



ISP Stakeholder Tracker 2025
Conflict, Peace and Security Studies

ST2025-03 | September 11, 2025

POTENTIAL HEIRS: KYAW SWAR LIN AND CO. DEBUT IN CHINA

Of the five officers who accompanied the junta chief to China, three are seen as potential leaders of the *Tatmadaw's* fourth generation, and were presented to Chinese leaders, firming up succession plan.



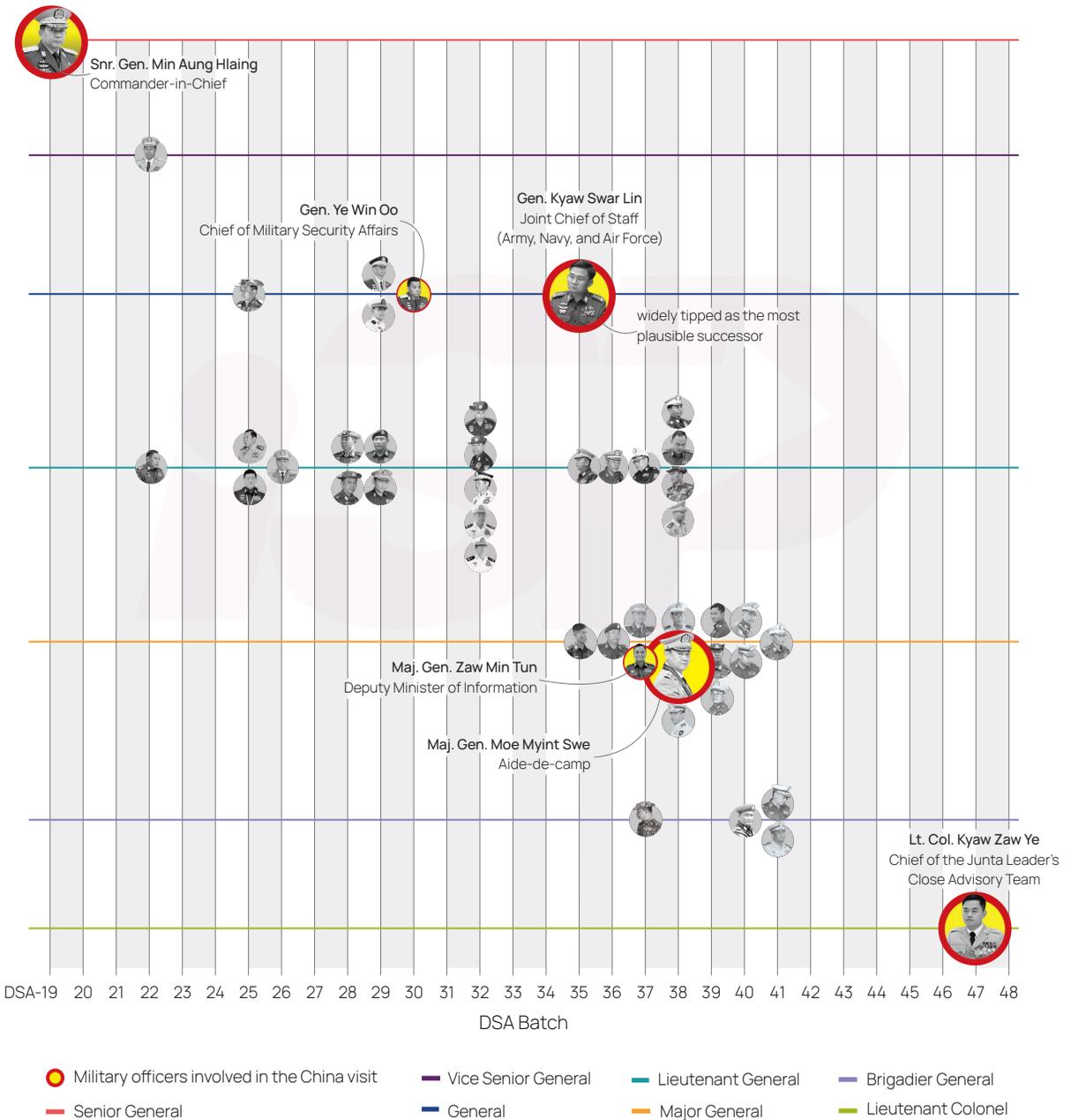
Potential Heirs: Kyaw Swar Lin and Company Debut in China

Period	August 30, 2025, to September 6, 2025
Stakeholders	Military officers accompanying the junta leader on his trip to China
Issues/activity	Snr. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing visited China, where he met President Xi Jinping and other international leaders. He was joined by Gen. Ye Win Oo (OTS-77), Gen. Kyaw Swar Lin (DSA-35), Maj. Gen. Moe Myint Swe (OTC-23), Maj. Gen. Zaw Min Tun (DSA-37) and Lt. Col. Kyaw Zaw Ye (DSA-47).
Status/trends	Among the officials, Gen. Kyaw Swar Lin is widely tipped as a potential candidate to succeed as Commander-in-Chief. Maj. Gen. Moe Myint Swe serves as Aide De Camp, and Lt. Col. Kyaw Zaw Ye is a close advisor cum protégé to the junta leader. According to research by ISP-Myanmar, these three are likely to emerge as rising figures in the <i>Tatmadaw's</i> fourth generation (see ISP OnPoint No. 27). Their presence in China and their introduction to Chinese leaders can be interpreted as firming up succession plan. There is precedent: in September 2010, shortly before retiring, former junta chief Snr. Gen. Than Shwe introduced his successor, then Lt. Gen. Min Aung Hlaing, to Chinese leaders. He was accompanied by Gen. Thura Shwe Mann and Gen. Tin Aung Myint Oo.
Implications	The junta leader chose to bring significantly younger military officers on this high-level trip, which included meetings with Chinese leaders. Even if he retains his position as Commander-in-Chief after the election, the influence and authority of the “fourth-generation” <i>Tatmadaw</i> officials, led by Gen. Kyaw Swar Lin, are likely to grow.
Relevance	As noted in ISP OnPoint No. 27: “If the regime, bolstered by China and some neighbouring states, cannot be defeated militarily in the near future (and if Myanmar’s resistance war once again drags into protraction) the prospect of political change is inevitably tied to the likelihood of reform within the MAF itself.” It is essential to study the dynamics of the <i>Tatmadaw's</i> fourth generation to formulate the strategies that could influence the power shift of Naypyitaw.

Kyaw Swar Lin and Company Make Their Debut in China

ISP-DM2025-182

Of the regime's **at least 44** top-level officers, the junta chief brought **five** to China. **Three** of them: Gen. Kyaw Swar Lin, Joint Chief of Staff (Army, Navy, and Air Force); Gen. Moe Myint Swe, his Aide-de-camp; and Lt. Col. Kyaw Zaw Ye, are seen as potential leaders of the *Tatmadaw's* fourth generation and were presented to Chinese leaders in a clear show of succession planning.



Data as of September 10, 2025, is part of research conducted by the 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.