

**ROBIN:** This is the Development Policy Centre podcast, and I'm Robin Davies. In this episode, I interview Bill Armstrong. Bill's best known as head of the non-government organization Australian Volunteers International, for 20 years until his retirement in 2002.

Bill was made an Officer in the General Division of the Order of Australia in 2003 for services to the international community. Bill's played a leadership role in Australian volunteering for more like 60 years, and he's still doing it. I'm not going to say a lot by way of introduction, because a lot of biographical details come out in the conversation. So, straight to the interview.

Bill, I wanted to start with a question about your role in international volunteering in general. I think it's important right at the beginning to get a sense of really what you've devoted much of your working life to and why. So you're very well-known for your leadership role in international volunteering, particularly as head what was the Overseas Service Bureau.

It later became Australian Volunteers International. And I guess in that role, you would have often dealt with volunteering skeptics who think that volunteering is a kind of amateur activity, that it doesn't have a lot of impact, or at least lasting impact. So if you're talking to a skeptic and you want to tell them about a situation where volunteering really did have a significant, lasting impact, what would that be?

**BILL:** Robin, I think that when you're talking to skeptics, of course you are right that regardless of qualifications and experience of volunteers, and though volunteers are usually very highly experienced, but there are lots of people who somehow can't get out from under the fact that if you don't earn big money you're not really professional or there's something wrong with you, or you're a "missionary, mercenary or misfit".

That's usually the thing they seem come up with. To talk about the role of volunteers and achievements, I mean I can go back to the PNG days, the Papua New Guinea days, when Australian volunteers were substantially—there were substantial numbers of Australian volunteers in nursing and teaching, in the medical field, and engineering, right through Papua New Guinea.

And I would say that while it's difficult to go and pick out one in particular, you just have to say that a whole lot of the country was very, very dependent on volunteers. I remember our program in Vietnam before the Australian government went back with its program in Vietnam.

We were involved with volunteers through a project approach, which is not our normal approach that we do, but a project approach where we trained or upgraded about 1,000 Vietnamese English-language teachers. You can talk about refugee camps in Africa and other parts of the world, where volunteers not just only from Australia but from other parts of the world have been, have made significant contributions.

I can think of a situation in the Cook Islands in the Pacific, where for something like 10 or 15 years it was a volunteer, not the same volunteer, who was responsible for the electrical engineering, the power plant of the Cook Islands for many years, until they were able to take responsibility.

In East Timor following '99, Australian volunteers worked there. There were some 200 from Australia, some of those working through the UN, working in very senior positions within the fledgling public service at that time, in health, the housing department. And one or two of those volunteers went off, were chosen by the UN to go over and work at UN headquarters.

So in terms of describing the quality and the professionalism of volunteers, there's no problem about that, and they are usually very highly qualified and often much more qualified than people that they're working alongside of who are earning a lot more money. And maybe later on, I can talk a little bit about the whole concept of money.

**ROBIN:** Yeah, okay. Actually, I wanted to focus just briefly on the case of East Timor, because I mean you're based in Melbourne, and Australian Volunteers International is headquartered in Melbourne. For reasons that have never been completely clear to me, there's a special relationship between Melbourne, or possibly the whole of Victoria, and Timor-Leste.

So there was a huge upsurge, a huge response, in the wake of the East Timor/Timor-Leste crisis. And a lot of that, in Australia's case, came out of Victoria. A lot of those people, the volunteers, didn't just go to Dili and work in public administration. They went way out into the field and did things that I think the highly paid consultants were very unlikely to do for more than a few days. So I'm interested to hear a little bit more about the role that volunteers, especially from Victoria, played out in the rural areas of East Timor.

**BILL:** Yeah, well you're right. Victoria did play a significant role and so did Australian Volunteers International and some of the other organizations from Australia. I suspect you've got to go back in history to find out why there was such a close relationship, and it goes back, I'm sure, to the military operation of the second World War.

I'm not sure about this fact, but it seems to me that there are a lot of Victorians who were in East Timor at that time. And so it's—there's a long memory, both in East Timor and in Victoria, of that. So there was a lot of people. I can remember on one occasion, we were looking to work closely with the Victorian government, and we put out a call.

The Victorian government and ourselves, that's Australian Volunteers International, a call for volunteers. And we had something like 2,000 responses. So there's an incredible upsurge of interest and support, which of course continues through the friendship groups and so on, in Victoria.

And many of those friendship groups had volunteers go and work in the field, in the rural areas, as organizers, administrators, teachers of English and so on, right through—I personally have been involved with Suai in Cova Lima province, which was—Suai was where the cathedral was—where some 90 people were slaughtered in the cathedral in '99.

It's right near the border of West Timor. And we had—the Australian Volunteer program placed three volunteers there over a period of six or seven years, who worked with the community, with that Timor community in Suai, and have now built—there is now a thriving community center, some 20 to 30 staff, full time and part time, training people in government and in the community in things like English language, computer training, agriculture, women's programs in the village areas.

And while you can't say that that was the result of the volunteer, the volunteer—it's the result really of the community, but the volunteer's job was to facilitate and encourage, and enable those people to come together and to build that community.

**ROBIN:** I'd like to move on to talk about your experience with the Overseas Service Bureau. I'm not sure when it changed its name, but I believe it was still OSB when you took on the CEO role.

**BILL:** Yeah, we changed it in '99 I think it was.

**ROBIN:** Yeah.

**BILL:** I think it was '99. Yep.

**ROBIN:** Alright. So I think you started in the early 80s, around '82.

**BILL:** I actually worked at the Overseas Service Bureau when it first set up the Australian volunteer program in 1963 through to 1970.

**ROBIN:** That's right—

**BILL:** That was my first post.

**ROBIN:** You were CEO in '82 I believe.

**BILL:** That's right.

**ROBIN:** Yeah. So when you took on the leadership role, it was a very small organization, just a dozen staff or so, a budget of around \$400,000. When you left two decades later, it was really one of the most substantial NGOs in Australia. The staff had grown tenfold and the budget was around \$20M. Now that's huge growth, and I'm interested I guess in two things. What was driving the growth, but also how did you manage that and how did it change the character of the work and the organization?

**BILL:** Well, I mean yes, I'm tempted to say luck, but yes, the organization was going through a tough time before I came back and took over. So I was a bit lucky in one sense, to be able to pick up an organization that had had some difficulties. And the government came in behind us at that stage and was really keen to develop—have the volunteer program develop.

So I have to give credit to the government for giving that sort of support. I think the other thing to say is that the developing countries that we were working in at the time, they were really searching and looking for technical assistance of the kind that the volunteers provided.

So from Mozambique to—right through Africa and Asia and the Pacific, there was huge demand for Australian volunteers at the time. And at the same time, there was a lot of Australians prepared, and still are and always have been, prepared to be volunteers. So all that came together along with the Australian government at that time being prepared to come in behind the community program, because it was a community-based program, community-run program.

And so that provided the opportunity for it to grow. It did grow. It grew very quickly, and it—I guess the other element of that was the recruitment of staff. By the end, I would have thought that Australian Volunteers International had one of the best staff of any organization in the country.

I don't know what you put that down to. I think there was a lot of interest in working there. It was an organization that was open. It was an organization that was flexible and also an organization that was innovative. We were able to do things, like I mentioned before, the

work in Vietnam in the very early days, to work in Cambodia immediately after Cambodia—we were able to move into Cambodia with a program.

We had the English language programs in both those places. We were able to work in a place like the Solomon Islands with a project called the Solomon Islands—an organization called the Solomon Islands Development Trust, where we provided some 20 or 30 volunteers over time working at a community development level out in the outer islands of that country.

So—and those opportunities were all there, and at the time, the finance and the resources were able to be found. So we grew fairly quickly. How did I cope with that? Well, I was a fitter and turner. I learned on the run how to manage an organization. I was able to recruit staff who were technically competent in doing that.

I always think that management is about knowing what you need by way of expert assistance and being able to find them and not believing that you think you know how to do everything. And I guess that worked for me.

**ROBIN:** So I'm interested actually in the role of the government in coming in to support the organization. So was that under Hayden as Foreign Minister? Who was the Minister at the time?

**BILL:** No, no, it was under a liberal government at the time, '82.

**ROBIN:** So that was Fraser?

**BILL:** Tony, the Foreign—

**ROBIN:** Tony Street perhaps?

**BILL:** Yes, it was Tony Street. Yeah. But the Foreign Minister was a little guy from down the Western District of Victoria, and he was very supportive. But in a sense, Robin, to understand it properly you need to go back and find out what happened in the decade before, or the 14 years before that, because the government was having lots of problems with the Overseas Service Bureau.

And there was—I don't know whether you know that there was a committee of review set up, chaired by Baden Teague, who was Senator Baden Teague, chaired a senate committee to review the organization. And the seeds for that came from the suggestion that Australia should have a Peace Corps.

And AusAID, or ADAA, or whatever it was called in those days said, “Hang on. We’ve got this organization. Why don’t we have a look and see what it’s up to?” And so there was that investigation, and that’s where the big change came, the recommendations that came back from that committee of review.

**ROBIN:** That’s interesting. So that’s a subject we will come to shortly, that question of how far Australia’s volunteering effort really is an initiative of the government, and that’s come up again and again. And of course recently, it’s led to the creation of the Australian Civilian Corps, which is really in no way a volunteer outfit. But the same thought keeps coming up over the years.

I’d like to go to a more general level just for a moment. So beyond volunteering, you’ve been very active in the Australian NGO community for a long time, working with ActionAid Australia, Caritas, you were President of the peak NGO body, the Australian Council for International Development, for four years, and you’ve worked earlier in your career in development education.

So you’ve got quite a unique and very long-term view of the Australian NGO sector. So, I know it’s a big question, but how have you seen it change over time? How has it evolved? Do you think it’s changed in a good way or do you think NGOs have become a bit too corporate?

**BILL:** I think the major change that’s taken place is that the community engagement component of the not-for-profit area, or the community sector, whichever you want to call it, has lessened quite dramatically in the last 30 years. By that I mean that to most of these organizations, their beginnings, their foundations, were very much initiatives that came out of the community.

If you take Oxfam/Community Aid Abroad, it was a series of school groups, of community groups, right around the country linking with projects and programs overseas and raising funds and building relationships. And the same goes for the Australian volunteer program. It was an initiative out of Melbourne University, the Student Christian Movement, etcetera, etcetera.

It was support from church groups and others when I came to the Australian Volunteer Program. In the beginning, we received funds from the churches, from the community, from the service groups, Rotary and all the rest of it. So gradually over time, organizations, those organizations and others, have begun to tender for government money.

In the beginning, if you go back to the 70s, the 80s, the Australian government came in behind a lot of that work. ACFOA, or ACFID as it is today, was a link to the Australian government and negotiated. And I was part of the negotiations that government would give support to community-based organizations.

So they came in behind those community organizations, saw the programs they were running and decided that they would back them and support them, and give them extra support so that they could increase that kind of work. Gradually, that changed to government then moving towards tendering out its own programs to NGOs.

And today, most of the 140 organizations that make up ACFID are fairly dependent, many of them very dependent, on Australian government money. Gradually the change took place that rather than the government providing funds to the NGOs or the community organizations for their programs, their initiatives, gradually that began to change so that the government was tendering out programs which were government programs.

So they weren't the initiative of the community, but they were programs of the government that sometimes linked fairly closely to the work of the NGO, and sometimes was not quite so close.

And so today, you've got a great dependence on government tendering, which in some senses is not much different than the way in which the commercial world operates with government in its funding. And that means, of course, that the control of NGOs, or their programs, is much more in the hands of the government rather than in the hands of the community.

**ROBIN:** What do you think needs to happen at the present time then? Do you think NGOs need to actually have a strategy for weaning themselves off of government funding and reconnect with the community?

**BILL:** I think if we're serious about development. Because development is not aid. I'm not opposed to aid. Aid is important. Welfare is important. Because everybody knows welfare and aid does not enable change to take place. It doesn't tackle the real causes. It tackles the symptoms.

And so if we're serious about working for change and enabling organizations, communities and governments themselves to take responsibility for their own situations, then I think we have to really look seriously about what is development. And we talk a lot about development meaning that people take responsibility for their own situation.

We hear this a lot in Australia being said about Australian—indigenous Australia. We're all the time saying that they've got to be responsible, they've got to take responsibility. But most of the programs that are government funded and run are programs that provide services.

They do things to them. They do things for them. But they don't do things with them. That's the slogan that we use in Indigenous Community Volunteers. So yes, I think—I hope that what will take place in the next few decades is that the community organizations will move back to the community much more.

We'll work out ways to be self-reliant, which may mean reducing in size, of course. Because they may not be able to raise the sorts of funds they can get from government. But the control of these organizations should be much more in the hands of the community and not dependent on a major donor like the government.

**ROBIN:** The availability of government funding has another effect, I think, which is a proliferation of NGOs. There are incentives for NGOs to be created or to split in order to access funding, particularly through the central funding vehicle. So in your view, do you think there's scope for some mergers and acquisitions across the sector?

**BILL:** Look, I've always believed that. I've always believed and really tried to work towards that, Robin, that NGOs should at least work together in partnership if not combine and come together. I mean you've got to actually look at the NGO community, where they come from and what their real motives are for operating.

But over the years, and I could talk about some of the stories of where we did try to work together. But yes, what's happened, of course, is—you asked a question about being more commercial. Because of the tendering process, the competition aspect has been increased dramatically because NGOs now have to compete for funds.

So when there's a funding allocation for some funds to go to Indonesia, or an African country, or a program somewhere, you've got NGOs in Australia competing with one another for those funds, not working together, not coming together. It's just like the commercial field.

I mean everything becomes commercial-in-confidence. You can't share with the other organization what you're doing because that's part of your competitive edge to get the funds. So yes, there's far too much of that. And I put the blame on the competitive approach to funding.

**ROBIN:** It's interesting to reflect on that in connection with volunteering because there was a period where I think it's fair to say the Overseas Service Bureau had pretty much a monopoly on international volunteering in Australia. And I think at the time, within the aid agency, there was a feeling that more competition would be desirable.

And I think that is in part what led to the creation of the Australian Youth Ambassadors for Development Program, which was managed by another organization. What's your view about that? I mean there's always going to be a tension between monopoly and competition, but particularly in the area of volunteering, do you think it makes sense for there to be more than one significant volunteer-sending organization in Australia?

**BILL:** No, I don't think so. I think that there's a place—there is a place for other volunteer programs, that's true, that specialize in particular fields. And you do have RedR, which is a volunteer program, which is another form of volunteer program for engineers. You have the Churches—PALMS.

You had—there were other groups operating in the field. And there was some partnership—was quite a lot of partnership potential there as well as partnership that was happening during my day around the place. But what really happened to AVI in that sense was that you're right.

There was a very strong feeling there should be competition, and that that would improve the call for volunteers. I don't know what it was meant to do. But the beginnings of the Youth Ambassador Program were really ... the seeds of that were with us at AVI. In fact, we did the initial research.

We did the work on a pilot program in Thailand, and then somehow along the way it was taken away and given to what fundamentally really was, at that time, a kind of not-for-profit consulting firm, I guess, which has now grown and grown, and taken more and more of—and received more and more of the tenders.

Has it improved the volunteer program? I'm not in a position to say whether it's improved it. I think you can absolutely say that the cost per volunteer has gone up quite considerably as a result of that. I don't—I wouldn't think that—I mean I don't want to comment about the quality of the program, because I've always had a view that volunteers are good people, really good people, and you can mess them around a lot and they'll still do a damn good job.

But I think that there was another way to—there were lots of other ways to go. But I think that at the time it was not much faith in the not-for-profit area from the government at the time, when all that happened.

**ROBIN:** Let's talk a little bit about, I guess, money and control. So we've talked about how volunteer programs are actually run, but let's just focus a bit on the substance of volunteer work and, I guess, the place of volunteers within Australia's overall effort. So I think what's tended to happen a bit over time is that volunteers have been brought more within the sphere of the government's official aid effort.

They're being required to meet certain professional standards, work within certain safety and security guidelines. Sometimes their work is required to be complementary to that of the Australian government aid program, in country X. So more and more, it looks like volunteers are in a sense cut-price consultants.

Obviously there is no reason to have cut-price consultants. Why not just pay them adequate wages? So I'm sure that's not a trend that you would be in favor of, but how do you avoid that? How would you see the role of a volunteer as distinct from that of a consultant?

**BILL:** I think that to understand where I've been coming from, you've got to go back to that thing I said before about a distinction between aid, service provision and development. I think that there is a place for consultants working in providing a service for government, as outsiders coming in and giving some expert advice and help on things.

I have no hassles about that kind of thing. I think development and volunteers are different. They work with the community. They work with the government. They work as employees of whoever it is they're working for. They work alongside their colleagues. They're much more like one of them.

That's where the whole concept of volunteering came from in Australia, and—but other parts of the world picked it up from there, actually. The volunteer graduate scheme to Indonesia. It was all about building relationships between Australia and Indonesia, and Australians working alongside of their counterparts in Indonesia, working on the same salary level and on the same conditions.

That's where the concept of volunteering, international volunteering, comes from. It was not quite like that with the Peace Corps, but it was very much like that in Canada and the VSO. It was that sort of idea. So there's a quite distinct difference in the role of the consultant in my view, and the volunteer.

And I don't know whether that—I can go on from there, Robin. But it seems to me that that distinction, it means that volunteering is about building relationships, it's about learning and living and working together and making a contribution of course at the same time. I

used to be told by some government officials that Armstrong was only interested in Australians being educated through their experience as volunteers, which was—nonsense is a better word than the one I was going to use.

Because the two things go together – work together, build relationships, make a contribution. Of course you don't go as a volunteer unless you've got a skill to take and you've got a job to go into, but it's just as important to build those relationships and to learn from one another, and to bring that experience, that cross-cultural experience, back to Australia to help Australia be a better nation.

But at the same time, you're making a contribution because you're taking your skills as an engineer, or a doctor, or lawyer, to a job that needs to be done. But it's a quite different approach than the consulting approach.

**ROBIN:** Yeah, and I think that it's really worth underlining something you just said before for our listener. Volunteers don't do this precisely for nothing. Their basic costs are met, and they will normally receive some sort of compensation, which is more or less on a par with that that the people around them receive. And that's a completely different model, and it may well contribute a lot to their capacity to build trust and credibility with their counterparts.

**BILL:** Robin, I've always argued that in my opinion, volunteering has very little to do with how much money a person earns. And yet the concept of volunteering, around the world for that matter, is all about when you work—when you use the word volunteer, it immediately brings to mind, "Alright, here's a person who will do things for nothing."

Because our whole world is built around money. Everything has to be measured by money. Volunteering is not that. It's not about doing things for nothing. Yes, some volunteers do things for nothing. That's true. But volunteering in the international sphere, and certainly Australian volunteering, has never been that, and the basis was always to work on local salary and conditions to build relationships alongside of your colleagues.

And in that sense, you're working for reconciliation, you're working for building a relationship between Australia and our neighbors, and other parts of other countries, which is one of the aspects that's been lost, I think, or is being lost by Australia. Because we're increasingly seeing our neighbors and the rest of the world in terms of they're either a basket case to be helped or they're a trading ground for us to make money from rather than neighbors to build relationships with.

And I think we're losing that. I think we've lost that, very much with Indonesia and parts of the Pacific. And I think that's really sad. I think we were a lot closer to those parts of the world, 20, 30 or 40 years ago than we are today.

**ROBIN:** Over the last decade or more, you've become quite heavily involved in domestic volunteering, particularly in indigenous communities through the organization Indigenous Community Volunteers. I'm interested to know how much interest there is in the Australian community in volunteering in indigenous communities versus volunteering overseas.

And also, are there any connections between the two? Do some of the same people work both domestically and internationally? Do they sometimes set up relationships between domestic groups and organizations overseas?

**BILL:** I became—I've had an interest in the indigenous Australian issue, first Australians, for a long, long time. But I was particularly, during my time as CEO of AVI. I took particular note of the numbers of volunteers who returned to Australia from working in other parts of the world, asking the question, "What is happening in Australia?"

And asking that question for two reasons. One, their own interest. But also, two, because they were so often asked that when they were overseas. So one of the things I attempted to do then, which is now back in the 90s, was to set up—we set up a program which was called Remote Recruiting, to recruit Australians to go and work in indigenous communities, to recruit Australians who had the volunteer type attitude.

In the case, we actually recruited some 200 during that time, and they went in on salaries, that were the salaries that were normally paid for those jobs. But what we were looking for, we were looking for in recruiting people who had the volunteer attitude. They first of all wanted to be there.

They wanted to work with the indigenous population. They wanted to learn from them. And of course, they were then receiving a salary. So that's where my interest goes back to. I've been now involved in Indigenous Community Volunteers for some—I don't know—15-16 years now, as we've slowly built it and it's become a community development organization much more now than just a volunteer program.

Though volunteers are very much a part of it. The interest in the Australian community, Robin, there is no problems in finding people who are willing to go and work as volunteers for a time in indigenous communities. The problem often is—the problem really is finding a way in which the communities are enabled and able to actually take control and responsibility for their own situations.

But the interest, I find the interest in Australia really very, very high. In fact, I've just come back from the Kimberly, where I attended the Kimberly Land Council, annual general meeting and a number of other organizations, a language and cultural organization there. And we've had lots of volunteers working with those communities.

And again, the fundamental thing that I get back from the people, the communities, the indigenous people, is how fantastic these volunteers were. Not because they were such brilliant builders, although they probably were good builders or people who did a strategic plan, but because they built fantastic relationships with the community, and the community keep inviting them back, to come back and work with them, and keeping contact with them.

So there's a huge opening here. Can I just say one final thing? The Australian government's approach to communities is still to do things to them, to do things for them, and then blame them when they don't take the responsibility themselves instead of—it's very difficult to get government funding for us to do the sort of work we do that is work with the community and enable them to take the responsibility, if that sort of makes sense.

**ROBIN:** Just to finish up, I want to ask two questions, that are related. One's about you. I think people would be wondering how a fitter and turner like you ends up having the career that you had. Was it an accident or did you very purposefully move towards this line of work when you joined OSB, as it was, way back in the early 60s as a staffer?

**BILL:** There's no doubt that I very deliberately—after I got the job working with the Overseas Service Bureau and the volunteer program, that set the mold for me for the future. And I continued—I continued and I was lucky enough to be able to continue to be involved in that all the way through.

But to understand how a fitter and turner got to that stage, it's that I became involved as a 16-year-old, having left school at 15 to do an apprenticeship. I became involved in the youth organization called the Young Christian Worker's Movement, which was my education really.

It was my—it is an organization that has a different approach to education. It's experiential, talks about experiential learning, has a methodology called, "See. Judge. Act." It's very much the same as Paulo Freire's action and reflection that people would know, the Brazilian educationist.

It's a bottom-up approach to education, not a top-down approach to education. And so, as a 16-year-old, I was being enabled to take responsibility for social events and sporting events,

and learned to be responsible that way. And so it was a formation movement that set me on this track.

The next step, of course, was then when I was finishing, when I was getting married, I didn't have a job. And that's where the luck came in. The Overseas Service Bureau was looking for somebody at the time. I can still remember the ad said tertiary qualifications preferred, but I somehow got through that and have not looked back, I suppose.

**ROBIN:** So what you say about the Young Christian Worker's Movement, I guess that leads me to the second part of the question, which is really around whether there's that kind of infrastructure these days. I mean do you think that there's anything like that that really promotes the sort of social and especially international commitment among younger people these days?

**BILL:** There's very, very little today that's doing that kind of thing. The organizations—that organization, which of course was a Catholic youth organization, it turned out to be a bit too progressive or a bit too radical for the church. So the support fell away, which is what's happened in many organizations.

And I suggest that it's now connected to what happened to—what's happening to volunteering around the world or community-based organizations around the world. So I think there's very little. There's a struggle goes on in Australia with indigenous education, between two methodologies.

The one that's promoted by government is still the traditional top-down learning, direct learning approach, which Noel Pearson and others promote. And yet the other one struggles, the bottom-up one, which is Chris Sarra's approach, an aboriginal leader in Australia, his approach, which is much more the one that I grew up with, which is you begin with what people know and you build on it.

You work up from there rather than top-down. There's very little of that that I can see happening around the world. But the second part of the question though, the young people, I think there's an incredible thirst among young people to be involved and to participate. I'm not sure that they know how to, and there's not too many organizations around that know what to do with their enthusiasm and their commitment.

But the young people that I meet and I know, I think are really, really concerned about the issues we've been talking about, and I hope that we can bring about a change before I go anyhow.

**ROBIN:** That's more or less where we finished, apart from some unpublishable chatter. So Bill retired around 15 years ago now, but is barely slowing down. He actually disconcerted me a bit at the beginning by telling me that he'd just received his OBE. I soon discovered he meant, "Over Bloody Eighty."

But his age has not stopped him. He's just recently returned from the Kimberleys. He's still very active with Indigenous Community Volunteers, and is just winding back a little bit with some of his other activities in Victoria. So Bill's going strong. You can read more about him in the Development Policy Centre's Aid Profiles series. Just go to our website, Devolicy.org, and search on "Aid Profiles", "Bill Armstrong". Thanks for listening.

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