

NATIONAL WINNER  
USING PRIMARY SOURCES



OLIVIA NOLAN  
ST MARY'S ANGLICAN GIRL'S  
SCHOOL  
B. A. SANTA MARIA

# The Man Behind the Throne



SOURCE: National Archives of Australia  
(1961). Personalities - Mr B A Santamaria, BA, President  
of the National Civic Council. [Image] A1200. Canberra.

B.A Santamaria was a powerful man in the true sense of the word. Love or loathe him, his influence on the political and religious landscape of post-war Australia shouldn't be underestimated. With a career spanning 58 years, his influence still can be felt today.

*“Mr Santamaria did not sit in an Australia parliament. He had no need for one.” Geoffrey Blainey, a historian, in his book “ A Short History of Australia. “*

This quotation embodies Bartholomew Augustine (B.A) Santamaria’s pervading power as a political influencer, activist, broadcaster and journalist in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Australia. Born in August 1915, B.A Santamaria wielded astonishing political influence over a succession of Australian Prime Ministers and senior cabinet ministers despite never being elected to Parliament. A fervent Roman Catholic, at the tender age of 20 years, B.A. co-founded *The Catholic Worker newspaper*, a publication vehemently opposed to both communism and capitalism.<sup>1</sup> As founding editor, he wrote most of the early editions. Within five years, B.A founded *The Catholic Social Studies Movement* (*‘The Movement’*), a group which recruited Catholic activists to infiltrate Australia’s trade unions in a bid to stem the increasing influence of Communist ideology within the Trade Union Movement and Australian Labour Party (ALP). The sway this ‘large, secret and largely Catholic organisation’ held throughout 1940’s and 1950’s Australia, essentially extinguished communist influence within the Trade Union Movement and ALP, eventually culminating in a split in the Labour Party with the formation of the Democratic Labour Party (DLP). Santamaria’s articles in popular broadsheet, *The Australian*, and current affairs magazine, *News Weekly*, were often cited by politicians. As a broadcaster, he utilised his show “Point of View” to unashamedly promote his personal viewpoint each night for 28 years. B. A.’s influence endures today amongst conservative politicians like Former Prime Minister, Tony Abbott.

Bartholomew Augustine Santamaria was born in Melbourne on 14 August 1915, the first child of Joseph and Maria Santamaria.<sup>2</sup> His parents, Giuseppe and Maria, migrated from the Aeolian Islands (Sicily), married in 1914, and opened a fruit shop in Sydney Road, Brunswick, where B.A. often worked. He studied at the University of Melbourne, completing a BA Honours Degree in History and Political Science in 1934.<sup>3</sup> At university, Santamaria joined *‘The Champion’*, a group of graduates and students who gathered to “discuss Catholic Teachings on problems that affected them to better inform themselves and to keep in touch

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<sup>1</sup> Blainey, G. (2003). A shorter history of Australia.

<sup>2</sup> Henderson, G. (2015). *Santamaria: A most unusual man*. 2nd ed

<sup>3</sup> Bob Santamaria Documentary. (2015). [DVD] Directed by H. Fitzsimmons. Lateline.

with advanced Catholic thought.”<sup>4</sup> As a young *Campion*, in 1936, B.A. became founding editor of its magazine, *The Catholic Worker*. When Australia’s Catholic Bishops established the *Australia National Secretariat of Catholic Action (ANSCA)* in 1937, fellow *Campion*, Frank Maher, was appointed director and Santamaria his assistant. Under the aegis of *Catholic Action*, they formed several constituent bodies, including: *The National Catholic Rural Movement*; *The Young Christian Workers*; *The National Catholic Girls’ Movement*, and *The League of St Thomas More*.

Through *Catholic Action*, B.A. influenced Australian Catholics en-masse, reminding them of their obligations to the Catholic Church through “special articles in the Catholic press.”<sup>5</sup> The Justice Now Article he authored in 1941, dealt with social problems such as housing, “housing plans which would consider masses of flats as suitable homes for workers’ are “an abomination” and increases in the “family wage”. Santamaria’s social statements gained traction with politicians like Federal Labour MP for Melbourne, Arthur Calwell. **SOURCE 1** Labour opposition leader, John Curtin, wrote to Santamaria on 25 May 1941 that the principles set out in his statements provided “an excellent basis for discussion for a better social order... and can be seen to be referred to by myself in policy speeches.” Santamaria’s social statements catapulted him into a position of power within the Catholic Church.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, 10 of the 12 Social Statements released by the church between 1941 and 1953 were drafted by Santamaria. Consequently, Santamaria was effectively writing statements for the Catholic hierarchy on political and social issues. His influence was so great that Gerard Henderson, author of “*Santamaria: A Most Unusual Man*” believed “it was difficult to disentangle Santamaria’s views from those of Catholic Hierarchy during the 1940s and 1950s.” Henderson believed that no other member of the laity in Australia, man or woman, had ever enjoyed such access to the Catholic Church.<sup>7</sup>

Santamaria exercised most power however, and is best known, as creator of *The Movement*. Formed in 1941 as a loose Melbourne network, *The Movement* aimed to quash Communist

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<sup>4</sup> State Library of Victoria (1967). BA Santamaria , *Campion* and *Catholic Action*. [Letters , documents and speeches] 2. Victoria.

<sup>5</sup> Moran, B. (1998). B. A. Santamaria (1915–1998). *Policy, Organisation and Society*, 15(1), pp.186-191.

<sup>6</sup> State Library of Victoria (1967). BA Santamaria , *Campion* and *Catholic Action*. [Letters , documents and speeches] 2. Victoria.

<sup>7</sup> Henderson, G. (2015). *Santamaria: A most unusual man*. 2nd ed

influence within the Australian Trade Union movement. In a speech in 1943, Santamaria renounced Communism as “A menace to religion and liberty that must be fought.” He considered that “practically all the prominent unions were in the hands of the communist party... with 250,000 Australian workers at the absolute disposal of the communist party.”

**SOURCE 2** The Movement became a powerful force within the union movement as a struggle played out between communist influencers and “Industrial Groups” which were linked with the Catholic movement. In a 1971 Issue of *Australia Quarterly*, it said “*The Movement* provided the indispensable logistic support” that made it possible for the anti-communist Industrial Groups leaders “to fight Federal Union Elections”.<sup>8</sup> Another article from October 1954, names Santamaria as the “brain that has built up as powerful a political machine as Australia has seen”. Through the fierce “individual” (i.e. B.A. Santamaria) it has reached the ears of some of the most powerful men in Australia.” **SOURCE 3** Santamaria’s innate ability to organise and lead boosted membership of *The Movement* to 6000 by 1950. Santamaria was the general marshalling his foot soldiers.

The power of this secret organisation permeated the Catholic Church, Federal Politics and even the Australia Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO). By running *The Movement*, Santamaria was essentially running *Catholic Action*. As liaison officer of *The Movement*, B.A. was required to report to the inaugural Episcopal Committee of Catholic Social Studies Movement. In fact, it never met. As liaison officer, Santamaria was solely responsible for its relationship with the hierarchy. But, in *Daniel Mannix: The Quality of Leadership*, Santamaria maintained that the Melbourne Archbishop was never concerned and “left it entirely to the initiative of those who were actively engaged in affairs to determine how and when they would consult him.”<sup>9</sup> Doubtless, in the late 1940s and 1950s Santamaria was controlling both *Catholic Action* and *The Movement*. Moreover, he, and usually he alone, reported to Archbishop Mannix, initially weekly, then bi-weekly and on an occasion, three times a week, underscoring their close friendship.<sup>10</sup>

Between 1946 and 1954, Santamaria widened *The Movement*’s mandate to pursue Communism “wherever it appeared”, promoting expansion of the group’s activities both within the ALP and

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<sup>8</sup> Mount, F. (2012). *Wrestling with Asia*. Ballan, Vic.: Connor Court Pub.

<sup>9</sup> Santamaria, B. (1989). *Daniel Mannix, the quality of leadership*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press.

<sup>10</sup> Morgan, P. (2008). *Running The Show*. 4th ed. Victoria, pp.12-78.

further afield in Asia. *Memorandum on the Movement around 1949* sites one of its aims as extending “the fight from the trade unions into every organ of public and civic life- political parties..” In a private letter to Archbishop Mannix in 1952, Santamaria suggests that now “ the possibilities of the *Catholic Social Studies Movement* are far wider than those of the battle against communism... within a period be able to completely transform the leadership of the Labour movement, and to introduce into Federal and State spheres... Christian Social Programmes.”<sup>11</sup>The extent of Santamaria’s influence is clear.

Additionally, *The Movement* also assisted ASIO by providing information on Communist influences within the trade union movement. Australia’s National Archives contain documents outlining communications between *The Movement* (referred to as *Catholic Action*) and ASIO. Correspondence between a Senior officer and another person asking them to “infiltrate the Communist Party” and evidence of a Catholic Action representative being visited by ASIO in 1949 with a request to supply information to ASIO are compelling evidence of a link. **SOURCE 4** Indeed, ASIO reports paying “a sum of money at regular intervals.” **SOURCE 5** Santamaria and *The Movement’s* power seemed to grow exponentially.

However, Santamaria’s power had significant repercussions for the ALP culminating in Federal Leader, H.V Evatt, denouncing *The Movement’s* activities suggesting that it “has no right to subvert the Labour Party in order to dedicate it solely or primarily to anti-Communist activities.” **SOURCE 6** The resulting backlash lead to a split in the ALP. Those expelled from the ALP formed a new party, The Democratic Labour Party (DLP), dedicated to opposing Communism and the Labour Party. The Labor Party was relegated to federal opposition for 23 years thereafter. In 1957 the Vatican, after receiving a delegation from the Sydney bishops, instructed *The Movement* that the “ ... Catholic Social Movement was to be reconstructed as an organisation confining itself to spiritual and moral formation. It would be subject to the bishops ....”<sup>12</sup>

After the Labour Party Split, Santamaria was catapulted into the limelight. He forged close relations with many senior politicians including former Prime Minister, William McMahon. As Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the time (McMahon), wrote a letter (1971) telling Santamaria

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<sup>11</sup> State Library of Victoria (1978). BA Santamaria and Danniell Mannix. [Letters and Documents] 11. Victoria

<sup>12</sup> Morgan, P. (2008). *Running The Show*. 4th ed. Victoria, pp.12-78.

of important matters and “thanking (him) for Point of View, which (he) subscribed to.” He was “glad (BAS) let him have it because he has photocopied and sent it to the members of the Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee, who were delighted with it.” **SOURCE 7** This highlights Santamaria’s popularity and influence within Australian Government. In *Wrestling Australia* by Frank Mount, he wrote that “There were times when I carried messages and material between Santamaria and McMahon... There was one extraordinary interaction in March 1972 in which the Prime Minister came with a thick black satchel in his hand walked up and handed it to Bob (Santamaria). It turned out that this consisted of classified intelligence documents on the Vietnam War.”<sup>13</sup>

B.A. also influenced Gough Whitlam’s dismissal. Three months before, Santamaria sent the Liberal Opposition Leader a draft parliamentary speech. In the document, Santamaria suggested that, if by March 1976 “inflation is still well into double figures, if unemployment is still at its present parlous level... it is their duty to resign in favour of the Opposition.” Malcolm Fraser used many of the arguments from the draft speech in his addresses to Parliament after announcing he would block the appropriation bills in the Senate. Nonetheless, Malcolm Fraser even told *The Western Australian* in 2007 that he “often sought Santamaria’s counsel which he respected and that he (Santamaria) often sent him advice.”

National Archives are peppered with examples of correspondence between Malcolm Fraser and Santamaria on Defence and related matters including Fraser sending him lists of people on the UNESCO Committee. In a *Point of View* telecast in 1963, Santamaria demanded “federal government take over the entire British Indian Ocean fleet of combat due to growing Russian naval presence off the nation’s west coast.”<sup>14</sup> This statement was repeated in multiple newspapers including in Britain. Malcolm Fraser sent B.A. a letter with documents exploring the implications of his proposal in relation to manpower and resources required. Although ultimately regarded as not “viable” these documents are testament to the power and influence of B.A. Santamaria.**SOURCE 8**

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<sup>13</sup> Mount, F. (2012). *Wrestling with Asia*. Ballan, Vic.: Connor Court Pub.

<sup>14</sup> *National Archives of Australia (1971). SANTAMARIA, Bartholomew Augustine (B A) [political activist and journalist]. [PAPER FILES AND DOCUMENTS] NAA, M1129. Canberra*

As a broadcaster, the influence of B.A.'s weekly *Point of View* show, which ran for almost twenty-eight years, should not be overlooked. This gave him a platform to present his views to a wide audience. Sam Lipski in an interview said that Santamaria could, "look at the camera with that piercing look and memorise what he wanted to say and say it in such flowing terms for close to ten minutes. I constantly thought what a feat."<sup>15</sup>

Ultimately, B.A. Santamaria was a master puppeteer. His power penetrated all aspects of society; political, religious, social and economic. His influence endures today through those he mentored like former Prime Minister, Tony Abbott. Like Tony Abbott, Bartholomew Augustine Santamaria was, and will likely remain, a controversial figure in Australia history. Controversy aside, however, B.A Santamaria's influence and power are unprecedented. As Tony Abbott said in 2007, "He had more political influence than most senior ministers, yet never held any public office."<sup>16</sup> Surprisingly, he saw himself as a "peasant born in working-class Brunswick." B.A. Santamaria's state funeral was attended by a Cardinal, 12 Bishops, Prime Minister, John Howard, former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, the Victorian Premier, and 2000 mourners; quite a turnout for a greengrocer's son!<sup>17</sup> In 2015, on the one-hundredth anniversary of his birth, B.A. Santamaria was memorialised as a media legend. Deserved recognition for one extremely powerful human being.

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<sup>15</sup> Lipski, S. (2019). Interview.

<sup>16</sup> Speech of B.A Santamaria ( 2007) (Speech) Tony Abbot in Victoria

<sup>17</sup> Mcilroy, T. (2019). Interview with B.A Santamaria's Grandson.





## Sources:

Source 1 : Newspaper Article from Advocate (Melbourne, Vic. : 1868 - 1954), Thursday 8 May 1941, page 5 <sup>18</sup>

### ..Social Justice For a Disordered World..

## Nation-Wide Observance on Sunday Last

Social Justice Sunday was observed in Catholic churches throughout the Commonwealth on Sunday last. In churches throughout the Melbourne Archdiocese and other dioceses, attention was drawn to the need for the Christian reconstruction of the social order, and to the important Statement on Social Justice in the new pamphlet formally approved by the Episcopal Committee on Catholic Action—a pamphlet that was available at all churches.

**T**O give practical effect to Social Justice, the people must be prepared to act. He appealed to the people to come together in the Manresa Hall, Hawthorn, in effort to apply in a practical way the Church's teaching. If the meeting Sunday afternoon last, the Church's teaching. If the meeting large and enthusiastic audience was to be a milestone in the history of the addresses with rapt attention Hawthorn, it would depend on the realisation and interest. A League of Social Justice that was displayed in the Joseph has been formed in the parish movement. We could not hope to re-promote the principles of Social Justice in a day. The league gave us an opportunity of

Mr. C. Murphy presided, and among those present were Very Rev. J. Bourke, S.J.; Very Rev. J. Costello, S.J.; Rev. W. P. Hackett, S.J.; Rev. J. Corish, S.J.; Rev. J. Fitzgerald, S.J.; Mr. J. H. Scullin, M.H.R., and Messrs B. A. Santamaria and K. Mitchell.

#### MAKE IT A REAL THING

The chairman said the League of Social Justice would seek to implement the Church's teaching on Social Justice, and the large meeting augured well for the movement. The world was in a serious position, and it caused us to carefully consider the problems confronting us. The Catholic Church pointed the way to make Social Justice a real thing in the community. If we wished to achieve anything we must be prepared to act. He appealed to

#### IMMINENT PROBLEMS TO BE FACED

Mr. B. Santamaria said that the world had reached a critical period and decisions made now would decisively influence the course of history. The old social system could not endure. When peace came vast social problems would have to be faced. There would be the demobilising of the army, the slackening in the munition industry, and the building up for the future. Would our plans make for general happiness or social revolution? That day might be a milestone in the history of the parish, but he hoped it would be a milestone in the history of Australia.

<sup>18</sup> Advocate (1941). Social Justice for a Disordered World. [online] p.5. Available at: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172191655?searchTerm=Justice%20Now%20b.a%20santamaria&searchLimits=exactPhrase||anyWords||notWords||requestHandler||dateFrom=1941-05-01||dateTo=1942-01-01||sortBy> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

milestone in the history of Australia. By our enthusiasm and determination we could do a great deal for this country. The future of Australia depended on the way we acted.

It was inevitable that a new order would come whether we liked it or not. Would it mean that our liberty would be preserved, or that our political and religious liberty would be crushed?

Some people seemed to think, if Hitler were defeated, that the human race would look forward to many years of uninterrupted progress. It was not as simple as that. There were forces that could stifle liberty just as effectively as the sword. What freedom could there be in society that did not guarantee a family wage to the worker or protect thousands of workers from being cast out of employment? What liberty remained when society was divided into two classes—one, the minority, owning means; the other, the vast majority, controlling nothing and depending on their masters whether they lived or died? Catholic Social Justice was a work of national importance.

It was only by guaranteeing the vast majority of Australian people economic social liberty that we would be able to retain political and religious freedom. Every man who was willing to work had a right to a family wage.

#### **The Family Wage**

Last year the Bishops issued their first Statement on Social Justice, and there was no doubt that the united Catholic voice heard then played a part in the counsels of the State in the adoption of child endowment. Another Statement was issued this year by the Bishops, whose practical Catholic programme would, if applied, bring about Christian social reconstruction in this country. A clear declaration

in this country. A clear declaration was given of the reforms that were necessary if the new order was to be on Christian lines; the Statement was a clear and definite programme that Australia badly needed. The family wage was the first plank in the platform; the basic wage fixed an unjust standard. It was our duty to secure recognition of the principle of the family wage and to ensure every man owning his own home. Ownership of the family home was the basis of a family's security.

A decentralising policy was needed if the country was not to be bled white. Industries should be established in the country, and the workers entitled not only to their own homes but to a small acreage, on which they could produce food for their families and thereby become completely independent. The Bishops' programme should be translated into action.

#### **Christian Reconstruction**

Catholics should not keep their Faith to themselves, but should seek to give it to others. The Catholic farmers of Australia had organised a National Rural Movement. They began a year ago, and Catholics and others were now realising that the movement was the only real force fighting for the salvation of rural life. We must do for the cities what the farmers were doing for the land. The movement was above and beyond party politics; the Pope forbade an Apostolic body engaging in political work.

The work to be done was Christian reconstruction. It must be done, otherwise our political and religious liberty would be crushed. The price of indifference in Australia might be very serious; in Mexico and Spain it led to persecution and death.

#### **The Church's Call**

**SOURCE 2: Newspaper article from Advocate (Melbourne, Vic. : 1868 - 1954), Thursday 17 June 1943, page 1 of 3 <sup>19</sup>**

## Communists' Grip on Unions

**Mr. B. A. Santamaria Addresses  
Holy Name Men at  
Middle Park**

“COMMUNISTS did not look to elections to gain power. They regarded parliament and democracy as a farce, and used elections simply as a means of propaganda.”

This was emphasized by Mr. B. A. Santamaria, B.A., LL.B., speaking to over 400 members of the Holy Name Society, Middle Park, at the annual Communion breakfast on Sunday last.

Where Communists hoped to win, said Mr. Santamaria, was in the industrial movement and in trade unions. In that field they had gained conspicuous success in the last twenty years. Practically all the prominent unions were in the hands of the Communist Party, and that gave them an immense influence over the policies of unionists. They could realise the extent of their grip when he mentioned that 250,000 Australian workers were at the absolute disposal of the Communist Party, whose fixed policy was to destroy the system of Catholic education and Catholic Action.

## COMMUNIST LEADER SAID

A Victorian leader of Communism said that the Holy Name Society was an armed force. Certainly Communists would seize every chance to dissolve Catholic Action and Catholic education. If the unions supported drastic action there would be little chance of Catholic unionists checking the move.

unionists checking the move. Under the principle of compulsory unionism, if a man wanted a job he had to remain in the union. The effect of this would be that Catholic unionists would be faced with the alternative of supporting the general policy or getting out of the union and being crushed by the industrial movement. Bigots or sectarians never had such a concentration of power as union leaders had to-day. Communism was a menace to religion and to liberty, and it must be fought. If they studied the history of Europe after the last war they would find the same development there as there was in Australia to-day. They faced a perilous position and were liable to be crushed between the hammer of Communism and the anvil of Nazism. Communism commanded ample financial resources, and its members were ready to sacrifice themselves for the cause.

## HOSTILITY AGAINST CHURCH

Many Catholics seemed unaware of the terrible hostility against the Church, but it existed and was ever pressing forward. Australian Catholics were inclined to be easy going, and to take things for granted, particularly happenings in the rest of the world. The inclination not to think seriously lessened the apprehensions of the Catholic people. Here or elsewhere they were not getting a fair deal. This had long passed in Europe, and in Australia the

<sup>19</sup> Advocate (1943). Communists' Grip on Unions. [online] p.4. Available at: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172207147?searchTerm=B.A.%20Santamaria%20power&searchLimits=exactPhrase%7C%7C%7CanyWords%7C%7C%7CnotWords%7C%7C%7CrequestHandler%7C%7C%7CdateFrom=1940-01-01%7C%7C%7CdateTo=1957-12-31%7C%7C%7CsortBy#> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

**SOURCE 3: Newspaper article from Examiner (Launceston, Tas. : 1900 - 1954), Wednesday 20 October 1954, page 1 of 2**<sup>20</sup>

**CATHOLIC ACTION AND POLITICS....**

# Santamaria - power behind 'The Movement'

A FORMER Governor-General, newly returned from an Albury rural conference, whispers confidentially into a telephone, "They frightened me, old friend. All they want for a rural policy is a sheep, a goat, three acres—and a migrant"

**Dimly lit**

ON a Sydney ferry, a seedy ill-dressed man angrily pretends not to know a well-dressed friend, whose alarm and pitying concern for his unkempt appearance is dangerously obvious. Days later, at a chance meeting, the seedy man, back to his normal, dapper spruceness explains: "I couldn't recognise you. I was following the man alongside you. I was doing a job — the Movement, you know" . . .

In Sydney, a Prince of the Church leans back tiredly in his chair while across from him a gathering of former A.L.P. Industrial Groupers (among whose numbers, it is conceded, may be a Communist "plant") charges that in a crusade against Communism the crusaders have taken over the dark, evil methods of Communism, with single individuals members of up to six unions and campaigns of personal vilification, often of uncertain justification, waged ruthlessly against victims . .

**Dimly lit**

**THESE** scattered incidents, dramatic in themselves but seemingly self-contained, are from the almost unknown, secretive world that exists behind the brassy, gleaming facade of Australian politics.

To enter the dimly-lit world that produces such incidents requires an effort.

For it is necessary to study events over nearly a decade and also several personalities, including individuals whose names are virtually unknown to the public but who exercise power far exceeding that of men with household names that are frequently in the headlines.

Probably the key personality is Bartholomew Augustine Michael Santamaria, 39 years of age, a first generation Australian, a lawyer who describes himself as a secretary, brilliant, restlessly energetic, possessed of an influence that reaches deeply into every Australian political party, a family man, an anti-Communist zealot and the law

<sup>20</sup> Advocate (1943). Communists' Grip on Unions. [online] p.4. Available at: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172207147?searchTerm=B.A%20Santamaria%20power&searchLimits=exactPhrase%7C%7C%7CanyWords%7C%7C%7CnotWords%7C%7C%7CrequestHandler%7C%7C%7CdateFrom=1940-01-01%7C%7C%7CdateTo=1957-12-31%7C%7C%7CsortBy#> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

**SOURCE 3: Newspaper article from Examiner (Launceston, Tas. : 1900 - 1954), Wednesday 20 October 1954, page 2 of 2**

a family man, an anti-Communist zealot, and the lay member of Catholic Action.

## The brain

FOR, rightly or wrongly, Santamaria is h o r t.

**BY**  
**ALAN REID**

*A leading Canberra journalist*

squatly rotund, fluently jovial is believed to be the brain that has built up as powerful a political machine as Australia has seen—"The Movement," a political force that exists, unknown to the thousands who belong to it, within Catholic Action, which itself is non-political and devoted to matters spiritual, not material.

Through "The Movement"—more particularly through the few individuals who have given to it fierce, unquestioning devotion and who have reached the ears of some of the most powerful men in Australia—many things have happened.

● Communist power within the trade union movement has been largely broken.

● An entire Commonwealth department has been adroitly reshuffled, certain figures eliminated, and control over personnel vested for a changeover period at least in persons who, if not of "The Movement," were at least sufficiently sympathetic with its anti-Communist vehemence to ensure that per-

mence to ensure that persons whose anti-Communist fervour was even mildly dubious would never again occupy strategic positions.

● A massive anti-Communist intelligence service, which fulfils the dictum of Speaker Archie Cameron, a one-time military intelligence officer that "the only worthwhile secret service agent is the volunteer, not the trainee" has been built up.

● In both N.S.W. and Victoria, Cabinet Ministers, openly or covertly hostile to "The Movement" have lost their political heads. Other personalities have been earmarked for elimination from the public life of the nation.

To understand how this power was amassed and to follow it through devious channels down to the present day, it is necessary to go back to the immediate post-war years

when goodwill for Russia still lingered

## Appalled

PROSPECT of the Communists further consolidating their power appalled two groups, one almost exclusively Catholic, the other mixed.

The Roman Catholics were in the happier position. At no stage were their feelings confused as far as Communism was concerned.

Emotions elsewhere were confused. In probably one of the most epic feats of recorded history, Russia, flatly, in the teeth of evidence that it was as monolithic and tyrannical in structure as Nazi Germany, had performed the miracle of persuading radicals that

**SOURCE 4 : Declassified ASIO File pg 20 <sup>21</sup>**

1. On the 5th February, 1954, contact was made with the abovenamed, and after conversation regarding other matters discussion along the following lines, in words to this effect, took place regarding the possibility of recruiting agents from contacts used by [REDACTED]

Self. I want to talk to you further about a discussion we had the other week about the possibility of some of your people being prepared, as individuals, to infiltrate the Communist Party. We would appreciate it very much if you would nominate to us the names and addresses of persons who would be in a position to join the Party. You will recall you said that if one of your people decided to infiltrate the Party it would be a matter for himself, and would depend upon advice given by his spiritual adviser. If you supplied us with the identities of such persons, we would approach them directly ourselves, without making reference to our source of information about them, and request them to consider infiltrating the Communist Party for us. This would virtually leave your organisation out of it, if you prefer it that way, which I think you do. If any person approached felt that his conscience would not allow him to act as an agent for us, or he received advice not to do so from a spiritual adviser, then we would forget the person's identity and not pursue the matter further.

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<sup>21</sup> National Archives of Australia (1948). Catholic Action. [PAPER FILES AND DOCUMENTS] A6122. Canberra.



## SOURCE 5: Declassified ASIO File pg 8<sup>22</sup>

3. When ASIO was formed there was some contact with Catholic Action by a number of ASIO members, who acted independently and on their own initiative. Later on, contact was developed in the way of an organized liaison. There is no written record of how the liaison was organized, but one Catholic Action representative, who was acting as a Liaison Officer in January, 1952, informed me that Mr. Wake visited the premises of Catholic Action in 1949 and arranged with that Organization for an Officer of Catholic Action to liaise with him in the supply of Catholic Action information to ASIO. It is understood that Catholic Action appointed Mr. [REDACTED] as the person to contact Mr. Wake, and that Mr. Wake arranged with the Catholic Action authorities for ASIO to pay [REDACTED] a sum of money at regular intervals. At the time that Mr. [REDACTED] was acting in the capacity of Agent Master, [REDACTED] contacted him for a considerable period. [REDACTED] supplied reports under the cover name of [REDACTED]

<sup>22</sup> National Archives of Australia (1948). Catholic Action. [PAPER FILES AND DOCUMENTS] A6122. Canberra.



**SOURCE 6:Newspaper at Queensland Times (Ipswich, Qld. : 1909 - 1954), Wednesday 1 December 1954, page 1<sup>23</sup>**

**Dr. Evatt Warns Federal Executive**

**“THE MOVEMENT” IS A DANGER TO LABOUR PARTY AKIN TO FASCISM**

**MELBOURNE, Nov. 30.** — A secretly controlled group known as “the movement,” was presenting the Australian Labour Party with a danger perilously akin to Fascism, the Opposition Leader (Dr. H. V. Evatt) has said in a memorandum to the Federal A.L.P. Executive.

The memorandum disclosed in Melbourne today, says that “the movement” has no right to subvert the Labour Party in order to dedicate it solely or primarily to anti-Communist activities.

The statement was made by Dr. Evatt to the Federal Executive in Canberra, on October 27, and elaborated by him on Monday and today.

In the memorandum Dr. Evatt states that Mr. B. A. Santamaria cannot deny he is a prominent spokesman for “the movement.”

Dr. Evatt said: Labour cannot survive on the basis of a party within the party. Any secret organisation whose object is to gain control of the party to concentrate on a policy of sheer anti-Communism must, in the long run, assist Communism, just as McCarthyism has done in the United States.

“If an outside group is organised to gain control of the Australian Labour movement on the basis of a policy of extreme anti-Communism the fabric of the Labour Party will be subverted.

**ANTI-RED**

It was believed that many members of “the movement” had taken part in industrial groups and Labour Party activities although they had no sympathy with Labour objectives. They were con-

cerned solely with organising opposition to Communism.

Dr. Evatt added, “If mere anti-Communism is to be the primary policy of Labour, all the great principles we support will become of minor importance. It will be sufficient to condemn any proposal to show that Communists or Communist papers have supported it.”

“The theory has been used against me in ‘News Weekly’ and in the caucus: ‘He is critical of the Petrovs. So are the Communists. Therefore he is a Communist supporter.’

“All my life I have been closely associated with hosts of Catholic friends. At the bar I took part in great cases where the defence of Catholics was concerned. Never in my life have I been condemned for ‘sectarian activities’ until a week or so ago.”

“There is grave danger to the Catholic Church in the activities of the organised faction known as ‘the movement,’ in its attempt to gain a dominating part in Labour leagues and trade unions through organised infiltration, while remaining a separate group.

“As I understand it, ‘the movement’ as such is not at all identical with Catholic

all identical with Catholic Action. It is a minority group, and members of it are bound to secrecy. It is organised on a cell system comparable to the Communist system. It has nothing to do with the lay apostolate which all Catholics and Christians honour.

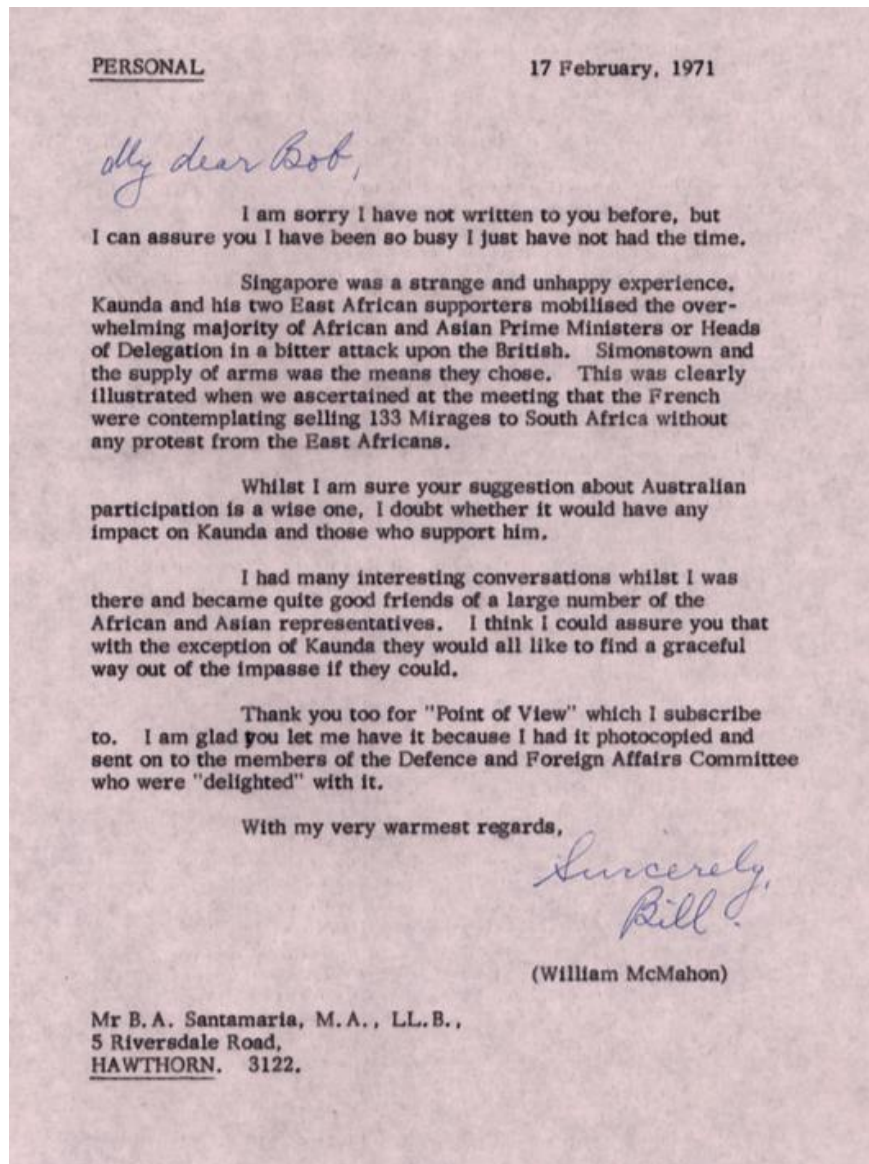
“Leading Catholic ecclesiastics have, I understand, attacked ‘the movement.’

“In my own electorate in 1951, it was brought to the executive’s notice that boys of one of Sydney’s Catholic colleges were armed with buckets and paste brushes to go into my own electorate to destroy Labour’s posters by sticking them over with hammer and sickle signs and the like.

“No doubt the boys enjoyed the fun, and really thought they were fighting Communists. But what of the people who organized these lads? They had no respect for the Labour Party, for the boys, or for the church to which they belonged. I understand the inner core of ‘the movement’ is secretly controlled.

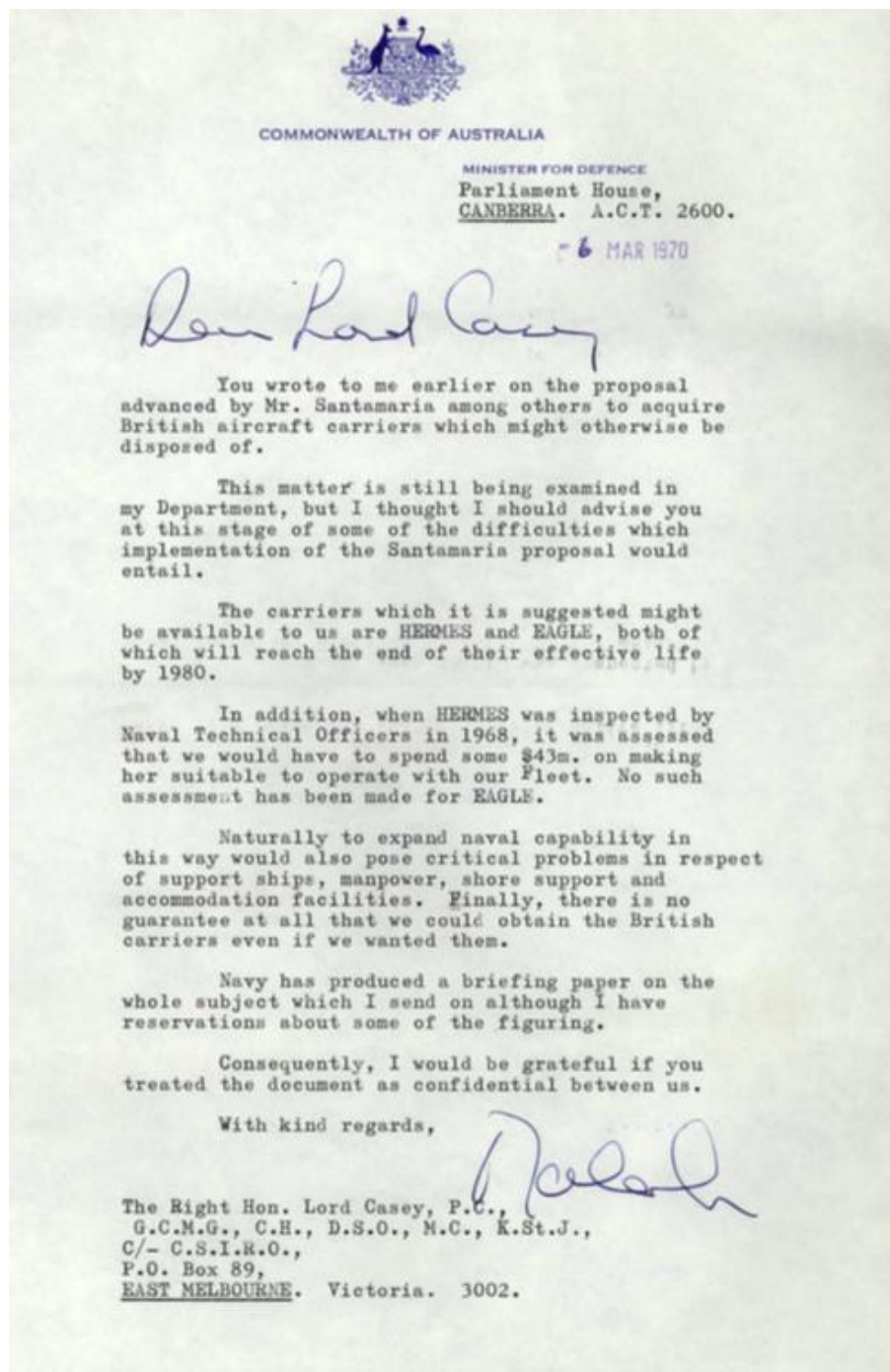
<sup>23</sup> Queensland Times (1954). The Movement is a Danger to Labour Party. [online] p.1. Available at: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/118437967?searchTerm=Evatt%20the%20movement&searchLimits=#> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

## SOURCE 7: Letter from William McMahon to BAS<sup>24</sup>



<sup>24</sup> National Archives of Australia (1970). [Personal Papers of Prime Minister McMahon] General correspondence 'S' [re B A Santamaria, Dr M J Simons, Minister for Social Services, B Sully, Antarctic Names Committee, South Vietnam, cherry production etc]. NAA, M4251. Canberra.

**SOURCE 8: Letter and Inquires by Malcolm Fraser into B.A Santamaria's Idea pg 1 of 5<sup>25</sup>**



<sup>25</sup> National Archives of Australia (1971). SANTAMARIA, Bartholomew Augustine (B A) [political activist and journalist]. [PAPER FILES AND DOCUMENTS] NAA, M1129. Canberra.

PROPOSAL BY MR. SANTAMARIA TO TAKE OVER R.N. AIRCRAFT CARRIERS.

An assessment of the implications of Mr. Santamaria's proposals regarding British aircraft carriers is attached. It will be noted that -

- (a) On certain rather arbitrary assumptions, a broad order of capital cost of the proposal to acquire two British aircraft carriers and necessary aircraft, escort and support ships, and shore facilities is \$650m. This assumes that all the ships would be at reduced second-hand prices.
- (b) Annual maintenance costs could be in the region of \$160m.
- (c) It would be impossible to transfer from the British Navy or to recruit or absorb the 15,000 additional personnel required.
- (d) The construction of base and shore facilities could take up to ten years, which is the remaining operational life of the ships.

2. British intentions as to the future of the carriers are not altogether clear, and it could certainly not be assumed that we would be able to gain an option on one or more British carriers.

3. As Mr. Fairhall said on 24th October, 1969, the Government is fully conscious of the implications of other Navies having a presence in the Indian Ocean, and the place of carriers in our defence forces in future is already exercising the minds of our defence planners. But a proposal to take over two British carriers with the escort and support ships that would be required, and to construct the shore facilities which would be necessary, is not realistic; would conflict with other naval and defence priorities; and would not be capable of achievement within the relevant time-scale.

Department of Defence,  
CANBERRA, A.C.T.

20 February, 1970.



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## R.N. AIRCRAFT CARRIERS - PROPOSAL BY MR. SANTAMARIA

### ASSUMPTIONS

For the purposes of this assessment of the implications of Mr. Santamaria's proposals regarding British aircraft carriers, as they appeared in various press articles in October last year, it is necessary at the outset to state certain important assumptions on which later comments are based.

#### A - The proposition itself

2. The proposition appears to be capable of two quite different interpretations -

- a. that Australia subsidise the U.K. Government to the extent of the operational and maintenance costs involved in continuing to operate the R.N. Carriers in South East Asian waters - based either on Singapore or Australia, or
- b. that the carriers with their support ships become an integral part of the RAN operating under the Australian White Ensign.

3. Under alternative (a) it would be problematic whether the vessels would always be available to be used in all situations desired by the Australian Government, and their participation in any serious situation could only be with the agreement of the U.K. Government.

4. Alternative b. above has been taken as the basis for later comment.

#### B - The composition of a carrier force

5. The desirable composition of a two carrier force is assessed as -

Aircraft carriers	2
Escorts	8
Combat Support Ships (AOE)	2
Repair Ship	1

#### C - Base Facilities

6. Essential base facilities for two additional carriers and their support ships on Australia would be -

- a. extensive additional airfield support;
- b. an additional Naval Base including dockyard facilities, barracks and married quarters, observing that the Naval Dockyards and Fleet Base facilities are stretched with the present Fleet ships.

.../2

D - Aircraft

7. Although the proposal envisages the acquisition of the carriers complete with aircraft, it is considered most unlikely that the U.K. Government would be prepared to dispose of the Phantom aircraft. The purchase of 60 new Skyhawk Aircraft has therefore been assumed to be a requirement in the examination of the implications of the proposal.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROPOSALManpower

8. The numbers required to man and support a Force as at Assumption B above would be -

2 Aircraft carriers (EAGLE, HERMES)	3845
8 Escorts (Based on SWAN)	1976
2 Combat support ships	560
1 Repair ship (based on STALWART)	397
Shore support (incl. 11.1% ineffectives)	<u>8590</u>
	<u>15368</u>

9. Additional manpower of this order is clearly not available within Australia and any suggestion that they could be obtained from the R.N. is not considered realistic.

10. Avenues for transfer to the RAN over a range of categories in which we have a shortfall are promulgated in RN Orders but the intake from this source has been disappointing.

11. Apart from the initial manpower increase to approximately 33,000, maintenance of that level would require an annual intake of 2170 to replace wastage. The annual intake required to maintain present numbers is 1150. The current annual intake is 1750 to meet wastage and new manpower requirements and these would not cease if the carrier force were acquired.

Works

12. Based on the formula currently used in project proposals for additional barracks accommodation and married quarters, the cost of additional accommodation for 15368 personnel would be of the order of \$80m.

# Annotated Bibliography

## Primary Sources

### -Archives

*National Archives of Australia (1970). [Personal Papers of Prime Minister McMahon] General correspondence 'S' [re B A Santamaria, Dr M J Simons, Minister for Social Services, B Sully, Antarctic Names Committee, South Vietnam, cherry production etc]. NAA, M4251. Canberra.*

These archives contain the personal papers of William McMahon, whilst he was Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister. The papers contain correspondence between B.A Santamaria and McMahon regarding foreign affairs including McMahon visits to countries such as Singapore. The archives also present the close relationship between McMahon and B.A Santamaria, showing letters in support of B.A Santamaria's show *Point of View* from McMahon. The archives were useful in highlighting the power Santamaria had within the political sphere despite never being in Parliament.

*National Archives of Australia (1971). SANTAMARIA, Bartholomew Augustine (B A) [political activist and journalist]. [PAPER FILES AND DOCUMENTS] NAA, M1129. Canberra.*

The files from NAA look at the Santamaria career between the years 1951-1978. The archives provide documents that show his life after the Labour Split. The documents include manuscripts for his show *Point of View* and through letters and newspapers shows the impact his views had on politicians and the Australia public. In particular, these archives give an insight into the friendship between Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister from 1975, and Santamaria. In one instance, the documents show Malcolm Fraser calls for an inquiry into Santamaria's request for the government to buy British carriers. The letters between Malcolm Fraser and Santamaria highlight the strong friendship and the similarities in political views and values.

*National Archives of Australia (1977). MENZIES, Sir Robert Gordon [Prime Minister of Australia]. [PAPER FILES AND DOCUMENTS] NAA, M1129. Melbourne.*

These archives contain documents of Robert Menzies, Former Prime Minister of Australia during 1962-1975. In relation to my area of study, the archives contain correspondence between B.A Santamaria and Menzies. Menzies can be seen in multiple letters to B.A referring cheques for donations to Santamaria's column the *New Weekly*. The archives provide useful information regarding the popularity and influence of Santamaria's writing.

*National Archives of Australia (1964). "The Price of Freedom: The Movement - After Ten Years" by B.A. SANTAMARIA. [Newspaper cutting] A5954. Canberra.*

*This newspaper cutting from the archives looks at the influence of Santamaria within the DLP. This newspaper cutting was useful in showing Santamaria's agenda within the DLP via the National Civic Council. The newspaper, although heavily one sided, looks at the relationship between the ALP and DLP 10 years after the split. The archives provide an insight into Santamaria's staunch Catholic beliefs and his influence in politics after the Split.*

*National Archives of Australia (1979). [Personal Papers of Prime Minister Fraser] B A Santamaria, 1207 Bourke Road, Kew, Melbourne. [exchange of documents] M1274. Canberra.*



*These personal papers look at the relationship between Fraser and Santamaria. The papers show correspondence between the two including classified documents on defence and foreign policy. The archives are also helpful in showing how Fraser sought Santamaria for political advice.*

National Archives of Australia (1973). *Catholic Action Part 1*. : A6122. Canberra.

This declassified ASIO files provide a useful insight into the link between the Catholic Action(i.e the Movement) and ASIO. The correspondence shows the importance Catholic Action had within ASIO, giving information to them regarding communist influence in ALP unions.

National Archives of Australia (1948). *Catholic Action*. [PAPER FILES AND DOCUMENTS] A6122. Canberra.

*These archives highlight the evolution of the Catholic Action from its beginning in 1937 to 1948. The documents look at the multiple organisation such as the National Rural Catholic Movement. Multiple documents feature B.A Santamaria and his letters to Cardinals and Archbishops from Australia and the world. The letter highlight his emerging power within the Catholic hierarchy in the 1940s. The archives also show letters to Santamaria from politicians regarding his Social Justice Statements.*

State Library of Victoria (1978). *BA Santamaria and Daniel Mannix*. [Letters and Documents] 11. Victoria.

*These archives from the State Library of Victoria look at correspondence between Archbishop Mannix and BA Santamaria, especially during the Movement. The letters highlight the achievements of the Movement in mitigating the growing influence of Communists in trade unions. The letters, also however, provide an insight into the political agenda of the Movement to perpetuate Catholic ideologies within the ALP.*

State Library of Victoria (1967). *BA Santamaria , Campion and Catholic Action*. [Letters , documents and speeches] 2. Victoria.

These letters and documents shown Santamaria's involvement in the creation of the Catholic Action and Campion. The speeches from Santamaria illustrate the aims of both organisations and the beliefs in which Santamaria stands for. The documents give a comprehensive insight into the beginning of Santamaria's career.

## **Newspapers, Reports**

Reid, A. (1954). *Santamaria - power behind " The Movement."* *Examiner*, [online] p.2. Available at: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/96380169?searchTerm=B.A%20Santamaria%20power&searchLimits=exactPhrase%7C%7C%7CanyWords%7C%7C%7CnotWords%7C%7C%7CrequestHandler%7C%7C%7CdateFrom=1940-01-01%7C%7C%7CdateTo=1957-12-31%7C%7C%7CsortBy> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

This newspaper article, printed a month before Dr Evatt's proclamation, describes the secret organisation , "The Movement", and its activities within the Labour Unions. The newspaper, both useful and reliable, provides a picture of the power and impact the Movement had within the ALP

*The Canberra Times* (1956). *Santamaria Says He Was "ASKED TO HELP WRITE 1954 LABOUR POLICY."* [online] p.1. Available at: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/138123163?searchTerm=B.A%20Santamaria%20power>

*&searchLimits=exactPhrase%7C%7C%7CanyWords%7C%7C%7CnotWords%7C%7C%7CrequestHandler%7C%7C%7CdateFrom=1940-01-01%7C%7C%7CdateTo=1957-12-31%7C%7C%7CsortBy* [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

Written by the Canberra Times, it recounts a statement from Santamaria saying that H.V Evatt , leader of the Labour Party, asked him to help write labour policy. Whether the claim is true or not, the newspaper, unbiased and reliable, highlights Santamaria's growing power in political circles, especially within the newly formed DLP.

Advocate (1941). Social Justice for a Disordered World. [online] p.5. Available at: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172191655?searchTerm=Justice%20Now%20b.a%20santamaria&searchLimits=exactPhrase||anyWords||notWords||requestHandler||dateFrom=1941-05-01||dateTo=1942-01-01||sortBy> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

This newspaper article published presents the speech of B.A Santamaria of his Social Justice Statement entitled "Justice Now". The newspaper article ( which recounts the speech), highlights B.A increasing power within the Catholic Church and his views on economic policy(regarding family wages and housing) within Australia.

Advocate (1943). Communists' Grip on Unions. [online] p.4. Available at: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/172207147?searchTerm=B.A%20Santamaria%20power&searchLimits=exactPhrase%7C%7C%7CanyWords%7C%7C%7CnotWords%7C%7C%7CrequestHandler%7C%7C%7CdateFrom=1940-01-01%7C%7C%7CdateTo=1957-12-31%7C%7C%7CsortBy#> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

This newspaper describes B.A Santamaria's address at Holy Name Society , Middle Park. The speech highlights the growing fear of communism in Australia, particularly within trade unions. The speech also is useful in showing Santamaria's belief against communist and for Catholic aid against it.

Queensland Times (1954). The Movement is a Danger to Labour Party. [online] p.1. Available at: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/118437967?searchTerm=Evatt%20the%20movement&searchLimits=#> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

This newspaper recounts Evatt's proclamation to the Federal ALP Executive of the Movement. The newspaper is help because it provides an insight into the growing tensions within the ALP that resulted in its split.

## **Interviews and Speeches**

Hughes, R. (1997). *Interview with B.A Santamaria*.

This interview was conducted by Robin Hughes with Santamaria, a year before he died. This interview provides an in-depth look into his life and provides the inner thoughts of Santamaria with regard to his views of politics and religion.

Mcilroy, T. (2019). *Interview with B.A Santamaria's Grandson*.

This interview was conducted by email. Thomas Mcilroy is the grandson of B.A Santamaria. Via email, I asked him questions regarding the influence of the Movement within the ALP and his grandfather's relationships with people in power. Moreover, I also asked him about B.A Santamaria as a grandfather and legacy that he has left. Thomas provided in-depth knowledge of the impact his grandfather had on Australia society , socially and politically. The interview also gave a great insight

into why he was such a powerful figure in politics and how, people like Tony Abbott were drawn towards Santamaria.

Lipski, S. (2019). *Interview*.

This interview was conducted via email. Sam Lipski is a well-known journalist and met Santamaria while he was filming his show "Point of View". The interview provided a vital insight into the skills and intellect of B.A Santamaria on the show. Lipski explained the major influence the show had on Australia families everywhere, every night.

## Secondary Sources

### Books, Reports and Journal Articles

Santamaria, B. (1989). *Daniel Mannix, the quality of leadership*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press. This book written by Santamaria, explores the influence Daniel Mannix had in Australia. For my research, the book was useful in highlighting Mannix's little involvement within the Movement and the father-son relationship between Mannix and Santamaria.

Henderson, G. (2015). *Santamaria: A most unusual man*. 2nd ed. Written for the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Santamaria's birth, the biography looks at Santamaria's upbringing all the way to his death in 1998. The book looks deeply into the Movement and whether or not it resulted in the split of the labour. Henderson detailed biography contains extensive primary sources and interviews.

Mount, F. (2012). *Wrestling with Asia*. Ballan, Vic.: Connor Court Pub.

Mount's book serves as a memoir and attempt to make sense of major events, including the Vietnam War, the rise of Suharto and the invasion of East Timor, through the eyes of B.A Santamaria. Frank Mount's book was the first account of the Movement and the Pacific Institute, two major organisations ran by B.A Santamaria. The book provides an insight into the Pacific Institute and how he set up a DLP-type catholic party in South Vietnam to provide a base for President Thieu, and to help him run South Vietnam if the South won the war.

Moran, B. (1998). B. A. Santamaria (1915–1998). *Policy, Organisation and Society*, 15(1), pp.186-191.

The journal article looks at the power of Santamaria within the catholic church and his close relationship with Archbishop Mannix. The journal provides a glimpse into the religious agenda behind the Movement and the repercussions the Split had for the Church. The journal also offers useful primary sources.

Morgan, P. (2008). *Running The Show*. 4th ed. Victoria, pp.12-78.

This book brings together a selection of documents written by B.A Santamaria and throw light on crucial episodes in his career for example his trip to the Vatican. The hundred documents reveal new angles on his strategies, and which throw light on the general principles which informed his various activities. They highlight his affiliations with politicians and other important people in Australia society.

### Speeches

*From Inquisition to Freedom*, (2001). [TV programme] Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

The radio interview between Bruce Duncan, author of the recent book "Crusade or Conspiracy", and Father Paul Collins gives a view into the influence of B.A Santamaria in Australian political and

religious spheres today. The radio interview also provides an insight into B.A Santamaria's upbringing, as a child of Italian migrants, and his devotion to Catholicism.

Speech of B.A Santamaria ( 2007) (Speech) Tony Abbot in Victoria

This speech highlights the political influence Santamaria had in Abbott's life. In the speech Abbott, talks about his first encounter with Santamaria and how, in many ways ,he was his first mentor.

## Documentaries

*Bob Santamaria Documentary*. (2015). [DVD] Directed by H. Fitzsimmons. Lateline.

This feature on Lateline highlights the power Santamaria had within the Australian Parliament, having close relationships with Malcolm Fraser and William McMahon. The use of archival footage, and an interview with Gerard Henderson, Author of "Santamaria: A Most Unusual Man" made it a useful source.

*The Power of Bob Santamaria*, (2019). [TV programme] ABC.

The conversation between Michael Hogan and Bruce Duncan looks at the power of religion in politics, with particular reference to the Movement. The program provides an insight into the political power of Santamaria whilst in the Movement and what he may have been like if Labour Party never split.

## Websites

Newsweekly.com.au. (2008). *SPECIAL FEATURE: B.A. Santamaria, strategist and prophet*. [online] Available at: <http://newsweekly.com.au/article.php?id=3327> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

This article written by Cardinal George Pell, gives a summary of the long career of B.A Santamaria, going into detail about the power of the Movement in ALP and the subsequent split. The article provides an insight into the Catholic fear of Communism during the 1940s and 50s and the mechanisations of the Movement which help to bring down this opposing force. However, the article is bias. Being one B.A Santamaria closest friends, the Cardinal, portrays him an extremely positive light, whilst also attacking Communism

Rodan, P. (2012). *How the Show went on / Inside Story*. [online] Inside Story. Available at: <https://insidestory.org.au/how-the-show-went-on/> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

The article looks at the link between ASIO and the Movement. Using archival material ( declassified ASIO file) the article, illustrates the importance of the Movement in ASIO for providing information on the Communist Party It also makes reference to connections with Movement controlled unions and US controlled unions body with the CIA and CIA money. However, this claim are not further developed or researched and thus haven't been included in my essay.

Club, M. (2018). *B. A. (Bob) Santamaria*. [online] MPC - Hall Of Fame. Available at: <https://halloffame.melbournepressclub.com/article/b--a---bob--santamaria> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

This article maps out his career from the *Catholic Action* in 1937 to his popular tv show *Point of View*. The website provided an unbiased recount of Santamaria's life and also provided other primary sources including videos of Santamaria and quotes from his followers.

Thomsen, S. (2010). *If The PM's Attacks On The ABC Sound Familiar, Perhaps It's Because His Mentor, BA Santamaria, Said It All 29 Years Ago*. [online] Business Insider Australia. Available at: <https://www.businessinsider.com.au/if-the-pms-attacks-on-the-abc-sound-familiar-perhaps-its-because-his-mentor-ba-santamaria-said-it-all-29-years-ago-2014-1?fbclid=IwAR0xB9v6Nb9qry5YW1tM0py7pNLub-5OHhVIDvevROZ3n7bck3ptSvHPMow> [Accessed 30 Aug. 2019].

This article correlates the views of Former Prime Minister Tony Abbott and B.A Santamaria. The article corresponds B.A Santamaria's condemnation of ABC with Tony Abbott's attack on SBS and ABC. The article is useful in showing the influence B.A Santamaria has had on today's leading businessman and politicians.