss, Litton's Pentagon contracts jumped from \$180 million in 1967 to \$466 million in 1968 - a 250% increase. In 1967 Litton was 36 on the list of top 100 defense contractors; in 1968 it became fourteenth. Senator Proxmire said, "So Morris' vice presidency can be viewed both as a payoff for the huge Pentagon business shifted in 1968 and as assurance of immense future influence for Litton." Again the Justice Department has not initiated any conflict of interest proceedings.

There are at least 2,000 more brass biographies that could be told, all with the same cynical plot - "From Military Academy to General to Defense Contracting In Three Easy Steps or, How I Learned to Take Orders and Make a Killing in Death."

The preceding article was re-printed from the first issue of MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

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## CONSTITUTION cont.

Thus the courts are able to retain a superficial consistency when they hold that the first amendment protects the "pure speech" of pornographic trash in books, movies and magazines but not the "conduct" of a community group which seeks to put serious political views before the public by stapling leaflets to public utility poles.

Despite these restrictions (and deliberate governmental violations of first amendment rights, which are not discussed here), group assembly has become more and more effective in mobilizing opposition to state and corporate power. In response the courts have begun to limit even the right to gather peaceably for lawful purposes. The Supreme Court, for example, recently held that no substantial first amendment question was presented by a Philadelphia ordinance which authorized the mayor to proclaim, at his whim, a state of emergency under which he could limit, again in his unfettered discretion, the number of persons who could gather, even peaceably for lawful purposes, in outdoor places, whether on public or private property. The Court upheld convictions for peaceful participation in a gathering of 100 (more than the 12-person limit the mayor picked) to protest the recommissioning of a battleship, even though the police left undisturbed a crowd of 10,000 attending the recommissioning ceremony a few blocks a-

way. The Court did not even bother to write an opinion, a tactic which allows it to indicate to legislative bodies, administrative officials and the lower courts that they may proceed with abandon to deny the rights of assembly and association to groups who threaten the ruling class, while preserving intact the great fraud that the first amendment protects these rights for all. The first amendment becomes an emptier shell than it already is for anti-ruling class politics if it protects only individual and not group expression.

The Constitution, then, promises little and delivers even less. There is nothing neutral or nonpolitical and therefore sacred about it. Like all laws, it is simply a set of rules resolving social and economic conflicts according to the interests of the dominant class, backed by the organized force of that class. But it should not be surprising that the Constitution, framed by men of property in the 18th century, serves the interests of private property, which in the economic and social conditions of today means the interests of monopoly capitalism. Movement lawyers, unless they are to become, as one of them said, "hypocritical apologists and propagandizers of hope where none exists," must try to demystify the law so that they do not reinforce the ignorance, the isolation, the helplessness and the powerlessness on which our oppressive legal system thrives.

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# A Class Analysis of The CONSTITUTION

by Peter Young, attorney, Venice Neighborhood Legal Services



In the face of admitted political, radical and economic oppression, the liberal's plea that the oppressed should abide by the rule of law--shunning violence and other lawlessness--has become more strident in recent months. In asking the oppressed to have faith in the system, he assumes that the social institution of law is a relatively neutral body through which justice is or can be achieved. Laws enacted by legislatures and other forms of governmental action, he tells us, are not mere expressions of a ruling class since they must meet the requirements of a higher law embodied in the United States Constitution. Thus his answer to all social problems is reform within the system the Constitution sets down. But he never feels it necessary to justify or question the Constitution itself or the system it sanctions; for him that is sacred ground and its principles are immutable. The liberal's premises are utterly false, though, and whatever the political wisdom of resorting to violence or other violations of law at this time, we should not feel compelled to limit our political actions or theory merely because of a claimed sanctity for the rule of law.

More significant than what the Constitution, as interpreted by the courts, does provide is what it does not provide. The Bill of Rights, hailed as the charter of our precious freedom, does not guarantee social and economic justice in a positive and comprehensive sense; it is merely a series of miscellaneous and negative restraints on certain forms of governmental power. In a nation wealthier than any ever known, it guarantees, for example, that the state will not take away property without due process of law, but it says nothing about an affirmative right to a decent life free from hunger and other physical and psychological deprivations--the necessary condition for all other freedoms. Moreover, in an economic and social system built and perpetuated by racism and economic exploitation and concentrated into huge corporate power centers, the Bill of Rights limits only governmental repression and not private oppression. Finally, the Constitution gives no protection at all to those who bear the full brunt of North American military and economic imperialism and oppression--the peoples of the Third World. All these most fundamental matters are left to the absolute discretion of the state and the corporate power centers.

Hence the Constitution is largely irrelevant to basic human struggles for justice; it ignores the social and economic conditions that give rise to those struggles. The problem, then, is not that the Constitution is not enforced; total compliance with its guarantees would not improve objective conditions. This is not to say that the Bill of Rights, if it is enforced, is never helpful in preventing certain forms of governmental repression in particular individual cases (as opposed to guaranteeing social and economic justice in a positive sense), but even then it is always for the wrong reasons. The woman driven to crime by poverty perhaps reinforced by racism, may be acquitted because the evidence against her was illegally seized in violation of the fourth amendment, but never because there was nothing on the table for her family. The organizers of a picket line may escape conviction because their actions are expressed protected by the first amendment, but never because the picketed company is guilty of heinous exploitation.

In the primacy it gives to the institution of private property, in its failure to guarantee affirmative racial and economic justice and to protect against private economic and racial oppression, the Constitution leaves the system of monopoly capitalism relatively free to operate as its ruling class wills, either legally through the government it controls or extra-legally through corporate action. The liberal's response is that the Constitution grants the people the right to control the government and through it corporate power by the right to vote and the cognate first amendment right to engage in political persuasion. It is primarily through the dogma that these rights are more precious than any other and the

hope of change for the better they carry--propaganda drummed into every schoolchild's head--that the ruling class has lured the people, including the most grievously oppressed, into acquiescence before the abuses of monopoly capitalism. If one believes these rights are meaningful, he will, when his proposals for change are rejected or ignored, meekly swallow the inevitable explanation that he didn't try hard enough or that his proposals weren't really in the public interest. But the constitutional guarantees of the vote and freedom of speech hold out false promises. That the electoral system is thoroughly antidemocratic, that the people have little, if any, control over governmental and corporate power, and that the wielders of this power rarely serve the interests of the people are facts too obvious and too well-documented for discussion here. But it is less accepted that the first amendment, too, is an utter fraud (and this fact by itself renders meaningless the right to vote, since its effectiveness depends on an effective opportunity to engage in political persuasion of others).

In first amendment cases the courts, again ignoring objective social and economic conditions, assume there is a marketplace in which ideas freely compete for the people's approval. In fact, however, the ruling class holds an impenetrable monopoly over every significant means of communication and persuasion. The state controls the public school system and thus the values taught the young. Ownership and control of the mass media is concentrated in the ruling class, and changing technology plus spiraling costs present an impassable barrier for anyone else. The federal government exercises absolute licensing power over the most influential media, radio and television. The result is that orthodox values and an antipathy to ideas--indeed, outright hostility to anti-ruling class politics--pervade the entire mass media, which are not neutral reporters of the facts but recreate events in the light of their own politics. The oppressed, the poor, including most Third World people, and radicals may seek to gain access to the mass media by means which satisfy the insatiable appetite for sensationalism--mass demonstrations, picketing, draft card burnings, sit-ins and so on--but the publicity they gain focuses almost entirely on their conduct (usually unfavorably) and not on their ideas.

The most effective vehicle of communication and persuasion open to those who do not have access to the mass media is the public assembly, through which they gain a public forum for their views--the streets and parks for demonstrations, rallies and picket lines, and buildings for sit-ins. But the courts, their rhetoric to the contrary, have always viewed group expression through public assembly with suspicion. The slightest inconvenience to or interference with interests in public order or private property will usually render the assembly unlawful despite the first amendment. The smallest disorder at any assembly may result in the police break-up of the entire gathering and the arrest and conviction of those who fail to disperse immediately even though they did not participate in the original illegal disorder themselves. Those who stage sit-ins, rallies or demonstrations which block hallways or building entrances or encroach on private property may be convicted under trespass statutes even though no property was damaged. Permits may be required for demonstrations and other public gatherings, and denied if there is any danger of inconvenience to nonparticipants.

Yet the courts preserve the fiction that the first amendment protects all ideas, whatever their political content, by cleverly distinguishing between speech and conduct. The written or spoken word is "pure speech;" anything more than that--a demonstration or a picket line, for example--is "conduct" and may be regulated and limited much more freely than "speech." The facts that the ruling class controls the only effective vehicle of "pure speech"--the mass media--and that those whose ideas threaten the ruling class are regulated to public assembly or other forms of "conduct"--such as leafletting or sound trucks--are ignored.

continued pg. 7