



ISP Flash Updates 2025  
Conflict, Peace and Security Studies

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# FOURTH-GENERATION GENERALS RISE TO THE HEART OF POWER

All generals overseeing military operations now belong to the *Tatmadaw's* fourth generation. Commanders younger in age and cohort are in charge, with potential implications for operations nationwide.



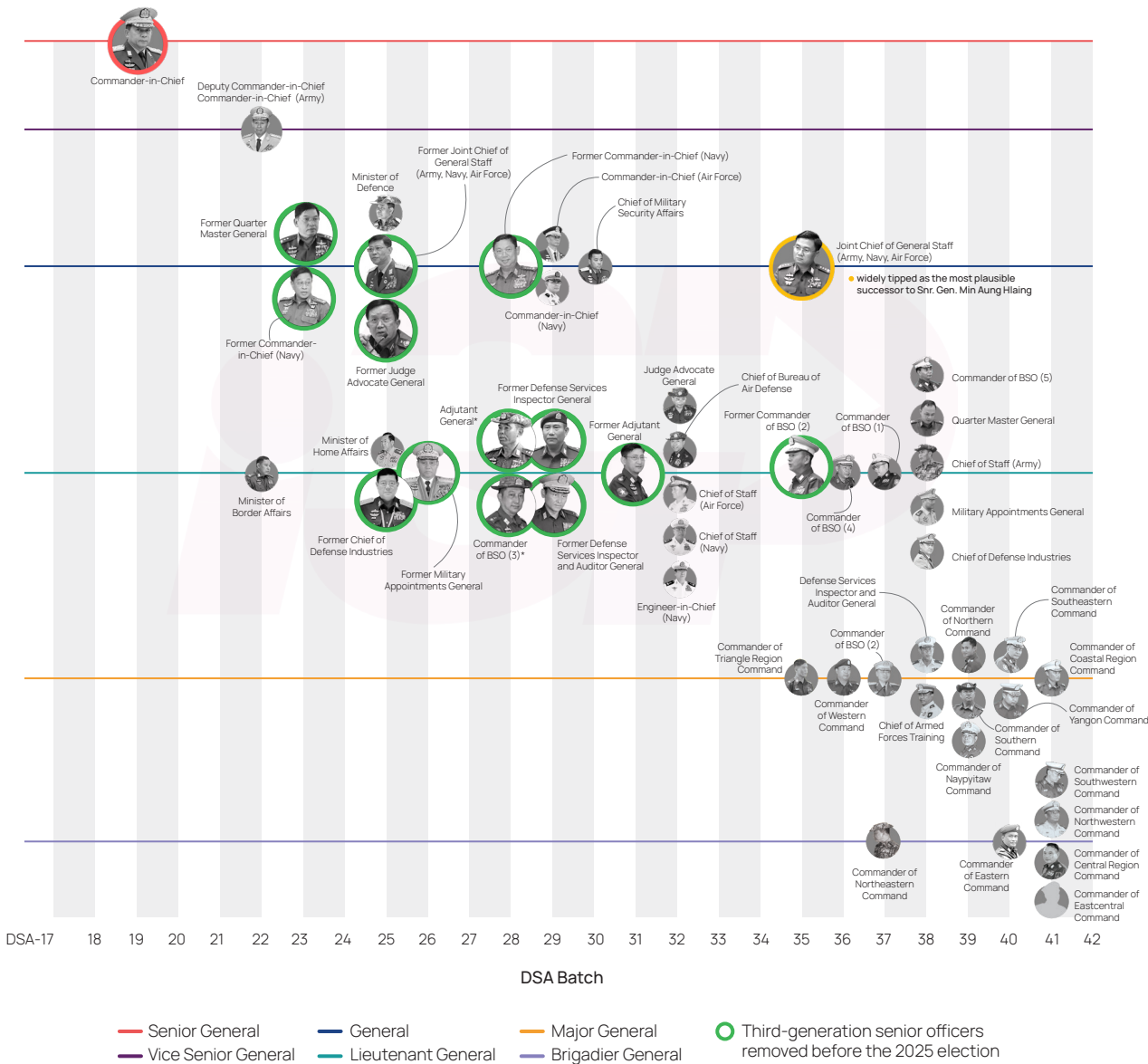
## Fourth-Generation Generals Rise to the Heart of Power

Period	September 2025
Stakeholders	Senior leadership in the regime
Issue	On September 13, 2025, junta leader Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing removed six lieutenant generals and about ten major generals. He also reshuffled the positions of the Commanders of the Bureau of Special Operations (BSO) and filled other vacant posts (see the figures).
Context	This marks another wave of reshuffling within the military's senior leadership ahead of the elections planned by the State Security and Peace Commission (SSPC). Min Aung Hlaing continues to wield supreme authority, retiring many of his third-generation generals. Some have been dispatched to the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP)—the military's proxy political vehicle—to contest the polls. In their place, fourth-generation officers, primarily from DSA-35 and later cohorts, have been elevated. Led by Gen. Kyaw Swar Lin, a likely contender to lead the fourth generation, these younger cohorts now oversee critical areas of military command, operations, and logistics.
Implications	The predisposition of the fourth generation remains uncertain. However, as ISP-Myanmar assessed in August 2025, the new generation will (1) show unflinching loyalty to survive under the third-generation leader, Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing to avoid being purged, sidelined, or worse, (2) rebuild and strengthen the armed forces, and (3) foster a spirit of Bamar nationalism to revive it (see ISP On Point No. 27). At present, all generals responsible for nationwide military operations are from the fourth generation. Relatively younger commanders now command military campaigns, a change that may influence operations across the country.
Relevance	As ISP-Myanmar previously assessed, the role of the “fourth-generation <i>Tatmadaw</i> ” within the military is becoming more pronounced. By studying the changes of the fourth-generation, strategies that could influence Naypyitaw's power shift can also be identified.

● Junta Chief Retires 13 of *Tatmadaw's* Third-Generation Generals

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Between July 31 and September 23, 2025, five generals and eight lieutenant generals of the regime's third generation were formally retired. Five of these generals had already been removed from their ranks and reassigned to civilian roles before their retirement. Their departure further elevates the prominence of fourth-generation officers within the *Tatmadaw*.

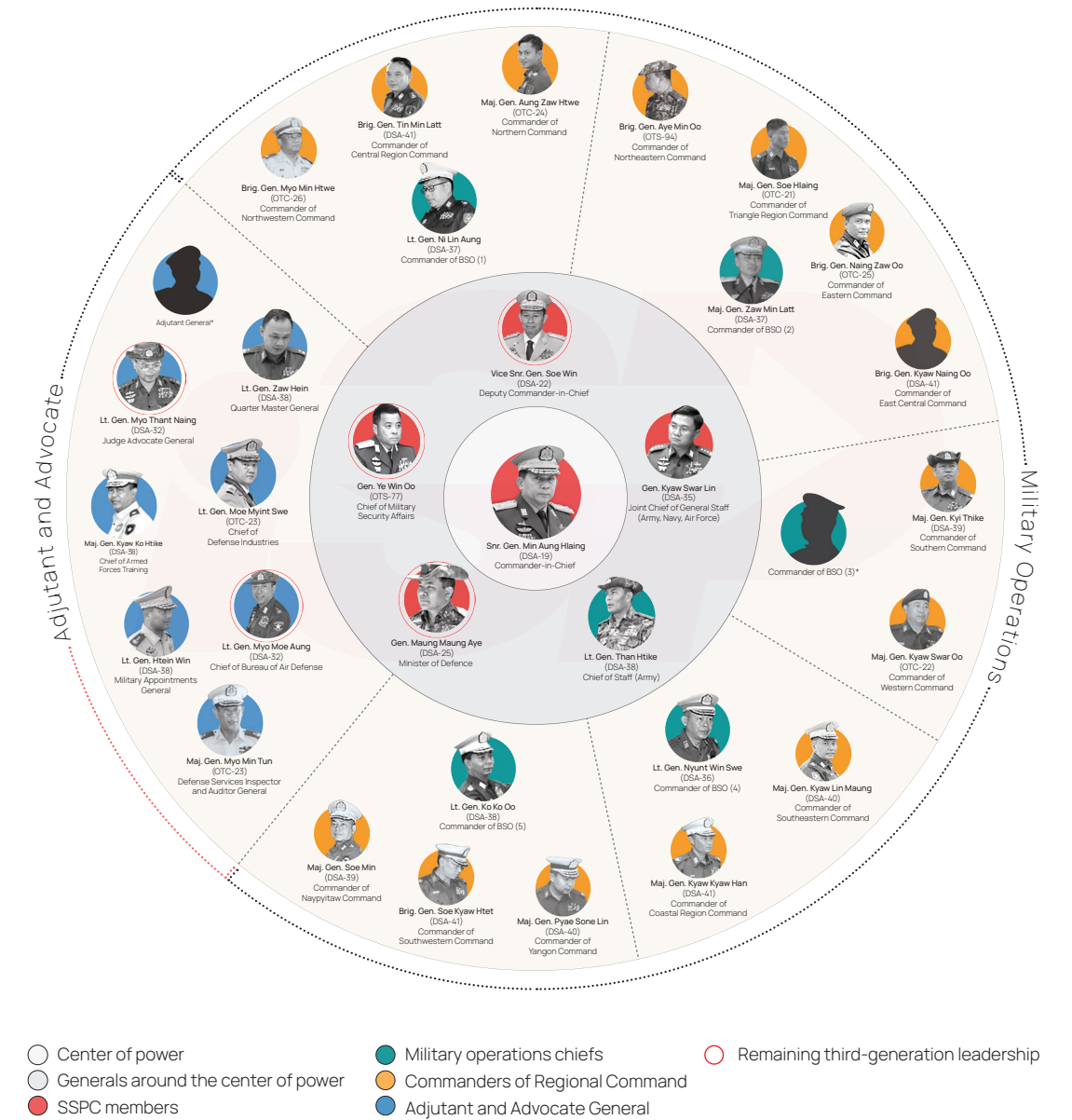


Data as of September 26, 2025, is part of the research conducted by ISP-Myanmar's Conflict, Peace, and Security Studies. It may vary from other sources due to differences in methodology and data availability. Military personnel who are not DSA graduates are assigned an equivalent DSA batch based on their commissioning year. (\*) These generals continue to attend military meetings, despite news circulating that they are officially retired.

# ● Third-Generation Generals: Only Five Remain in the Circle of Leadership

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Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing has filled key military positions with fourth-generation generals and lieutenant generals. As a result, only five third-generation officers remain in his inner circle: one vice-senior general, two generals, and two lieutenant generals. Nationwide military operations are now overseen entirely by fourth-generation commanders.



Data as of August 26, 2025, is part of the research conducted by ISP-Myanmar's Conflict, Peace, and Security Studies. It may vary from other sources due to differences in methodology and data availability. ISP-Myanmar continues to study reports that BSO-6 has been abolished and that the Naypyitaw Regional Military Command (RMC) has been transferred to BSO-5. (\*) News has circulated that these lieutenant generals are retiring, with no successors named so far.