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Geraldine Brooks on Anthony Albanese

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The Monthly



THE BRASS BAND

By Sarah Krasnostein

The Saturday Paper



AS HOUSES?

The Monthly



AUSTRALIA'S TRUMP ELECTION

George Megalogenis

The Saturday Paper



THIS IS NOT GOOD

The Monthly



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Stan Grant on the ABC racism review: 'The change starts with these people who have bared their souls' | 18

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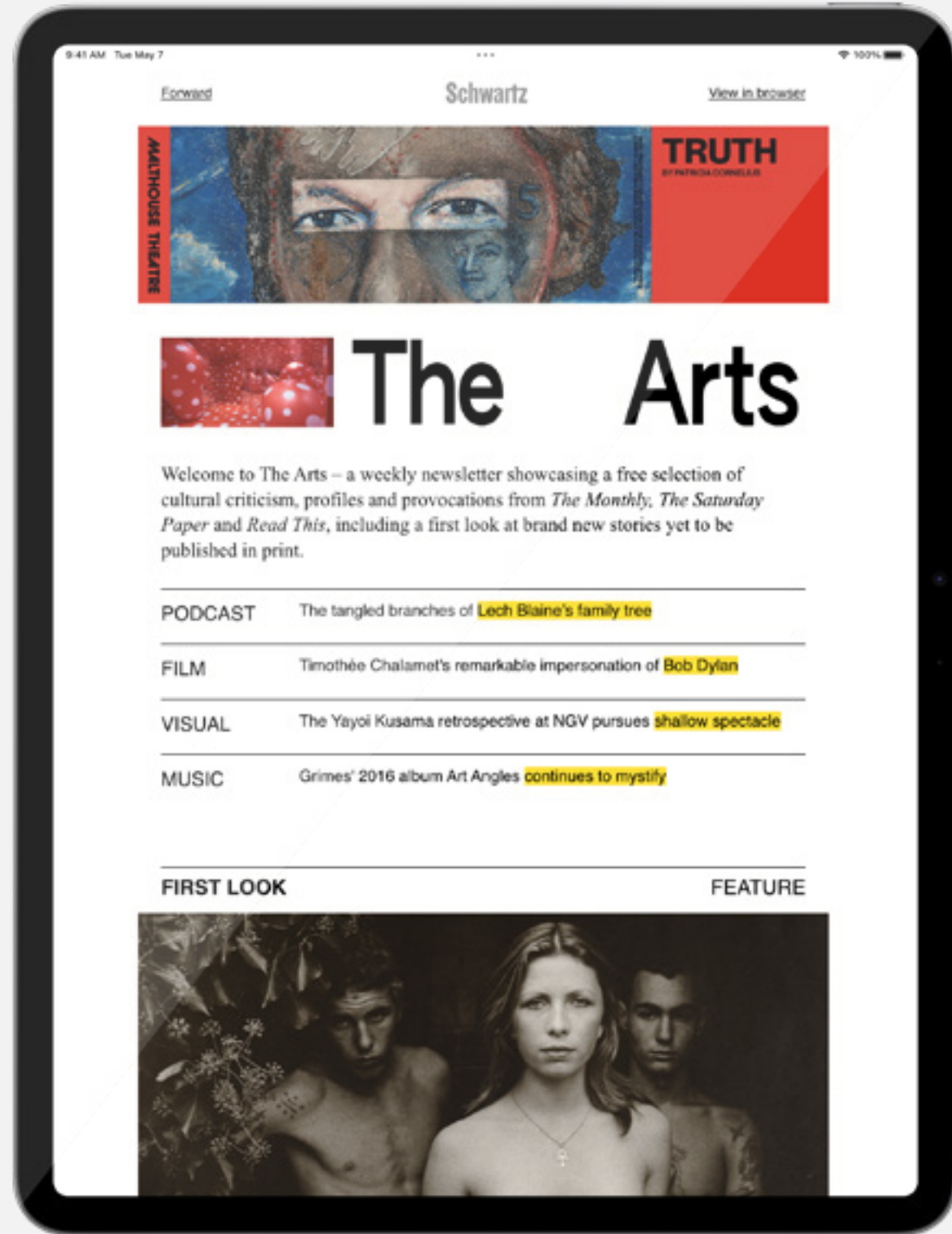
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FEBRUARY 15 - 21, 2025

Kate Kemp
The Grapevine

Amy Gray
is a freelance writer and author.

With late 20th century nostalgia saturating popular culture at the moment, it would be easy to mistake Kate Kemp's *The Grapevine* for an opportunistic rose-tinted tour through the shag pile. Not so. Kemp makes Canberra's 1970s suburban sprawl work hard to earn its keep.

Obviously a suburban murder mystery seen through the eyes of a precocious 12-year-old girl and a gaggle of guilty and nervous neighbours, *The Grapevine* names the killer on its opening page, leaving the rest of the novel to explore why.

Kemp re-creates 1970s Canberra with deft elegance, triggering a time-travelling sensory overload with her prose: the light filtering through a listless church on Sunday, the smell of over-boiled vegetables at dinner and the unique way Australians spoke back then.

The rich worldbuilding is equally matched with Kemp's skill at developing fully realised characters. Drawing on her work as a psychotherapist, Kemp delivers characters drawn with such depth and '70s-specific detail it's hard to resist the flashbacks. Kemp has a talent for accessible characters with vivid internal monologues and exchanges but her prose refuses to tip into sentimentality. These are not characters seeking readers' love; rather they hold an almost truculent insistence that we recognise them, flaws and all, as extensions of the era they inhabit.

This is where Kemp truly shines, using people's love of nostalgia as a metaphor to show us the darker truth, fencing us into the

Canberra cul-de-sac, shoulder to shoulder with its inhabitants, to see the streaks in the shine. Kemp reminds us of its restrictions - the almost oppressive inability to evade prying neighbours and their regressive views, systemic discrimination and lack of opportunities, all crammed into a world where grumpy old men and neglected women act as cruel shepherds ushering everyone into conformity.

It's tempting to call *The Grapevine* a novel about suburbia or the 1970s, but that feels insufficient. What Kemp has captured is something more enduring: the ways people construct and dismantle their worlds, the ways history and gossip weave together to make lives both unbearably hidden or uncomfortably visible.

The result is a novel that doesn't just inhabit its time but dissects it with the keen curiosity of an anthropologist ready to catalogue its secrets.

Hachette, 432pp, \$32.99

THE SATURDAY PAPER.COM.AU

Sarah Jollien-Fardel
(translated by Holly James)
My Favourite

"All of a sudden, he has a gun in his hands. So Jeanne, the narrator of Sarah Jollien-Fardel's novel *My Favourite*, begins her story. A paragraph later, the moment and gun have been left behind, the tale moving on, but not before the reader has been given a dense sketch of the domestic scene: a young girl, an older sister, a frightened mother, an abusive father.

Translated by Holly James, this short novel proceeds propulsively, ranging from an incident when Jeanne is eight through to her 40s, from a working-class Swiss alpine village to international advertising. The propulsion comes from Jeanne, who is creative, intelligent and possessed of a strong sense of justice. She escapes the family violence of her childhood to a boarding school and then to university on the shores of Lake Geneva.

In the jumble of Jeanne learning to be "the weird girl" and discovering a "spark of affection for where I was from" - familiar themes for country mice in the city - it comes as a shock to realise she hasn't escaped at all. Her father remains the monster of her nightmares, erratic and controlling. Around him, every word and gesture becomes irrational, poisoning her existence. The violence continues for her sister and mother in different ways, and when Jeanne as an adult learns of desire, she is soon recapitulating her father's abuse with her first lover.

This is what she has worried about from the start. Observing how alike her mother and sister are, she thinks, "if I wasn't like them,

Jakobson clashed with Andrew Shearer, who was Lowy's director of studies when she arrived. Shearer was on the rise. In 2019, he became cabinet secretary to Scott Morrison, then took up his current position as director-general of the Office of National Intelligence. He was a crucial figure in negotiating what became the AUKUS deal between the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia. The clash was ideological, not personal, according to those who observed it. Jakobson argued for engagement, understanding, nuance and complexity in the relationship with China. In a 2012 paper, she argued that the differences in the political systems should not impede the building of trust - she distinguished this from "strategic trust", which she said was not possible while the Communist Party had a monopoly on power. "However distasteful China's political system is ... I do not see why Australia's elites would not want to understand how Chinese senior officials think, and above all how best to have an impact on Chinese decisions and perceptions."

Shearer, meanwhile, cleaved ever more closely to the US intelligence and defence communities, building his connections and relationships of trust in Washington.

Jakobson left the Lowy Institute in 2014, planning to write a book called *China Matters* with another China specialist, Bates Gill. The idea behind the book became the foundation for the organisation. It is a measure of how well she regarded that despite, by her own admission, being "not much of an administrator" and a relative outsider in Australia, she assembled the necessary support from businesses with government, she gained sponsorship from members of the board of interest in China, including Rio Tinto, PwC, Aurizon and Star Entertainment. In return, she and other members of the board gave them briefings.

China Matters was never large. At its peak there were 10 employees, many of them part time. In the 2017-18 financial year - before its troubles began - income was just under \$1.2 million, according to the accounts lodged with the Australian Charities and Not-for-profits Commission.

White describes Jakobson as a practical woman and a comparative optimist. He regards the conflict between China and Australia as fundamental: "China wants to push America out and take its place as a leading regional power." Unless that is resolved, he says, the relationship can only go badly.

But Jakobson, he says, had faith that building conversations and increasing understanding could have big effects, even avoid war.

China Matters organised study tours to China for politicians and business chiefs. The first, in 2018, included the then shadow treasurer Chris Bowen and Liberal MP Julian Leeser. It was endorsed by the then secretary of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Martin Parkinson.

The second, in 2019, included Richard Marles, now Minister for Defence, who described it as "high value", and Tanya Plibersek, who had been shadow minister for foreign affairs and its rose-tinted view of the China under the CCP. China Matters went on to become deputy leader of the National Farmers' Federation, who wrote that it had been "A great way to build shared understandings ... critical to maximise opportunities for Australian agriculture."

That study tour was in September 2019. Nobody knew it, but it was the end of the golden era.

"However distasteful China's political system is ... I do not see why Australia's elites would not want to understand how Chinese senior officials think."

IT WAS UNDER Malcolm Turnbull, prime minister from 2015, that Australia began to take a tougher line against China, calling out the increasing attempts at interference in Australian affairs. In August 2018, Australia banned the Chinese phone company Huawei from involvement in the national 5G network. In the same year, Turnbull introduced national security and foreign interference laws - the biggest counterintelligence overhaul in decades. The new laws included tougher penalties for traditional espionage activities along with a registration scheme for agents of foreign political actors.

A sea change in public debate came with the publication in 2018 of the book *Silent Invasion*, by Clive Hamilton, on the increasing infiltration of the Chinese Communist Party in Australian civil society. Hamilton was a hero to the China hawks, but others accused him of racism, of promoting a "McCarthyist manifesto".

The mixed response was well summed up by historian Frank Bongiorno, who wrote in a review that Hamilton had "done us a service in bringing together a great deal of information about a trap "of viewing Communist China as uniquely demonic" in a book "littered with ... overstatement".

Hamilton is scathing about China Matters, and his views reflect those of some policymakers who would not speak on the record.

"Everything China Matters wrote or said served the interests of Beijing," Hamilton tells me. "It would be going too far to refer to them as 'useful idiots', but they certainly acted as CCP patsies."

In 2017 and 2018, Hamilton says, there had been a "fundamental shift" in government and business "in understanding of what China had become under Xi Jinping and the danger it represented for Australian democracy ... Everyone who looked at the situation clear-eyed could see that Australia had to abandon its rose-tinted view of the China under the CCP. China Matters kept the rose-tinted glasses on - in fact, clung to them."

But it was not under Turnbull, who lost the prime minister-ship to Scott Morrison in August 2018, that the move against China Matters began. Contacted for this essay, Turnbull says he has nothing to offer: "To be honest, I don't know what happened

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IMAGE / Shaun Gladwell: A sculpted, symbolic portrait of Julian Assange floating in reflection, 2024. © Shaun Gladwell. Courtesy of the Artist & PALAS, Sydney.

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BY DAPHNE DU MAURIER

THE WINDS WILL CHANGE. AND THEY'LL BE WAITING.

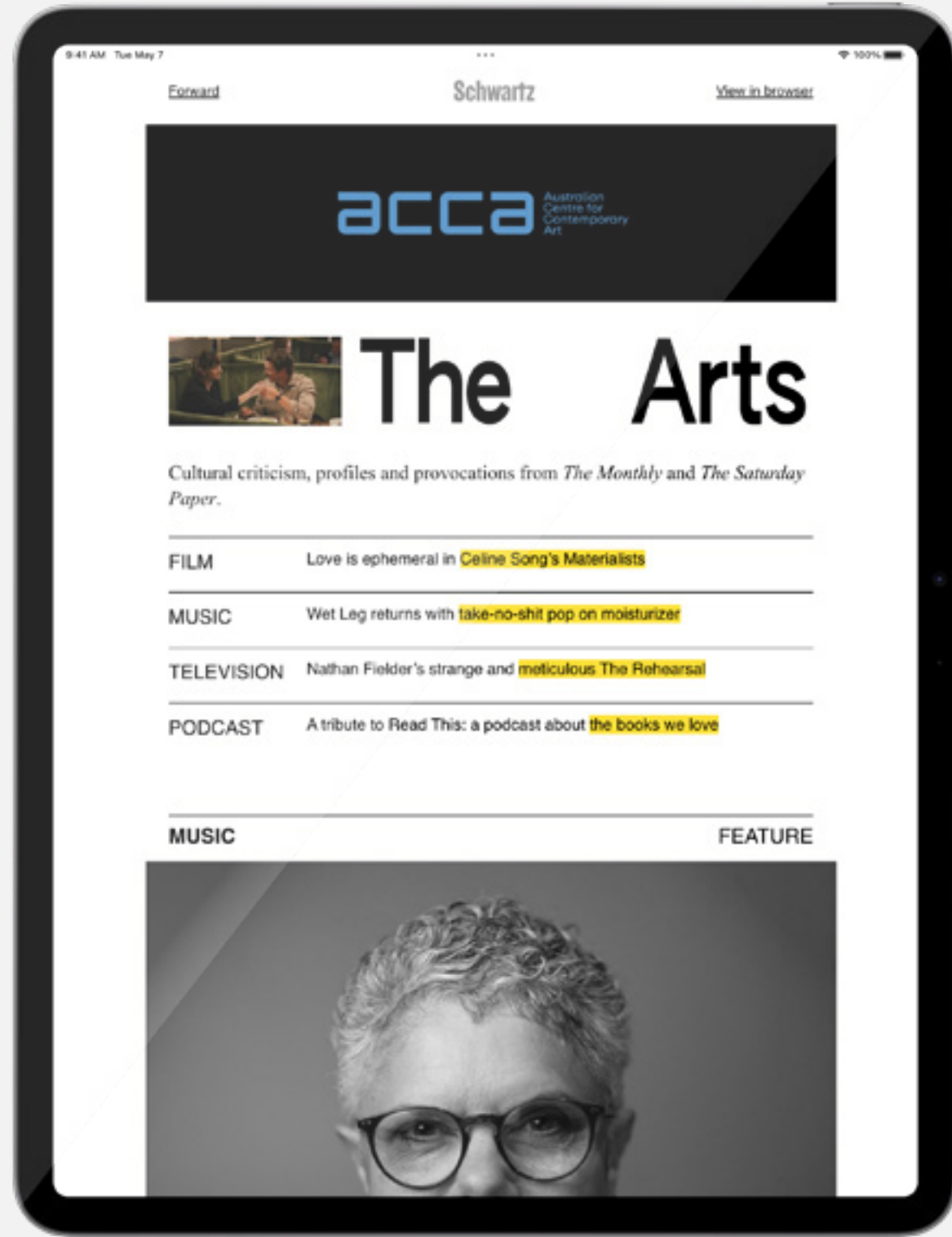
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8 APRIL 12 - 18, 2025 THE SATURDAY PAPER.COM.AU

Trade winds

Continued from Page 1

and how we respond now will shape our standing for the next four years." A Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade official emphasised Australia's relevance, and hence its potential leverage, on Capitol Hill.

"What I keep seeing in Washington is President Trump and other senior members of the administration, Republican and Democratic lawmakers, all talking about Australia, whether it's trade, defence or critical minerals, and that tells you something important," the official said. "We matter. Maybe more than we realised. That's reassuring, but the flip side is that with visibility comes risk. When you're on Trump's radar, you're also in the firing line, so think very carefully before you say anything."

With parliament prorogued and the government in caretaker mode, Australia has paused direct negotiations until after the May 3 election.

Meanwhile, government ministers are working on a range of alternative offers that can be used as bargaining chips if Labor wins. They are emphasising a two-pronged strategy of steady diplomacy abroad and economic reassurance at home.

On the latter, Treasurer Jim Chalmers has met with the heads of the Big Four banks, Macquarie Group and key superannuation funds, and convened the Council of Financial Regulators - including Reserve Bank of Australia Governor Michele Bullock and Joe Longo, chair of the Australian Securities and Investments Commission - as well as Gina Cass-Gottlieb, chair of the Australian Competition and Consumer Commission. Chalmers also held separate talks with Future Fund chair Greg Combet and Australian Securities Exchange chair David Clarke, then capped the week by hosting the board of the Business Council of Australia.

The mobilisation isn't simply performative, given the rising risk of a global downturn that could push many countries into recession. While the direct impact of the tariffs on Australia is modest, says Dr Vladimir Tyazhenkov, senior trade economist at the University of Sydney, "the bigger threat is systemic. If the trade war weakens China or Europe, that hits demand for our commodities - iron ore, coal, base metals."

Within hours of Trump's "Liberation Day" tariff announcement on April 2, the prime minister announced a five-point plan, starting with the establishment of a strategic reserve of critical minerals, designed to enhance Australia's leverage in global supply chains.

Alongside this is a \$50 million relief package that has been allocated to industries hit hardest by the tariffs, particularly beef producers. The plan also includes stricter anti-dumping protections and new procurement rules to prioritise Australian-made goods that is part of a broader shift toward economic self-reliance.

Albanese, Trade Minister Don Farrell and Foreign Affairs Minister Penny Wong have all ruled out concessions on areas such as the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme, which the US has cited as detrimental to its drugs industry, and biosecurity, as the basis for Australia's restrictions on US beef imports.

Dr Daniel Kiely, senior research fellow at the Bankwest Curtin Economics Centre, welcomed the targeted support measures and cautioned against kneejerk responses.

"We shouldn't be reactionary," Kiely tells *The Saturday Paper*. "Retaliatory tariffs would only hurt Australian households. The goal should be to preserve open trade, which gives consumers greater choice and lower prices."

Kiely said the support package would be especially vital for small to medium enterprises, many of which lack the capacity to switch markets quickly.

"They need help navigating that transition. With the right backing, they can adapt - but it's not automatic," says Kiely.

Overall, he says, while a levy on Australian goods is not ideal, there may be opportunities for Australia, and policymakers should look at the longer-term potential.

"We've seen massive growth in our exports to Asian economies over the last decade, and that will continue to be the case," says Kiely. "So again, continuing to work with established FTAs [free trade agreements] with and making sure that we look out for and position ourselves for additional benefits that may arise from that."

Beyond economic management lies a deeper ideological disruption, because what makes Trump's actions uniquely destabilising is not just the tariffs themselves but also the world view they signal.

Trump is the first US president since Ronald Reagan to prioritise economic transformation over immediate growth, says Professor Wesley Widmaier, an international relations scholar at the Australian National University.

Unlike his predecessor Joe Biden's forward-looking industrial strategy, Widmaier says, Trump's vision is nostalgic.

"This is not Alexander Hamilton saying, you know, we're going to build canals and we're going to get to the next level. This is kind of a conservative use of tariffs to bring back something that has already gone. It would be like Albanese saying, 'Let's bring back Holden.'"

Australia's vulnerability, Widmaier argues, isn't just material.

"There's always this push-pull between aligning with the hegemon and hedging through regional institutions or global rules-based norms," he says. "Trump's return is shifting that balance again."

Viewed through this lens, says Widmaier, Prime Minister Albanese's observation that the US imposing a 10 per cent tariff on Australian exports is not the act of a friend may signal a broader recalibration away from reliance on the US as a "great and powerful friend" and towards a more regionally enmeshed strategy that emphasises upholding

shared international standards, rules and principles, rather than simply pursuing narrow self-interest or power-based goals.

"To the extent that Australia tacks between foreign policy priorities of: one, aligning with great and powerful friends; two, acting as a middle power; and three, engaging with Asia and the region, I think we will see a bit less of one and a bit more of two and three," says Widmaier. "This may be more a bit less of one and a bit more of two and three, I agree with the general direction as likely."

It's also worth noting that the best PMs didn't drink the British or American Kool-Aid. We should not have great and powerful friends... we should be appropriately transactional with partners," adds Widmaier.

"One gets the sense that Turnbull was great at managing both Obama, on PBS disputes, and Trump, on migrant agreements and tariff exemptions. I get the sense that Albanese is similarly hard-headed."

That shift is already evident in Australia's trade policy.

Over the past decade DFAT has deepened ties with India, the United Kingdom, the European Union and Indo-Pacific nations. Since the UK deal took effect in 2023, beef exports to Britain have risen more than 400 per cent. Under the Australia-India agreement, exports of oats, citrus and timber have also surged, pushing two-way trade up 120 per cent year-on-year.

Diversification alone won't be enough. Officials say the next frontier will require deeper integration, including common regulatory standards, mutual recognition of qualifications and infrastructure investment in freight and supply chains.

While back-channel negotiations with Washington will continue, expectations are low. "Even Turnbull's steel exemption took months," says one Labor backbencher. "This will be a grind."

According to the same backbencher, Australia may be starting from a favourable position - given its trade deficit with the US and robust defence ties - but exemptions will be rare and likely dependent on the make-up of the next US congress after next year's mid-term elections, as much as on Trump himself.

Emeritus professor Richard Pomfret, an international trade expert at the University of Adelaide, agrees that the tariff fallout must be kept in perspective.

"We got off relatively lightly. But the real concern is the precedent - Trump's tariffs

"This is a good time for the final push on an EU deal. The US accounts for just one-eighth of world trade - less than China or the EU. There's a lot to work with elsewhere."

undermine the very principles the WTO [World Trade Organization] was built on." Pomfret also argues that Australia should move to preserve the multilateral system by "doubling down" on its partnerships within other trading blocs such as the 12-nation Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership, and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, the world's largest trade agreement, covering 15 Asia-Pacific nations including Australia, China, Japan, South Korea and all 10 members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, as well as a potential trade agreement with the European Union.

"This is a good time for the final push on an EU deal. The US accounts for just one-eighth of world trade - less than China or the EU. There's a lot to work with elsewhere."

Yet even the best diplomacy won't help Australian businesses that rely on the US if they can't adjust to the change in circumstances.

Despite Australia maintaining dozens of FTAs, many firms still struggle to make use of them. The Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry warned last year that the "noodle bowl" of overlapping trade deals is confusing and off-putting.

"For small exporters, tangled rules of origin and endless paperwork can be the end of the line," ACCI said in a submission to parliament. "In a crisis, trade deals must be not only comprehensive - but usable."

That's why Canberra's response to Trump's tariffs, policymakers argue, must include domestic reform, such as simplifying paperwork, resolving non-tariff barriers and helping small to medium enterprises plug into global markets.

Ultimately, Australia's economic resilience won't be measured in tariff rates - but rather in how quickly and confidently it can pivot when the next shock comes. ●

Tina Stefanou

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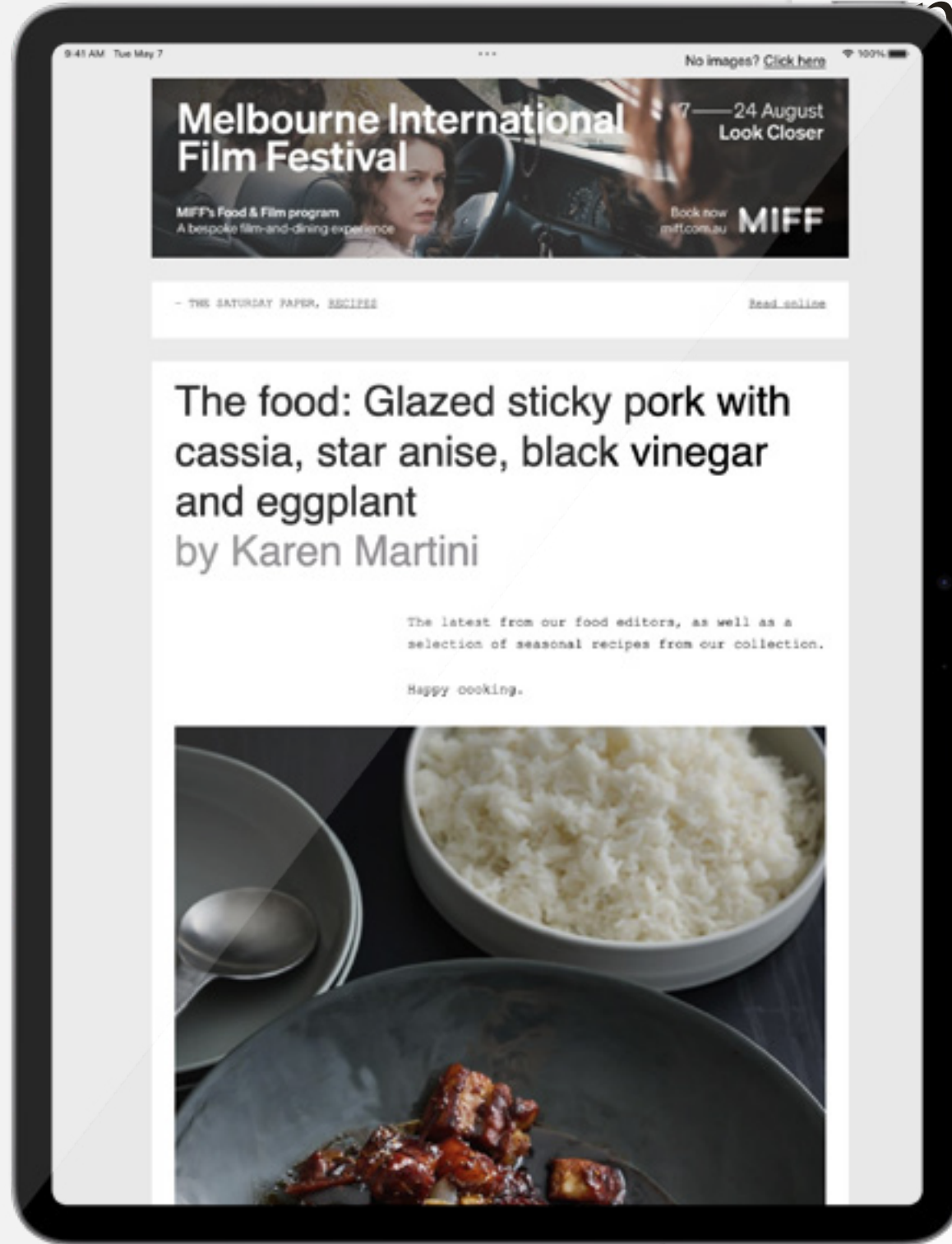
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4 JULY 19 - 25, 2025 THE SATURDAY PAPER.COM.AU

Banned on the run

...on winning the prize, a light had started flashing stairs surveillance room of the casino and the house trying to win back its money/ing me on the way... Megan receiving fines in the mail for my hitherto-erogan parking practices, my failure to vote in council elections, whatever they could come up with... 've gotta do something with this money.' I said

ally. You should buy stocks," was people's advice. "But which ones?" "No one knew. The prize, I was informed, being a literary prize, would be taxed. "But it already is tax," said my friend, pointing to its

Oh God," I said, "we're talking about tax at a party." Here were the pitfalls of bourgeois life, which I'd one week ago decided to aspire to, with none of its trappings. "I've gotta buy this bloody house already!" I strode heroically into the bank, who told me to stride back home and fill out the form online. At my computer, I discovered another great trick: for years, filling out my little tax returns, I'd been at great pains writing stories, that, although I'd made this much money writing stories, I'd spent this much money on pens, and between the two I'd made practically nothing - nothing! Now I was expected to use the same tax return to show the bank how flush I was with cash.

Undeterred, I carried on. For a shining moment, things seemed possible. Friends and family came with offers of help. The government was running some scheme to allow people without proper savings to become indebted for life on the proviso that we continue pushing up house prices nationwide.

I had even found the place: a beautiful, modest little house in central Victoria with two sheds, a backyard - a spare room for guests and floorboards that sloped - charmingly, I thought - towards the street. It was a house where you could be in love - the deep, unhurried kind - where you could fix friends' cars in the driveway, pull carrots from the bed near the backdoor and carry them through to the kitchen. A place where you could do your life's work, especially if your life's work was poking around. But if your life's work had to be propped up by a job of any kind, you were in trouble.

A bacon factory was one of the only games in town. Professional types commuted by train to the city; artistic types tried to get by on schemes and side hustles. In December, they were all down at the markets trying to sell each other fresh zucchinis. It sounded idyllic, except for the each other fresh zucchinis. It sounded idyllic, except for the mountain of debt I'd be trying to climb a house nearby.

My friends - a couple - had just bought a house nearby. We sat on their verandah as the sun drifted down to the horizon without being interfered with by buildings, and

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Post

Heath Gilmore is a freelance writer



1 Zelensky warns Trump and world leaders of Putin's trickery

Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelensky and EU leaders are alarmed over a dirty deal after Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin's joint call to end the war.

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26 JUNE 7 - 13, 2025

Ocean Vuong The Emperor of Gladness

Luke Horton is a novelist and critic.

In economically depressed East Gladness, Connecticut, 19-year-old Hai, a suicidal college dropout, is talked off the ledge of a bridge by an elderly Lithuanian widow, Grazina. Grazina lives alone in a tumble-down house by the river and she asks him to stay. From here, life begins to get better for Hai. He reconnects with his cousin, Sony, who works at HomeMarket, a fast-food restaurant, and when Hai gets work there too, he meets a colourful collection of co-workers who quickly become something of a found family for him. "He would survive, he decided once and for all."

And yet, there are problems. Hai's mother believes he's in medical school, his pill addiction is only getting worse and Grazina's addition is circling, looking to put her in a home. Over a series of misadventures and impressive set pieces, including one hog-slaughtering scene you will not quickly forget, Ocean Vuong portrays the precarious, grim lives of everyone, but Vuong's more conventional second novel is ultimately an entertaining and tender one.

Jonathan Cape, 416pp, \$34.99

David Stavanger The Drop Off

Jennifer Compton is a poet and playwright.

"Fifteen ways to be erased", Stavanger examines the infernal tribe of bullies: "In some ways, their victims/ were the most reliable intimacy they had in their lives, often one/ in which they had a sense of agency and control." But the compassion of insight can only go so far. "Stunning to/ look into the lig of your child and see yourself burning."

The cumulative effect of reading *The Drop Off* is of being tenderised: of being softened up, so to speak, to accept the implacable reality of a world that is both beautiful and terrible.

This is an extraordinary book. David Stavanger deftly uses the rhythms and rituals of poetry to revelatory effect. *The Drop Off* delights with its craft, and illuminates unflinchingly the heart of the matter.

Upswell, 116pp, \$24.99

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27

Books

Gail Jones The Name of the Sister

Kirsten Krauth is an author, poet and podcaster.

18

Comment

"That's why Pa fought in a war for a country that had 'done nothing for us', because it isn't for any nation or any person to bestow or deny our human dignity."

APRIL 26 - MAY 2, 2025

THE SATURDAY PAPER.COM.AU

19

imagination, but I am grateful for it in any case. Pa is more legend to me than touch or sight. He was a bull rider and shearer, a fruit picker and rabbit trapper. Cecil William Henry Grant was Black with a good streak of Irish, beside the works of Shakespeare and the King James Bible. He loved words and God. Cecil was a Rat of Tobruk. With his comrades he helped turn the war when they dug in against Rommel's overwhelming force in North Africa.

The German radio propagandist Lord Haw-Haw called them "rats in a trap" - they were dead men walking - but the Australian soldiers adopted the name as a badge of honour. Rats became a symbol of their resilience.

Pa was in his 20s when he signed up. My grandmother was scared and furious. She had three little kids and they lived on an Aboriginal mission in a remote New South Wales town. They were locked out of Australia. Why would he fight for it? What has this country done for us? she asked him.

Because it is our country, he said.

There was something more. I reckon he owed a debt to his brother. His older brother Ivan fought in World War I and was killed in battle. Somewhere on the fields of France a Wiradjuri man lies still, his spirit never to come home.

Three years Pa was gone. He nearly died when he contracted mumps on the boat over to the war. I have read his war records and he went AWOL a few times, played up a bit, but they all did, but fought when he had to.

There's a photo of him and his mates, all in their uniforms like war heroes, and I can't help but envy them. In the middle is a dark face, Pa.

He always said no one looked at the colour of your skin when the bullets were flying. He must have felt so free there. Funny thing to say, that you can be free in war, but I know a little about it.

I have a modest but deep and profound experience of war. I have covered conflict in

from his body would come the sweetest tender. But when ye come and all the flowers are dying, If I am dead, as dead I well may be, You'll come and find the place where I am lying, And kneel and say an Ave there for me. I barely knew my grandfather; he died when I was young. Everyone said he loved to sing. I can feel the rough of his face on mine and I don't know whether it is a memory or

MUMA 50

My grandfather's war

Stan Grant is a theologian, writer and Charles Sturt University distinguished professor.

THE BIRDS

Monash University Museum of Art
Ground Floor, Building F
Monash University, Caulfield Campus
Free entry
monash.edu/muma
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Image: Jeh Berean, Callum Morton, Linda Tigg (Monash Art Projects), The Birds 2024. Installation view, Ian Potter Sculpture Court, Monash University Museum of Art, Naarm/Melbourne, 2024. Photo: the artists

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