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# Committee to Defend Johnny Imani Harris Collection

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Read collection overview

Administrative records of the Committee to Defend Johnny Imani Harris, which supported efforts to free Imani (aka Johnny Harris) from death row in Alabama in the late 1970s early 1980s. Originally sentenced to five life terms for 4 small robberies and an alleged rape in 1970, Imani was eventually given the death penalty under Alabama's capital offenses law due to an inadequate defense by his court appointed lawyers. Harris was put in the brutal Atmore Prison, where he experienced extreme racism, poor medical care, overcrowding, and slave wages. In 1972 the inmates organized a group called Inmates for Action (IFA) and led a work stoppage of over 1,200 prisoners. The prisoners were beaten by guards and the strike leaders were placed in isolation. Two years later, in 1974 an IFA member was beaten to death by guards. The prisoners reacted by capturing a cellblock and taking two guards hostage. In the ensuing take-back by the prison, a guard and IFA leader were killed. Harris and others were charged with the guard's death. Imani was convicted of the murder and sentenced to death.

The Committee worked throughout the 1970's and 1980s for Harris' freedom through endorsements, fundraising, and networking to national and international groups. Thanks to the participation of Amnesty International and other groups, Harris's murder conviction was dismissed in 1987 after a new trial and he was given

### **Background on The Committee to Defend Johnny Imani Harris**

The Atmore-Holman Brothers Defense Committee was formed in 1974 following a violent rebellion in January 1974 at the Atmore-Holman Prisons in southern Alabama led by the Inmates For Action (IFA), a union created by prisoners in hopes of achieving more humane living and working conditions in the prisons.

The rebellion started with guards at the Holman prison beating IFA inmate Tommy Yukeena Dotson, after which inmates at the Atmore unit across the street took two guards hostage. In the ensuing take-back, prison guard Luell Barrow was killed. Also killed was IFA chairman George Chagina Dobbins, the chief negotiator for the inmates. Around forty inmates were later indicted for Barrow's death and the rebellion, but no one was indicted for the death of George Dobbins. Evidence later emerged implicating the warden in the death of Dobbins. Several of the indictments were dropped, and by February 10, 1975 there were nine defendants left indicted for the death of Barrow. These men became known as the Atmore-Holman Brothers, and their cases were the sole focus of the Atmore-Holman Brothers Defense Committee.

One of the defendants, Johnny Imani Harris, was sentenced to death under an 1862 statute in which a prisoner- already serving a life sentence- convicted of first degree murder would receive the death penalty. Harris was previously sentenced to five life terms for 4 small robberies and an alleged rape in 1970. An investigation sponsored by Imani's defense team revealed that these earlier charges stemmed from a conspiracy between the Ku Klux Klan and Birmingham police officers to remove Imani's family from a previously all-white neighborhood. In the prison case, Imani was tried by an all-white jury and was found guilty for Barrow's death. Following the verdict, the other eight inmates agreed that the focus of the Atmore-Holman Brothers Defense Committee should be on Harris' case. From that point forward, the committee was renamed the Committee to Defend Johnny Imani Harris and Stop the Death Penalty. The case became an international cause célèbre.

These records were assembled by Tom Gardner, a civil rights and union organizer/journalist and reflect his dedicated work for the Committee. Gardner's work for the Defense Committee included: fundraising and public outreach efforts, (showcased in this collection through numerous petitions, newsletters, and correspondence); attending trials; communicating with Johnny and his legal team; and other administrative tasks. Gardner grew the Committee to aid other victims of capital punishment, including John Louis Evans and other prisoners who contacted the Committee asking for help. Alongside Tom Gardner were members Steven Whitman, Teresa Perry, and members of the Birmingham-based Families for Action. Whitman was a key organizer of earlier defense efforts and the A-H Brothers Defense Committee, and invited Gardner to come to Alabama to help organize the defense effort. Susan Schneur was co-director and paralegal for much of the defense efforts in relation to the trials. Also supportive were Alabama Prison Project Director Jennifer Johnston, and later Cathy Ansheles, as well as Southern Poverty Law Center researcher Bill Stanton. Attorneys involved were Morris Dees at Imani's original trial and later Bill Allison, Diana Hicks, and Clint Brown, among others- whose efforts are also reflected in this collection. The collection is organized into four series: Correspondence, Administrative, Legal, Outreach/Publicity/Publications. The collection also includes material on other defense efforts in the South that occurred in the same time frame and that Gardner was involved in. These include the Joann Little case, the Charlotte 3 case, the Wilmington 10 case, the Dessie Woods and Cheryl Todd case, the Dawson 5 case, and others.

## Scope of collection

This collection, donated by Tom Gardner, represents the efforts of both the Atmore-Holman Brothers Defense Committee and the Committee to Defend Johnny Imani Harris and Stop the Death Penalty. It contains correspondence, legal filings, press releases, contact lists, fliers, financial documents, and material representing efforts by the Committee to raise awareness and generate financial and name support. There is both mainstream and left wing media coverage of the cases represented in clippings, magazines, and newspapers. Gardner wrote several articles on the case, which are represented in their final printed form and in hand and typewritten drafts. Gardner also took copious notes about the Committee's work on legal pads. The collection also documents Gardner's parallel involvement in the larger leftwing movement and its attempts to link labor struggles and racism through pamphlets, correspondence, publications, booklets, and newsletters. The collection offers a unique window into the political atmosphere of the post-civil rights era in Alabama and the South more generally, and how struggles for equal treatment under the law for Black Americans were not over.

### Series descriptions

Series 1. Correspondence

1974-1998

2 boxes

This series contains correspondence from and to members of the Committee, the legal team, and supporters. There is one folder of correspondence related to a Time Magazine article on Imani that was highly criticized.

Administrative

1973-1993

3.5 boxes

The material is this series represents the extensive administrative work of the Committee. This includes drafts of articles and speeches as well as meeting minutes. press contacts, and notes taken by Gardner during trial hearings or meetings. There are typical administrative documents such as outlines, to-do lists, contact lists, and financial documents. There is also evidence of fund-raising appeals in mailing lists and circular letters. Gardner's notes and drafts of articles and press conference speeches are also contained in this series.

Series 3. Legal

1974-1984

1 box

The legal series includes affidavits, court transcripts, legal statements, interviews, and testimonies related to the Atmore-Holmes, Imani, Jesse David Jett, John Louis Evans and related cases.

Series 4. Outreach/Publicity/Publications

1973-1993

The bulk of this series represents the extensive outreach and publicity efforts of the Committee manifested through newspaper articles about the case, photographs, petitions, pamphlets, fliers, buttons, posters, and press releases. There is a comprehensive collection of local, national, and international coverage of the case represented through clippings and newspapers. There are also several publications with articles about the cases or issues related to prisons, the death penalty, or Alabama politics

### Inventory

Series 1. Correspondence 1974-1998 Box: Folder [Allison, Bill] 1975 Apr.-1982 Feb., undated Box 1: 1. [Convers, John; Days, Drew S.; Dellums, Ron; Edwards, Don] 1975 Mar.-1979 Feb. Box 1: 2. [Correspondence regarding Time Magazine article] 1978 Apr. Box 1: 3. [Gardner, Tom] 1974 Aug.-1978 Oct. Box 1: 4. [Gardner, Tom] 1979 Jan.-1984 Jul., undated [General, legal] 1974 Aug.-1983 Box 1: 6. [Golos, Veronica; Howe, Bob] . 1974 Jun.-Jul. Box 1: 7. [Harris, Johnny Imani] 1977 Feb.-1979 Oct. Box 1: 8.

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[Harris, Johnny Imani]
1980 Jan.-1983 Aug., 1992 Jun.
Box 1: 9.
[Hicks, Diana, H.]
1978 Oct.-1981 May
Box 1: 10.
[Johnny Harris parole violation: Correspondence, notes, fundraising list]
1997-1998
Box 1: 11.
[Johnston, Jennifer]
1982 Aug.-1983 Apr.
Box 1: 12.
[Schaffer, Karl]
1976 Mar.-Apr.
Box 1: 13.
[Supporters: Atmore Holman Brothers Defense Committee/Committee to Defend Johnny Imani Harris] 1976 Jul.-1980 Nov.
Box 1: 14.
Series 2. Administrative
1973-1993
Box: Folder
[Address and finances book]
1975-1978
Box 2: 1.
A.H. Bros. Def. Comm.- Literature: Drafts, correspondence, press releases
1975 Feb.-1977 Mar.
Box 2: 2
A.H. Bros.- (N.Y.) Defense Committee New York [meeting minutes and meeting date announcements]
1975
Box 2: 3.
A.H. Bros. Press contacts/correspondence
1974 Nov.-1975 Jul.
Box 2: 4
[Alabama Appellate Courts: Supreme Court of Criminal Appeals: court of civil appeals booklet]
1975
Box 2: 5.
Alabama's Atticas [IFA statement]
ca.1980
Box 2: 6.
Atmore-Holman reports to NFS
1975 Jan. 21-1975 Oct. 29
Box 2: 7.
Brewton- Escambia county, Alabama [maps, information packets on Brewton and Escambia county] 1973 Jul.
Box 2: 8.
Capital punishment study resource ca.1980
Box 2: 9.
[Checkbook]
1980-1982
Box 2: 10.
[Committee to Defend Johnny Imani Harris: Fundraising appeal]
ca 1978
Box 2: 11
Defense Committee mailing/calling lists
ca.1978
Box 2: 12.
Defense committee sponsors
1979 Feb. 1
Box 2: 13
Duncan, Dick. Dr. "Building the Better Bandaid"
1980 Jan.
Box 2: 14
Film Fund: Application for media project grant, storyboard
1979 Jan.
Box 2: 15
[Finance Committee: Statements, receipts, invoices, correspondence, minutes]
1975-1981
Box 2: 16. Gardner, Tom: Proposal for a party organizing drive in the South: Handwritten notes
ca.1975
Box 2: 17
Inmates for Action [IFA]: demands, 15 point program
Box 2: 18
Institute for Southern Studies: Death penalty information packet
ca.1980
Box 3: 1
John Evans interview- bar notice
1982 Nov.-1983 Jul.
Box 3: 2.
Letter to Conyers, committee, justice dept., etc.
1975-1978
Box 3: 3.
Mailing labels and contacts 1978-1979
Box 12
[Money receipts]
1978-1979
Box 3: 4.
[Montgomery Police Department radio codes]
ca.1976
Box 3: 5.
[National Lawyers Guild: International Human Rights]
ca.1978
Box 3: 6.
[Other Left groups: Invitations, chant, circular letters, biographies]
1974-1976
Box 3: 7.
Petitions- Imani Defense Committee, signed
ca.1979
Box 3: 8.
[Plaia, Joe; Wilson, Don: Corrections in Alabama report]
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1979 Aug. 27
Box 3: 9.
[Possible article ideas]
ca.1978
Box 3: 10.
[Press contacts]
undated
Box 3: 11.
[Press contacts and Atmore-Holman press list]
1978 Feb.- 1978 Mar.
Box 3: 12.
Prison speech- guild road show
ca.1976
Box 3: 13.
SCEF mailings/Patriot articles A.H. Bros. Defense Committee
1974 Oct.-1984 Dec
Box 3: 14.
Script material ed slide show, prison statistics
1978 Oct.-1979 Sep.
Box 3: 15.
Scripts: Imani, Criminal Justice in Alabama - Can Prisons Do the Job?
1980, 1993
Box 3: 16.
A Series of Articles on Alabama Prisons from the Montgomery Advertiser and Alabama Journal
ca.1976
Box 3: 17
Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF): Partial Minority Report on July 7 Interim Committee Meeting submitted by Tom Gardner
ca.1976
Box 3: 18.
[Support statement to SCLC - Decatur March from Johnny Imani Harris on Death Row-Holman Prison, Alabama] 1979 Jun. 8
Box 3: 19.
[Tom Gardner handwritten notes on case]
undated
Box 3: 20
[Tom Gardner notes: agenda, meeting notes]
ca.1978
Box 3: 21
[Tom Gardner notes: article drafts, Imani case notes] ca.1979
Box 3: 22
[Tom Gardner: article drafts, to-dos]
ca.1976
Box 3: 23
[Tom Gardner notes: Atmore-Holman trial]
ca.1979
Box 3: 24
[Tom Gardner notes: defense committee]
ca.1980
Box 3: 25
[Tom Gardner notes: John Louis Evans statements, responses]
ca.1979
Box 3: 26
[Tom Gardner notes: Jonny Imani Harris case]
ca.1980
Box 4: 1.
[Tom Gardner notes: legal]
ca.1975
Box 4: 2. [Tom Gardner notes: legal]
ca.1980
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[Tom Gardner notes: legal notes, press memos]
ca.1980
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[Tom Gardner notes: outreach lists, article drafts]
ca.1979
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[Tom Gardner notes: press conferences, scheduling, interviews, article drafts]
ca.1979
[Tom Gardner notes: prison statistics, article drafts, contacts] ca.1975
Box 4: 7.
[Tom Gardner notes: scheduling, letters to John Evans, to-dos]
1978 Feb.
Box 4: 8.
[Tom Gardner notes: to-dos, article drafts, Imani Harris case notes]
ca 1975
Box 4: 9.
[Tom Gardner notes: to-dos, article drafts, ideas]
ca.1980
Box 5: 1.
[Tom Gardner notes: to-dos, book notes, article drafts]
ca.1975
Box 5: 2.
[Tom Gardner notes: to-dos, things to remember]
ca.1980
Box 5: 3.
[Tom Gardner notes: TVC storyboard, committee finances, publicity]
ca.1980
Box 5: 4
Unidentified author: Interpretive Literacy Composition Dealing with a Subject from Personal Point of View essay on death penalty]
ca.1975
Box 5: 5.
Washington Post article [drafts, ideas, notes, resources]
ca.1979
Box 5: 6.
Wash. D.C. Imani talk
1978 Jun. 11
Box 5: 7. [Watt Espy's testimony on capital punishment]
1979 Jun.
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Box 5: 8.
[Worker's World Newspapers: Article guidelines]
ca.1975
Box 5: 9.
Series 3. Legal
1974-1985
Box: Folder
[Affidavit, Bernadette Sides]
1978 Jun. 9
Box 5: 10.
[Affidavits of Arthur Dreadin and Marion B. Harding]
1974 Feb.
Box 5: 11.
[Affidavits of Billy Ray Hastings and James Baggett]
1979 Mar.
Box 5: 12
[Anne Wailes, medical reports: interviews with Magic City citizens]
1978 Mar.-1978 Apr.
Box 5: 13.
Betty Evans v. Larry Bennett
1979 Apr. 03
Box 5: 14.
[Court transcripts, summaries, arguments]
ca.1976
Box 5: 15
[Deaths of George Dobbins/Tommy Dotson: Exhibits, petition, correspondence]
1974-1975
Box 5: 16.
[Jerry Lee Pugh v. Judson C. Locke Jr. et al.]
1976 Jan. 13
Box 5: 17.
[Jerry Lee Pugh v. Judson C. Locke Jr. et al./Wilcox County Commission v. Melba Till Allen et al.: Committee for Prisoner Support in Birmingham (CPSB) reprint]
1976 Apr. 22
Box 5: 18.
[Jerry Wayne Jacobs v. Judson L. Locke et al.]
1978 Jul.
Box 5: 19.
[Jesse David Jett: Testimony, affidavits, notes, correspondence, memoranda]
1976-1979
Box 5: 20.
[John Lewis Evans: Motions, execution order, media guidelines]
1979-1984
Box 5: 21. [Johnny Harris death row fact sheet]
ca.1978
Box 6: 1.
[Johnny Harris lack of adequate legal council summary]
Box 6: 1.
[Johnny Harris v. State of Alabama: civil actions, petitions, memorandums]
1974-1981
Box 6: 2.
[Johnny Harris stay of execution: Order, mailgrams, petition]
1978 Feb.-Mar.
Box 6: 3.
[Johnny Harris v. State of Alabama: Civil actions, petitions, memorandums]
1974-1985
Box 6: 4.
[Jury summons and list of names] 1975 Nov. 3
Box 6: 5.
[Letter from FBI to Gene Guerro/ACLU regarding FOIA request]
1978 Nov. 9
Box 6: 6.
[Parade permits from city of Decatur, Alabama]
1979 Jun.
Box 6: 7.
[Presentation of Chief Justice H. E. Nichols of the Unified Appeal Procedure to the Mid-Winter Conference of Chief Justices: Transcript]
1979 Feb. 12
Box 6: 8.
[R. G. Britton: Reports to Governor Fob James]
1979 May-Jun.
Box 6: 9.
[Reasons for inmates in segregation at Atmore on Jan 18, 1974]
1974
Box 6: 10
[Supreme Court of Alabama plan for news media coverage]
1978 May 2
Box 6: 11
[Table 4, Sentenced Inmates, by Offense and Race, from Profile of State Prison Inmates]
Box 6: 12
[Testimony of Coretta Scott King before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee hearings to establish rational criteria for the imposition of the death penalty]
1978 May
Box 6: 13
[Thomas Gardner v. David Brierton and Louie L. Wainwright: motion and correspondence]
1979 May 22-1979 Jun. 13
Box 6: 14
[Tom Gardner request for media coverage in the Supreme Court of Alabama]
1976 Nov. 8
Box 6: 15
[Writ of Errr Coaram (sic) Nobis and/or motion for relief from judgement in 10th Judicial Circuit Court. B'ham Jeff. County Ala.]
ca.1975
Box 6: 16.
Series 4. Outreach/Publicity/Publications 1974-1993
Box: Folder
ACAH Herald vol. 1, no. 1
1979
Box 9
A-H Bros. articles- Worker's World
1975 Feb.-1978 May
Box 6: 17.
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A-H [Atmore-Holman] press clippings
Box 6: 18.
[A-H Bros/Johnny Harris: Circular letters, pamphlets, petitions, funding appeals]
1974-1975
Box 6: 19
Alabama Prison Project newsletter vol. 1, no. 1
1980
Box 9
[Alabama Prison Project, Conference on Capital Punishment: Conference schedule, clippings, fact sheets, petitions]
1979 Apr.
Box 6: 20.
Ala./U.S. prison conditions: Clippings
1975
Box 6: 21.
Atlanta Gazette vol. 5, no. 33
1979 Apr. 15
Box 9
Bedford Hills resistance/rebellion: Circular letter, leaflet, pamphlet
1978
Box 6: 22
Blimes, Trevor The Great Rebellion to Come/Freedom Chorale 7" 45rpm record (multiple copies)
1975
Box 10
[Booklets/ Pamphlets on capital punishment]
1979-1986
Box 6: 23
The Case of the Atmore-Holman Brothers and the IFA Murder and Repression in Alabama Prisons Inmates for Action Defense Fund newspaper
1975
Box 9
Chicago Defender vol. 73, no. 213 Johnny Imani Harris article
1978 Mar. 6
Box 9
[Committee stamps]
Undated
Box 11
CPSB Newsletter Issue 4
1974 Nov.
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CPSB Newsletter Issue 5
1975 Apr.
Box 9
CPSB Newsletter Issue 7
1975 Dec.
Box 9
[Death penalty, Ku Klux Klan, racist violence, Alabama politics: Clippings]
1976-1982
Defend Imani (Johnny Harris) Stop the Death Penalty poster
ca 1978
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Defend Imani (Johnny Harris) Stop the Death Penalty public meeting at All Souls Church poster
1978 May
Box 9
[Defend Imani t-shirt]
Undated
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[Defend Imani banner]
Undated
Box 10
Free the Houston 12 Houston 12 Defense Committee newspaper
ca.1975
Box 9
[Free Imani, end the death penalty button pins]
Undated
Box 11
[Gardner, Tom: Articles, Drafts]
1975-1982
Box 7: 2.
[Gardner, Tom: Articles, Drafts, press release drafts]
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1975-1979
Box 7: 3.
The Guardian vol. 30 no. 31 with Johnny Imani Harris article
1978 May 10
Box 9
Harris publicity analysis: "Original" articles
1975-1982
Box 7: 4.
Imani, Roch. N.Y. protest: Photographs, letter
1978 May
Box 7: 5.
Inner City News vol. 3, no. 13
1979 Mar. 31
Jesus Was Once Asked for His Support of the Death Penalty. His Reply: Let One Who Is Without Sin Cast the first Stone Mennonite Central Committee poster
undated
Box 9
Jobs Not Jails National Moratorium on Prison Construction bumper sticker
undated
Box 9
[John Louis Evans: Press releases, statements, appeals, article drafts, circular letters, notes, pamphlets, clippings]
1978-1984
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[Johnny Imani Harris/A.H. Bros: Newspaper clippings/articles]
1976-1983
Box 7: 7.
[Johnny Imani Harris/A.H. Bros: newspaper clippings/articles]
1978-1993
Box 7: 8.
[Johnny Imani Harris: Circulars, leaflets, fliers]
1974 Jan-1979 Jun.
Box 8: 1.
[The justice system and the Church/Christianity: Articles, newsletters, resolutions]
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1974-1979
Box 8: 2.
[Key to Colonial Manor Motel in Brewton, Alabama]
Undated
Box 11
Killing is Killing Oppose Capital Punishment bumper sticker
undated
Box 9
Lindquist, Charles A., Ph.D.: Reported Crime and the Attrition of Cases in the Criminal Justice System. University of Alabama at Birmingham
ca.1980
Box 8: 3.
Montgomery Gazette and Advertiser, Mobile Register, Fort Lauderdale Westside Gazette newspaper excerpts on John Evans, Johnny Harris
1976-1983
Box 9
[Morris Dees: articles]
1975-1980 Jan.
Box 8: 4
New National Black Monitor vol. 4, no. 3
1979 Mar.
Box 9
The People's Crusader vol. 39, no. 13
1979 Jul. 20
Box 9
Photographs: Prints and negatives 1977-1978
Box 8: 5.
[Press releases: IFA/Committee to Defend Imani]
1974 Oct.-1983 Apr.
Box 8: 6.
[Prisoner support groups: Circular letters, pamphlets, newsletters, fliers] 1973-1986
Box 8: 7.
[Prisoner support groups: Circular letters, pamphlets, newsletters, fliers] 1975-1979
Box 8: 8.
[Reidsville March press + publicity releases]
1978-1979
Box 8: 9.
Southern Coalition Report on Jails and Prisons vol. 6, no. 1
1979
Box 9
The Southern Patriot vol. 33, no. 3
1975 Mar.
Box 9
The Times Picayune special report on the death penalty
1985 Apr.
Box 9
[Unidentified author: The Southern Worker: A Pawn in Their Game?, draft]
ca.1972
Box 8: 10.
[United Nations: Students and global peace movement publication]
1974
Box 8: 11
Wallace for Governor sign
ca.1975
Box 9
Why Do We Kill People Who Kill People to Show That Killing is Wrong poster
Box 9
Workers World vol. 17, no. 6
1975 Feb. 7
Box 9
Workers World vol. 17. no. 8
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Workers World vol. 17. no. 11
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Workers World vol. 17, no. 37
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Workers World vol. 17, no. 45
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Workers World vol. 18, no. 39
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Box 9
Workers World vol. 18, no. 42
1976 Oct. 29
Box 9
Workers World vol. 18, no. 49
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Box 9
Workers World vol. 19, no. 3
1977 Jan. 21
Box 9
Workers World vol. 19, no. 22
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Box 9
Workers World vol. 20, no. 8
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Box 9
Workers World vol. 20, no. 17
1978 Apr. 28
Box 9
Workers World vol. 20, no. 18
1978 May 5
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Box 9 Workers World vol. 20, no. 19 1978 May 12 Box 9 Workers World vol. 20, no. 20 1978 May 19 Box 9 Workers World vol. 20, no. 21 1978 May 26 Box 9 Workers World vol. 20, no. 22 1978 Jun. 2 Box 9 Workers World vol. 20, no. 29 1978 Jul. 21 Box 9 Workers World vol. 21, no. 13 1979 Mar. 30 Box 9 Workers World vol. 22, no. 46 1980 Nov. 21

### Administrative information

#### Access

The collection is open for research.

#### Provenance

Gift of Tom Gardner.

#### **Processing Information**

Processed by Sarah Tonks and Jeremy Smith, April 2023.

#### Language:

English

#### Copyright and Use (More information)

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#### Search terms

#### **Subjects**

- Capital punishment-- United States
- Discrimination in capital punishment Inmates of institutions-- Abuse of
- Political action committees--United States
- Political activists--United States
- Prison riots
- Prisons-- United States
- Racism against Black people
  Social justice--United States

### **Contributors**

- The Committee to Defend Johnny Imani Harris [main entry]
- Gardner, Tom
- Harris, Johnny Imani
- Johnston, Jennifer Dees, Morris
- Allison, Bill
- Hicks, Diana Jett, Jesse David
- Evans, John Louis
- Committee to Defend Johnny Imani Harris and Stop the Death Penalty
- Southern Poverty Law Center

### **Genres and formats**

- Booklet
- Circulars
- Clippings (information artifacts)
- Correspondence Handbills
- Newsletters
- Pamphlets
- Petitions



