COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

EMPLOYEE POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM ☐ *Original* ☐ *Amendment*

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from private sources for travel taken in connection with official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report privately-funded travel on the annual *Financial Disclosure Statements* of those employees required to file them. In accordance with House Rule 25, clause 5, **you must complete this form and** ***file it with the Clerk of the House by email at*** **gifttravelreports@mail.house.gov, within 15 days after travel is completed.** Please *do not* file this form with the Committee on Ethics.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

1. Name of Traveler: Sophia Schilling
2. a. Name of Accompanying Relative: _____ *OR* ☒ None
   b. Relationship to Traveler: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify): _____
3. a. Dates: Departure: 11/30/2025 Return: 12/5/2025
   b. Dates at Personal Expense, if any: _____ *OR* ☒ None
4. Departure City: Washington, DC Destination: Chiang Mai, Thailand Return City: Washington, DC
5. Sponsor(s), Who Paid for the Trip: The Stimson Center
6. Describe Meetings and Events Attended: I attended the Stimson Center's Burma Forum, where we discussed the upcoming elections in Burma with leading scholars and advocates on the topic. We met over the course of two days and completed 6 sessions of lectures.
7. Attached to this form are *each* of the following, *signify that each item is attached by checking the corresponding box*:
   a. ☒ a completed *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form*;
   b. ☒ the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* completed by the trip sponsor *prior* to the trip, *including all* attachments *and* the *Additional Sponsor Form(s)*;
   c. ☒ page 2 of the completed *Traveler Form* submitted by the employee; *and*
   d. ☒ the letter from the Committee on Ethics approving my participation on this trip.
8. a. ☒ I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the attached sponsor's agenda. *Signify statement is true by checking the box.*
   b. If not, explain: _____

I certify that the information contained on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature of Traveler: Sophia Schilling **Date:** 12/11/2025

I authorized this travel in advance. I have determined that all of the expenses listed on the attached *Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form* were necessary and that the travel was in connection with the employee's official duties and would not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

Name of Supervising Member: Betty McCollum **Date:** 12/11/2025

Signature of Supervising Member: Betty McCollum

last updated 7/2023

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

SPONSOR POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM

☐ *Original* ☐ *Amendment*

This form must be completed by an officer of any organization that served as the primary trip sponsor in providing travel expenses or reimbursement for travel expenses to House Members, officers, or employees under House Rule 25, clause 5. **A completed copy of the form must be provided to each House Member, officer, or employee who participated in the trip *within 10 days of their return.*** You must answer all questions, and check all boxes, on this form for your submission to comply with House Rules and the Committee's Travel Regulations. Failure to comply with this requirement may result in the denial of future requests to sponsor trips and/or subject the current traveler to disciplinary action or a requirement to repay the trip expenses.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

1. Sponsor(s) who paid or provided in-kind support for the trip: The Stimson Center; Henry Luce Foundation
2. Travel Destination(s): Chiang Mai, Thailand
3. Date of Departure: November 30, 2025 Date of Return: December 5, 2025
4. Name(s) of Traveler(s): Sophia Schilling

   Note: You may list more than one traveler on a form only if ***all*** information is ***identical*** for each person listed.
5. **Actual amount** of expenses paid on behalf of, or reimbursed to, each individual named in Question 4:

	Total **Transportation** Expenses	Total **Lodging** Expenses	Total **Meal** Expenses	Total **Other** Expenses (dollar amount per item and description)
Traveler	2,066.08	689.28	44.56	N/A
Accompanying Family Member				

6. ☒ All expenses connected to the trip were for actual costs incurred and not a *per diem* or lump sum payment. *Signify statement is true by checking box.*

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Vibha Bhatia Digitally signed by Vibha Bhatia Date: 2025.12.12 14:55:16 -05'00' **Date:** December 12, 2025

Name: Vibha Bhatia **Title:** Vice President of Finance and Operations

Organization: The Stimson Center

☐ ***I am an officer of the above-named organization. Signify statement is true by checking box.***

Address: 1211 Connecticut Ave. NW, 8th Floor, Washington, DC 20036

Telephone: 202-223-5956 **Email:** vbhatia@stimson.org

Committee staff may contact the above-named individual if additional information is required.

If you have questions regarding your completion of this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103.

last updated 7/2023

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

This form should be completed by House Members, officers, or employees seeking Committee approval of privately-sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule 25, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer, or employee, together with the completed and signed trip sponsor form(s) and any attachments. A copy of this form, minus this initial page, will be made available for public inspection.

This form and any attachments may be submitted at 1015 Longworth House Office Building or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

Your completed request must be submitted to the Committee no less than 30 days before your proposed departure date. Absent exceptional circumstances, permission will not be granted for requests received less than 30 days before the trip commences. **You must receive explicit approval from the Committee before you depart on this trip.**

Name of Traveler: Sophia Schilling

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.

I certify that the information contained on both pages of this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Sophia Schilling

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

For Staff (name of employing Member or Committee): Rep. Betty McCollum

Office Address: 2426 Rayburn House Office Building

Telephone Number: 202-225-6631

Email Address of Contact Person: pkennedy@stimson.org

☐ Check this box if the sponsoring entity is a media outlet, the purpose of the trip is to make a media appearance sponsored by that entity, *and* these forms are being submitted to the Committee less than 30 days before the trip departure date.

NOTE: You must complete all of the contact information fields above, as Committee staff may need to contact you if additional information is required.

KEEP A COPY OF THIS FORM. Page 2 (but not this page) must be submitted to the Clerk as part of the post-travel disclosure required by House Rule 25. Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting paperwork for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

If there are any questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or via email: *travel.requests@mail.house.gov*.

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Sophia Schilling
2. Sponsor(s) who will be paying or providing in-kind support for the trip: The Stimson Center, Henry Luce Foundation
3. City and State OR Foreign Country of Travel: Chiang Mai, Thailand
4. a. Date of Departure: 11/30/2025 Date of Return: 12/05/2025

   b. Yes ☐ No ☒ Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense?

   If yes, list dates at personal expense: _____
5. a. Yes ☐ No ☒ Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? **If yes:**

   (1) Name of Accompanying Family Member: _____

   (2) Relationship to Traveler: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify): _____

   (3) Yes ☐ No ☐ Accompanying Family Member is at least 18 years of age?
6. a. Yes ☐ No ☒ Did the trip sponsor answer "Yes" to Question 8(c) on the *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* (i.e., travel is sponsored by an entity that employs a registered federal lobbyist or a foreign agent)?

   b. **If yes**, and you are requesting lodging for two nights, explain why the second night is warranted:
7. Yes ☒ No ☐ *Primary Trip Sponsor Form* is attached, including agenda, invitation, invitee list, and any other attachments and Additional Sponsor Forms.

   NOTE: The agenda should show the traveler's individual schedule, including departure and arrival times and identify the specific events in which the traveler will be participating.
8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to the traveler's individual official or representational duties. **Staff should include their job title and how the activities on the itinerary relate to their duties.**

   As Senior Legislative Assistant to Rep. McCollum, part of my portfolio includes overseeing her role as co-chair of the Congressional Burma Caucus. This is why I have been invited to participate in the Burma Forum's annual workshop -- to discuss the issues facing the country as they prepare for their elections.
9. Yes ☐ No ☒ **Is the traveler aware of any registered federal lobbyists or foreign agents involved in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip?**
10. For staff travelers, to be completed by your employing Member:

ADVANCED AUTHORIZATION OF EMPLOYEE TRAVEL

I hereby authorize the individual named above, an employee of the U.S. House of Representatives who works under my direct supervision, to accept expenses for the trip described in this request. I have determined that the above-described travel is in connection with my employee's official duties and that acceptance of these expenses will not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

Signature of Employing Member: Betty McCollum **Date:** 10/24/2025

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

PRIMARY TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by private entities offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to House Members, officers, or employees under House Rule 25, clause 5. A completed copy of the form (and any attachments) should be provided to each invited House Member, officer, or employee, who will then forward it to the Committee together with a *Traveler Form* **at least 30 days before the start date of the trip**. The trip sponsor should *NOT* submit the form directly to the Committee. The Committee's website (ethics.house.gov) provides detailed instructions for filling out the form. The Committee will notify the House invitees directly of its decision and will not notify the trip sponsors.

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

1. Sponsor who will be paying for the trip:

   The Stimson Center

2. ☒ I represent that the trip will not be financed, in whole or in part, by a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent. *Signify that the statement is true by checking box.*

3. ***Check only one.*** I represent that:
   a. ☐ The primary trip sponsor has not accepted from any other source, funds intended directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip; **OR**
   b. ☐ The trip is arranged without regard to congressional participation and the primary trip sponsor has accepted funds only from entities that will receive a tangible benefit in exchange for those funds; **OR**
   c. ☒ The primary trip sponsor has accepted funds, services, or in-kind assistance from other source(s) intended directly or indirectly to finance all or part of this trip and has enclosed disclosure forms from each of those entities.

   If "c" is checked, list the names of the additional sponsors: Henry Luce Foundation (grantor)

4. Provide names and titles of **ALL** House Members *and* employees you are inviting. **For each House invitee, provide an explanation of why the individual was invited** (include additional pages if necessary):

   Sophia Schilling, Senior Legislative Assistant to Rep. McCollum, whose portfolio includes overseeing her role as co-chair of the Congressional Burma Caucus.

5. Yes ☐ No ☒ Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)?
6. Date of Departure: Nov. 30, 2025 Date of Return: Dec. 5, 2025
7. a. City of departure: Washington, DC
   b. Destination(s): Chiang Mai, Thailand
   c. City of return: Washington, DC
8. ***Check only one.*** I represent that
   a. ☐ The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965; **OR**
   b. ☒ The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent; **OR**
   c. ☐ The sponsor employs or retains a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but the trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist / foreign agent involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations.

9. ***Check only one of the following.***
   a. ☐ I checked 8(a) or (b) above; **OR**
   b. ☐ I checked 8(c) above but am not offering any lodging; **OR**
   c. ☐ I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for one night; **OR**
   d. ☐ I checked 8(c) above and am offering lodging and meals for two nights. If you checked this box, explain why the second night of lodging is warranted. _____

10. ☐ Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities House invitees will be participating in during the travel (i.e., an hourly description of planned activities for trip invitees). *Indicate agenda is attached by checking box.*

11. ***Check only one of the following.***
   a. ☐ I represent that a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip. *Signify the statement is true by clicking the box;* **OR**
   b. ☐ *Not Applicable.* Trip sponsor is a U.S. institution of higher education.

12. For ***each*** sponsor required to submit a sponsor form, describe the sponsor's interest in the subject matter of the trip ***and*** its role in organizing and/or conducting the trip:

   The Stimson Center's Myanmar Project studies Burma's civil-military relations and democratization. Stimson organizes and hosts the Burma Forum in Southeast Asia annually to convene senior and emerging experts on Burma to discuss the country's conflict and external engagement. Stimson has received a grant from the Luce Foundation that funds the Burma Forum. The Luce Foundation's Asia Program focuses on developing expertise and capacity in Southeast Asia and fosters cross-cultural understanding, cooperation, and knowledge sharing.

13. ***Answer parts a and b. Answer part c if necessary***:
   a. Mode of travel: Air ☐ Rail ☐ Bus ☐ Car ☐ Other ☐ (specify:_____)
   b. Class of travel: Coach ☐ Business ☐ First ☐ Charter ☐ Other ☐ (specify:_____)
   c. If travel will be first class, or by chartered or private aircraft, explain why such travel is warranted:

14. ☐ I represent that the expenditures related to local area travel during the trip will be unrelated to personal or recreational activities of the invitee(s). *Signify that the statement is true by checking box.*

15. ***Check only one.*** I represent that either:
   a. ☐ The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees; **OR**
   b. ☐ The trip involves events that are arranged specifically *with regard* to congressional participation. If "b" is checked:
      1) Detail the cost *per day* of meals (approximate cost may be provided): _____
      2) Provide the reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: _____

16. Name, nightly cost, and reasons for selecting each hotel or other lodging facility:

   Hotel Name: Shangri-La City: Chiang Mai, Thailand Cost Per Night: $170
   Reason(s) for Selecting: Hotel has conference facilities and reliably has enough rooms for all participants.
   Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
   Reason(s) for Selecting: _____
   Hotel Name: _____ City: _____ Cost Per Night: _____
   Reason(s) for Selecting: _____

17. ☒ I represent that all expenses connected to the trip will be for actual costs incurred and not a per diem or lump sum payment. *Signify that the statement is true by checking the box.*

18. **Total Expenses for each Participant:**

☐ Actual Amounts ☒ Good Faith Estimates	Total **Transportation** Expenses per Participant	Total **Lodging** Expenses per Participant	Total **Meal** Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or Employee	$2000	$680	$150
For each Accompanying Family Member			

	Other Expenses (dollar amount per item)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or Employee		
For each Accompanying Family Member		

19. ***Check only one:***
    a. ☒ I certify that I am an officer of the organization listed below; **OR**
    b. ☐ *Not Applicable.* Trip sponsor is an individual or a U.S. institution of higher education.

20. **I certify by my signature that**
    a. **I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;**
    b. **I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent; and**
    c. **The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.**

Signature: Vibha Bhatia Digitally signed by Vibha Bhatia Date: 2025.10.29 12:37:33 -04'00' Date: 10/28/2025

Name: Vibha Bhatia Title: VP of Finance and Operations

Organization: The Stimson Center

Address: 1211 Connecticut Ave. NW, 8th Floor, Washington, DC 20036

Email: vbhatia@stimson.org Telephone: 202-223-5956

If there are questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

ADDITIONAL TRIP SPONSOR FORM

This form should be completed by an organization that provides funds, services, or in-kind assistance to another entity to underwrite, in whole or in part, a trip or an event, meal, or activity that will occur during a trip, or a necessary expense that will be incurred during a trip, with express or implicit knowledge or understanding that one or more House Members or employees may participate in or attend that trip or event, or otherwise may be beneficiaries of the gift or donation. **Provide a copy of your completed form to the primary sponsor of the trip.**

NOTE: Willful or knowing misrepresentations on this form may be subject to criminal prosecution pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001. Failure to comply with the Committee's Travel Regulations may also lead to the denial of permission to sponsor future trips. Signatures must comply with section 104(bb) of the Travel Regulations.

1. Name of Primary Trip Sponsor for this trip: The Stimson Center
2. Name of your organization: Henry Luce Foundation
3. Yes ☒ No ☐ Is your organization designated a § 501(c)(3) charitable organization by the Internal Revenue Service?
4. Yes ☐ No ☒ Does your organization receive funding from any foreign government or multinational organization?
5. ***Check one.*** I certify that my organization:
   a. ☒ Has provided a grant, gift, or donation to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor and conducts an audit or review of its grant, gift, or donation to ensure that the funds are spent in accordance with the terms of its grant, gift, or donation. **OR**
   b. ☐ Has had a direct role in the organizing, planning, or conducting of a trip to
   Destination: _____ on Date: _____
   that is being organized or arranged by the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor. **OR**
   c. ☐ Has provided in-kind support to the above-named Primary Trip Sponsor (*e.g.,* meeting planning assistance, meeting space and set-up, and paying for expenses related to this trip directly to the service provider).
6. ***Check only one:***
   a. ☒ My organization does not employ or retain a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent **OR**
   b. ☐ My organization employs a registered federal lobbyist or foreign agent, but their involvement in planning, organizing, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the travel regulations.
7. **I certify by my signature that**
   a. I read and understand the Committee's Travel Regulations;
   b. I am not a registered federal lobbyist or registered foreign agent;
   c. I am an officer of this organization and am duly authorized to sign this form; and
   d. The information on this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: Yuting Li Date: 10/30/2025

Name: Yuting Li Title: Program Director for Asia

Organization: Henry Luce Foundation

Address: 41 Madison Avenue, 27th Fl, New York, NY 10010

Telephone: 212-489-7700 Email: yuting@hluce.org

If there are questions regarding this form, please contact the Committee on Ethics at 202-225-7103 or travel.requests@mail.house.gov.

last updated 7/2023

Michael Guest, Mississippi
Chairman
Mark DeSaulnier, California
Ranking Member

John H. Rutherford, Florida
Andrew R. Garbarino, New York
Ashley Hinson, Iowa
Nathaniel Moran, Texas

Deborah K. Ross, North Carolina
Glenn F. Ivey, Maryland
Sylvia R. Garcia, Texas
Suhas Subramanyam, Virginia

ONE HUNDRED NINETEENTH CONGRESS

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Thomas A. Rust
Staff Director and Chief Counsel

Jordan Downs
Chief of Staff to the Chairman

David Arrojo
Counsel to the Ranking Member

1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515–6328
Telephone: (202) 225–7103
https://Ethics.House.gov

November 21, 2025

Ms. Sophia Schilling
Office of the Honorable Betty McCollum
2426 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Ms. Schilling:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to Thailand,[1] scheduled for November 30 to December 5, 2025, sponsored by Stimson Center and Henry Luce Foundation.

You must complete an Employee Post-Travel Disclosure Form (which your employing Member must also sign) and file it, together with a Sponsor Post-Travel Disclosure Form completed by the trip sponsor, with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are also required to attach a copy of this letter and both the Traveler and Primary Trip Sponsor Forms (including attachments) you previously submitted to the Committee in seeking pre-approval for this trip. If you are required to file an annual Financial Disclosure Statement, you must also report all travel expenses totaling more than $480 from a single source on the "Travel" schedule of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement covering this calendar year. Finally, Travel Regulation § 404(d) also requires you to keep a copy of all request forms and supporting information provided to the Committee for three subsequent Congresses from the date of travel.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House employees may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act (FGDA), gifts "of minimal value [currently $480] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of minimal value received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments and either turned over to the Clerk of the House, or, with the written approval of the Committee, retained for official use.

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[1] Please be aware that the Committee's review of the proposed trip does not extend to either the security situation in the destination country or security related to foreign travel in general. We recommend you contact the Office of House Security (OHS) for a safety and security briefing prior to your departure. OHS may be reached at (202) 226-2044 or ohsstaff@mail.house.gov. House travelers should also register for the U.S. State Department's Smart Traveler Enrollment Program at https://step.state.gov.

If you have any further questions, please contact the Committee's Office of Advice and Education at extension 5-7103.

Sincerely,

Michael Guest
Chairman

Mark DeSaulnier
Ranking Member

MG/MD:nl

STIMSON
MYANMAR PROJECT

Burma Forum 2025

Stimson Center
Chiang Mai, Thailand
December 2-4, 2025

Burma Forum 2025

Stimson Center
Chiang Mai, Thailand
December 3-4, 2025

As Myanmar approaches its scheduled general elections in December 2025, the country stands at a critical juncture. Despite sustained territorial losses, the junta remains intent on proceeding with the polls, raising questions about the implications for Myanmar's political future. The elections come against the backdrop of deepening instability and shifting power dynamics unleashed, as well as external actors. Key uncertainties persist: How will the resistance movement adapt? What role will the ethnic armed organizations play? And how will external actors—such as China, the United States, and Thailand—navigate the turbulence and recalibrate their policies in response to Myanmar's evolving landscape? The Burma Forum aims to foster rigorous dialogue and exchange of perspectives on these pressing issues. By convening scholars and practitioners in a multidisciplinary workshop, we seek to develop forward-looking scenarios and understand key drivers and indictors to inform policy and strategy for government, academic, and private sector stakeholders.

Location: Shangri-La Chiang Mai

- Meeting Room: Phayao Room 2 & 3

Date: December 2-4, Shangri-La Chiang Mai

- Tuesday, Dec. 2
  - Participants check-in
  - Welcome dinner: China Kitchen, Shangri-La
- Wednesday, Dec. 3
  - Arrival: 8:45 at Phayao Room 2 & 3
  - Workshop: 9:00-16:45
  - Dinner: 18:00 at The House by Ginger *(tbc)*
- Thursday, Dec. 4
  - Arrival: 08:45 at Phayao Room 2 & 3
  - Workshop: 09:00-16:00

Conduct: Chatham House rule

<u>Stimson Staff Contact Information</u>

- For questions about workshop logistics, please contact **Nick Hawkins** (nhawkins@stimson.org, +1 202-391-9938 in iMessage, +1 339-223-8144 in WhatsApp, or Signal).
- For questions about workshop agenda and format, please contact **Pam Kennedy** (pkennedy@stimson.org, +1 678-612-6842 in iMessage, WhatsApp, or Signal).

Wednesday, December 3
Day One Discussion Agenda
Chatham House Rule
Dress code: Business Casual

8:45 – 9:00	**Participant Arrival**
9:00 – 9:15	**Opening Remarks** ● Framing objectives, expectations, and seminar tone ● *Speaker:* Yun Sun
9:20 – 9:40	**Block 1: Strategic and Political Perspectives – China Perspective** ● China's strategic outlook on Myanmar ● *Speaker:* He Jinsong (TBC)
9:40 – 10:00	**Block 1: Strategic and Political Perspectives – Political Trajectory** ● Political dynamics and leadership analysis ● *Speaker:* Min Zin
10:00 – 10:20	**Block 1: Strategic and Political Perspectives – Political Trajectory** ● Resistance governance and coordination ● *Speaker:* Kyaw Thura
10:20 – 11:00	**Discussion with Participants** ● Open discussion
11:00 – 11:15	**Break**
11:15 – 11:35	**Block 2: Economy, Finance, and Media – Business Landscape** ● Economic outlook and business adaptation ● *Speaker:* Kyaw Ni Khin
11:35 – 11:55	**Block 2: Economy, Finance, and Media – Financial Stability** ● Financial pressures and monetary recovery ● *Speaker:* Wai Yan Moe Thone Thann
11:55 – 12:15	**Block 2: Economy, Finance, and Media – Media and Information** ● Media landscape and civic space ● *Speaker:* Thu Thu Aung
12:15 – 12:45	**Discussion**

	● Open discussion
12:45 – 14:00	**Lunch**
14:00 – 14:20	**Block 3: Politics Inside and Outside Myanmar – ASEAN Engagements** ● Regional coordination and diplomacy ● *Speaker:* Win Min
14:20 – 14:40	**Block 3: Politics Inside and Outside Myanmar – Party Politics** ● Political Party activities under SAC framework ● *Speaker:* Ngu Wah Win
14:40 – 15:30	**Discussion** ● Open discussion
15:30 – 15:45	**Break**
15:45 – 16:45	**Overview, Wrapping up, and General Discussion on Day 1** ● Open discussion ● *Facilitator:* Pam Kennedy
Evening	**Dinner (informal)**

Thursday, December 4

Day Two Discussion Agenda
Chatham House Rule
Dress code: Business Casual

8:45 – 9:00	**Participant Arrival**
9:00 – 9:15	**Recap of Day 1**
9:20 – 9:40	**Block 4: External Perspectives – U.S. and Regional Security** ● Security and policy perspectives ● *Speakers:* Murray Hiebert and Steve Ross
9:40 – 10:00	**Block 4: External Perspectives – Thailand's Role**

	● Thailand's engagement and institutional perspectives ● *Speaker*: Lalita Hanwong
10:00 – 10:20	**Block 4: External Perspectives – International Engagements** ● Regional diplomacy and international responses ● *Speaker:* Nyan Tha Maw Lin (TBC) and Amara Thiha
10:20 – 11:00	**Discussion with Participants** ● Open discussion
11:00 – 11:15	**Break**
11:15 – 11:35	**Block 5: Local Governance, Civil Society, and Youth Activism – Local Governance** ● Local governance and federalism ● *Speaker:* YingLao NoamVo
11:35 – 11:55	**Block 5: Local Governance, Civil Society, and Youth Activism – Youth Activism** ● Youth activism in Thailand and diaspora networks ● *Speaker:* Tin Maung Htway
11:55 – 12:30	**Discussion** ● Open discussion
12:30 – 14:00	**Working Lunch** ● Panel: U.S. perspectives on Burma ● *Panelists:* Gregory Poling, Sophia Schilling, and Jack Myint
14:00 – 15:00	**Final Discussion and Wrap-Up** ● Final discussions of the day ● *Facilitator:* Pam Kennedy
15:00 – 15:15	**Break**
15:15 – 16:00	**Closing and Next Steps** ● Key takeaways and next steps ● *Speaker:* Yun Sun

Participants

Yun Sun, *Chair*

Amara Thiha
Ei Thant Sin
Gregory Poling
He Jinsong
Jack Myint
Kyaw Ni Khin
Kyaw Thura
Lalita Hanwong
Min Zin
Murray Hiebert
Nick Hawkins
Ngu Wah Win
Pam Kennedy
Song Qingrun
Sophia Schilling
Steve Ross
Thu Thu Aung
Tin Maung Htway
Wai Yan Moe Thone Thann
Win Min
YingLao NoanVo

Participant Biographies

Yun Sun
Dr. Yun Sun leads the Myanmar work at the Stimson Center, where she is a Senior Fellow, Co-Director of the East Asia Program, and Director of the China Program. Under her leadership of the Myanmar project, Stimson has developed a record of deeply informed academic scholarship on great powers' role in Southeast Asia.

From 2011 to early 2014, she was a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution, jointly appointed by the Foreign Policy Program and the Global Development Program, where she focused on Chinese national security decision-making processes and China-Africa relations. From 2008 to 2011, Yun was the China Analyst for the International Crisis Group based in Beijing, specializing on China's foreign policy towards conflict countries and the developing world. Prior to ICG, she worked on U.S.-Asia relations in Washington, DC for five years. Yun received her Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University SAIS. Yun earned her Master's degree in international policy and practice from George Washington University, as well as an MA in Asia Pacific studies and a BA in international relations from Foreign Affairs College in Beijing.

Amara Thiha
Amara Thiha is a Nonresident Fellow at the Stimson Center and a Ph.D. candidate (ABD) in Sociology at the University of Coimbra, Portugal. He studied History and Informatics from Uppsala University and Örebro University in Sweden. With over eight years of experience, Amara has expertise in research and program management, focusing on Ceasefire Negotiation and Monitoring, Security Dialogue, Conflict Monitoring, and Foreign Policy Analysis.

Amara has made significant contributions to government-related funded projects in Myanmar by providing technical support to negotiators on security issues and developing roadmaps for Security Sector Development (DDR-SSR). He is also a non-resident Fellow at the Stimson Center in Washington, D.C. Until 2021, he served as the Senior Research Director for the Security Dialogue Program at the Myanmar Institute for Peace and Security.

Prior to joining MIPS, Amara was the research manager at the Technical Secretariat Centre (TSC) of the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee (JMC). He played a vital role in the organizational development of the JMC and the establishment of the TSC. From 2013 to 2016, he served at the Myanmar Peace Centre, where he supported negotiations for the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) and participated in the drafting process from its inception through to its signing.

A native of Yangon, Amara Thiha is a 2022 Visiting Fellow at The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and a 2017 Asia Foundation William P. Fuller Fellow on

conflict resolution. He has been actively involved in various regional track-2 dialogues throughout his career.

Ei Thant Sin
Biography forthcoming

Gregory Poling
Gregory B. Poling directs the Southeast Asia Program and Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, where he is also a senior fellow. He is a leading expert on the South China Sea disputes and conducts research on U.S. alliances and partnerships, democratization and governance in Southeast Asia, and maritime security across the Indo-Pacific. He is the author of the recently published *On Dangerous Ground: America's Century in the South China Sea,* along with various works on U.S. relations with Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, and Southeast Asia at large. His writings have been featured in *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Naval War College Review*, among others. Mr. Poling received an MA in international affairs from American University and a BA in history and philosophy from St. Mary's College of Maryland.

He Jinsong
Professor Jinsong HE was born in a very small village in Lijiang Prefecture, belonging to the Shangrila Area in the northwest of Yunnan Province, P.R. China. He speaks Naxi, Chinese, English, and Burmese (basic). He majored in English Language and Literature for his bachelor's degree and in Southeast Asia studies for his master's degree. During 1992-1998, he worked for Wanding Middle School as an English language teacher. From 2001, he started to work in the Institute of Myanmar Studies at the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences (YASS) in Kunming, China, and from 2015 to the present at the South Asia and Southeast Asia Institute think tank.

He has conducted a variety of projects in the region and beyond. During 2002-2005, he participated in a project study on "China-EU Sustainable Development in Rural Areas (SUCESS)". In 2006-2008 he conducted the project "Myanmar Migrant workers in Thailand," financed by the Asian Scholarship Foundation (ASF) under the Ford Foundation, participating in a series of meetings and conferences in Thailand and in China and publishing papers.

During 2008-2010 he conducted the project "Aged population studies in GMS". From 2010 to the present, he has focused on politics, economy, and culture studies of Myanmar, especially the relationship between China and Myanmar and Myanmar and the US. He has twice been invited to the US to make presentations in 2014 and 2018. He participates and makes presentations in the China-Myanmar Think Tank Forum in Yangon or in Yunnan every year since 2015.

Jack Myint
Hla Hpone "Jack" Myint is the head of Communications and Public Affairs, and director for Mainland Southeast Asia, as well as Aerospace, Defense & Security at the US-ASEAN Business Council (USABC) headquarters, based in Washington, D.C. He also serves as an adjunct fellow for Southeast Asia at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), a leading Washington think tank. Since joining USABC in March 2016, Jack has been instrumental in shaping the organization's strategic initiatives and fostering key business and political relationships across both the United States and Southeast Asia.

Before his tenure at USABC, Jack was an analyst at Inle Advisory Group, where he advised clients on Myanmar's political landscape and U.S. sanctions. Earlier, Jack served as a fellow with the Center for Energy Policy and Management, funded by Consol Energy. Here, he was a member of the center's state government relations team, advancing policy research and advocacy on sustainable shale gas development in southwestern Pennsylvania.

A respected voice on international affairs, Jack has written op-eds and provided commentary for leading publications and media outlets, including Al Jazeera, the *Huffington Post*, *The Diplomat*, *Eurasia Review*, Voice of America, BBC News, Radio Free Asia, *Frontier Myanmar*, and the Stimson Center. Jack holds a BA in political science and conflict resolution studies (CRS) from Washington & Jefferson College, graduating at the top of his class in the CRS concentration. He is a recipient of the Prospect Burma: Aung San Suu Kyi Nobel Peace Prize Fund Scholarship, and the Open Society Foundation Scholarship.

Kyaw Ni Khin
Kyaw Ni Khin serves as the Chief Executive Officer of Myanmar Apex Bank.

Kyaw Thura
Kyaw Thura has served with the Ministry of Defence since July 2021 and currently heads the Department of Defence Policy and International Coordination. He previously spent more than two decades in the All Burma Students' Democratic Front from 1988 to 2014, where he held several positions, including Head of Foreign Affairs.

Murray Hiebert
Murray is a top Asia expert and skilled researcher with three decades of experience living and working in Asia. His networks in business, media and government circles are deep and wide-ranging.

He is also a senior associate of the Southeast Asia Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C. Earlier he served as deputy director of the program for six years. Prior to joining CSIS, Murray served for five years as senior director for Southeast Asia at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce where he worked with leading American companies, the U.S. government and Southeast Asian counterparts to develop trade and investment opportunities between the United States and Asia.

Murray joined the U.S. Chamber from the Wall Street Journal's China bureau where he covered trade, intellectual property rights and China's accession to the World Trade Organization. Prior to his posting to Beijing, he worked for the Wall Street Journal Asia and the Far Eastern Economic Review in Washington, reporting on U.S.-Asia relations.

From 1995 to 1999, Murray was based in Malaysia for the Far Eastern Economic Review. He covered the Asian financial crisis and also reported on developments in Singapore. In the early 1990s, he was based in Hanoi for the Review, reporting on Vietnam's economic reforms and opening to the outside world. Murray joined the Review's Bangkok bureau in 1986, covering political and economic developments in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. He authored two books on Vietnam, Chasing the Tigers and Vietnam Notebook. His newest book, Under Beijing's Shadow: Southeast Asia's China Challenge, is available starting August 2020. Murray holds a master's degree in news media studies from American University.

Ngu Wah Win
Ngu Wah Win is a Research Fellow at the Knowledge Circle Foundation, a non-profit organisation dedicated to inclusive development for migrant children in Southeast Asia. She has held this position since 2022 following extensive experience as a technical consultant for multilateral organisations, bilateral aid agencies, and international NGOs. She holds a Master of Public Administration on Economic Policy Management from Columbia University, specialising in finance and banking, and a Master of Economics from Chiang Mai University. She is currently a PhD candidate at the Faculty of Economics, Chiang Mai University, focusing her research on migration, agricultural economics, and political economy. She is also one of the founders of the People's Pioneer Party.

Nick Hawkins
Nick Hawkins is a Research Associate with the China program at the Stimson Center. His research focuses on Chinese foreign policy and China's role in international affairs. Prior to joining Stimson, he conducted China-focused research at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and Rhodium Group. He was also previously Chief Operating Officer of a Beijing-based consulting firm and interned at a think tank and a risk advisory firm.

Pam Kennedy
Pamela Kennedy is a Research Analyst in the East Asia Program and Deputy Director of the China Program at Stimson. She holds a M.A. in International Relations and International Economics from Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and a B.A. summa cum laude in Government and East Asian Studies from the College of William and Mary. Prior to joining Stimson, Kennedy interned with the Center for Strategic and International Studies' Japan Chair and the Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies. She was also previously an Associate Examiner with the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, where she reviewed Asian and American banks for safety and soundness.

Song Qingrun
Song Qingrun is a Fellow with the Southeast Asia Studies Institute at the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), specializing in China-Southeast Asia relations, especially Myanmar, Thailand, and Cambodia.

Sophia Schilling
Sophia Schilling serves as Senior Legislative Assistant to Representative Betty McCollum (DFL-MN), staffing the Congresswoman's work as co-chair of the Congressional Burma Caucus. She manages a policy portfolio spanning foreign affairs, international development, and global health, and oversees the State and Foreign Operations Appropriations portfolio in support of Rep. McCollum's role as a senior Democrat on the House Appropriations Committee.

Steve Ross
Steve Ross is a Senior Fellow for the Stimson Center, leading the Crisis in Myanmar's Rakhine State project. He is an expert on conflict, mediation, and governance, with a particular focus on South and Southeast Asia.

Steve was most recently a Senior Advisor and Program Director at The Richardson Center for Global Engagement, where he led the Center's work to address conflict in Myanmar and to respond to the Rohingya crisis in Bangladesh. Prior to joining the Richardson Center and building a private consulting practice, Steve was based in Myanmar from 2014 to 2017, where he led a project for the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue to prevent and mitigate conflict in Rakhine State while simultaneously supporting The Carter Center's long-term election observation mission for the 2015 elections.

Steve has contributed to conflict prevention and stabilization efforts at the State Department, conducted detailed analyses of conflict in Afghanistan for the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the impact of transnational terrorism on United Nations field missions, managed programming to improve adherence to the rule of law globally, and supported good governance programming while working in Cambodia. He holds a Master in Public Affairs from Princeton University's School of Public and International Affairs and a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science and History from Tufts University.

Thu Thu Aung
Thu Thu began her journalism career in 2007. She became a political editor in 2009, working under the restrictive press censorship system of the Than Shwe military regime. In 2012, she interviewed Aung San Suu Kyi shortly after her release from decades of house arrest. Thu Thu has reported extensively on ethnic armed conflicts across Myanmar and has investigated transnational drug syndicates, money laundering, child soldiers, and human rights abuses.

In 2019, she was part of the Reuters Myanmar Bureau that won a Pulitzer Prize for reporting on the Rohingya genocide, which led to the imprisonment of two of her

colleagues for 18 months. Her reporting included perpetrator testimony of a massacre of Rohingya civilians, prompting the military to take the rare step of imprisoning several soldiers involved.

She is a former journalist fellow (2023) at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at the University of Oxford, where she examined the role of citizen journalists in post-coup Myanmar. She also contributed a chapter on tracing war criminals to the Global Investigative Journalism Network's 2023 book, Investigating War Crimes. Thu Thu holds a Master of Public Policy (2025) from the University of Oxford.

Tin Maung Htwe
Tin Maung Htwe is a Research Fellow at Chiang Mai University and a lecturer at the Myanmar Institute of Theology. He holds a Master's in Development Studies and has more than a decade of experience in human rights and policy research. His work focuses on China's geoeconomic influence in Southeast Asia, labour dynamics, and post-coup Myanmar. His recent publications include China's Strategic Influence and Rivalries in Southeast Asia (IGI Global, 2025), Chinese Investment in Southeast Asia's Post-Pandemic Recovery (OBOR Journal, 2024), and Livelihood and Social Capital of Myanmar Migrants in Mae Sot Post-Coup (YCU Research Institute, 2025).

Wai Yan Moe Thone Thann
Wai Yan Moe Thone Thann is a C-level executive at a major commercial bank in Myanmar. He has worked in economic and policy planning since 2012 and has advised several cabinet members on policy reform. His experience spans economic regulation, financial sector strengthening, and the wider programme of political and economic liberalisation undertaken during the 2010s. He brings more than a decade of senior experience at the intersection of banking, public policy, and national reform processes.

Yinglao Noanvo
Yinglao Noanvo co-founded the Salween Institute and has served as its Executive Director since July 2022. She began as a Programme Officer for governance and public policy in 2015 before becoming Deputy Director in 2016, a role in which she managed all aspects of the organisation's work.

She also serves as a member of the technical advisory team for the Shan Women's Action Network and the Women's League of Burma, and is a member of the Technical Team for the Shan State Joint Action Committee. Her earlier positions include Assistant Coordinator of the Women's Political Empowerment Programme and Coordinator of the Constitutional Studies Team from 2004 to 2007, during which she represented the Women's League of Burma in the Federal Constitution Drafting and Coordinating Committee.

She holds a Master of Public Affairs (2014) and a Bachelor of Science in Public Affairs (2012) from Indiana University's School of Public and Environmental Affairs, specialising in public policy analysis and legal studies.