
2024
CAMDEN CONFERENCE
INDIA
INDIA
INDIA
INDIA
INDIA
INDIA
Rising Ambitions
Challenges at Home
37th Annual
FEBRUARY 16-18, 2024
LIVE IN CAMDEN, MAINE
CAMDENCONFERENCE.ORG



29.5 YRS
MEDIAN AGE

67.7 YRS
LIFE EXPECTANCY

74%
LITERACY

23 LANGUAGES
ENGLISH IS THE PRIMARY LANGUAGE IN GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

RELIGIONS
HINDU 79.8% / MUSLIM 14.2%, CHRISTIAN 2.3% / SIKH 1.7% OTHER / UNSPECIFIED 2% (2011 EST.)

$3.73 TRILLION GDP
(5TH LARGEST IN THE WORLD & 3RD LARGEST IN ASIA BEHIND CHINA & JAPAN)

Friday, February 16

▶ **7:30 – 9:00 PM WELCOME & OPENING REMARKS**

WAYNE HOBSON
President, Camden Conference

DAVID BRANCACCIO, Conference Moderator
Host and Senior Editor, *Marketplace Morning Report,* American Public Media

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: *How India Sees the World*

NIRUPAMA RAO
Formerly India's Foreign Secretary
Ambassador of India to China and later to the United States

Discussion and Questions—

Saturday, February 17

▶ **9:00 – 10:30 AM**

Post-Colonial History

PRATAP BHANU MEHTA
Laurence S. Rockefeller Professor, Princeton University, and President of Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi

Politics and Governance

ASHUTOSH VARSHNEY
Sol Goldman Professor of International Studies and the Social Sciences, and Director of the Saxena Center for Contemporary South Asia, Brown University

Discussion and Questions—

▶ **10:30 – 11:00 AM BREAK**

▶ **11:00 – 12:30 PM**

Role of the Media and the Modi P.R. Machine

EMILY SCHMALL
Correspondent for *The New York Times* in Chicago; formerly its South Asia correspondent based in New Delhi covering issues such as the Indian economy, inequality, and the rise of Hindu nationalism

India's Regional Role

ASHLEY J. TELLIS
Tata Chair for Strategic Affairs and Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Discussion and Questions—

▶ **12:30 – 2:00 PM LUNCH**

▶ **2:00 – 2:45 PM**

India's Economy

ARVIND SUBRAMANIAN
Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, Formerly Chief Economic Advisor to the Government of India

Discussion and Questions—

▶ **2:45 – 3:15 PM BREAK**

▶ **3:15 – 4:30 PM**

Repression and Resistance in India

PRERNA SINGH
Mahatma Gandhi Associate Professor of Political Science and International Studies at the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Brown University

India's Resurgence, Nationalism and Minorities: It Was the Best of Times; it Was the Worst of Times

FERNAND DE VARENNES
Former United Nations Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues, and visiting professor at various universities, including the Université Catholique de Lyon, France, and the University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Discussion and Questions—

Sunday, February 18

▶ **9:00 – 10:30 AM**

India's Global Aspirations

TANVI MADAN
Senior fellow in the Foreign Policy program at the Brookings Institution, host of the "Global India" podcast, and Author of *Fateful Triangle: How China Shaped U.S.–India Relations during the Cold War*

How India's Growing Global Role May Shape U.S. Policy

DANIEL MARKEY
Senior Advisor on South Asia at the United States Institute of Peace and Senior Fellow at the School of Advanced International Studies Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University

Discussion and Questions—

▶ **10:30 – 11:00 AM BREAK**

▶ **11:00 AM – 12:15 PM**
PANEL OF ALL SPEAKERS WITH MODERATOR

▶ **12:15 PM ADJOURN**

Submit your questions for speakers anytime to **camcon2024@gmail.com**

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CAMDEN CONFERENCE

This weekend we will explore together international and internal dynamics of India, a country that is emblematic of the Global South's rising importance. India is now the world's most populous nation. Its economy is growing faster and modernizing more than many of us realize. How will India use its new clout in the world and in its region? At the same time, India is wrestling with, and sometimes ignoring, longtime internal challenges. Most of us, admittedly, do not know India well. We hope to change that this weekend.

The mission of the Camden Conference is to foster informed discourse on world issues. We like to say we bring the world to Maine. We are serious about these ambitions. It is also true that attending the annual February conference is as much an emotional and community-building exercise as it is an intellectual experience. There is a buzz in the air at all our venues. It is exciting to know we are surrounded by so many people who are interested in such important issues and that impressive presenters have travelled to Maine in mid-winter to speak to us. New, sometimes troubling, and always complex ideas are flying around rapidly as we strain to remember and synthesize what we are hearing.

We rely on a wide range of people. David Brancaccio is joining us once again as moderator, bringing his deep knowledge, sense of humor, and quick wit. Our program director, Jim Ruddy, leads a crew that maintains our high production values. Behind it all are several dozen dedicated volunteers and our three-person staff, headed by Executive Director Kim Scott, whose energy, dedication, and competence are legendary. She has been ably assisted this year by Peter Mattox and Eva McVicar. What a great team!

If you are a Camden Conference volunteer, Thank you! If you are not yet a volunteer, please consider putting yourself forward. Volunteering for the conference is interesting, educational, convivial, and rewarding. Beyond volunteering, there are other ways to help the Conference. You can donate to the student fund, or, best of all, become a Camden Conference member. Explore our website if you wish to know more. Or scan the lists of volunteers, members, and supporters printed in this program, find people you know on those lists, and ask them for information.



Wayne Hobson
President



WAYNE HOBSON is a retired academic who moved to Rockland from southern California in 2005. He served his entire academic career in the American Studies Department at California State University, Fullerton, which he joined after earning a PhD in History from Stanford University. His research and writing interests focused on the evolution of American public memory. He served as chair of his academic department, as the director of the university's honors program, as the university's director of academic advisement, and as president of the California American Studies Association.

Moderator



DAVID BRANCACCIO is Host and Senior Editor of American Public Media's *Marketplace Morning Report*. Most recently, his reporting has focused on ecosystems of innovation, drawing on the 75th anniversary of the semiconductor revolution. He also covers regulation of financial markets, the role of technology in labor markets, digital privacy, sustainability, and social enterprises. His work has earned some of the highest honors in broadcast journalism, including the Peabody, the duPont–Columbia, the Emmy, and the Walter Cronkite awards. Brancaccio anchored the award-winning PBS news program *NOW* until 2010. He is the author of *Squandering Aimlessly*, a book about personal values and money. He is producing a feature-length documentary film about the intersection of art and science, focusing on the exiled American rocket pioneer Frank Malina, who founded the enduring science and art journal *Leonardo*. Brancaccio grew up in Waterville, Maine, and attended schools in Madagascar, Ghana, and Italy. He enjoys bicycling, rocketry, and photography.

Keynote Speaker



NIRUPAMA RAO served as India's Foreign Secretary from 2009 to 2011, after a well-respected Foreign Service career that included diplomatic assignments as the first woman spokesperson (2001-02) of the Indian foreign office and as India's Ambassador to the United States, China, and Sri Lanka. Since retiring, Ambassador Rao has taught at various universities, including as a Senior Visiting Fellow in International and Public Affairs at Brown University's Watson Institute and as George Ball Adjunct Professor at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs. Her publications include the 2021 book *The Fractured Himalaya: India • Tibet • China, 1949–1962*. Ambassador Rao was a Fellow at the India-China Institute of The New School, New York, in 2016; Public Policy Fellow at The Wilson Center, Washington, DC, in 2017; and Pacific Leadership Fellow at the School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California San Diego in 2019. She is a Global Policy Fellow at The Wilson Center and received the Fellowship of Peace Award from the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Center in Washington in 2018.

Speakers



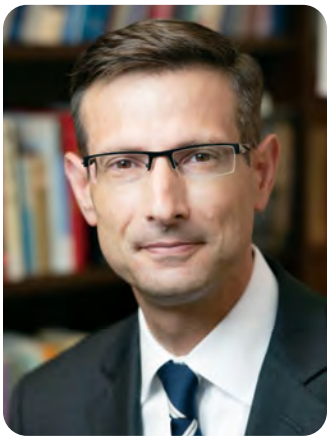
FERNAND DE VARENNES is the former United Nations Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues, appointed to that position by the UN Human Rights Council in 2017. His work and commitment focuses on the human rights of minorities, as well as on the prevention of ethnic conflicts; the rights of migrants; the relationships among ethnicity, human rights, and democracies; and the use of federalism and other forms of autonomy arrangements to balance competing cultural interests. As a guest professor and an international scholar and advocate, he has made contributions on these topics in many parts of the world. Over the past three decades, de Varennes has been a resident or visiting professor at universities in Africa, Australia, Asia, and Europe. He has published more than 250 articles, translated into some 30 languages. De Varennes is Visiting Professor at the Université Catholique de Lyon, France; Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas, Lithuania; and the National University of Ireland, Galway. He holds degrees from the Université de Moncton, the London School of Economics and Political Science, and the University of Maastricht.

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Speakers



TANVI MADAN is the director of The India Project at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, and a Senior Fellow with the Project on International Order and Strategy at Brookings. Dr. Madan's work explores India's role in the world and its foreign policy, specifically addressing India's relations with China and the United States. She also researches the approaches and activities of the U.S. and India in the Indo-Pacific, along with the development of interest-based coalitions. She is the author of *Fateful Triangle: How China Shaped U.S.–India Relations during the Cold War* (Brookings, 2020), and is currently writing a book on the China–India–U.S. triangle. Dr. Madan is a member of the editorial board of *Asia Policy* and a contributing editor at *War on the Rocks*, a platform for analysis and debate on strategy, defense, and foreign affairs. She holds a doctorate in public policy from the University of Texas at Austin, a master's degree in international relations from Yale University, and a bachelor's degree with honors in history from Lady Shri Ram College in New Delhi.



DANIEL MARKEY has two decades of academic, think tank, and government experience focused on international relations and U.S. policy in Asia with a particular focus on South Asia, and China's evolving role in the region. He is a Senior Fellow at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University, where, as a Senior Research Professor in international relations, he launched and led the Master of Arts in Global Policy program and taught courses in international politics and policy. Dr. Markey is also a senior adviser on South Asia at the United States Institute of Peace. He has served on the State Department's Policy Planning Staff and as a Senior Fellow for India, Pakistan, and South Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations. Dr. Markey is the author of *China's Western Horizon: Beijing and the New Geopolitics of Eurasia* (Oxford, 2020). His commentary has been featured widely in U.S. and international media. Dr. Markey earned his bachelor's degree in international relations from Johns Hopkins and his doctorate in politics from Princeton.



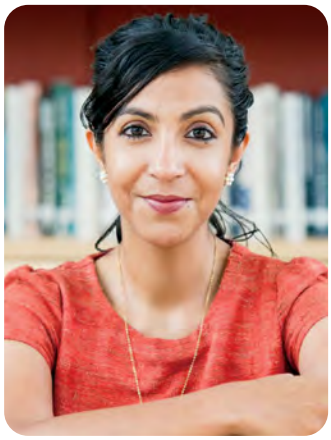
PRATAP BHANU MEHTA is the Laurance S. Rockefeller Professor for Distinguished Teaching at Princeton University and President of the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi. Previously, he was a professor at the New York University School of Law, a Visiting Professor of Government at Harvard University, Associate Professor of Government and of Social Studies at Harvard, and, for a brief period, Professor of Philosophy and of Law and Governance at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. Dr. Mehta was Member-Convenor of the Prime Minister of India's National Knowledge Commission and has contributed to a number of reports for leading Indian and international governmental agencies. He was previously Vice-Chancellor of Ashoka University, from which he resigned in March 2021, protesting political encroachments on academic freedom. His resignation led to university-wide protests demanding his reinstatement. He has published widely in political theory, the history of ideas, Indian constitutional law, and politics in India. He received a bachelor's degree in philosophy, politics, and economics from St. John's College, Oxford, and a doctorate in politics from Princeton University.

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Speakers



EMILY SCHMALL is an award-winning correspondent for The *New York Times*, currently based in Chicago. Previously, she was a *Times* correspondent in South Asia, where she covered, among many topics, India's struggles to include more women in its booming economy. She also covered Indian government policy, social uprisings, wealth and inequality, and the rise of Hindu nationalism. Earlier, she was an Associated Press correspondent in South Asia and Texas. Before joining AP, she was a roving foreign correspondent filing with datelines from a dozen countries across five continents. Her writing has appeared in many other outlets, including the BBC, the *Miami Herald, Newsweek, Financial Times, Christian Science Monitor, World Policy Journal, Salon,* and *Forbes*. She earned awards for her coverage of the 2014 Ebola virus outbreak in Dallas and for an extensive investigation of sexual assaults in U.S. public schools. She holds a bachelor's degree in Spanish from Bard College and a master's in journalism from Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism.



PRERNA SINGH is the Mahatma Gandhi Associate Professor of Political Science and International and Public Affairs, in conjunction with the Watson Institute at Brown University. Her research focuses on the improvement of human well-being, particularly as it relates to the promotion of social welfare on the one hand, and to the mitigation of ethnic conflict and competition, on the other. Her book *How Solidarity Works for Welfare: Subnationalism and Social Development in India* (Cambridge University Press, 2016) was awarded both the American Political Science Association's Woodrow Wilson Prize for the best book published in politics and international relations, as well as the American Sociological Association's Barrington Moore Book Award for the best title published in comparative and historical sociology. She is currently working on a range of collaborative projects around the themes of nationalism and public health. This includes coauthoring (with Matthias vom Hau) *National Solidarities and Strong States: When and Why Ethnic Diversity Is Not a Curse for Development and Democracy*, for Cambridge University Press.



ARVIND SUBRAMANIAN is an Indian economist who served as Chief Economic Adviser to the Government of India from 2014 to 2018. Subramanian is a Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, having previously taught at Brown, Ashoka, and Harvard Universities. In 2011, *Foreign Policy* magazine named him one of the world's top 100 global thinkers. As Chief Economic Adviser, Subramanian oversaw the design and implementation of a number of policy initiatives (including India's national Goods and Services Tax) and the publication of the annual *Economic Survey of India*, which became a widely read document on Indian economic policy and development and elevated the public discourse on economics. Subramanian is the author of the award-winning *Eclipse: Living in the Shadow of China's Economic Dominance* (2011) and *India's Turn: Understanding the Economic Transformation* (2008). His op-eds and essays have been published in *The Economist*, *Financial Times*, *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Newsweek*, *New York Review of Books*, and the *Business Standard*, India's leading financial daily.

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Speakers



ASHLEY J. TELLIS holds the Tata Chair for Strategic Affairs and is a Senior Fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, specializing in international security and U.S. foreign and defense policy, with a special focus on Asia and the Indian subcontinent. While on assignment to the U.S. Department of State as Senior Adviser to the Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs, he was intimately involved in negotiating the 2008 civil nuclear cooperation agreement with India. He has served as Senior Adviser to the Ambassador at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi. He also served on the National Security Council staff as Special Assistant to President George W. Bush and Senior Director for Strategic Planning and Southwest Asia. He is a Counselor at the National Bureau of Asian Research, the Research Director of its Strategic Asia program, and coeditor of the program's eighteen most recent annual volumes, including this year's *Strategic Asia 2023-24: Reshaping Economic Interdependence in the Indo-Pacific*. He is the author of *Striking Asymmetries: Nuclear Transitions in Southern Asia* (2022).



Indian-born political scientist and academic **ASHUTOSH VARSHNEY** is the Sol Goldman Professor of International Studies and the Social Sciences, and Professor of Political Science, at Brown University, where he directs the Saxena Center for Contemporary South Asia at the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs. Dr. Varshney's research and teaching cover three areas: Ethnicity and Nationalism; Political Economy of Development; and South Asian Politics and Political Economy. His books include *Battles Half Won: India's Improbable Democracy* (2013) and *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India* (Yale, 2002). He is a contributing editor to the *Indian Express*, an English-language daily published in Mumbai. He served on the UN Millennium Task Force on Poverty and has also served as an adviser to the World Bank, the UN Development Programme, and the Club of Madrid. Dr. Varshney is currently working on three projects: a multicountry effort on cities and ethnic conflict; the political economy of urbanization in India; and Indian politics and society between elections. He earned his doctorate at M.I.T.



INDIA IS 1/3 THE SIZE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH 4X THE POPULATION

Who We Are

Welcome to the 37th annual Camden Conference! Thirty-seven years is an impressive run for an event such as this, but the world keeps giving us interesting, timely and important things to discuss. Thanks to the Program Committee's crystal ball, each year's conference has been ahead of the curve on issues of global significance, even though the topic is chosen more than a year in advance.

The Camden Conference offers a unique opportunity to learn about and explore major issues in world affairs—"bringing the world to Maine," as we like to say. So here we are again, with India occupying center stage in the Camden Opera House. Fascinating and relevant in myriad ways, India is fast becoming even more so. Our distinguished speakers will bring this intriguing country into sharp focus. Your presence this February means the world to us.

In addition to the February conference, we continue to reach a wider audience throughout the year via our Community Events held in public libraries, and our diligent promotion of high school and college courses related to each year's theme. Always striving to connect and reconnect with our supportive audience, this year we began what we hope will become an innovative way to bring even more of the world to Maine. We held three special fundraising events to reconnect you with a trio of individuals who have made an impact on local audiences: David Brancaccio, our moderator for the past four Conferences, appeared in August on a stage of his own; Sergei Medvedev, seen virtually in 2021 and 2022, arrived in October to provide his perspective on Russia and Ukraine; and Stephen Huyler, who last appeared in advance of the 2010 *Afghanistan, Pakistan, India* Conference, shared his decades of India experience in December. Large and appreciative audiences attended all three events.

All of what we do is primarily accomplished by dozens of local volunteers who devote immense energy to the organization, putting in countless hours throughout the year. Still, the cost of "bringing the world to Maine" is significant. Vital financial support comes from ticket sales, memberships, corporate sponsorships, foundation grants, and your individual gifts. To learn more about supporting the non-profit Camden Conference and to review past conferences and other events, please visit *camdenconference.org*. Thank you! We're glad you're with us!

Past Conferences

2023: Global Trade and Politics: Managing Turbulence

2022: Europe: Challenged at Home and Abroad

2021: The Geopolitics of the Arctic

2020: The Media Revolution: Changing the World

2019: Is This China's Century?

2018: New World Disorder and America's Future

2017: Refugees and Global Migration: Humanity's Crisis

2016: The New Africa

2015: Russia Resurgent

2014: The Global Politics of Food and Water

2013: The Middle East: What Next?

2012: The U.S. in a 21st Century World: Do We Have What it Takes?

2011: The Challenges of Asia

2010: Afghanistan, Pakistan, India: Crossroads of Conflict

2009: Global Leadership and the U.S. Role in World Affairs

2008: Religion as a Force in World Affairs

2007: Europe: Old Continent in a New World

2006: China on the World Stage

2005: The Middle East: Compromise or Conflagration?

2004: Foreign Policy for the 21st Century: Seeking a Balance?

2003: Two Worlds Under Pressure: The Growing Crises of Population and Movement

2002: The Politics of Energy and Water

2001: Globalization: Its Impact on You and Me

2000: Southeast Asia

1999: Africa: South of the Sahara

1998: Latin America: Troubled Past, Uncertain Future

1997: The World's Only Superpower: Challenge or Curse?

1996: Islam and Politics in the Middle East

1995: China

1994: Russia: Today and Tomorrow

1993: The United States and Japan: A Critical Relationship

1992: The New World Order: What Will It Be?

1991: The Global Environment: A Foreign Policy Agenda

1990: U.S. Foreign Policy and International Trade: The Mutual Impact

1989: The Influence of the News Media in Shaping U.S. Foreign Policy

1988: The Making of American Foreign Policy: Myth and Reality

Camden Conference Student Education Programs

An important part of the Camden Conference mission is its commitment to help Maine college and high school students become global citizens through their participation at the Conference. Generous supporters make this possible through their donations during the spring fundraising campaign for the Camden Conference Student Education Fund. Students from throughout Maine attend the Conference; take courses for credit designed by their instructors based on the current Conference topic; and provide evidence of learning through a project, community presentation, essay, or other demonstration.



We're excited that this year's venues for the Camden Conference in the Classroom have returned to the Camden Opera House in Camden. In 2023, 13 high schools (rural, urban, public, and private) participated at the University of Southern Maine in Portland. In 2024, 17 high schools are participating, moving the Conference closer to our goal of attracting 20 high schools a year. Schools have offered differing ways for students to achieve an understanding of this year's topic such as a year-long course, a semester course, a special unit inside a general course, an AP course, or an expressly-designed independent study. Participating in the Conference offers these young scholars of the world the opportunity to meet fellow students they might not otherwise encounter. The single venue also allows for student-centered activities outside the Conference sessions where these young Mainers can interact and discuss some of the central issues of our time.

In 2024, the following high schools will be participating: Bonny Eagle Lake High School (Standish), Brewer School Dept. (Brewer), Camden Hills Regional High School (Rockport), Ecology Learning Center (Unity), Edward Little High School (Auburn), Foxcroft Academy (Dover-Foxcroft), Gould Academy (Bethel), Greenville Consolidated High School (Greenville), Hampden Academy (Hampden), Leavitt High School (Turner), Maine Academy of Natural Sciences (Hinckley), Oak Hill High School (Wales), Oceanside High School (Rockland), Orono High School (Orono), Piscataquis Community High School (Guilford), Sanford High School (Sanford), Watershed School (Camden).

College and university participants have similar opportunities and obligations to those of the high schools and are enrolled in conference-related courses.

The 2024 college and university participants include: University of Maine at Farmington, University of Southern Maine, University of Maine School of Policy and International Affairs at Orono.



Community Events

The Camden Conference Community Events Committee partners with local libraries every year to organize a vibrant program of free public events related to the annual theme. From lectures by local people who have particular knowledge in the topic, to book and film discussion groups, these events were offered in a variety of ways this year. Some libraries present speakers to an in-person audience, while some were hybrid events, giving the audience a choice of attending in-person or on Zoom. Some speakers presented on Zoom only. Several of the events were recorded, allowing for later viewing on our website. We are grateful to our 16 library partners and the dedicated librarians who made it possible for hundreds of attendees to enjoy these events.

Participating Libraries

Auburn Public Library, Donna Wallace
Lithgow Public Library, Augusta, Sarah Schultz-Nielsen
Patten Free Library, Bath, Lesley Dolinger, Hannah Lackoff
Belfast Free Library, Brenda Harrington
Blue Hill Public Library, Kaleigh Thomas
Camden Public Library, Julia Sagaser
Cushing Public Library, Wendy Roberts
Prince Memorial Library, Cumberland, Thomas C Bennett, Kelly Greenlee
Falmouth Memorial Library, Genna Mayotte, Keelin des Rosiers
Portland Public Library, Sarah Moore, Myles Robert
Rockland Public Library, Em Lewis
Rockport Public Library, Julia Pierce
Scarborough Public Library, Chip Schrader, Elsa Rowe
Southwest Harbor Public Library, Erich Reed
Merrill Memorial Library, Yarmouth, Heidi Grimm, Michael Carnes and Courtney Kleftis
York Public Library, Michelle Sampson, Sophie Smith and Karen Blass

Call for Volunteers

Volunteers drive the Camden Conference! Our committees are comprised of people willing to give their time and expertise to planning and executing not only the February Conference, but also the education programs and free community events that take place throughout the year. We are always in need of volunteers, so if you are interested in meeting and working with a group of like-minded individuals, let us know. We would love to discuss the possibilities with you.





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Community Events Presenters
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Marta Ameri
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Stephanie Curcion *(moderator for Rockport discussion group)*
Kate Dempsey
Sandra Garson
Girija Godbole
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Cipperly Good
William Hall
Brooke Harrington
Ustad Shafaat Kahn *(in collaboration with Portland Ovations)*
Erik Klausmeyer
Scott Miller *(co-facilitator Blue Hill discussion group)*
Asif Nawaz
Dee Patel
Raj Saha
Bob Sargent *(co-facilitator Blue Hill discussion group)*
Nikky Singh
Judy Stein *(moderator for Belfast discussion group)*
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