International Brigade Memorial Trust

SEPTEMBER 2002 ISSUE THREE

INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE MEMORIAL TRUST.

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Officers of the Trust:

President - Jack Jones/

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Treasurer - David Marshall.

Committee Members:

Richard Baxell, Rodney Bickerstaffe, Tish Collins, Peter Crome, Pauline Fraser, Katie Green, Sam Lesser.

Hello again, welcome to our third Newsletter which is out a little earlier than planned because we had to give notice about the A.G.M. on 5 October (see back page).

We are grateful to Councillor Richard Leese for allowing us to use the Town Hall in Manchester. It is part of our aim to include members from all parts of the country, and hopefully it will also give members who live in the area a chance to get together and plan other events. There will be refreshments and entertainment afterwards.

It is important that we have as many members as possible present, as we need to formally adopt the Constitution, which has been recommended by the Charity Commission and agreed by members of the committee, As a Charity, it will be easier to raise funds, to create a proper web site, to fund researchers and generally pursue our aim to disseminate knowledge of the Spanish Civil War.

In the meantime, enjoy the newsletter, hope to see you at the A.G.M. on 5 October.

Salud.

Marlene.

Newsletter editor: Geraldine (Gerry) Abrahams gerry@reelscoop.freeserve.co.uk Prodn Coordinator: Jim Jump

LONDON MEMORIAL IN SAFE HANDS



Jack Jones, Bob Doyle and Ken Livingstone at the Memorial in Jubilee Gardens.

The July meeting in Jubilee Gardens was a great success, and we were delighted to hear Mayor Ken Livingstone's re-assurance that the Memorial will be safe in his hands, and those of his successors.

In an excellent speech, the mayor reminded us that the real stand against fascism came from ordinary men and women. He said it was important to remember that, as well as to teach future generations the facts about the fight against fascism in Spain, and in World War Two.

In a recent visit to Moscow he noted the importance the Russians attached to passing on knowledge and memories of those times to younger generations, and stressed that we should do the same.

NOTE: We are sending videos of the day — (taken by Stuart Monro) free to all our Brigaders, and they are also on sale to Trust members for £8.00 including P&P. The videos are an excellent reminder of a very important & enjoyable day. Please get in touch if you would like one.

COMRADELY GREETINGS FROM GLASGOW

In a message to the International Brigade Memorial Trust on the eve of the AGM in Manchester, Charles Gordon, Leader of Glasgow City Council writes:

"I would like to take this opportunity to send comradely greetings to the International Brigaders. Like many of my generation in the Glasgow Labour Movement, I am well-versed in the history of their important contribution in Spain. We recognise them among the pioneers in the fight against fascism, which later became a fight that engulfed the whole of Europe, and I respectfully suggest that the International Brigade Memorial Trust considers holding the 2003 Annual General Meeting in the City of Glasgow, where they would receive a very warm welcome."

Brief Notes

CAUSE FOR CONCERN?

We get many requests for information and Jim and Richard, our researchers, do sterling work in trying to help genuine enquirers, but they have concerns about how much information they should give, and to whom.

There is also concern about how much information should be posted on the website when it is completed, and whether there are things that Brigaders and their families would prefer NOT to see in the public domain.

This obviously needs to be discussed at length, and I hope it will be brought up at the A.G.M. under "Any Other Business". There is also the question of changes to the Roll of Honour, which have come to light since the Imperial War Museum Exhibition.

Carlos Gomez is researching a documentary film, in which he hopes to defend the true democratic intention of those who went to Spain, compared to the manipulated interest of recent "Peace Keeping Forces". He will use archive footage in the film, but would particularly like to interview Brigaders. If you are able to help, please get in touch. His address is:

Carlos Gomez, 792b Harrow Road, Sudbury Town, Middlesex, HAO 3EL. Tel: 0208 922 8625 email deYoane@hotmail.com

Jeremy Maylis is writing a travel book on Spain - but not your usual "best beaches/nightclub" one! He is identifying places associated with special people, like Clem Beckett - a Speedway rider who went to Spain and died in April 1937, and Felicia Brown, the artist who was the first British Volunteer to be killed. Contact Jeremy at: Flat 4, 2, Dorothy Avenue, Peacehaven, BN10 8LP. Tel:01273 580069 or Jeremy@OBYRNE.Co.UK

Manus O'Riordan, Head of Research with SIPTU, Liberty Hall, Dublin 1 has sent me copies of a very interesting Obituary he wrote for Maurice (Morry) Levitas, whom many of you will remember, if you would like a copy, let me know. Morry's brother, Max recently unveiled a plaque commemorating the Jewish Tailors & Pressers Union in Camden Street, Dublin - the building at one time housed the Synagogue in which their parents were married. Manus also sent a copy of his speech on that occasion, detailing the building's history of Trade Union activism.

John Mc Fadden was interested to read in the last Newsletter of the number of Irish Connections with the I.B. There is information about the Brigaders along with some excellent Labour movement material at the Irish Labour History Society's Museum in Beggar's Bush Barracks, Haddington Rd., Dublin 4.

BOOK EXCHANGE.

Professor Paul Preston's article in the last Newsletter about rare books on the Spanish Civil War brought home to all of us the need to preserve any that we have in our libraries.

It occurred to me that we could have a "Book Exchange" column in the Newsletter, for anyone wanting to get rid of any books, through which we could ensure that they will go to a collector who will value them.

You may have two or more copies of the same book or pamphlet. Your parent or grandparent might have left a library that you have no space for. Don't just throw the Spanish Civil War ones away or send them to a jumble sale - make a list which we can publish (space permitting) or keep on file in case we have any enquiries for a particular book.

If there are any members who would be interested in cataloguing the books, and taking responsibility for running such an exchange, it would be invaluable. Please let me know.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

You can now pay Subscriptions or Donations by Bankers Order to: Halifax plc, 68, The Broadway, Stratford, London, E15 1NH Sort Code 11-07-47 A/c International Brigade Memorial Trust No.00599739 or post to the address on the front page.

Nick Mansfield suggests that those travelling to Manchester for the A.G.M. may like to take in a visit to the National Museum of Labour History in Pump Street, which is open from 11.00 and features Spanish Civil War exhibits.

Bernard Monaghan has compiled a long list of websites that may be of interest to other members. We intend to publish them in full, but in the meantime, he can be contacted at: bernard@monaghan2000.freeserve.co.uk, quoting his 'Sites of Special Interest'. La Cucaracha Spanish Civil War 1936-1939, www.cucaracha.de/scw/index.htm, is an illustrated diary of the war, complete with calendar, pictures, comments and background information.

Finally, THANKS.....

From DAN GILLMAN to all who sent him information and agreed to be interviewed for his dissertation on the labour movement and non intervention in the Spanish Civil War. If anyone would like a copy (70 pages long) he will e-mail it to you. dan@dgillman.freeserve.co.uk

Thanks also from JIM CARMODY to those of you who sent him further information gathered after he has indicated another path of research for your enquiries. It's important that he keeps his files up to date.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Those of us who attended the Annual Commemoration meeting in London on 19 July (see full report in this issue) were greatly heartened by the support of Ken Livingstone, the Mayor of London. It certainly gave us much encouragement to continue our work in maintaining the monuments to our fallen comrades and to ensure future development.

The Memorial Library and refurbished offices of the Aberdeen Trades Council is dedicated to the memory of the 15th Brigade. I was proud to officially open this important development recently, supported by the Lord Provost of Aberdeen, Margaret Smith, and local MPs and trade unionists. It is an outstanding and splendid tribute to the memory of the 17 Brigaders who went from Aberdeen including the redoubtable political commissar, Bob Cooney. In Aberdeen and so many other areas throughout Britain and Ireland, there is still deep appreciation of the Brigaders.



Jack Jones in Aberdeen

In this respect, it is vitally important to spread the work and message of our Association in as many areas as possible. The meeting in Manchester on Saturday 5 October will help to advance our cause and strengthen our contacts in the North. A large number of volunteers come from Manchester itself and the Manchester Town Hall where we will be meeting provides the setting for one of our finest memorials. Our meeting will enable us to pay tribute to so many of our bravest and best. At the same time we should recall that Manchester was the scene of so many battles of the common people against fascism and reaction.

In all our endeavours we need to emphasise our undying commitment to opposing all aspects of fascism, racism and reaction. Manchester will be another step on the way.

Salud Jack Jones

OBITUARY



SAM HANNAH

Sam Hannah, veteran of the International Brigades, died at his home in Falkirk on 31 July 2002 at the age of 82.

When he heard about the civil war in Spain, Sam joined the SS Aitkenside docked at Grangemouth in Scotland and sailed to France and then Bilbao, Northern Spain.

Only 16, he was too young to serve in the regular forces, and became a runner with the Canadian volunteers.

For most of his time in Spain, Sam was with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, first in Madrid itself before going on to Jarama and ultimately facing the counter attack at the Ebro before returning home after the Brigades were disbanded.

He married Caroline in October 1940 and they had seven children. She said: "I know Sam was proud to be what he was. He was a special person."



EVELIO ANEIROS SUBIRATS

It is with great sadness that we announce the death of Evelio Aneiros Subirats, the Cuban Brigader whose photograph appeared in the last edition of this Newsletter, with his wife and Con Fraser, widow of Brigader Harry Fraser.

Evelio was born on 14th November 1916 and died in July this year. He volunteered to go to Spain where, together with some of the other Cuban volunteers, he was assigned to the Lincoln Battalion. He was imprisoned in the notorious San Pedro de Cardenas concentration camp. Back in Cuba, he later took part in the revolutionary struggles which overthrew the Batista dictatorship. British Brigader Chris Smith and his partner Joan Brown became particularly friendly with Evelio when they visited Cuba with delegations from the National Union of Mineworkers in the mid-1980s. Evelio had hoped to visit his friends in Britain but sadly it was not to be.

Pusine Fraser

News at home

SHARED MEMORIES WITH SCOTTISH VETERANS

My recent visits to the three surviving Scots Brigaders: John Dunlop, Steve Fullarton, and James Maley, gave me two memorable and entertaining evenings, and some of the most stimulating conversation to be found anywhere.

The minds of all three are razor-sharp, and their memories of battles fought in Spain or in the meeting halls of the labour movement in Scotland were conveyed with all the fire and passion, the jokes and the sadness, as if they were telling the tales for the first time.

James Maley told of going to Spain in December of 1936 with three double-decker busloads of volunteers that drove proudly around the centre of Glasgow before heading south for Spain. It was the last time that many of the young volunteers would ever see Glasgow. The Scots volunteers suffered severe losses at Jarama and more than 63 International Brigaders from Glasgow were killed in the war. Casualties from Scotland as a whole were 115.

Anne and John Dunlop had been 40 years in the same apartment when I visited them. John had just dug out a nicely laminated press cutting of an interview and photo from 1996 taken at the plaque to the International Brigaders in Princes Street Gardens, Edinburgh. Anne's most treasured piece of memorabilia is a Brazilian stamp with La Pasionaria on it, dating from the 1950's.

Steve Fullarton was keen to debate the merits of historians of the Spanish Civil War. All three are in contact with students and researchers who want to find out about the international brigades at first-hand.

PAULINE FRASER

Looking after the Memorials

While Pauline was in Glasgow, she was also concerned about the state of 'La Pasionaria', the striking stylised statue of Dolores Ibarruri which commemorates the Scottish International Brigaders who fought and died for freedom and democracy in Spain.

John Flynn, whose namesake fought in Spain with the International Brigades, also noted his concern about the poor condition of the Memorial in Glasgow.

The problem was brought to the notice of Glasgow City Council which was involved in erecting the memorial. Leader of the Council, Charles Gordon's response was swift. He said:

"The local Council in Glasgow, together with the trade union movement, was involved in the initiative in the '80s to site a statue of la Pasionaria as an anti-fascist symbol on the banks of the Clyde. I am disappointed that it has been vandalised but I can give an assurance that we will act very quickly to restore the statue and aim to take better care of it in future. The regeneration of the River Clyde in Glasgow means that there will be more activity in that area."

MEMORIAL NEWS



The photograph shows the two plaques, including the one added for Brigader TJ Hurley, in the foyer of the Crisic Centre. It features the Mayor and Mayorusa Clir Allan Davise and Mes Sheila Davis, Ion Williams, son of Brigador JS Williams, and Janet Jobes, neice of corneade TJ Harley, lort is responsible for the inclusion of the additional plaque.

The main plaque's dedication reads: 'To honour and remember the men from Merthyr who volunteered to fight fascism in Spain (1936 - 39) in the hope of saving Spanish democracy and averting a world war.'

In a special panel, the plaque also honours Roman Roderiguez, a Spaniard who lived in Dowlas where he had worked in the steel works for over 21 years. Roman was killed at the Battle of Brunete in July 1937.

There were two other 'Welsh Spaniards', Victoriano Esteban and Frank Zamora, and all three of them are seen as a testament to the solid links between Spain and industrial South Wales.

Iori Williams informs us that the comrades honoured in Merthyr Tydfil include five from the tiny mining village of Bedlinog.

Geoff Parry is trying to find out more about T.F. KILLICK of Southport, killed at Jarama in 1937. Geoff would like to lobby Sefton Council to put up a plaque in his memory - and of other Volunteers from Southport. If you can help, contact Geoff at 41, Inwood Rd., Hounslow, Middlesex, TW3 1XQ Tel: 0208 677 1734 or email parrygeoff@aol.com

and abroad

CAN YOU HELP?

Kath Bradshaw, kbradshaw@telinco.co.uk or 21, Cedarwood Drive, Leyland PR25 1HN Lancs., Would like any Information on her Grandfather, THOMAS (or Frank) CULSHAW from Southport/ Ormskirk Lancs. Born about 1911, believed to have been killed in Spain.

John Flynn: john_flynn3@lineone.net would like to find out more about his namesake JOHN FLYNN whom he thought served with 91st. Brigade who died in Cordoba in April 1937. However, our researcher, Jim thought it was probable that the initials had been confused with those of THOMAS F. FLYNN of Glasgow, with the Chapiev Battalion of the X111th. I.B. and in Spain since November 1936.

Barry Stockhamer in Los Angeles, California, is documenting his family history, and would like to know more about his uncle ABRAHAM TROBER who died in September 22nd. 1938. Bill Alexander wrote to his widow that 'this was the last Battle fought before the LB.s were withdrawn'. Barry also wants information about the battle - about five miles from Mora de Ebro. His email is stockhamer@trivision.net, or contact Marlene.

Howard Watson: howard4964@yahoo.com is researching the life of the actor JAMES ROBERTSON JUSTICE who fought in Spain, if you have any memories of him then, or any information, please get in touch with Howard. H.Watson, 61b, Aylsford Street, London, SWIV 3RY.

J.M.Crossan is trying to find out more about Volunteers from the Lanarkshire area who went to Spain, particularly JOHN BLACK from Motherwell who was in the Territorial Army, and did not return from Spain, presumed killed.
J.M. Crossan, 46, Denholm Drive, Wishaw, Lanarkshire, Scotland, ML2 8SH

Jane Chakrovarty wants to know more about her uncle 'TOM' (AUBREY) GUY. Do any Brigaders remember him? Jane's address is 11, Godwin Rd., Cliftonville, Margate, Kent, CT9 2HA or jane@accessit.co.uk Robert Adams of 55, Wetherell Road, Hackney, Iondon, E9
7DB would like to compile a list of members of the 15th.
Brigade who came from Hackney, with a view to erecting a
memorial to them; one was Alfred Goodman, who later lived
in Kenmure Rd., and there was another Brigade veteran living in Ruthven Road.

Robert also wondered if there was any chance of identifying the Belfast man who was shot by Peter Kemp on the orders of Colonel Penaredonda. Kemp was one of the few British who fought on Franco's side in the S.C.W. and the incident is recorded in his book "Mine were of Trouble". The Irishman had somehow got behind the Nationalist lines, told the story that he had been pressganged into the International Brigades, and had managed to escape.

Ruth Steigman needs information on her Uncle, NATHAN STEIGMAN. Does anyone remember him, or how he died? Ruth's address: 2a, Gordon Mansions, 75, Anson Road, London, N7.

Ben Folley, a 3rd. year student at Liverpool University would like to talk to Brigaders about the social, occupational and political backgrounds of volunteers, and local 'Aide Spain' movements. Contact: ben@rfo5.demon.co.uk or Marlene.

Archivist Martin Sugarman, whose study on 'Jews who fought in the International Brigades in Spain' is available at the Marx Memorial Library, British Library, IWM Library and from the Association of Jewish Ex-Service Men and Women (AJEX), has opened a debate on whether or not the contribution of ethnic groups should be considered in a separate context. An informal consensus has suggested that the ethnic origins of Brigaders is largely irrelevant because all of those who went to fight were united in the anti-fascist cause in Spain. We would welcome other opinions.

 Martin's letter has brought to our attention the fact that there may be many other issues worthy of debate either through a Letters Page or some other format. Again, we would welcome your comments or opinions.

FILM NEWS

"Voices from a Mountain" is to be shown by the London Socialist Film Co-op at Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London WC1 on Sunday 29th September. Doors open 1.30 for 2.00 Admission £5.50. Concs. £3.50. JULIA NEWMAN, whose film "Into the Fire" (1 hr) about American Women in the Spanish Civil War has had excellent reviews, is now looking for distributors or Film Societies to show it. Contact Julia: Exemplaryone@aol.com or Suite 11A, 43 W 24th. St, New York, NY 10010. Tel: 212-675-6976. Fax 212-675-6390

BOOKS ... BOOKS ... BOOKS ... BOOKS ... BOOKS



A Review:

Doves of War: Four Women of Spain By Paul Preston Published by HarperCollins

The four women who feature in this biographical collection, Nan Green, Priscilla Scott-Ellis, Margarita Nelken and Mercedes Sanz-Bachiller, were all deeply involved with the Spanish civil war though, until now, they have rarely been mentioned in the thousands of history books written on the subject. Through his customary clear and sensitive writing, Paul Preston has brought their lives sharply into focus, showing how the war affected the lives of women on both sides of the conflict. By choosing these lesser known women as subjects, two British and two Spanish, Paul Preston made the courageous decision to leave the biographers' well-trodden path of famous personalities, and take on the challenge of exploring the discarded past. The lives of women are often lost in the inevitable process of historical winnowing, and determined detective work is required to salvage them. In addition, a different and particularly perceptive approach is needed when writing about women's typically many-faceted lives. Real success is only achieved when a

balance has been reached between the personal and political elements of their lives. These four biographies reveal the emotional intensities of war as much as the physical dangers and political polarisation it can bring.

Each of these women possessed a remarkable degree of courage and determination. During the war, Mercedes Sanz-Bachiller founded and led the Nationalist relief organisation, 'Social Aid', which distributed food daily to hundreds of thousands of people in the areas under Franco's control. Her will power and strength of personality were essential ingredients in maintaining a policy of feeding destitute 'Reds', an action for which she received much criticism. She has been given little recognition for her work, even in Nationalist Spain, where she has been overlooked in favour of her rival, Pilar Primo de Rivera, sister of the founder of the Spanish Fascist Party and leader of its Women's Section, who presented a perfect image of womanhood for the propaganda purposes of the regime. Paul Preston's interviews with Mercedes Sanz-Bachiller and this short biography should help to restore her to the historical record.

The character of Nan Green, in no way flamboyant, has been explored here with great sensitivity. During the civil war, Nan Green worked in the medical units in the Republic as an administrator, keeping up the records of the dead and wounded with carefully kept colour charts, and the morale of the staff by brewing tea. Through her memoirs and the letters from her husband serving in the International Brigades, Paul Preston reveals the factors that led her to make the difficult decision to leave their children at boarding school in England and go to Spain. Insights into her lifelong relationship with Communism and the impact of the death of her husband in the Battle of the Ebro make absorbing reading.

Although the diaries of Priscilla Scott-Ellis for the years 1937-39 are available in an edited form, much needed to be done to put flesh on the bare bones of the remainder of her life, and to redress the wrongs done to her in the memoirs of her first husband, Jose Luis de Vilallonga. Paul Preston does this, painting a sympathetic portrait of a British upper-class girl who volunteered to serve in Franco's medical services. Her motive for doing so can largely be attributed to her passion for Ataulfo, the youngest son of a Spanish aristocratic family she had known since childhood. The honesty in her war-time diaries is at times shocking, but nevertheless, she dealt with the horrific injuries and harsh conditions in the hospitals with fortitude, a quality she needed to develop even more after her disastrous marriage in 1945.

The most outstanding study in this collection is perhaps that of Margarita Nelken, a socialist deputy in the Republican Government. Paul Preston captures and conveys the fascination of her vivid personality. Intelligent and passionate, a woman ahead of her time in many ways, she was subject to savage criticism for her feminist beliefs, and for daring to put them in practice. Literature and art featured strongly in her life, but her determination to fight social injustice in its diverse forms led her to a deeper involvement with politics. Her remarkable energy still shines out, challenging the conventions of the period, demanding action, inspiring courage. Later, the sadness of her exile and desperation on the death of her son are heart wrenching.

Doves of War is an important addition to the long list of history books written about the Spanish Civil War, very few of which deal with the relationship between women and the war. These four lives illustrate not only some of the different aspects of the vital work done by women during the war, but also the enduring emotional effects such a conflict can bring.

Brigaders' Voices

Brothers In Arms

In 1936 my father Noel was 25 and had not long graduated and taken up his first teaching post in Sheffield. One morning, without telling anyone, least of all the head teacher, he packed a rucksack and caught a train to London. He crossed the capital and only then, thought to drop his parents in Oxford a line. Having no writing paper, he found a discarded cheque in his wallet and wrote on the back saying, simply, that he was going to Spain to fight with the International Brigade.

In February 1937 he was sent to fight at the Jarama offensive. It was a long and bitter campaign fought in miserable conditions with many fatal injuries. Noel was lucky. A bullet from a fascist sniper, struck his own rifle, and ricocheted off. A small piece of shrapnel embedded itself in his hand, and although he was not seriously wounded, it disabled him from firing a gun and he was sent back behind the lines for first aid. His closest friend, the international speedway rider, Clem Beckett was not so lucky.

Whilst convalescing, Noel heard that the Brigade desperately needed ambulance drivers and he volunteered. At about the same time, his brother, Anthony, joined the Brigade in Spain, and he too volunteered for ambulance driving duties. By now it was July, and the next major offensive in which this time both brothers were to be involved, was the battle for Brunete to the west of Madrid.

Noel was driving a small ambulance carrying three wounded brigaders from the fighting to the first aid centre, about three quarters of the way between the front and the main medical services at Escorial during a serious air attack by the fascists. Once again Noel had a narrow escape but when he eventually arrived at Escorial he heard that his brother Anthony had gone missing. Noel searched all the hospitals and field stations in vain walking in the intense heat and often not far from the front lines to find word or sight of his brother. Finally, Noel had to accept that Anthony was dead.

In 1992, Dr Len Crome, a brigade surgeon at Brunete, told me how he was in charge of the first aid station on the particular part of the front line where Anthony was operating his ambulance. He remembered Anthony delivering three seriously wounded soldiers, and then he asked Anthony if there were further casualties along the road towards the front. Anthony indicated that there were, and he went back out to collect them. He was never seen again, but Len remembered the most intense and sustained bombing of the campaign at that time. The date was July 10th 1937.

After the Brunete campaign, Noel was transferred to the base hospital at Huete where he was responsible for hospital administration. Eventually he applied for leave and returned to England shortly before the Brigade was run down and the Republican Army took full control of the war effort.

COLIN CARRITT

SPANISH MEMORIES_

You ask me of my time in Spain -I'll tell you, once again, Of barricades and bloodshed, Of tears and marching men.

How we made our way to southern France
As the world began to freeze,
And we sang of revolution
As we crossed the Pyrenees.

We held them at Jarama; We fought them to a draw. I saw Death fill his basket And still call out for more.

The night before the offensive As warplanes filled the skies -How we swilled red wine from tankards

And the girls with wonderful eyes.

The night I stood on sentry-go And watched the stars alone -The song of a sniper's bullet, The one that sent me home.

No trace remains but memory Of all I saw and did -But, these hands that hold my pension-book Once helped to hold Madrid.

GEOFF PARRY

INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE MEMORIAL TRUST

Notice of Annual General Meeting.

Saturday, October 5th. 3.00 - 5.00 p.m. The Mayor's Parlour, Town Hall, Albert Sq., Manchester, M2.



AGENDA

- 1. Chairman's Opening Remarks.
- 2. Apologies for Absence.
- 3. Minutes of Previous A.G.M.
- 4. Matters Arising.
- 5. Secretary's Report.
- 6. Treasurer's Report.
- 7. Adoption of Constitution.
- 8. Any Other Business.
- 9. Date and place of Next A.G.M.
- 10. Chairman's Closing Remarks.