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An ADL Special Report

Young and Violent: The Growing Menace of America's Neo-Nazi Skinheads

Our 75th Year



1913 - 1988

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1988

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INTRODUCTION

Growing numbers of young neo-Nazi Skinheads are linking up with the old-line hate groups in the United States. Contingents of the shaven-headed racist youths have taken part in virtually every important hate movement rally, march and conference over the past six months. The effect has been to boost the morale and level of activity of a number of neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist organizations, especially the Southern-California based outfit known as White Aryan Resistance (WAR), headed by Tom Metzger. It has also furthered the exposure of the Skinheads to the ideological and personal influences of veteran racist activists.

The ranks of the Skinheads have continued to grow over the past several months. The last tally undertaken by the Anti-Defamation League in February, 1988 indicated that some 1,000 to 1,500 Skinheads were active at that time in twelve states. A recently completed survey, conducted through the League's thirty-one regional offices, shows a rise in the number of racist Skinheads to about 2,000, located in twenty-one states. A number of new gangs have cropped up in this short period of time. Skinheads may now be found in virtually all sections of the United States, but the area of greatest concentration is California. Other regions where gangs are active are the Pacific Northwest, the Southwest, the Midwest and the Southeast. Not included in the current tally totals are several hundred Skinheads in the Canadian cities of Toronto and Montreal.

The rise in the number of Skinheads has been paralleled by an increase in the amount of violent crime they have committed, including two homicides and numerous shootings, beatings and stabbings, mostly directed against members of minority groups. Skinheads have also been responsible for a significant number of vandalisms of synagogues and other Jewish institutions.

The Skinheads are shaven-headed youths who sport Nazi insignia and preach violence against Blacks, Hispanics, Jews, Asians and homosexuals. They range in age from about 13 to 25, with males outnumbering females. The typical Skinhead has either a shaved head or closely cropped hair; is tattooed with Nazi and/or Satanic symbols; wears jeans, suspenders and "Doc Martens," a heavy boot of British make, sometimes used to kick or stomp on victims. The Skinheads are closely associated with rock groups who produce a type of music known as "white power" or "oi" music ("oi" is cockney for "hey"). The best known such group is Skrewdriver, an English band led by Ian Stuart, a British neo-fascist.

(We stress once again, as we have in our previous reports, the important distinction between racist and non-racist Skinheads. Not all youths with shaved heads or closely cropped hair are neo-Nazis. Indeed, there are young people who call themselves "Skinheads" who are anti-racist, some of whom have actually been targeted for violence by neo-Nazi Skinheads. In addition, there are some Skinheads who claim not to support Nazi doctrines yet express a belief in "white pride." Whether the posture is genuine or a sham, the slogan itself denotes at least some measure of racist feeling. The term

"Skinhead" as used throughout this report refers to the neo-Nazi or racist variety, unless specified otherwise.)

The Skinhead phenomenon originated in the United Kingdom, where it remains an active neo-fascist force on the fringes of the youth culture. Unlike the American Skinheads, who come from a variety of economic backgrounds, British Skinheads are mainly of working class origin. There are also Skinhead gangs active in France, West Germany, Belgium and Sweden. Remarkably, given the fact that it is a closed Communist society, Skinhead gangs have arisen recently in East Germany. One group of five was sentenced in July, 1988 to lengthy prison terms for vandalizing a Jewish cemetery and overturning 200 gravestones. European Skinheads appear to be somewhat older than their American counterparts, but like the U.S. variety, they are menacing in appearance and behavior. Their favorite targets are Third World immigrants whose numbers have increased in Western Europe in recent years. There is a considerable amount of evidence that American Skinheads are in contact with their European counterparts, particularly the British.

TOM METZGER

The hate group that has established the closest links with the Skinheads, WAR, is headed by Tom Metzger, a 49-year-old television repairman from Fallbrook, California. Metzger is a former Grand Dragon of the California Ku Klux Klan who preaches a fiery brand of racism and anti-Semitism combined with a leftish-sounding revolutionary ideology he labels the "Third Position."* The WAR leader has shown a flair for promoting his bigotry by means of computers and cable TV and has managed repeatedly to obtain invitations to appear on the most widely-viewed national television talk-shows. So effective has been his use of these propaganda techniques that Metzger has become the most visible hater in the United States.

Metzger's rhetoric tends to encourage Skinheads to engage in violence under the standard excuse of "self-defense." During his years as a Klan leader, his followers repeatedly engaged in street clashes with opponents and police officers. Their violence subsided somewhat in the early 80s, when he dabbled at "working within the system." (Metzger ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1980, when he won a Democratic primary in San Diego, and the U.S. Senate in 1982.) He subsequently abandoned electoral politics, aptly marking the change in the name of his organization from White American Political Association (WAPA) to WAR.

Metzger now regularly devotes the pages of his publication, also called WAR, to glorifying perpetrators of violence (the imprisoned members of the terrorist gang known as The Order are "our highest living heroes") and vilifying minorities ("Congoids," "Brown Rot"). The Pope has been characterized in his paper as a "White Race Traitor." Metzger has also enlisted in his ranks other violence-prone extremists. When Karl Hand, New Orleans-based leader of the National Socialist Liberation Front was convicted of attempted murder in 1986, he encouraged his followers to join Metzger's group and Metzger extended to them a warm welcome.

"Race and Reason"

Metzger's cable TV show is an interview program, "Race and Reason," which his followers have placed on public access cable stations in their home communities. "Race and Reason" has been shown in some 20 cable markets in various parts of the country, its visibility enhanced by frequent local debates about the suitability of exposing viewers to the militantly bigoted viewpoints expressed by Metzger and his guests. Among these guests have been Skinheads, who have also accompanied Metzger in his national TV talk-show appearances where they have invariably baited the hosts, audiences and other guests.

An important question that arises in connection with Metzger's activities is where his money comes from. Plainly the expenses of his various operations greatly exceed any visible sources of income. One answer put forth but later recanted by a member of The Order, Bruce Carroll Pierce, was that Metzger received between \$150-200,000

*Metzger's leftish views are unusual for a white racist. He has published articles favorably depicting the Soviet Union and denouncing American patriotism, the armed forces and the U.S. role in Central America. He has even run pieces expressing admiration for Eugene V. Debs and the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.).

of the moneys stolen by that terrorist gang from a Brinks armored vehicle in California. Pierce, now serving a long prison sentence, alleged that the money was given Metzger by the late Robert Mathews, the leader of The Order, who died in a shootout with the FBI.

Metzger's attraction for Skinheads, whom he calls his "frontline warriors," stems from his increasingly militant tone, his verbal threats directed at governmental (including law enforcement) authority, his frequent anti-Jewish harangues, and his attempt to articulate an ideology which appeals to the "white working class." (He expresses hostility to traditional conservatives and has of late even begun castigating Klansmen, whom he regards as easy targets for media ridicule.) He has often praised Skinheads for their violent activities and supported those who have been prosecuted for criminal acts. As he has declared, Skinheads "are becoming part of our overall movement. We've gone beyond the bullshit stage. We're talking about survival now. If Blacks or anyone else gives them trouble, they will smash them."

Aryan Youth Movement

Tom Metzger's outreach to Skinheads has been orchestrated largely by WAR's affiliated Aryan Youth Movement (AYM), operated by his 20-year-old son John. John, who like his father is articulate, clean-cut and conventionally dressed, has also tried—with limited success—to establish White Student Unions on high school and college campuses to serve as forums for Tom Metzger's views and recruiting grounds for his organization. John Metzger assumed leadership of the White Student Union in May, 1987, following the defection from the hate movement of its founder Greg Withrow. Withrow, who was beaten in the summer of 1987 by a group of thugs (which he says included Skinheads), has since publicly denounced the Metzgers for their efforts to snare young people into their ranks.

In an Aryan Youth Movement/White Student Union publication distributed earlier this year in California schools, the group's philosophy was articulated this way under the heading "Operation Warlords":

"Our enemies understand only one message: That of the knife, the gun and the club on the campus or in the streets. . .

"Our goal simply put is racial Revolution. Should any other ideas or proposals work, we say fine, but until the time that a different idea works other than racial Revolution, we shall continue to mobilize and agitate on all fronts.

"We shall continue to encourage 'sporadic incidents' on school campuses and neighborhoods across America while simultaneously rebuilding the hunter-killer instincts in our Youth."

Earlier in 1988, John Metzger met with 50 Skinheads from Southern California to discuss, in the words of Tom Metzger, "Such topics as infiltrations, street activity, and knocking down barriers between Skins and other pro-White groups that may still exist."

On March 10, 1988 an Asian-American man named Sam Chin was beaten and kicked by a group of Skinheads who hurled racial slurs at his wife as they were leav-

ing a Portland, Oregon restaurant. The mother of one of the Skinheads arrested has stated that her son was recruited by the Aryan Youth Movement, which had sent representatives and mailed their literature to Portland.

The Aryan Youth Movement's vice president is 19-year-old Skinhead Dave Mazella. Mazella, who says he was discharged from the Army after two months for his "political beliefs," claims membership in the KKK, arguing that all white supremacist groups should work together. He told a reporter in August that members of the terrorist organization, The Order, are "heroes and martyrs" who "took it straight to the doorstep of the system." Blaming Jews for the problems of pornography and drugs, Mazella asserted: "We don't train people to kill. We're not a paramilitary camp. But if they continue to harass us and push us in a corner, we will fight."

In September, 1988 Mazella was charged by police in Salinas, California with battery and peace disturbance for reportedly threatening to kill a teenager who had tried to talk a friend out of joining the WAR Skins, a Skinhead group spawned by WAR. Three other members of the group were also charged with peace disturbances, after they paid a visit to the victim's home.

Tom Metzger's newspaper *WAR* has devoted increasing attention to Skinheads during the past year and has become a clearinghouse for information of Skinhead activities in the United States and Europe. The September, 1988 issue of *WAR* published addresses of Skinhead groups in Alabama, California, Illinois, Michigan, Oregon, Tennessee and Wisconsin. In the same issue, a leader of the Detroit group ("DASH"), one "Dave" (full name: Dave Maloian), solicited for his group's publication *Final War* pictures of Skinhead rock groups along with a "report on your activities of unity and battle against the ZOG ['Zionist Occupation Government'] and its many slaves."

Imprisoned Skinheads are often listed in *WAR* (along with convicted members of The Order) with their addresses under the heading "POW's." In the first issue of 1988, Michael Martin, leader of the "Reich Skins" in Los Angeles, wrote to thank Metzger "for your support and visits." Martin pleaded guilty in March, 1988 to assault with a deadly weapon for pointing a gun at an Hispanic teenager after breaking into his home with a fellow Skinhead.

WAR includes news of Skinhead activities in Europe, and has advertised publications in England, Italy and Sweden. In addition, *WAR* stickers, many with a strong Skinhead orientation, are offered for sale.

Telephone Bulletin

As in his publication, Tom Metzger's taped telephone call-in bulletins (changed every few days) are replete with news about Skinhead activities and declarations of solidarity with their movement. A September, 1988 bulletin offered an account of the release of England's Skinhead rock group leader Ian Stuart from jail in London and reported on a visit Metzger and his "heartland organizer" John Clary paid to imprisoned Chicago area Skinhead leader Clark Martell while taping the "Oprah Winfrey" program. (Martell was imprisoned in January, 1988 and awaits trial with other members of his gang on charges of home invasion, aggravated battery and robbery.)

A Metzger bulletin taped during the first week in August, 1988 attacked the ADL and the *Milwaukee Journal* for exposing a Skinhead group operating in Milwaukee.



WHITE POWER

WHITE ARYAN RESISTANCE

**WAR SKINS
3841 4TH AVE. STE. 231
SAN DIEGO, CA. 92103**



**WAR SKINS
3841 4TH AVE. STE. 231
SAN DIEGO, CA. 92103**

Skinhead Stickers

After offering his account of an incident in July in which two Milwaukee Skinheads were arrested for allegedly firing weapons at passengers in a car (see account below), Metzger sounded off about the role of ADL: "This tiny but powerful group pushes the buttons on the newspapers like the Milwaukee *Journal*, city hall, the cops, the feds and anyone else they can pressure into doing their dirty work." He invited listeners to find out for themselves or write to him for a list "of where these slime ADL hide out in your area."

Metzger's outreach to Skinheads goes beyond his publication and phone messages. On May 1, 1988 he led around fifty Skinheads (many of them female) in "the first annual White workers march against Marxism" which was staged in San Francisco. The group gathered in Buena Vista Park. Two days later, Metzger, accompanied by fifteen Skinheads, appeared on a San Francisco talk-show where he debated former Klansman Tom Martinez. During the commercial breaks the Skinheads displayed an American flag accompanied by the "siege heil" salute and yelled "traitor" and "you suck" at Martinez. On the program, Metzger pointed out that WAR is "not a non-violent group."

Metzger was also a featured speaker last summer at an "Aryan Festival" in Oklahoma in which Skinheads joined with Klansmen and neo-Nazis. John Metzger and California Skinhead organizer Brad Robarge also spoke and a Skinhead band from Tulsa (the "Tulsa Midtown Bootboys") performed. WAR is now advertising for sale a tape of this group's recordings.

Metzger's operation also spawned a Skinhead group active in various parts of California which uses the name WAR Skins. A number of the stickers of this group contain the White Aryan Resistance label and are particularly threatening, some with images of masked men firing machineguns and wording such as: "GET OUT! JEW PIG!" The stickers have appeared in various San Diego neighborhoods, including the driveway of the Hebrew Home and the Jewish Community Center.

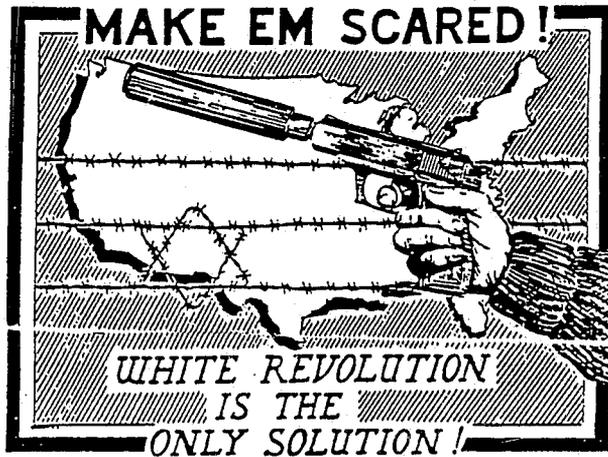


WHITE ARYAN RESISTANCE
P.O. BOX 65
FALLBROOK, 92028

Skinhead Sticker



WAR SKINS
3841 4TH AVE. STE. 231
SAN DIEGO, CA. 92103



ACT NOW!

WAR SKINS
3841 4TH AVE. STE. 231
SAN DIEGO, CA. 92103

Skinhead Stickers

OTHER HATE GROUPS

In addition to their links with Tom Metzger's organization, Skinheads have been participating in joint activities with other hate groups, especially the Ku Klux Klan. On October 19, 1987 thirteen Skinheads from Palo Alto, Turlock and Hollister, California traveled to an alfalfa field near Modesto, just south of San Francisco, to participate in a KKK-sponsored cross-burning rally. Four of them were inducted at that time into the hooded order. In 1988, Klan leaders have put aside their traditional uneasiness about Nazi symbols and encouraged racist Skinheads to join with them in their crusade against America's minorities.

Indeed, Skinheads have joined forces with various Klan factions in every section of the country, rallying in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Texas. The Pennsylvania realm of the Invisible Empire Klan organization has been particularly active this summer, and each of its rallies has attracted a small contingent of Skinheads. Describing the march held in Parkside, Pennsylvania on May 21, 1988, veteran Klan activist Roy Frankhauser remarked, "The Skinheads stood like rocks right with us and we had a successful rally."

Skinheads have been used for "security purposes" at a number of KKK rallies, including one staged at a federal courthouse in Fort Smith, Arkansas in February, 1988 in support of hate-group leaders on trial for seditious conspiracy and plotting to murder federal officials. Many of the Skinheads in Fort Smith traveled there from Dallas. Later that same month, Dallas Skinheads, marching alongside Klansmen from the Invisible Empire, clashed with anti-Klan demonstrators at the Dallas City Hall. Police in steel helmets armed with night sticks made eight arrests and broke up several fights.

Rioting also broke out in July, 1988 at the designated demonstration site outside the Democratic National Convention center. Leftist anti-Klan marchers confronted a Klan-Skinhead contingent led by Mississippi attorney and long-time white supremacist organizer Richard Barrett, who heads the Nationalist Movement. Many of the Skinheads were from Birmingham, Alabama. Several days later, seven members of the group stood with Barrett on the steps of Birmingham City Hall where they claimed to be part of his Self-Defense Strike Force.

Another national Klan faction, the Knights of the KKK, based in Tuscumbia, Alabama has forged links to Skinheads in Oklahoma, Illinois and Texas. *The Oklahoma Separatist*, the publication of the Oklahoma Knights, includes several Skinhead groups in its listing of neo-Nazis under the heading "The Fourth Reich." The first issue, published in March, 1988 honored a Tulsa Skinhead as "Racist of the Month" for his "professionalism" while serving as a security guard for a Klan rally in Mansfield, Arkansas in support of the Fort Smith defendants. The publication also contained a comic strip entitled "The Adventures of Boot Boy" whose hero, a Skinhead, vows "to stop the power hungry Jew," in this case a senator who appeals to the black community for support.

Some twenty Skinheads, a number of them from Wisconsin, turned out to offer their vocal support for the Illinois Knights of the KKK at a rally in August, 1988, in Chicago's Marquette Park. Among the speakers was Kansas City Klan leader Dennis Mañon, who complained of FBI harassment of Skinheads.

In Texas, the Knights share a post office box address with the Dallas Skinhead group known as the Confederate Hammer Skins.

The KKK, whose ranks have thinned in recent years, regards Skinheads as useful recruits, not only to help fill the void which has been left but also because the appearance of the shaven-headed swastika-bedecked youngsters brings the Klan additional publicity and visibility. (A KKK literature distribution on October 2, 1988 in McKinney, north of Dallas, attracted more Skinheads than Klansmen.) How devoted these youngsters will ultimately be to helping build Klan organizations on a day-to-day basis remains to be seen, but for now what is clear is that Skinheads are highly mobile and often prepared to travel across state lines to join with "racial comrades." A number of the Skinheads who participated in Klan rallies this year came from out of state.

Recruitment of Skinheads has not been limited to the KKK. In July, 1988 over a dozen, mostly from Las Vegas, traveled to Hayden Lake, Idaho to participate in the annual conclave sponsored by the Aryan Nations, where they were proudly displayed by Aryan Nations leader Richard Butler. Butler has described the Skinhead phenomenon as a "natural biological reaction" of white teenagers banding together after being taught that "non-white kids are great and white kids are scum." Butler's organization has suffered during the past years as the result of criminal prosecutions of many of its leading members. Thus, it is not surprising that he extended warm greetings to these new recruits. Recognizing their penchant for committing acts of violence, Butler predicted that Skinheads would eventually "clean up the streets" after receiving "the proper guidance."

SKINHEAD VIOLENCE

Murders, beatings, synagogue vandalism: Skinheads have left their mark in the form of criminal acts, many of them violent, in virtually every community in which they have organized. The response of law enforcement authorities has varied, but it is now clear that Skinheads can no longer be ignored as "kids" who are simply acting out their frustration in an anti-social manner.

Skinhead Dean McKee, 16, of Clearwater, Florida was sentenced to life in prison in June, 1988 for murdering a 41-year-old black man named Isaiah Walker, whose body was found outside the Tampa Museum last December. His brother, Scott, 18, also a Skinhead, pleaded no contest to first-degree murder and received a 5-year sentence. Scott McKee told jurors that he and his brother were drunk when they attacked Walker. Dean McKee must serve a minimum of 25 years in prison. Authorities report that Skinhead activity in the Tampa area is markedly down following the McKee convictions.

The other homicide involving a Skinhead has resulted in a plea bargained manslaughter sentence in California's Santa Clara County. Nineteen-year-old Michael Elrod, a Skinhead from San Jose, fatally stabbed a white man in Campbell who had brought a black friend to a party there in February, 1988. The victim, a 24-year-old popular local musician named Scott Vollmer, had tried to intercede with Elrod, who reportedly shouted racial epithets at the black man prior to stabbing Vollmer to death. The plea bargain was reached in September, 1988, early in the trial, following Judge John Schatz' ruling that references to Skinheads would not be allowed. Elrod has received an 11-year sentence at a California youth authority facility, where he is expected to serve about four-and-a-half years. In the courtroom he appeared with his hair grown out and neatly parted.

California

California, the state with the highest level of Skinhead activity, has also been the site of the most criminally violent activity. Philip Rowe, also known as "Chicago Phil," was indicted in September of last year for attempted murder in connection with slitting the throat of a young Hispanic woman whom he had kidnapped in Van Nuys. Rowe was a good friend of former Skinhead leader Michael Martin.

Martin, a high school dropout, was the leader of the Reich Skins in the San Fernando Valley area of Los Angeles County. After pleading guilty in March, 1988 to a felony assault with a deadly weapon for breaking into an Hispanic teenager's home and pointing a weapon at him, Martin was banned from associating with members of white supremacist groups as a condition of his probation. He also received a sentence of 259 days in jail, three years probation and has been required to pay restitution to the victim, complete high school and divest himself of all weapons. Since Martin's sentence, there is no longer an active Skinhead organization in the area.

Other California Skinheads have received the following sentences for criminal offenses described in previous ADL reports:

- Kenneth L. Allen, 20, was sentenced to two years in state prison after pleading guilty to one count of false imprisonment. Allen had

accosted a 54-year-old black schoolteacher in a San Jose park in July, 1987 while making racial slurs and preventing her from crossing a small bridge.

- Peter John McGurk, 19, received two years probation for reportedly attempting to run down a group of Hispanics with his car in November, 1987 in Sepulveda. Also involved in the incident was Robert Rufus Renney, of Pendleton, Oregon, who was sentenced to six months in jail and 36 months probation. Renney had sprayed several of the Hispanics with a fire extinguisher and yelled racist slogans at them.
- Charles Leek, 20, and Frank Tokash, 18, both of San Diego, were sentenced to three years in prison for the unprovoked attack in October, 1987 of an Hispanic man and his female companion outside a restaurant in the city's Hillcrest section. The man's jaw was broken in the assault. Each of the Skinheads, who belonged to a group known as "The Bomber Boys," pleaded guilty to assault with a deadly weapon.
- Michael Mann, 18, of San Diego, received 270 days in custody and three-years probation for his involvement (along with two juveniles) in a January attack on eight Vietnamese as they left a Hillside restaurant.

Assaults by Skinheads have been aimed particularly at members of minority groups. In March, two Skinheads, Kenneth James Johnstone and Sean Edward Boyd, were arrested in Davis for hitting and kicking two men after accusing them of being homosexuals. In Laguna Beach, three Skinheads were arrested on charges of attempted murder, assault with a deadly weapon, and inflicting bodily injury in connection with attacks on two homosexuals in July, 1988. One required stitches in his head after being hit with a metal pipe. The three Skinheads are John Michael Moore, 22, Steven James Walter, 18, and Aaron F. Compean, 19. They will also be tried under a new state law making it a civil rights offense to harass people because of their sexual orientation. Four days later, an Hispanic man was thrown to the ground, kicked and beaten by a group of Skinheads in Orange. The attackers, who accosted the man outside the Irvine Ranch Market, fled before police arrived.

Cross-Burning

Police are also convinced that Skinheads were responsible for burning a three-by-three-foot cross on the front yard of a black family in Westminster, California in the early morning of July 28, 1988. The cross-burning was followed by racist taunts and harassing phone calls directed at black and Vietnamese families in the neighborhood. The victims of the cross-burning, Ted and Lillie Heiser, had lived for ten years without incident in the quiet suburban neighborhood known as Indian Village and were the only black family on their street. In the weeks leading up to the incident, swastikas and "SWP" ("Supreme White Power") had been sprayed on walls in the neighborhood, which includes Temple Beth David. Neighborhood residents reported seeing groups

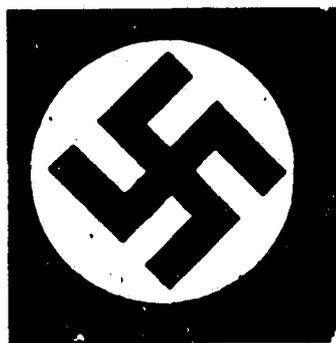
of Skinheads marching through their streets yelling "white power!" and other racist slogans.

A member of a Skinhead group in Ventura, California, Jeffrey David Stevenson, was arrested last January in Isla Vista for possession of a .22-caliber rifle and a five-inch-long dagger. The following month, Ventura police were tipped off that Skinheads were targeting Temple Beth Torah for anti-Semitic activities the night before a Skinhead event and were able to head it off.

Beginning in April, Ventura was also the scene of a surge of violence which police attribute to Skinheads. On April 24, 1988 a black man was hospitalized after a fight at a California beach party. The fight reportedly began when two young white men told them "We don't want your kind around here." On May 17, the Ventura County bomb squad went to a home on Dakota Drive, where residents reported finding a bomb in a briefcase on the porch. The briefcase bomb turned out to be a hoax which police think was racially motivated. The woman who lived in the house was white and her children were of mixed race. The children told police they had seen Skinheads around the apartment complex earlier that day.

On May 25, a 13-year-old boy in a Ventura middle school was arrested for getting into a fight with a schoolmate. He told police that he was associated with the Skinheads and that he was into "white pride." On June 6, an unidentified Skinhead stabbed a black Ventura high school student twice in the back during a fight at Arroyo Verde Park, according to Ventura police. Witnesses told police they heard the Skinhead say, "I'm going to stab a nigger," and then attacked the student from behind. On June 17, around twenty-five Skinheads attending a graduation party in Camarillo started a fight with knives, clubs and baseball bats. Three Camarillo youths suffered knife wounds and three Ventura Skinheads were arrested and later released.

During Memorial Day weekend, 1988, an 18-year-old Skinhead, John Anthony Giambrone, was arrested and charged with racial terrorism for distributing white power and racial hate stickers on parking meters in storefront windows in Montrose, California. (Five other Skinheads were also arrested but were not prosecuted.) Stickers were printed and sold to the group by James Karl of Pacific Palisades, a sole operator who calls his "group" the National Socialist White America Party. Karl's stickers, whose slogans include "Death to Race Mixing!" and "White Power!," have become popular among Skinheads and have been seen in various parts of the country.



**WHITE
POWER!**

DEATH TO RACE-MIXING!
N.S.W.A.P. — P.O. Box 1133
Pacific Palisades CA 90272

A rash of graffiti, which officials in Glendale are attributing to Skinheads, hit the city during the weekend of September 10-11, 1988. An Arab-American, Ahmed Khalek, arrived at the Angeles Pet Hospital he owns to find the slogans, "Niggers Get Out" and "White Power" along with racial stickers posted on the rear door. Racial slogans appeared as well at six separate locations, and at one, swastikas were accompanied by "SKINS," "White Pride," and "Skinhead."

A rash of vandalism perpetrated by Skinheads also broke out in San Diego County in August, 1988.

Additional episodes of violence that have occurred throughout the country follow:

Arizona

In March, 1988 Skinhead leaders Allen Richard Moller, 19, and Todd Mathew Lamoreaux, 20, began serving a six-month prison sentence for the October, 1987 beating and stomping in Tempe of two men using a board and combat boots. Moller was the leader of a Scottsdale-based gang called the Sun Valley Skins. According to the county attorney, both victims were fortunate to have survived the attack. Tempe police officers, who argued for substantial jail terms, pointed out to the court that the assault continued even after the head of one of the victims was cut open. Moller and Lamoreaux later bragged to a clerk at a gas station about the incident.

Another Skinhead leader in the area, Steve Judson (of the "Bother Boys") was convicted of criminal trespass following an incident which occurred after he and several associates crashed a party in Scottsdale in July, 1988.

Florida

In addition to the aforementioned McKee murder case in Tampa, Russell Penrose, a leader of Orlando's local Skinhead gang, along with three other Skinheads, robbed and beat three young men last New Year's Eve at a local club called The Electric Avenue. One of the victims was half-Asian. Penrose was allowed to plead guilty to a misdemeanor battery charge and was given a one-year jail sentence.

Three juvenile Skinheads have confessed to anti-Semitic vandalism in May, 1988 on the construction site of the Pinellas County Jewish Day School. Two are 16 years old and come from Largo; the other, 15, is from Seminole County. Charges are pending. There were at least two other incidents on the site prior to the anti-Semitic vandalism (in which swastikas and "White Power" were sprayed on the sign announcing the future day school). Both resulted in substantial property damage.

Georgia

In March, 1988 Atlanta's Yeshiva High School, which had moved to the suburb of Doraville only eight months earlier, was heavily vandalized: more than fifty swastikas, anti-Jewish threats, numerous references to Skinheads such as "The Skins Are Going to Kill U" and "White Power Die From Skins" and additional graffiti in black spraypaint covered every outer section of the building. An ADL reward fund established as a result of this incident helped lead to the arrest of two local Skinheads, Charles

Eugene Huggins, age 17, a high school dropout from Conyers, and a 16-year-old juvenile from Doraville. During questioning by police, it was learned that the motive was that "Niggers and Jews had to be put in their place."

Huggins, who pleaded guilty to the charges against him, received a five-year sentence, including three to six months of incarceration with time at a "shock rehabilitation" facility, a period of intensive probation, and mandatory psychological counseling. DeKalb County District Attorney Bob Wilson personally prosecuted the case, an indication of how seriously it was regarded.

On September 9, 1988 five Skinheads were arrested in front of Atlanta's Little Five Points Pub for beating a black man on the sidewalk and accosting others. Two of the perpetrators are said to be fugitives from Baltimore and remain jailed.

Illinois

Chicago area Skinhead leader Clark Martell, whose arrest along with several followers for breaking into the home of a former member and beating her was reported in an earlier ADL survey, remains incarcerated. His trial on charges of home invasion, aggravated battery and robbery is expected to begin in early 1989. Martell also awaits trial on three counts of aggravated assault against Hispanic women which took place on three separate occasions in 1987.

A close associate of the Chicago Skinhead group, William Leinberger, has been convicted of criminal property damage for painting racial epithets on a Chicago Transit Authority bus. He was sentenced to 400 hours of community service. Leinberger was later incarcerated and now faces charges of intimidating a Chicago busdriver who was a witness to the incident. He reportedly threatened to kill the driver in open court. Leinberger was indicted last January in connection with the Kristallnacht anniversary window smashings of Jewish-owned businesses.

Maryland

Several Skinheads from the Washington, D.C. suburbs of Bethesda and Tacoma Park have been arrested for several incidents of assault. In one case last New Year's Eve, several Skinheads who had been "fag bashing" in Washington's Dupont Circle area crashed a party, stabbed a congressional aide, and assaulted several other partygoers with steel batons. One arrest has been made and an arrest warrant has been issued for another suspect. Other Skinheads have been arrested for crimes authorities have characterized as racially motivated.

In addition, authorities believe Skinheads responsible for two incidents of vandalism where extensive Skinhead graffiti defaced a Rockville synagogue and an empty house in Wheaton. The former incident occurred on March 1, 1988 with Nazi insignia and the words "Skinheads" and "Die Jew" scrawled on the outer synagogue walls.

Missouri

On September 11, 1988 members of a Skinhead gang in Springfield, Missouri wearing military camouflage attacked cars with baseball bats and bricks outside a hang-

out for homosexuals. Six of the Skinheads, including the group's leader, Kevin L. Cline, 18, have been arrested and charged with destruction of property. Law enforcement authorities believe Skinheads to be responsible for a series of phone harassments and vandalism of property aimed at Jews dating back to the anniversary of Kristallnacht last November.

Oklahoma

A Skinhead, Mark Edward Walker, 20, was found guilty of assault and battery with a dangerous weapon for the beating in January, 1988 of a black man outside an Oklahoma City restaurant. Walker, along with two 16-year-old youths, was accused of kicking and striking Bruce Taylor with spiked rings because, according to the prosecuting attorney, his girlfriend was white. Upon leaving the courtroom Walker said that young people should not get involved in gangs "just for the simple fact all it is is trouble."

In April, 1988 three Skinheads pleaded guilty to malicious harassment and intimidation in connection with the December vandalism of Temple B'nai Israel in Oklahoma City. The vandals had spraypainted swastikas, "OKC Skins," "White Race Rules," "Die Jews," and other slogans on the synagogue. The three, Kelly Carlton McNiece, 20, Scott Alan Namken, 21, and John Dustin Williams, 19, were each given one year suspended jail sentences, fined and ordered to do 120 hours of community service.

Oregon

Two Skinheads, Robert Stezel and John Condron, both 17, were convicted in juvenile court for the racially motivated assault in March, 1988 of an Asian man in downtown Portland (see above). Condron also faces a charge of carrying a concealed weapon. The third defendant, Timothy McCoy, 18, of Portland, was sentenced to five years for the assault and ten years for an unrelated robbery. The victim, Sam Chin, reportedly continues to be harassed by Skinheads, who have visited him at his place of employment.

Texas

In July, 1988, four Dallas Skinheads were arrested and eight others issued citations following a clash outside a bar in the Deep Ellum section of Dallas in which a female Skinhead was shot and wounded. A nearby business owner said that the incident was related to growing tensions in the area between Skinheads and punk rockers. The Skinheads, members of the Confederate Hammer Skins, had come to the club to hear a band called the U.K. Subs. According to the owner, the band cancelled its appearance after hearing rumors that Skinheads were planning to storm the club.

Five arrests were made by Austin police following two racially-motivated fights involving Skinheads near a South Austin high school late last February. The fights were triggered by signs put up by a small group of students containing slurs aimed at Blacks and Hispanics. The school superintendent ordered security tightened at and around the vicinity of the school.

Washington

A 16-year-old Skinhead who calls himself "Boots" (real name: James Timothy Carver) pleaded guilty to trespass and malicious mischief after hurling a toilet through the front window of a downtown Spokane store. He received a suspended sentence. Boots' home in East Spokane is listed as the address on a recruiting poster distributed by the local Skinhead group. (Among its slogans: "Spokane Skins Unite" and "All Cops Are Bastards.")

On July 30, 1988 a 29-year-old black man named Ray Hill, who is a part-time truckdriver for the Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, was wrestled to the ground and hacked with an eight-inch knife. Hill suffered a deep cut that severed tendons in his left arm, requiring surgery. He was also cut on the chest, left leg and right knee. Arrested in the attack were "Boots" Carver and Billy Wayne Worl, 24, a transient Skinhead from Oklahoma. Worl was placed in the Spokane County Jail in lieu of \$100,000 bail. Carver was ordered held in juvenile detention after his attorney said that he feared for his safety. The two have been charged with attempted first-degree murder and malicious racial harassment. Federal authorities are weighing the possibility of filing civil rights violations charges.

Earlier in the week a black woman and two children were accosted by Skinheads. The woman and a teenager were hit by a rock and the case was being investigated as a felony harassment by Spokane police. Following the two incidents, Spokane police chief Terry Morgan issued a strongly worded statement, saying police are not going to tolerate Skinhead violence.

Wisconsin

Members of the Skinhead Army of Milwaukee (SHAM) have engaged in a rash of criminal incidents, many directed against non-racist Skinheads. The leader of the group, Patrick D. O'Malley, 18, and Hollin Lange, 19, a leader of Dallas's Confederate Hammer Skins, were arrested following a shooting incident on August 16, 1988 outside the local Skinhead headquarters on South Amy Place on Milwaukee's East Side. O'Malley and Lange reportedly opened fire with a .22 caliber rifle and an 8mm bolt-action Mauser rifle when a car with five teenagers passed the house and threw empty juice bottles at the front steps. A 17-year-old passenger in the car was shot in the right shoulder and was seriously wounded and the others were hit by flying glass. Lange and O'Malley were charged with "causing injury by conduct regardless of life and endangering safety by conduct regardless of life." O'Malley is free on \$25,000 bond; Lange is still incarcerated. A trial date of January, 1989 has been set.

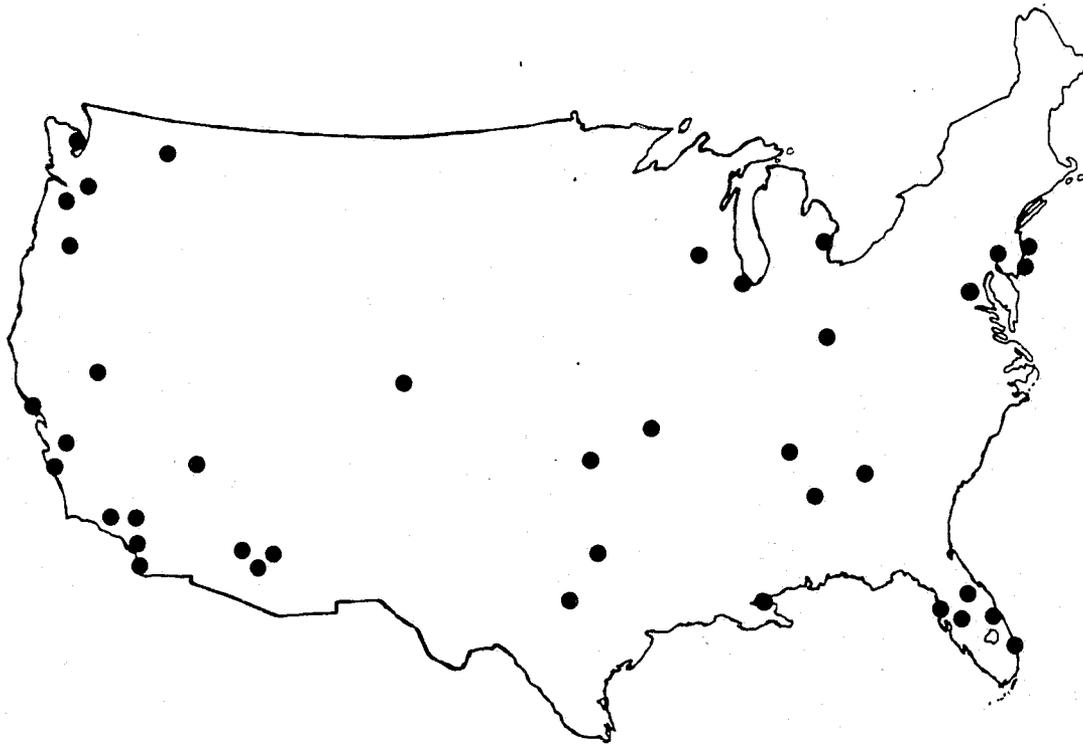
Members of SHAM have also been involved in the following incidents:

- On June 2, 1988 two musicians were assaulted in Milwaukee. Battery charges were filed against Matthew J. Hayhow, 20, and Michael Lawrence, an Oklahoma Skinhead, also 20. The two failed to appear for their court dates and arrest warrants have been issued.
- On June 15, there was a confrontation between the Brew City Skins (a non-neo-Nazi Skinhead group) and SHAM at the Odd Rock Cafe, a Skinhead hangout in Milwaukee, after a concert. Members of

SHAM were beaten and no arrests have been reported.

- On July 8, battery charges were filed against Patrick O'Malley when he and other SHAM members surrounded and assaulted an individual who had written to a local newspaper in response to an earlier article on Skinheads.
- Patrick O'Malley, Clayton Zingler and a juvenile Skinhead were arrested in a shopping area on July 12th and charged with disorderly conduct for disrupting a street festival by goose-stepping through a crowd. The three were also allegedly taunting and chasing a non-racist Skinhead. O'Malley was also charged with battery against a sound technician who was hit with a pipe at this street fair. O'Malley and Zingler were later convicted and fined \$200 and ordered to pay court costs.

In Kenosha on August 8, two Skinheads affiliated with SHAM, Gerald Blum, 19, and a 17-year-old juvenile, were arrested for shooting at a black church. The church is located across the street from where the two had been living for the previous six months. A trial date of November, 1988 has been set.



Locations Where Skinhead Groups Have Been Operating:

West

- Arizona:
Phoenix
Scottsdale
Tempe
- California:
San Diego
Riverside
Orange County
Ventura County
Salinas
Hollister
San Francisco
- Colorado:
Denver
- Nevada:
Las Vegas
Reno
- Oregon:
Portland
Salem
- Washington:
Seattle
Spokane
Vancouver

Midwest

- Illinois:
Chicago
- Michigan:
Detroit
Grand Rapids
- Missouri:
Springfield
- Ohio:
Cincinnati
- Wisconsin:
Milwaukee

South

- Alabama:
Birmingham
- Georgia:
Atlanta
- Florida:
Tampa
Clearwater
Miami Beach
Pinellas County
Broward County
Orlando
- Louisiana:
New Orleans
- Oklahoma:
Oklahoma City
Tulsa
- Texas:
Austin
Dallas
- Tennessee:
Memphis

East

- Maryland:
Baltimore
Westminster
Washington D.C.
(suburbs)
- New Jersey:
North Jersey
Atlantic City
- Pennsylvania:
Philadelphia

AROUND THE MAP

Skinhead groups have been formed—with varying levels of organizational cohesion—in every region of the country. Gangs are now operating in 21 states. Many have been organized since the last ADL report on the subject in February, 1988 and the following have been added to the list of states where there is organized Skinhead activity: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, Tennessee and Wisconsin. States previously listed were Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas and Washington State.

Skinheads in different parts of the country are slowly forming a loose national network, owing to their geographical mobility and the efforts of more established leaders (particularly Tom Metzger) to publicize their activities. Skinhead leaders from Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit and Dallas have helped facilitate the organizing of groups in other cities (Milwaukee, Memphis, Springfield, Missouri and Toronto).

At the same time, Skinhead groups in some locations (such as Cincinnati and Pittsburgh) have dropped from view in less than a year. In the case of the San Fernando Valley in Los Angeles County, the arrest of Reich Skin leader Michael Martin and his subsequent conviction helped result in the dissolution of the group. It appears that effective responses by law enforcement authorities to Skinhead violence helps reduce their profile and level of activity. What follows is a description of Skinhead groups operating around the country, based on ADL's recent national survey:

West

Arizona—Several Skinhead groups operating in east Phoenix and areas near the city's borders with Scottsdale and Tempe have been quiet since the convictions last spring of several of their leaders and subsequent close monitoring by law enforcement authorities. The most active group in the Scottsdale-East Phoenix area, the Bother Boys, was an offshoot of the Sun Valley Skins, which became dormant following the arrest of its leader, Allen Richard Moller, on assault charges. The Bother Boys has also become inactive following the arrest of its leader, Steve Judson, on charges of criminal trespass. Other (smaller) groups in the area, the Independents, Thrashers, and Sacred Reich have also been quiet.

California—In California, Skinhead groups are most visible in the following areas: San Diego, Riverside, Orange County, Ventura County, and the northern California communities of Hollister and Salinas.

The most active and best organized Skinhead group in California is the War Skins which has chapters in both southern and northern California. Led by Aryan Youth Movement vice president Dave Mazella, the group has been recruiting in the Salinas area, where its members have flooded the high school and a number of neighborhoods with Tom Metzger's *WAR* publication. War Skins also has a chapter in Hollister, where Mazella took up residence this summer. Mazella says that the goal of War Skins is the same as its parent organization, namely, "an Aryan Nation in the five Pacific Northwest states."

A leaflet issued by the group entitled "Skinheads," lays out their goals and philosophy, including hatred of homosexuals (FAGS!), non-white emigration ("these people take our jobs and land and give nothing in return") and Jews ("because we know the Jews have extorted us for their personal means!"). The leaflet, which describes Skinhead dress style (male and female) and music, also distinguishes true Skinheads from those they characterize as "two-tones." The latter are described as "an instrument of the Zionist world to integrate and destroy the Skinhead movement."

War Skins also operates in Orange County, where they have handed out literature at Disneyland, and in San Diego. Among the leaders of the group in southern California is Bradley Robarge, 23, of Rainbow, a rural community northeast of San Diego. Robarge, who sells computers, has been quoted as saying "one of these days there's going to be a cop who's going to find a bullet in his brain." In April Robarge reportedly met with the Metzgers and a Skinhead group, at which time he asserted that Skinheads would one day assume leadership of the hate movement. A WAR Skins post office box was recently opened in the Orange County community of Placentia.

There are approximately 50 racist Skinheads in Orange County, where they are outnumbered by the non-racist variety. In addition to WAR Skins, the other groups include the Death Squad Skins, Gestapo, Buena Park Skins, South Coast County Skins, and Huntington Beach Skins. Law enforcement authorities believe that in Orange County, the movement, which grew in part in reaction to an increase in the number of Asian and Hispanic residents, may have reached a peak and is now in temporary retreat. Many of the Skinheads in Orange County come from affluent neighborhoods.

There are approximately a dozen members of a loosely affiliated Skinhead group in Riverside with no name. The age range is from 11 to 17 and they are often seen in local malls attempting to recruit followers.

In San Diego County there are between forty and sixty racist Skinheads concentrated in the El Cajon Boulevard area in the eastern part of the city of San Diego. As in other communities, Skinheads are mobile and their graffiti has been seen all over the county.

A San Francisco group calling itself the American Front, which organized a May Day rally attracting some fifty Skinheads from various parts of California, appears to be primarily a one-man operation run by Robert L. Heick, a native San Franciscan. Heick's leaflets have been discovered in Fremont, Bakersfield, Hollister, Palo Alto and Concord in addition to San Francisco and Marin Counties.

Colorado—Denver has a small unorganized group of Skinheads who wear storm trooper boots and clothing decorated with Nazi Symbols. Although some street crimes have been reported, no acts of racial violence have been linked to the group.

Nevada—Skinhead groups are operating in Las Vegas and Reno. Estimates of the size of the group in Las Vegas vary from fifteen to fifty, a dozen of whom attended the 1988 Aryan Nations conference in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Their leader is 18-year-old Johnny Bangs (real name: Bangeter), whose home—he lives with his wife and two children—is the local Skinhead hangout. Neighbors have complained of graffiti depicting swastikas and slogans such as "white power" and "our leaders are liars." Members

of the group say they are preparing for a "holy war," the result of which will be the creation of 13 whites-only states on federal land.

Members of the gang in Reno, which numbers eight to ten, have created disturbances outside a local gay bar and have painted the building with swastikas. Two have been arrested for car theft and one for creating a disturbance. The gang, which has rented property in the northeastern section of Reno, moved to a new location last spring after trashing their old quarters.

Oregon—There are several groups operating in the Portland area. The largest, called East Side White Pride, has around 20 members, all over the age of 20. The group hangs out at the Pine Street Theater and is in contact with Tom Metzger's WAR. POWAR, which stands for Preservation of the White American Race, has approximately 10 members, half of whom are women. The spokesman for the group is Helen Asper. POWAR has a small affiliated group in Salem, Oregon called the Salem Skins, led by Jonathan Hayden. There is also a small group operating in the Portland suburb of Milwaukie which calls itself Youth of Hitler. Some of Portland's Skinheads moved to the area from California and the Midwest.

Washington—A small group of Skinheads active in Spokane call themselves "SS," for "Spokane Skins." The majority are in their late teens and all are male. Several have attended annual conferences sponsored by the Aryan Nations. Nonetheless, there has been a decline in Skinhead activities since the arrest of "Boots" Carver and Bill Worl for the attempted murder of a black man, Ray Hill, last July.

There are, additionally, small numbers of Skinheads in Seattle and Vancouver. The latter call themselves the "Northwest Socialist Youth Corp." Led by Scott Belknap, they have ties to veteran neo-Nazi Rick Cooper of the National Socialist Vanguard, now based in Goldendale, Washington.

Midwest

Illinois—Since the arrest and incarceration of Chicago area Skinhead leader Clark Martell, his group has maintained a low profile. Some members surfaced in the audience of the Chicago-based Oprah Winfrey television program in February, 1988 where the topic was Skinheads, and at the August, 1988 Ku Klux Klan rally in Chicago's Marquette Park. On the Oprah Winfrey program, Skinheads accompanying Tom Metzger hurled racial epithets at members of the audience as well as the hostess and were eventually escorted out by the program's security guards. (Winfrey later acknowledged that asking Skinheads to appear on the program was a mistake, but subsequently invited Tom Metzger on once again.)

Many of the members of CASH have migrated north to Milwaukee, where they have helped organize a group which calls itself the Skinhead Army of Milwaukee or SHAM. The Chicago group consists of teenagers, though Martell, at 29, is a striking exception. Although most are males, Martell has made a pitch to young women to join the group in order to breed new whites with the "correct" racial views. Martell is a high school dropout with a criminal record dating back to his teenage years.

Michigan—Skinheads are active in two cities, Detroit and Grand Rapids. The

Detroit area Skinheads (DASH) are led by David Lozon, who along with other members has participated in national hate group meetings convened by Robert Miles at his farm in Cohoctah. Members of DASH have also participated in street demonstrations held by the SS-Action Group, a vocal group of neo-Nazis who appear in public from time to time dressed in Nazi uniforms.

DASH has two publications: *Final War* and *Hail Victory!* *Final War* lists as its address a post office box in Southfield. It is oriented mostly toward Skinhead music, and its first issue printed an interview with Ian Stuart of the British Skinhead band Skrewdriver. *Hail Victory!*, which is issued from a post office box in Dearborn, asserts in an introduction to its first issue that "white traitors run our Z.O.G. for self-interest," adding "this government must be smashed."

In Grand Rapids, the Pit Bull Boys was organized toward the end of 1987 by 20-year-old Gabe Konrad, who describes Hitler as "a great man." According to Konrad, Hitler's importance "is not appreciated by most Americans."

The group's twenty or so members range in age from 13 to 20. They print a bimonthly newsletter called *Pit Bull Boy* and have travelled to Western Michigan cities to distribute it. In one "editorial," the newsletter declares: "Violence can be very useful. Fighting, at times, can be as beneficial as literature." One issue includes an interview with national hate-group figure Robert Miles, in which he describes Skinheads as "youth in retaliation, capable of creating fear in anti-whites."

Konrad recently enlisted in the U.S. Army and the group's leadership has fallen to 18-year-old Shane Fowler, a student at Kendall College of Design. According to Fowler, "Hitler worked for the betterment of his nation and race in his own way."

Missouri—A small group of ten Skinheads in Springfield was organized by members of Dallas' Confederate Hammer Skins several months ago. The leader is 18-year-old Kevin Cline. Members of the group, which also has ties to Skinheads and Klansmen in Tulsa, Oklahoma, are thought to be responsible for phone harassments aimed at Jews who live in Springfield and vandalism at a local synagogue.

Ohio—Skinhead activity remains dormant in the Cincinnati area. Several of those who had been active in the local Skinhead group travelled to Milwaukee last summer, where they helped organize SHAM, the Skinhead Army of Milwaukee.

Wisconsin—Skinhead activity in Milwaukee has declined notably following a rash of violent crimes last summer (see above), many perpetrated by members of SHAM, the Skinhead Army of Milwaukee. The decline was precipitated by the arrest of two of the group's leaders, Patrick O'Malley and Hollin Lange, who await trial for shooting a man last July. At its peak, the gang numbered two dozen.

The acronym SHAM originally stood for Skinheads Around Milwaukee and consisted of racist and non-racist Skins, hanging out peaceably in a seven-room home known as the "700 Club" in the Riverwest section. But the character of the group changed radically following the arrival in Milwaukee of O'Malley (from Madison) and of racist Skinheads from Chicago, Cincinnati, Detroit, Dallas, and Oklahoma.

By May, according to police, members of SHAM—the "Army" version—were preying violently upon Blacks, homosexuals, Jews and non-racist Skinheads, now splintered off into their own group, the Brew City Skins. After causing some \$13,000 damage to

the 700 Club, SHAM moved to a home on Amy Place and made plans to join with other midwestern Skinhead groups to create the Northern Hammer Skins.

Last spring SHAM joined with Detroit's neo-Nazi SS-Action Group for a demonstration in front of the federal building in Ann Arbor. Subsequently, Detroit Skinhead leader David Lozon wrote to the group, inviting them to another Michigan rally, asserting that "truly extreme measures must be taken to defeat this scum government."

The July shooting incident has stalled, if not stopped, those plans altogether. O'Malley has returned to Madison and police report a strong backlash against the gang by other young people. In late summer a band at a Milwaukee club refused to perform until the Skinheads, who had been hurling Nazi salutes, were forced to leave.

South

Alabama—There are around a dozen Skinheads in the Birmingham area, based in the northern working class suburb of Hayden. Led by Zane Hodges, the group participated in the white supremacist rally at the Democratic National Convention in July (see above). The group, whose members are in their teens or early 20s, has ties to the Skinhead group in Atlanta. An effort is currently underway to recruit Skinheads in Talladega, located approximately 70 miles east of Birmingham.

Florida—Small Skinhead groups continue to operate in Tampa, Clearwater, Pinellas County, Broward County and Miami Beach, although activity is markedly down in all these areas since the McKee murder trial ended in late June. Skinhead groups in Pinellas are known as The Saints and BASH (Bay Area Skinheads). Nine Skinheads from Pinellas appeared at a recent KKK rally and a number of them correspond with Tom Metzger. Three Broward Skinheads have reportedly been arrested for purchasing crack. Another, Jeffrey Scott Hubler (known as "Jack Boots" and "Psycho"), 21, has an extensive criminal record.

The Skinhead group in Orlando has not been visible for several months.

Georgia—Atlanta's Skinheads, numbering between 16 and 25 members, are based in the city's "Little Five Points" area. The group has been involved in paramilitary games and harassment of pedestrians around the Metroplex Club in downtown Atlanta.

Several Skinheads were involved in the previously mentioned confrontation at the Democratic National Convention last July. One of them, New Orleans-based Michael Palasch (known as "Pee Wee"), also led the group of sixteen to eighteen which rallied with the KKK at its traditional Labor Day gathering on Stone Mountain. Members of the group who showed up at Stone Mountain were covered with tattoos, carried swastika flags and at one point displayed Nazi paraphernalia from the back of a truck, including knives and medallions. The Skinheads wore shirts bearing the initials "WAR" and "NAAWP" (the New Orleans-based white supremacist group), and ranged in age from 16 to 30.

Louisiana—A Skinhead group which calls itself the National White Resistance (NWR) is operating in New Orleans and the nearby suburb of Metairie. A flyer for the group proclaims: "Aliens delicately murder our race. Defaming all truth. Motivated

by Hate and Greed! Their weapon Mass Media Lies. Their goal, Total Extinction of the White Race! We're not the KLAN. We're the youth of Tomorrow!" The group is led by Michael John Palasch, 22, who led Skinheads at two KKK rallies in the Atlanta area last summer.

On June 22, thirteen NWR Skinheads conducted a march in New Orleans carrying the group's banner along with Confederate and American flags. The march was led by 18-year-old Donald Davis III of Metairie.

Oklahoma—Small groups are operating in Oklahoma City and Tulsa. In Oklahoma City, activity has greatly diminished following the convictions of members of the Oklahoma City Skins for beating a black man and vandalizing a synagogue.

Texas—The major group functioning in Texas is the Dallas-based Confederate Hammer Skins (CHS) founded by Shawn Christian Tarrant, 19 (also known as "Hell-bent") and his half-brother Hollin Lange, also 19. The group of about twenty to twenty-five members ranges in age from 16 to 19. Tarrant's girlfriend, Elizabeth Sherry of Richardson, Texas often serves as the group's spokesman. She also rents a Dallas post office box which is the group's mailing address. It is the same box used by the Knights of the KKK.

A flyer issued by the group titled "Skinheads RULE—OK!" declares:

THE CONFEDERATE SKINS are working class Aryan youth. We oppose the capitalist and communist scum who are working to destroy our once proud nation. We also realize that the parasitic Jews (who control the mass media) are at the center of our problem, as well as the traitors of our own race who willingly do the Jews bidding. We are white warriors. Join our fight to save our white heritage before it is lost forever.

In May, 1988 Hollin Lange moved to Detroit. He became active with the Milwaukee Skinheads last summer and in July was arrested in the shooting incident described earlier.

A group in Denton calling itself the Confederate Strike Force Skins was formed as a splinter from the CHS. Since the move to Florida of one of its leaders, the group has not been active. A third group, the American Front, located in the mid-cities area (between Dallas and Fort Worth) has collapsed following the arrest last spring (on a warrant from New Mexico) of its leader Richard Brunson.

In Austin, Skinhead activity has ground to a halt following the arrest of leader "Mark-Dagger" (an alias). "Dagger," who boasted that he had committed a murder in California, was picked up recently by FBI officials on charges of unlawful flight to avoid prosecution. "Dagger" was taken to California where he reportedly is wanted for attempted murder.

Tennessee—A group of approximately 20 Memphis Skinheads hang out in the area of Highland and Getwell Streets. Members have reportedly harassed residents of the area and spraypainted walls with racist slogans. An incident in which a brick was thrown through the car window of a non-racist Skinhead with a Jewish girlfriend has been attributed to Skinheads and is currently under investigation.

East

Maryland—Most of Maryland's Skinheads are unaffiliated, with the exception of a dozen in Baltimore who call themselves the "Tenpole Tudors," after a British rock group by that name. (Interestingly, a shift to more violence among Skinheads in the Baltimore area dates to August 1987, when several of them returned from a Skinhead rally in London.) Skinheads are also found in the Washington, D.C. suburbs, the Baltimore communities of Overly and Rosedale, and the Western Maryland city of Westminster. Most are males between the ages of 12 and 21.

Maryland Skinheads have been involved in both assaults and armed robberies, and have clashed frequently with their non-racist counterparts. Several have participated in KKK rallies in western Maryland and eastern Pennsylvania and some from Baltimore have travelled as far as Harrisburg, Pennsylvania to participate in Klan activities. Many have also travelled to Washington, D.C. to purchase Skinhead music and Doc Marten boots.

New Jersey—A group including both racist and non-racist Skinheads known as the North Jersey Skinheads has begun to factionalize, in part over the question of whether it should move in a racist direction. Some members of the group have close ties to Britain's National Front and others are linked with a racist Skinhead gang in Miami.

A Skinhead group in Atlantic City known as the AC Skins hangs out in an area of Atlantic Avenue which has become known as "Skinhead Alley." Members espouse a "white pride" philosophy as well as an antipathy for homosexuals.

At the same time, the group disavows neo-Nazi beliefs and assertively distances itself from racist Skinheads. Members have not engaged in criminal activities.

Pennsylvania—There is a group of 15 to 20 Skinheads in the Philadelphia area which calls itself White Justice. The chief leader is Michael Sokolovsky from southern New Jersey, who has accompanied Pennsylvania KKK leader Rick Fogel to radio and television interviews, and who has been observed at a KKK rally wearing a Klan robe. As mentioned above, Skinheads have participated with the Pennsylvania KKK at all three rallies the hooded order held this summer.

A Philadelphia Skinhead band called "The Uprise," based in Newtown, Pennsylvania gave an interview to a Brussels Skinhead magazine called *Pure Impact Skins*. Although the band describes itself as "non political," it lists Skrewdriver and other white power bands among those it likes. The band's one "political" song, "Land of the Free," has the following chorus: "Don't like our country, don't like what we say, then you can fucking leave today, U.S.A." The group claims to attract about 200 people for an average show.

In Pittsburgh, Skinheads who once congregated at a club called The Electric Banana have become inactive.

Canada

There are, additionally, Skinhead groups operating in Toronto and Montreal, Canada. Around 100 of Toronto's Skinheads consider themselves neo-Nazi, or members of the anti-immigrant National Front, and links have also been established with the

Ku Klux Klan. A number have been involved in crimes, including robberies, assaults and possession of illegal weapons. They congregate downtown along Yonge, Queen and Bloor Streets. Members of the Detroit area Skinheads have distributed hate literature in Toronto.

Montreal police put the number of Skinheads there at 250 although it is not known what proportion are racists. A Canadian neo-Nazi group called the National League is recruiting Montreal Skinheads. The picture which is emerging in both Toronto and Montreal is of gangs of particularly cruel and vicious kids who beat up and kick their victims, mostly other youths. All boast of their ability to destroy their opponents and inspire fear in others. Law enforcement authorities have reported that many victims of Skinhead violence are afraid to report to the police, out of fear that they will be attacked again.

CONCLUSION

The rise of the Skinhead-gangs and their involvement in the hate movement comes at a time when organized racism has been seriously weakened as a consequence of federal prosecutions. Although the Fort Smith trial of thirteen leading white supremacists earlier this year resulted in a "not guilty" verdict, it came on the heels of a number of earlier successful legal prosecutions of right-wing extremists. Among the racist groups which are now defunct, mainly as a result of criminal prosecutions, are The Order, the White Patriot Party, the Arizona Patriots, the Committee of the States and the Covenant, the Sword, the Arm of the Lord. Other organizations which have experienced setbacks, but managed to survive are the Aryan Nations, the Posse Comitatus and several of the national Klans. Taken as a whole, the extreme right-wing movement has been severely weakened over the past several years as a result of federal prosecutions instituted as a consequence of their own criminal behavior.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the young Skinheads have been embraced by veteran racist activists in the hope that they will contribute to the movement's regeneration. While the Skins have indeed brought some renewed strength to the far-right, their long-run impact is uncertain.

The Skinheads, it is true, have brought with them a degree of youthful vigor and enthusiasm, which has helped raise the morale and stir the hopes of the older racist activists. There is also a certain grass-roots quality to the growth of the Skinhead groups which, limited though it has been in terms of actual numbers, has created the impression that a new generation of militant young racists is springing up around the country. Since new Skinhead gangs are still cropping up, it is not known at this point how much additional growth can be expected.

However, there is another side to the Skinhead story which casts doubt on their ability in the long run to provide the hate movement with the resurgence its veterans are hoping for. The Skinheads are undisciplined, violence-prone, and many are obvious misfits whose future misconduct could well bring down upon the entire far-right a new wave of arrests and trials.

The fact that Skinheads have a tendency to engage in violent crime is evident by the lengthy record cited earlier in this report. Interestingly, the same violent pattern prevails in other countries where Skinheads are active. In Toronto, for example, Skinheads have committed numerous assaults and robberies. During one week in July, 1988 thirty of them were arrested. In Britain they are notorious for "Paki-bashing" (beating up Pakistanis and other Asian immigrants) and "football hooliganism" (provoking violent clashes among fans at soccer matches). Plainly, any movement, regardless of ideology, which embraces gangs of undisciplined youths who habitually engage in such behavior is looking for trouble.

Besides their tendency to commit violence against outsiders, the Skinhead gangs have severe internal problems. There is substantial evidence of drug use, Satanism, intra-gang violence, theft and all the other sociopathic tendencies to be found these days on the outer fringes of the youth culture. In a recent issue of *WAR*, a female Skinhead from the Dallas area, Elizabeth Sherry, complained of "some so-called White Power Skinheads who display characteristics of non-White filth . . . Lying, stealing, drug

abusing, beating up women and girls, and associating with non-Whites."

ADL's investigations indicate that some hate group leaders privately refer to Skinheads as "punks" and grumble that they are potential troublemakers. Some veterans whose gung-ho spirits have been dampened by the legal prosecutions of recent years worry that the Skinheads may bring on renewed legal troubles. Cultural clashes have also become evident. When the Skinheads at the recent Stone Mountain Klan rally tried to play a record of the British Skinhead rock band Skrewdriver, it was quickly removed and replaced by a country-western recording, more in keeping with the Klan's style. Nevertheless, regardless of whatever private misgivings some leaders have about them, they are being welcomed to the ranks of the hate movement. It remains to be seen what consequences will flow from this embrace.

Community Response

The chief problem presented to communities by the presence in their midst of Skinhead gangs is that of lawless behavior, and the appropriate response to all such criminal conduct is firm law enforcement. Where the culprits are too young to be tried and penalized as adults, they must be dealt with by the criminal justice system as juveniles. But strict law enforcement is the most effective means available for dealing with the Skinhead problem. Not only does it tend to discourage future criminal acts, but experience has shown that some Skinhead gangs have become inactive when confronted with no-nonsense law enforcement. Skinhead hangouts such as their favorite clubs are particularly good sites for the police to closely monitor them.

At the same time, judicial authorities ought not view Skinheads who come before them, especially the younger ones, as beyond redemption. Sentences handed down by the courts should include, in addition to appropriate punishment, measures designed to rehabilitate. Examples of provisions by some judges were cited earlier (see the section headed "Skinhead Violence").

A second problem posed by the Skinheads is the impact of their propaganda on young people. They have a constitutional right, of course, to express their racist and anti-Semitic views, detestable as they are. By the same token, the opponents of bigotry have the right and a moral responsibility to do what they can to neutralize the impact of such propaganda. Skinheads typically promote their views through stickers (examples of which are reprinted elsewhere in this report); graffiti; the distribution of such hate publications as *WAR*; and records bearing lyrics of their "white power" rock songs.

Communities in which the Skinheads are active should be paying careful attention to the need to provide young people with an education in prejudice-reduction. One particularly good program which the Anti-Defamation League has sponsored in many cities is "A World of Difference." The program promotes prejudice-reduction through the mass media and the schools. For information as to where the program is available, readers should contact their nearest ADL regional office. But whatever the source of the educational materials used, it is essential that communities plagued by a Skinhead problem develop programs to counter their racist influence on young people. The institutions that have a special responsibility in this regard are the schools, churches and the news media (press, radio and television).

It is beyond the scope of this report to analyze the reasons young people become Skinheads, and in any case there is insufficient data available for an informed analysis. Nevertheless, reports from some source that have had personal experience with the Skinhead problem emphasize the crucial importance of the family. While the parents of some Skinheads doubtlessly influenced them toward bigotry, these sources indicate the parents of others are plainly shocked to learn of the racist views and activities of their offspring. The lesson to be learned is that parents who notice their children acquiring the "Skinhead look" should view it as a warning signal that something is happening that necessitates their urgent attention. It requires communication with their youngster, understanding and the careful exercise of parental guidance.

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