# Organised Crime on Wheels: THE OUTLAW MOTORCYCLE GANGS

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With many thanks to "Bubba" and Mike

In everyone's mind, organised crime is usually the Mafia, the American Cosa Nostra or maybe one imagines some tattooed Yakuza members or some mysterious Chinese of the Wah Ching or 14K Triad.

But the first idea is not to picture bikers even though we know they gather in violent gangs shown in several movies, However...

They have funny names like "Bandidos", "Pagans", "Satan's Sidekicks", "Mongols", "Dirty Dozen", "Sons of Silence" and many more, and maybe you saw some of them riding in line on big noisy Harley Davidson's. One rather thinks that it's petty street violence in ritual clothing.

Well, it's not. It's many battles and deaths in the US since these groups exist and it's a turf war in Europe for several years, using means one cannot imagine. And it's also criminal activities of almost every existing type.

While this threat is handled by local and Federal agencies in the US for many years, INTERPOL launched "*Project Rocker*" in 1991. The idea was to assist member countries to meet increasing law enforcement requirements in the area of combating organised crime of the outlaw motorcycle gangs (OMGs) in Europe, Africa and Asia. "*Project Rocker*", which is mainly focused on monitoring and intelligence gathering, is co-ordinated by the "*Organised Crime Group*" in co-operation with the "*Drugs subdivision*" of the General Secretariat.

In France, it's mostly a special unit, in charge of the Organised crime, the CRACO, that deals with the OMGs.

The LAPD gives a definition: OMGs are "Organisations whose members utilise their motorcycle club affiliation as a conduit for criminal enterprises..."

And we, at the "Center for the study of the Contemporary Criminal Menace", regard and treat the OMGs as a major threat.

So, this is a serious problem, it's taken seriously by the authorities. It's a good reason to know a little about it.

But this question is sensitive because quite often, the OMGs have a good support from the press, from a public opinion they know how to charm, from the local authorities of the places they go, because of the money side of their presence and quite often too the police doesn't want to know much about it.

So, I'll start with a little of history to see afterwards who are the OMGs today, what they do, why they have to be considered as "organised crime on wheels", and then give a little overview of what's happening in today.

## I- OMGs History.

Things started in the USA, just after World War II. Thousands of veterans were returning home. A small percentage of them, mostly ex-pilots and Air Force men moved by the post-war boredom and unable to adjust to civilian life, wanted to revive the excitement and adventure. The way they found was to take the road and roam the highways on high-powered *Harley Davidson* or *Indian* motorbikes, living an outlaw adventure in the spirit of camaraderie.

At that beginning, the bikers were more associated with general lawlessness, drunken brawls and noisy take offs, than with true criminal activities. And they were comparing themselves to modern day's desperadoes. These first gangs were called, for instance, the P.O.B.O.B., the "Pissed off Bastards of Bloomington" or the "Market Street Commandos" in San Francisco.

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That's what we see in the "Wild One", starring Marlon Brando, as the OMGs have always been close to the movies. But unfortunately, this film is based on a true story that happened in Hollister, California, on the 4th of July 1947. And since then, things drastically changed.

On this day, Hollister was holding its annual motorcycle dirt hill climb races and the American Motorcycle Association had sponsored a "Gypsy tour" through California.

Between 2 and 4,000 bikers were present; the main street was littered with beer bottles. Fights broke out as well as drag races went through the streets. Two were arrested and jailed; this caused a riot to liberate them.

Later that year, thousands of motorcyclists attended a run in Riverdale, Ca. that alas ended in rioting, destruction and above all, two deaths.

In 1948, the community of Riverside, Ca., also knew a major riot caused by thousands of bikers. The Police Chief blamed the violence on visiting "outlaws" and originated the term OMG.

But this term "outlaw", contrary to the popular belief, is not used as a derogatory term to imply a criminal alliance but to describe the philosophical aspect of the OMG way of life, their values and principles.

In the same way, several years later, a former President of the American Motorcycle Association, irritated by the fact that all motorcyclists were perceived as lawless, declared that "only one percent of the motorcyclists of the United States functioned outside the spirit and the intent of the law". This pronouncement resulted in the term "one percenter"(1%er) becoming synonymous of OMGs and, on the other hand, a cause of pride worn as a patch, denoting their membership in the OMG subculture.

The period that goes to the end of the Sixties could be called the formative years for the gangs. They spawned imitators, major clubs absorbing smaller ones or pushing them aside.

Roaming members of chapters, called "nomads", carried seeds of new chapters or formulated gang alliances. Formal structures were created and leaders developed.

But at that time, even if they were capable of a significant criminal activity, they lack a real focus to this activity. OMGs were mostly a headache for local law enforcement agencies.

At that time too, they became a symbol of the younger rebellious generation that was mostly concerned by having a rather lawless good time than becoming real criminals.

The movie industry also contributed to the phenomenon of motorcycle gangs with the production of films as "Angels on wheels" or "Easy Rider" as well as "Angels die hard", "Wild Angels", starring Peter Fonda, and many more. In "Hells Angels 69", the actors were members of the Oakland, Ca. chapter.

They even made documentary films about themselves as the multi-million dollars "Hell's Angels forever" which title is patterned after an usual OMG motto "AFFA" or "BFFB" that means "Angels forever, forever Angels" or "Bandidos forever, forever Bandidos", etc.

The early 70's observed a major change: a drug subculture evolved in the US, and it affected OMGs as any other. First as participants, and increasingly as suppliers, the motorcycle gangs were drawn into this subculture. And incidentally, that increased their violent nature in their business dealings as well as it sparked turf wars.

The phenomenon in Europe is not much different. Most of the OMGs began in the mid-Sixties and early seventies to develop rapidly over the next ten years. The early years were corresponding to a period of rebellion by a segment of society, which was expressed through various cults as Hippies, open-air rock concerts and sexual revolution.

The advent of drugs beginning with marijuana then the mind altering ones like LSD, PCP and "speed" (methamphetamine) contributed to the search of identity and purpose, and it's not a surprise that the OMGs subculture appealed to many.

The 80's were the years of expansion and sophistication for many OMGs. Many members took a meaningful role in their criminal operations. Major groups started employing members of smaller or less sophisticated gangs, "hang-arounds" or independent operators to do hits or criminal activities with the idea to protect themselves from prosecution.

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In the mean time, hell-raising brawls became less pronounced as groups were looking for a lower profile. Larger gangs became more image conscious and some of them even set out expensive PR campaigns, or support community fund-raisers for charity purposes.

The 90s appear to be the largest period of expansion, reaching an unprecedented level and showing a change in the method of growth: controlling and operating smaller organisations wishing to enter the gang and establishing links with "strait citizens" as well as show business stars to create additional legitimate enterprises.

## • Who are these OMGs?

Out of the about 1 500 OMGs, 4 are prominently the bigger. They are the *Hell's Angels*, the *Bandidos*, the *Outlaws* and the *Pagans*, the "Big 4".

On March 17, 1998, under the authority of Ralph Hubert Barger, better known as "Sonny" Barger, the Hells Angels had their 50 years anniversary in their birthplace San Bernardido, Ca. About 1000 full patch members, from all over the world, attended the "World run" party held the day after in Ventura; a family photo was even taken in front of the Courthouse.

At this occasion, George Christie, who might be Sony Barger's successor at the head of the organisation, said, "the public had nothing to fear from the Hells Angels." He said that his club, which is the larger, is simply a "motorcycle brotherhood".

Though, *Hell's Angels* are estimated around 2 000 members, distributed in 122 chapters located in 20 countries, of which 13 are European plus Greek - the "*Road Hunters*" - and Russian prospect clubs. But they are also active in New Zealand, Australia, South Africa and Brazil. The richest chapter is supposed the one of British Columbia.

The *Hell's Angels* are considered as the wealthiest and the most powerful of the motorcycle gangs. They have a very entrepreneurial attitude and are incorporated. Their logo is a registered trademark; they manage a network of legal companies as, for instance, the "*Big red Machine*" who sells their T-shirts, jackets and other products all over the world through the INTERNET. They created the "*Church of the Angels*" for tax reasons as well as to be able to celebrate their own type of marriages.

Nevertheless, the group or the members are involved in every possible category of criminal activity. Moreover, the police considers that each member has 10 to 15 "criminal associates", and this is considered quite the same for each gang of the "Big 4".

The first European chapter of the *Hell's Angels* was set in London, the 30th of July 1969, then Zurich, in 1970, Hamburg, in 1973. The Paris chapter was established April 18, 1981.

Another "big" gang is the *Outlaws*, known as the "American Outlaw Association", founded in Chicago in 1959 by John Davis. When they absorbed the "*Satan's choice*" a Canadian gang in 1977, they were considered as an international organisation, but also as the most violent OMG.

The are supposed to have 41 chapters in the US, many in Canada and in Europe, mostly in the UK. They usually associate with the *Bandidos* in criminal ventures.

The third "big one" is the *Bandidos*, or "Bandido Nation". It was formed in 1966 under Donald Chambers in Houston, Tx., and is centred in Corpus Christi. Their leader is called "El Presidente". They spread almost all over the US, and even in Mexico. They are very active in Australia and in continental Europe.

Bandidos are the group that fights with Hells Angels in Scandinavia and France.

As the *Pagans* are not supposed to be active in Europe, we'll skip this group for time reasons.

Today, OMGs, specially the "Big 4" appear like sophisticated international criminal organisations whose primary interest is to make money through various criminal endeavours that include murder, rape, trafficking in drugs and firearms, manufacturing "meth", international white slavery, arson, bombings, contract killings, extortion, prostitution, burglary, motorcycle theft, forgery of documents, truck hi-jacking and much more.

What began as a search for adventure and camaraderie with a major objective of raising hell, developed into international organisations with an entrepreneurial approach based on crime.

## **II-OMGs today**

#### OMGs subculture

As one can imagine, the common point of interest of OMGs is riding and liking motorcycles. That is the way they present themselves, like organisations sharing this common interest. For instance, the *Hell's Angels* President, Sony Barger, has stated: "We're just a bunch of guys trying to get along in the world"; and another time "The police call it a gang... We call it a club".

But with the time going and business growing, members are more likely to drive expensive cars rather than ride their motorcycles. A tendency that led, for instance, the *Hell's Angels* San Diego chapter to pass a by-law in the mid 70s that requires members to ride their bikes at least once a month or pay a \$25 fine.

But if the bike is the mandatory requirement, the main philosophy is contained in two behaviours: brotherhood and FTW.

FTW is the main common philosophy of all OMGs and is worn on the "colors", usually as a patch.

As "TW" means "the world", I let you imagine what FTW means. This is the arrogant attitude by which OMGs attain their goals and objectives. They claim that they have rejected the society and its laws and do not want to live their lives by the society's expectations. This is why they have their own way of life, and their dress code is to show the others that they are not of the same world. Here is the philosophy of the "Outlaws": "A 1%er is the 1% of us who have given up on society and the politician's one way law. This is why we look repulsive. We are saying we don't want to be like you or look like you. So stay out of our face."

Brotherhood, on the other side, is their inside philosophy. That's the way they feel and explain what links one member to another and to the group. This loyalty is a link, which is above everything, romantic in the life and death. Death which is not seldom seen in organisations whose way of thinking is, according to an Hell's Angels member, "live hard, ride fast, die young and don't give a fuck for anyone except yourself and your brothers..." Let's hear him a little more: "A big part of the culture is protecting your brother's back. So, take the worst member of any club and that is the personality the club supports when they are in a group. Even if an individual would rather walk away from a certain situation they will support their brother because the culture demands you to cover you brother's back. You may kick his ass to hell and back afterwards, but you don't have this option in public. It is the loud-mouthed trouble maker that sets the tempo for a club in public".

OMGs are men's groups; women are in a very peculiar situation. The are possessions: some of them of an "Old man", the "Old ladies, some of them of the entire club, the "Mamas" or "sheep". None can be a member and when they are permitted to wear the "colors", they are always referred as "property of..." And a more lot, of course, could be said about that.

So we can figure that OMGs are mostly anti-social rebels with strong sexist and anti establishment ideology. They are certainly less politically minded in the US than in Europe.

## • Organisation/Structure

OMGs are usually well organised in their structure as well as their criminal activity. Most of the groups are ruled by sophisticated "by-laws" or constitutions, generally fashioned after the ones of the *Hell's Angels*, governing membership as well as organisation and strictly enforced either by fines or stiffer penalties.

Internally, OMGs are organised in "chapters", the number depending of the size of the gang. Each chapter is organised like a little army. It has a President, with a total authority, Vice President, Secretary/Treasurer, Sergeant at Arms, and Road Captain. Certain chapters may have a Warlord, responsible for planning war operations and security of the Clubhouse. He also may have an intelligence function.

Then come the Members who have been tested and sworn and the Prospects who are people who would like to become members and have been found acceptable by the other members. Then come the "hang arounds" or "associates" that are invited if a member considers him as "possible".

Bigger or international OMGs have mother chapters that co-ordinate gang activities at national and international level with a world President, territorial, national or regional representatives, a secretary and an Enforcer, bodyguard to the President and the one that carries out orders.

### Membership

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Regulations concerning membership are very strict on all aspects. The basic requirements to become a member, roughly the same for every OMG are:

- Be a white male of at least 21;
- Must own a Harley Davidson of a minimum engine size quite a high admission fee;
- Must be sponsored by a member;
- Must be known as a person one can trust;
- Must have a useful speciality;
- Must serve a probationary period
- Must be "jumped in", but it's less true, for instance with the *Hell's Angels*.

That implies that a person must be first invited to hang around, to be known by members and may perform odd jobs, even at times ride with the club on runs. Then, if he's considered as worthy, he's invited at a regular meeting and becomes a "prospect" after a vote taken at the majority. The prospecting period is not defined in the time. He has to show his loyalty to the gang, but mostly he has to do something, from a simple act to a murder, to prove he's not an undercover agent. And in the meantime, very precise intelligence is gathered about him, his family, his background; everything that can be useful to the gang. Investigation can even be made by a professional private investigator. So, Police penetration of OMGs is very difficult and hazardous. After this period, the prospect must be accepted by an unanimous vote and sometimes jumped-in, a process I will not describe.

When a member, called "Full patch", his greatest pride is to wear his "colors", his club official uniform. Usually it's a three piece patch worn on the back of a denim or leather vest. It includes the gang name on the top rocker, the gang emblem in the centre with the letters MC for Motorcycle club, and the location on the bottom. Although the "colors" are the most important possession of a member, even more than his motorcycle, they always stay the property the club. It's the same with the tattoos he has then the right to have and that usually must be removed if he leaves the club alive.

Other important things about the OMGs are the Runs the Funerals and the Clubhouse.

- Runs are shows of power intended to impress the world. It consists on a ride of all members of a chapter or several chapters, in their "colors", prospects, associates and honorary members. The formation of motorcycles is two abreast, with officers riding in designated positions. "Run" or "crash" trucks, or "war wagons", generally lead or follow the formation, at a distance of one or two miles, carrying beer and booze, spare parts as well as weapons and communications equipment.
- Funerals: it's the tribute to brotherhood. Due to their way of life, violent deaths occur frequently in the OMGs, killings as well as accidents. Usually, the attendance is mandatory for the members of the chapter. But thanks to their extreme mobility some bikers can travel as much as international businessmen with just a day's notice, hundreds of bikers can assemble from all over the world. The ritual is very strict, for the run as well as for the ceremony itself, especially with the gun salute at the gravesite. This symbolism intensifies the word "outlaw" as applied to the bikers and their belief that they are above the law.
- The clubhouse is the focal point for gang activity and is used for the parties and meetings. If the clubhouse location is always carefully chosen, it's important to know that they are usually very sophisticated places. Most are protected with elaborate security inside as well as outside, including steel reinforced doors, protected windows, hidden rooms, armoured walls, barbed wires where it's possible, and bullet-proof devices. Electronics include alarms, motion detectors, floodlights, CCTV cameras and of course all types of communications monitoring devices. Booby traps have also been encountered and even if the fashion is to have the clubhouse as "clean" as possible because of the eventuality of a police raid; weapons are often kept in case of trouble.
- Criminal activities

To understand OMGs and the nature of their criminal activities, the Bureau of Organised Crime and Criminal Intelligence of the California Department of Justice studied 73 *Hell's Angels* high level members. Their total criminal career was reviewed. It was found that:

- The average length of criminal careers was 15 years;

- The 73 Angels incurred 743 arrests and 249 convictions during their criminal careers. These figures do not include arrests for traffic and other minor violations.
- The top three criminal activities are property crime (burglary and theft), drug violations (transporting, possession for sale and sale) and assaults.

Many members or chapters pose as legitimate businessmen and beside bike trade or repair, began purchasing property, restaurants, construction companies, video tape stores even pet grooming businesses or production companies and other "legitimate" businesses as fronts for laundering the money made by their illegal operations. As non-traditional organised crime, their criminal activity takes on a more directed approach and is primarily designed to "make money". And if many members "own and operate" their own criminal enterprise, however, the organisation takes its cuts in the profits.

For instance, OMGs are known to run Limousine services, production companies - Red & White, in France is closely linked to the *Hell's Angels* - as well as stunt companies connected with the movie industry. The President of a Californian chapter is known for owning three ranches and breeding some of the finest cutting horses in the state. And he has much more... but he is not known to have ever held a job and is believed to have made all of his money through the manufacture and distribution of methamphetamine.

Because "meth" has been the most successful "money maker", OMGs are involved in the direct manufacturing process or provide the chemicals, glassware or chemists. They are also involved in marijuana, more recently in cocaine and a variety of designer's drugs.

It would be a long story, but OMGs has links with the Traditional Organised Crime. These ties go back to the early 50's. At that time, the early formed Has were utilised by the Italian Mafia as muscle to collect gambling debts from several Las Vegas casinos.

They were a new phenomenon that had received some recent media attention as a violent group with very few mental reservations. In a few words, the perfect tool for the Mafia because they worked for little and were not squeamish about taking care of business.

So the Mafia found a mean for keeping its hands clean and got off the menial work. And the *Hell's Angels* learned a lot while setting a criminal network that would surpass the wildest imagination.

As they organised and expanded, they began to realise that there was money to be made and that the money was giving power, recognition and caused fear. So, as we already said, the *Hell's Angels* soon became involved in drug trafficking while using associates to do the dirty job, as they've been used themselves

OMGs and Traditional Organised Crime co-exist today as friendly rivals in the criminal marketplace even though there are large differences between these organisations both in the area of tradition and lifestyle and even if there is no mutual respect.

And these links appear to be stronger and wider than ever, as they are now in the cocaine business in junction with the South American drug cartels and even in connection with Chinese Triads.

While deeply involved in organised crime, the OMGs have several answers to prosecutions. For a long time they have connections with the legal society in which they have strong supporters from influential people, for instance through a biker movement called the "RUB", for "Rich Urban Biker". This movement has caused these people to "rub elbows" with the outlaws at many biker events and, in some cases has changed the relationship.

Cultivating an image of "good guys", the OMGs have usually skilful lawyers, supporters as well as members. They learned how to use civil litigation as a weapon against law enforcement and more recently, they have been briefed by their attorneys on how to file personnel complaints against police officers in an effort to cause officers to "back away" from investigations. And this is not only true in the United States. When the *Hell's Angels* were in deep trouble in France, in 1991, it appeared that they had well known lawyers... and light penalties.

They also have political connections, through corruption or sharing same goals as it happened in California with the fight the "helmet law". Through the cinema industry, they also are close to some movie stars. And one must remember that for years, they've been security people in the Rolling Stones concerts.

Another mean they use to protect their criminal activities, is intimidation. This not only happens in the US, but in France too. *Hell's Angels*, for instance, usually forbid any article about them to be released in the press and when in happens, they sue the media. In 1993, a French television channel tried to show a Canadian documentary about the *Hell's Angels*; it finally had to be retired at the last minute because of physical threats.

Another important of the criminal side of the OMGs is that they get more and more sophisticated in their response to law enforcement. Far from the image many are still carrying of a slow-minded drunken biker, they are now very proficient in counter surveillance and counterintelligence. Electronic countermeasures are becoming a standard; telephone and body wire detectors are usually employed with several levels of perimeter security at most functions. Membership, as I already said, is highly scrutinised process involving background checks and merit tests. Business is conducted in secret and many discussions are conducted via scrambled communications, cloned cell phones or high-speed computers.

With all the connections they have, and the attraction many people feel, paradoxically women, they usually have better intelligence than law enforcement agencies, including insider information.

Moreover, the *Hell's Angels* have a monthly newsletter, fed by every chapter, to collect intelligence from all aver the world. It's a mandatory requirement and a fine of \$50 punishes failure.

It is also said that every clubhouse is equipped with a short-wave radio that relay messages around the world at all times of day and night, permitting information to circulate quickly and a very fast reacting time.

One could not say that this is not real organised crime!

#### And now?

• About 20 death in European turf wars, several in Australia, hundreds in Northern America, that's quite important figures. So, what is the trend?

One third of the OMG chapters is located in Europe, mostly *Hell's Angels* and *Bandidos* on the continent, as UK has 14 chapters of *Hell's Angels* and developing *Outlaws*. But *Bandidos* and *Outlaws* are quite close.

If, on the British Isles, the motorcycle groups try to show a lower profile of *Harley Davidson* lovers - though some of them seem to be involved in cocaine trafficking -, a turf war - with truces... - is raging on the Continent, mostly Scandinavia and France.

Scandinavia seems to be the wildest theatre, were car bombs were followed by grenade attacks on prisons and public shoot-outs at Copenhagen and Oslo international airports. Matters of drug and arms trafficking. 12 dead, 80 injured.

The guerrilla climaxed with LAW missiles shot by *Bandidos* at the Copenhagen *Hell's Angels* clubhouse at the fall of 1996: two dead - and the same type of missiles shot without exploding against a police jail that held notorious *Bandidos* in January of 1997.

After having passed a "Biker law" against "residence in certain premises", to protect citizens from having clubhouses next to their homes as well as by-passers, the Danish Government tries now to sue the OMGs as criminal organisations.

Not very surprising when, for instance, Dutch *Hell's Angels* are known to control 60% of the local prostitution, to manufacture amphetamines, and import cocaine and heroin.

But in June of 1997, for the first time in Europe, in Oslo, a bomb that exploded in front of the *Bandidos* clubhouse killed a non-gang member, an innocent woman in a car.

Now, Nordic OMGs are going South, towards Belgium where acting quite proactively in March 1998, law enforcement agencies going on 39 search warrants found arms and narcotics, seized 21 motorcycles, 23 cars and arrested several people.

And the Pandora's box may be open once again, as at the beginning of this month the *Hell's Angels* opened a second chapter in Stockholm, without telling the *Bandidos*, which is against the rules of the so called cease fire.

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• At a smaller scale, France also knows a war between *Hell's Angels* and *Bandidos* since the 1990s: several deaths between 1991 and 1994 in the southern part of France. And today, both gangs recruit many of much younger members.

Here too, the *Hell's angels* are incorporated as the "MCHA", "Motor Club *Hell's Angels*" since July of 1987. It's at its head office, by chance the *Hell's Angels* clubhouse, that in 1991, the police found 28 kilos of Marijuana, 700 grams of cocaine, 200 000F (more than £ 20 000), machine guns, handguns, riot guns, one thousand rounds and radio scanners. Thirteen Angels were arrested and tried. This put the club in a sleeping position till 1995.

Today, even if they protect wanted members from Canada or Holland, the *Hell's Angels* France, are mostly known because of the "*Free Wheels*". Sponsored by the local authorities; it's the most important motorcycle gathering in Europe, in a small village on the centre of France, Cunlhat.

Under the authority of the *Hell's Angels*, it is organised by a company called "*Red & White*", the Hell's colours, and several other show business organisations. In August 1997, it gathered 23 000 bikers and almost as many non-bikers from all over Europe for four days. There would be a lot to say, but just remember that the turnover was around 8 Million Francs, nearly \$1,5M, more that £ 800 000. Quite good for the club.

- For Law enforcement these high profile groups with heavy criminal activities will continue their expansion worldwide. It should sustain a continuous stress between OMG groups, fuel old ones and create new turf wars, unless law enforcement is very sharply focused on this question. According to INTERPOL, in July 1996, the OMG database filed 188 criminal cases concerning 1 930 persons.
- If you go on the INTERNET, you'll easily find a location about Sony Barger, the *Hell's Angels* President. There, you'll learn that he is an "American Legend". Have your credit card ready, and you'll be able to buy... What? His statue, either the "Sony Barger Motorcycle sculpture" or the "Sony Barger Bust sculpture". It will be personally signed and you will receive a letter of authenticity.

But as business is business, the "biker's hero" is now setting up anew shop to sell... electrical cars, which are not made, you'll guess, by *Harley Davidson*.

And, last September, two days before a general election, the Swedish *Hell's Angels* attempted to join the Liberal Party!

Definitely, nobody can be trusted.

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